

**1.22.2020—SUBJECT TO REVISION**

**PSCI 1020**  
**Winter 2020**  
**Ross B11**  
**1:30-3:30**

**Professor: Stanley R. Sloan**  
**Office: Ross B11**  
**Office Hrs: 3:30-4:30, M-T-W and by**  
**appointment (see daily schedule for**  
**for scheduling exceptions)**  
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## **American Power: Soft, Hard and Smart**

This seminar will examine the way that the United States has used its power and influence in relations with other nations since the end of the Second World War, with a special focus on the international role and policies of the United States since the end of the Cold War. After briefly examining the conceptual and historical foundations for analysis of American foreign and defense policy, the class will look at some prominent cases of US intervention involving the use of military forces, including Vietnam, Iraq (Gulf War), Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq War, and Libya. The goal will be to develop comparisons between and among cases, working toward an assessment of which approaches to the use of American power best serve US interests and, at the same time, promote international peace and stability.

The learning process will include lectures, class discussions (including frequent examination of timely new stories relating to the use of American power), documentary videos, a guest speaker, and a final policy options paper – with each student presenting his/her topic in class followed by a brief peer critique before final preparation of the analysis.

Effective participation in teamwork and mutual assistance, class discussions and peer critiques will constitute important elements of successful completion of the course.

### **Requirements**

Students are **expected to attend all classes, to have completed the assigned readings** and to **participate actively in class discussions**. Several classes will begin with a team's brief report on a current news item relating to the course content.

Readings should be completed **before class for which they are listed**, as some class discussions will focus on the day's readings, and interventions should demonstrate familiarity with those readings.

Grades will be given on an A-F scale. Each class member will be judged on the qualities of: research completed (including the questions asked and research strategies employed), demonstrated comprehension (understanding of facts and issues), and presentation (oral and written communication of the facts, issues and understanding of their significance). Grades will be determined on the following basis:

- **Essay – 15%** An initial essay (minimum 4, maximum 5 double-spaced pages) that will count for 15% of your final grade). Hard and digital copy due to me on **Thursday, January 9. Remember to include Middlebury honor code pledge.**

In this assignment, all students will answer the question: What is power? What definition (from Morgenthau, Waltz, Nye or other) do you find most compelling? How and for what reasons is it applied

in international relations? What examples illustrate your argument? Draw on course readings to support your arguments.

- **Power Reports – 15%** Students will be divided into six teams, each with responsibility for leading class discussion on one of the following cases in which the United States used its power in pursuit of national policies: Vietnam, Gulf War, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq War, Libya. Each team will be required to conduct some self-directed research on its assigned application of American power and organize its presentation around the following questions:
  - What was the original rationale, justification for the use of American power?
  - How did the United States use its power (military intervention, political pressure, sanctions, etc.)?
  - Was the use of power and any associated operations conducted under international mandates?
  - How can one describe domestic and international attitudes toward the intervention?
  - How effectively did the United States use its power measured against its original or subsequent rationales? Were alternative means of influencing the outcome available?
  - What were/are the implications of the actions for US interests and international peace and stability?
  
- **Research Paper – 50%** (10-12 double-spaced pages, excluding end notes).

In lieu of a final exam, each student will prepare a final paper of 10-12 pages, double spaced in response to the following questions: “How would you describe the US role in the world since the Second World War? In what ways has it been a source of greater international stability and peace, and in what ways has it been disruptive of peaceful international relations?” Include discussion of examples of what you would regard as constructive uses of US power – soft, hard and smart – as well as instances that you judge to be “abuses” of US power. Draw on the course readings, class presentations (your team’s and those of other teams), class discussions, and your own research. Footnotes or endnotes should be used to document sources of information and arguments, other than those that are uniquely your own, that you use to make your case.

Please note that there is no “correct” answer to the prompt. This is rather an opportunity for each student to research and analyze the question and produce a reasoned and defensible response.

On January 22-24, each student will present the thesis and main lines of their analysis followed by peer critique intended to raise questions and make constructive suggestions for the presenter to contemplate in producing the final paper. A digital copy of your paper will be due to me no later than midnight on the last day of class, which will be **Thursday, January 30**.

