

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Autumn 2018

Professor Paul Haber

paul.haber@umontana.edu

Office phone: (406) 243-4862

Political Science Department, course #230

Class meets on Tuesday and Thursday 9:30 – 10:50 in Interdisciplinary Sciences Building Room 110

Office Hours in LA 349 Tuesdays and Thursdays 11:00 - 12:30 and by appointment

Teaching Assistant Robert Nagel

robert.nagel@umontana.edu

Office Hours in Corbin 345 Tuesdays 2 - 3:30 and Wednesdays 10 - 11:30 and by appointment

Required readings will all be available via live links here on the syllabus, on Moodle, or on-line through the Mansfield Library. It is a requirement of this class to learn how to access and use Moodle and on-line materials from the university library. If you have technical difficulties with Moodle, please first contact the on-line people via <http://umonline.umn.edu/services-and-support/> and at the library help desk. If you continue to have problems, please reach out to the TA.

Course Description

This course is designed to introduce students to the study and practice of global politics. It examines the ways in which a wide variety of actors interact across international borders. This list of actors includes states, non-governmental organizations, transnational corporations, weather, and migrants, amongst others. The course also examines the increasing frequency of cross-national border traffic of ideas, goods, services, and environmental degradation. The course emphasizes the importance of defining and projecting interests and values. Of these, none is more important than the definition of security threats, thus the course surveys the historical trajectory and regional diversity of security threats. We talk a lot about how interests and values are defined by different actors and the balance of power between these contending definitions.

PSCI 230 investigates questions of central importance to a wide range of actors in a variety of different geographical locations around the world from a diversity of political, conceptual, and methodological perspectives. The course begins with an historical overview with a focus on the 20th century and then addresses a broad range of 21st century dynamics and challenges.

The class is designed to encourage students to develop your own views on a series of global issues (war and peace, international political economy, poverty, migration and ecosystem sustainability, amongst others). Students will read a series of important analyses from different perspectives, and are then encouraged, in class discussion and exercises as well as writing assignments, to state and defend your own position in light of the analyses you have read. The diversity of the readings is enhanced by reading a number of articles from authors from countries other than the United States. The central goal of the class is to help students develop as global citizens and to inquire into how this identity potentially complements and conflicts with other identities.

Students are required to read all assigned readings **carefully and before the class period for which they are assigned.** We will discuss and debate questions raised by the readings in class. It will be near to impossible to follow – let alone participate – in these discussions if you have not already read the material. The TA is available to discuss the reading and lectures with individuals and groups. Students are strongly encouraged to make use of this opportunity, especially if you are having difficulty with quizzes and/or exams. Start early and go often. Do not wait until you are in a crisis situation because it is often too late at that point to improve as much as would have been possible if you had addressed your confusions earlier.

Students are encouraged to follow current international events. There are a number of ways to do this. One way to do this is to read international news coverage in one of the major newspapers (including, but not limited to, New York Times, LA Times, Christian Science Monitor, Miami Herald, Chicago Tribune, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal). Another good way to do this is to subscribe to The Washington Post national weekly edition. **Reading the Missoulian does not get the job done.** One can supplement reading newspaper coverage with other publications that focus or at least regularly discuss international affairs. Some suggestions include Harper's, Atlantic Monthly, New York Review of Books, Commentary, The New Yorker, The Nation, Foreign Affairs, and Foreign Policy. Many of these and many more are available free on line. Then there is radio and the burgeoning podcast world. National Public Radio has a moderate tone as does the BBC Global News podcast. For those interested in a left leaning perspective, Democracy Now! is excellent. Other good sources from the left include Tom Dispatch and the daily press reports of Nation of Change. For those interested in right leaning perspectives, check out the Cato Institute, National Review, The American Spectator and American Conservative. For those interested in a debate format, I recommend the radio shows Left, Right, and Center (although it is not as good as it once was), and even better is Intelligence Squared. All of these sources are easy to find on the web. Journal publications that require subscriptions can usually be accessed and articles downloaded for free through the Mansfield Library.

Grading

- Your grade will be based on three exams (combined to be worth 65% of total grade) and quizzes and any homework assignments (together worth 35% of total grade).
- Exams and quizzes/homework assignments will be based on assigned readings, lectures, class discussions, films, and guest speakers. Grades will be posted on Moodle in a timely way. Students are encouraged to consult Moodle to check on your grade and if things are not going well to then review your graded work with the TA and figure out what is going wrong and what to do about it. There is no extra credit in this class.
- There will be no make-ups for quizzes except in cases of emergencies – medical emergencies will require a doctor’s note. Make-up quizzes will be given orally by the TA within three days of the missed quiz unless other arrangements are made (in advance!). If you are not in class on a quiz day or fail to hand in a homework assignment you will receive a zero. **Your two lowest grades on quizzes and homework assignments will not count toward your grade.** Make-up exams will be allowed, but only with a doctor’s note, or for non-medical emergencies, with a typed statement. Make-up exams must be approved before the date of the regularly scheduled exam. Your graded work will not be handed back. However, students are encouraged to review graded work with the TA during office hours.

