



**University of International Business and Economics
International Summer School**

**PSC 220 U.S. Foreign Policy and the International System: the Cold War and
Its Legacy in the Post-cold War Era**

Instructor: Mark Kramer

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Credit: 2 units

Students

Freshman and sophomore.

Teaching Language

This course is taught in English.

Methods of Instruction

Teaching, cases analyzing and seminar, debates on topics between groups of students

Classroom Capacity

60

Evaluation

Final paper 100%.

About the Instructor

MARK KRAMER is a Professor and Director of Cold War Studies at Harvard University and a Senior Fellow of Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University. Originally trained in mathematics, he went on to study international relations as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University and was also an Academy Fellow in Harvard's Academy of International and Area Studies. His latest books are *Imposing, Maintaining, and Tearing Open the Iron Curtain: The Cold War and East - Central Europe, 1945 - 1990* (2013), *Reassessing History on Two Continents* (2013), and *Der Kreml und die Wende 1989* (2014), and he is the editor of a three - volume collection, *The Fate of Communist Regimes, 1989 - 1991*, to be published in late 2015.

Course Description

This course provides an introductory overview of U.S. foreign policy and the international system from World War II to the present. The course reviews major issues in U.S. foreign policy since 1945 and draws on theoretical literature in the field of International Relations to assess the role of the United States in the international system. The course examines the most salient dimensions of U.S. global power (economic, military, diplomatic, cultural) and looks in some depth at cases of U.S. military intervention (and non-

intervention) abroad during the Cold War and after. The course also provides a scholarly perspective on other key issues in U.S. foreign policy such as international terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and foreign economic policy. The course consists of lectures followed by in-class discussion.

Syllabus

WEEK 1

Session 1: Introduction to the Course: How to Approach the Topic

Session 2: Foreign Policymaking, International Relations Theory, and Levels of Analysis

Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), pp. 462-483.

Philip E. Tetlock and Charles B. McGuire, "Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy*, pp. 484-500.

David A. Lake, "Theory Is Dead, Long Live Theory: The End of the Great Debates and the rise of Eclecticism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (September 2013), pp. 567-587.

David J. Singer, "The Level-of Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, eds., *The International System: Theoretical Essays* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 77-92.

Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3. (Summer 1988), pp. 427-460.

Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1. (Summer 1999), pp. 42-63.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 513-553.

Martha Finnemore and Karhryn Sikkink, "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 4 (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 2001), pp. 391-416.

WEEK 2

Session 3: Challenges and Threats in U.S. Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective: The Cold War and Post-Cold War Eras (Part 1)

Session 4: Challenges and Threats in U.S. Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective: The Cold War and Post-Cold War Eras (Part 2)

John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security during the Cold War*, rev. and expanded ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 3-86.

Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 36-60.

Colin Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 1-20, 82-113.

Mark Kramer, "Ideology and the Cold War," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (October 1999), pp. 339-376.

Mark Kramer, "Realism, Ideology, and the End of the Cold War," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 2001), pp. 119-130.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 155-192.

James M. Scott and A. Lane Crothers, "Out of the Cold: The Post-Cold War Context of U.S. Foreign Policy," in James M. Scott, ed., *After the End: Making U.S. Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 1-27.

Colin Dueck, "New Perspectives on American Grand Strategy: A Review Essay," *International Security*,

Vol. 28, No. 4 (Spring 2004), pp. 197-216.

Robert Jervis, "The Remaking of a Unipolar World," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer 2006), pp. 7-19.

WEEK 3

Session 5: The Dimensions of U.S. Global Power

Joseph S. Nye, "The Future of American Power: Dominance and Decline in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 6 (November-December 2010), pp. 1-9.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the TwentyFirst Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Winter 2015/16), pp. 7-53.

G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth, "Unipolarity, State Behavior, and Systemic Consequences," *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 1-27.

Daniel W. Drezner, "Why Military Primacy Doesn't Pay (Nearly As Much As You Think)," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 52-79.

Robert Jervis, "Unipolarity: A Structural Perspective," *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 188-213.

G. John Ikenberry, "Power and Liberal Order: America's Postwar World Order in Transition," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (August 2005), pp. 133-152.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "The Once and Future Superpower: Why China Won't Overtake the United States," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (May-June 2016), pp. 91-104.

William Z. Y. Wang; and Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Correspondence: Debating China's Rise and the Future of U.S. Power," *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 188-191.

Session 6: U.S. Alliance Dynamics in Europe and Asia

Stephen M. Walt, "Alliances in a Unipolar World," *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 86-120.

M. Taylor Fravel, "International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2010), pp. 505-532.

M. Taylor Fravel, *U.S. Policy Towards the Disputes in the South China Sea Since 1995* (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, March 2014). 9-page report.

Charles S. Maier, "Hegemony and Autonomy within the Western Alliance," in Melvyn P. Leffler and David S. Painter, eds., *Origins of the Cold War: An International History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 221-236.

Robert B. McCalla, "NATO's Persistence after the Cold War," *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 445-475.

U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *U.S. Economic and Military Alliances in Asia: Hearing*, 114th Cong., 1st Sess., 15 July 2015, pp. 1-7, 12-13, 21-22, 35-36, 49-58

WEEK 4

Session 7: U.S. Military Intervention Abroad Since 1945

Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, pp. 87-124, 235-271.

Colin H. Kahl, "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer 2007), pp. 7-46.

Beate Jahn, "Humanitarian Intervention – What's in a Name?" *International Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (2012), pp. 36-58.

James Kurth, "Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq: Legal Ideals vs. Military Realities," *Orbis*, Vol. 49,

No. 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 87-101.

Alan J. Kuperman, "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 105-136.

Patricia Owen, "Review Article: Theorizing Military Intervention," *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 2 (April 2004), pp. 355-365.

Barbara Salazar Torreon, *Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2015* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, October 2015).

Andreas Krieg, "Externalizing the Burden of War: The Obama Doctrine and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East," *International Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January 2016), pp. 97-113.

Session 8: U.S. Foreign Economic Policy in an Age of Globalization

Douglas A. Irwin, "The Truth about Trade: What Critics Get Wrong about the Global Economy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (July-August 2016), pp. 84-95.

Scott C. Bradford, Paul L. E. Grieco, and Gary Clyde Hufbauer, "The Payoff to America from Global Integration," in C. Fred Bergsten, *The United States and the World Economy: Foreign Economic Policy for the Next Decade* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 2005), pp. 65-101.

Peter Bauer, *From Subsistence to Exchange and Other Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 3-14, 41-72.

Helen V. Milner and Dustin H. Tingley, "The Political Economy of U.S. Foreign Aid: American Legislators and the Domestic Politics of Foreign Aid," *Economics & Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (July 2010), pp. 200-232.

Stephen D. Krasner, "International Political Economy: Abiding Discord," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 1994), pp. 13-19.

Susan Strange, "Wake up, Krasner! The World has Changed," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 209-219.