- **Class Participation – 20%**

Regular attendance and active participation in class is expected. This includes completing the required readings for each day that are intended to establish a foundation for participation in the class discussion.

All six teams will be scheduled to deliver one news report for discussion by the class. The reports should come from press sources within the previous week and must concern some dimension of how the United States uses its power.

- The quality of the experience in this class and of your papers will depend heavily on the interaction among class members. In addition to presentation and discussion of the power and press reports, one

class in the final week will be dedicated to a *tour de table* discussion of US policies toward the Syria situation in both the Obama and Trump administrations, in which each student will give their brief assessments followed by discussion. The frequency and quality of your participation in discussions as well as your classroom presentations will play an important part in determining your final grade.

- **Plagiarism**

Proper citation of all sources used in your papers is required (end notes preferred). Any form of plagiarism will likely result in a failing grade for the course. Directly copying someone else's work or ideas is a violation of the honor code and will be dealt with according to Middlebury College rules. The peer review process used in this course means that each student might benefit from comments or suggestions of fellow classmates. If you feel one of your team or classmates has contributed a particularly valuable idea, feel free to cite that source in your paper.

- **Timely completion of assignments**

In the real world, as well as in academia, writing must be timely to be effective. This requires meeting personal and professional deadlines. In this class, to take this reality into account, no extension will be given for any assignment (except for extraordinary circumstances confirmed by commons dean) and late papers will be graded down a third of a grade (i.e., an A- would become a B+) for each day that they are late.

### **Books/Monographs**

\*Selected chapters from: Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, Alfred A. Knopf and Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Columbia University Press. (available on course web site: see link below)

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs (1<sup>st</sup> edition, 2011).

Thomas J. Wright, *All Measures Short of War*, Yale University Press (2017).

### **Reference Works and Sources**

Additional readings listed in syllabus

\*Christopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig, "The Meaning of Sharp Power: How Authoritarian States Project Influence," *Foreign Affairs*, November 16, 2017.

\*CRS Report for Congress: "Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2016," by Barbara Salazar Torreon, Analyst in Defense Budget and Military Manpower, updated July 17, 2019. Available online:

\*CRS Report for Congress, "U.S. Use of Preemptive Military Force," Richard F. Grimmett, updated April 11, 2003

**\*Syllabus, supplemental sources and all readings marked with \*asterisk can be found at:**

[https://server2.charityadvantageservers.com/client/Atlantic\\_Community\\_Initiative\\_QCYIEC/psci\\_1020\\_january\\_2020.aspx](https://server2.charityadvantageservers.com/client/Atlantic_Community_Initiative_QCYIEC/psci_1020_january_2020.aspx)

## Course Schedule and Required Readings

### Week 1

#### What is power?

Monday, January 6 (1:30-3:30) (Office: 3:30-4:30)

Bring course up to 24 with additions from wait list

Introductions and preview of course plan

Six working group teams assigned: Vietnam; Gulf War; Bosnia; Afghanistan; Iraq; Libya.

Discussion of first writing assignment: essay on definition of power

Power point lecture on thinking about power in international relations and US foreign policy

Individual working group planning meetings

Readings (to be completed before class):

\*Hans J. Morgenthau, *Power among Nations*, Alfred A. Knopf (1962) Chapters 1, 2, 3, 8

\*Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man the State and War*, Chapters 1, 2, 8

Tuesday, January 7 (1:30-3:30) (Office: 3:30-4:30):

News report and discussion: led by Sloan

Introductory lecture on international relations theory and American power today

(Any extra time used for work on essay draft)

Readings (to be completed before class):

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *The Future of Power*, Preface, Chapters 1-4

\*Christopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig, "The Meaning of Sharp Power: How Authoritarian States Project Influence," *Foreign Affairs*, November 16, 2017.

Wednesday, January 8 (1:30-3:30): (Office: 3:30-4:30)

Old news report: Copenhagen Caper and US Power

Bring draft of essay to class; team members will read each other's drafts (pair off, exchange drafts), providing comments and suggestions (peer review process)

Class discussion of peer review process

Readings (to be completed before class):

\*Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "What Is a Moral Foreign Policy?" *Texas National Security Review*, November 2019.

## **American Use of Force since WWII**

Thursday, January 9 (1:30-4:00): (note late ending of class to accommodate film viewing)  
(NO OFFICE HOURS TODAY)

*Submit essays for grading (hard and digital copies please)*

Video presentation *The Fog of War – 11 Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara*, followed by brief discussion)

Readings:

Use reading time Wednesday evening to work on your essay.

### **Week 2**

Monday, January 13 (1:30-3:30) (Office 3:30-4:30)

**Team Iraq news report and discussion**

**Team Vietnam Power Report (addressing five questions) followed by discussion**

*Graded essays returned*

Readings:

Thomas J. Wright, *All Measures Short of War*, Preface, Chapter 1

## **US Interventions in the Post-Cold War Era**

Tuesday, January 14 (1:30-3:30) (Office 3:30-4:30):

**Team Afghanistan news report and discussion**

**Team Gulf War Power Report (addressing five questions) followed by discussion**

Readings:

Thomas J. Wright, *All Measures Short of War*, Chapters 2-4

Wednesday, January 15 (1:30-3:30) (Office 3:30-4:30):

**Team Vietnam news report and discussion**

**Team Bosnia Power Report (addressing five questions) followed by discussion**

Readings

Thomas J. Wright, *All Measures Short of War*, Chapters 5-6

Thursday, January 16 (1:30-3:30) (NO OFFICE HOURS TODAY)

**Team Libya news report and discussion**

**Team Afghanistan Power Report (addressing five questions) followed by discussion**

Readings:

Thomas J. Wright, *All Measures Short of War*, Chapter 7, Epilogue

\*CRS Report for Congress, Afghanistan: Background and U.S. Policy In Brief, Updated December 5, 2019

**Week 3**

Tuesday, January 21 (1:30-3:30) (Office 3:30-4:30):

**Team Bosnia news report and discussion**

**Team Iraq Power Report (addressing five questions) followed by discussion.**

Readings:

\*Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, June/July 2002.

Wednesday, January 22 (1:30-3:30) (Office 3:30-4:30):

**Team Gulf War news report and discussion**

**Presentations of final paper draft, each followed by peer critique: PK  
Henry**

Readings:

Nye, *The Future of Power*, Chapters 5, 6

\*Walter Russell Mead, "The End of History Ends," *The American Interest*, December 2, 2013.

Thursday, January 23 (1:30-3:30) (Office 3:30-4:30):

**Team Libya power report (addressing five questions) followed by discussion**

**Presentations of final paper draft, followed by peer critique: Naomi  
Ryan  
Dylan  
Imran  
Zach**

Friday, 24 (1:30-3:30) (NO OFFICE HOURS TODAY)

**Presentations of final paper draft, followed by peer critique:** Krystof  
Tenzin  
Maria  
Mead  
Stephanie  
Matt

**Week 4**

Monday, January 27: Guest speaker presentation (4:15 -6:00); Brainerd Commons Dinner (6:15-8:00)

**Guest speaker: Garrett Graff: “Preserving American Power and Democracy in the Trump Era”**

**Jones House Conference Room: 4:15**

**Brainerd Commons Dinner: 6:15-8:00**

**Readings:**

**Nye, *The Future of Power*, Chapter 7.**

Tuesday, January 28 (1:30-4:00) (Office 4:00-5:00):

**Video presentation: *Why We Fight***

Wednesday, January 29 (1:30-3:30) (Office 3:30-4:30):

**Round table discussion of *Why we Fight***

Why do we fight? Questions to be addressed include: How should we relate values and interests in the use of American power? In what ways has the United States experienced a learning curve from use or non-use of power? In what ways has the United States repeated past mistakes? What are some lessons for future use of American power?

**Discussion of future of US role in the world**

**Time in class for course critique**

Thursday, January 30 (1:30-3:30):

Submit (digital copy by email and/or hard copy in class) **final papers must be submitted by midnight tonight** (Eastern standard time!!!)

Informal class roundtable discussion