If you miss a lecture, you are responsible to contact the TA and find out what you missed. If you miss a film showing, you are responsible for locating a copy of the film and watching it on your own. If you miss a guest speaker, you are responsible for finding out what was discussed. Remember: If you are going to miss an exam due to illness or emergency, you must contact the professor **before the exam** date and arrange a makeup. If you do not, you will not be able to make up the exam and will receive an F grade for that exam.

It may become necessary or desirable to rearrange assignments or alter the schedule: Any changes will be announced in class as well as on Moodle. If you miss class, you are responsible for checking with another student or TA for lecture notes and any announcements that may have been made regarding scheduling or assignments. I do not post nor do I lend out copies of my lecture notes.

Accessibility

The University of Montana assures equal access to instruction by supporting collaboration between students with disabilities, instructors, and Disability Services for Students. If you have a disability that requires an accommodation, contact me at the beginning of the semester so that proper accommodations can be provided. Please contact Disability Services for Students if you have questions, or call Disability Services for Students (DSS) for voice/text at 406.243.2243. You may also fax the Lommasson Center 154 for more information at 406.243.5330.

Class schedule and assignments

Section I: Political Economy: The last hundred years or so and a proposal

Week 1

Aug. 28: Introduction and discussion of class. With time remaining, begin the video: *Commanding Heights*, Part 1 “The Battle of Ideas.” Your homework for Thursday, August 30, is to finish the video and come to class ready to discuss it.

August 30: The video portrays a great debate over what form capitalism should take, highlighting the perspectives of the two most important economists of the 20th century: John Maynard Keynes and Fredrick von Hayek. The video is about 2 hours long. It can be found on Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIUas6s9oP8>

Week 2

September 4: ***Quiz I*** and then An Introduction to Neoliberalism

- Adam Smith. “An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,” (1776)
 - *This reading provides the basic tenets of Classic Liberalism, upon which Neoliberalism is based.*
- Friedrich Von Hayek. “Road to Serfdom,” Introduction by Milton Friedman, (1944): pp. 22 – 36.
 - *Only the introduction is required, but this text is a seminal work for the Neoliberal perspective. The introduction provides background and context for the comics.*
- “Road to Serfdom” (Comic representation).
 - *These comics provide a succinct overview of Hayek’s viewpoint.*
- Bryan Riley et. al. "Freedom to Trade: A Guide for Policymakers," Heritage Foundation, (2015). <http://www.heritage.org/trade/report/freedom-trade-guide-policymakers>
 - *The Heritage Foundation is a Neoliberal think-tank*

Supplemental readings: (Note: supplemental materials are for those that would like to go deeper into the subject at hand. They are not required. You will not be tested on them)

- Ha-Joon Chang, “Kicking Away the Ladder: The Real History of Free Trade,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, (2003), pp. 1 – 20.
 - *This is a succinct and poignant critique of the Neoliberal perspective. Strongly recommended.*
- William Deresiewicz, “The Neoliberal Arts: How college sold its soul to the market,” *Harpers Magazine*, September 2015.
 - *For those interested in a fascinating critique of neoliberal education, take a look.*

Sept. 6: The Federal Budget: Too big or too little?

- Anthony Downs, “Why the Government Budget is Too Small in a Democracy,” *World Politics*, (1960), pp. 541 – 563.
- James M. Buchanan, “Why Does Government Grow?” in *Government Budgeting: Theory Process Politics*. (1977), pp. 305 – 315.

Week 3

Sept. 11: Recent Federal Budget numbers

<https://www.nationalpriorities.org/analysis/2016/competing-visions-2016/>

<http://nationalpriorities.org/en/budget-basics/federal-budget-101/>

<https://www.nationalpriorities.org/analysis/2016/presidents-2017-budget-in-pictures/>

Budgets matter. Big time. If you are budget illiterate, you are public policy illiterate. The readings by Downs and Buchanan provide you with two very different visions of what a good budget should look like. The web sites provide a wealth of information. Take time to peruse them and bring your comments and questions to class.

Sept. 13: **Quiz 2** and then we begin discussion of a social democratic leaning alternative.

- Joseph Stiglitz and others, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy*. Roosevelt Center, 2015, pp. 1-21.
<http://rooseveltinstitute.org/rewriting-rules-report/>

Week 4

Sept. 18 Continuation of social democratic alternative proposal.

- Joseph Stiglitz and others, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy*, pp. 23-55.

Sept. 20: **Quiz 3** and then continuation of social democracy.

- Joseph Stiglitz and others, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy*, pp. 57-76.

Week 5

Sept. 25: Conclusion of social democracy discussion.

- Joseph Stiglitz and others, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy*, pp. 77-99.

Sept. 27: Exam 1 Review Session

Week 6

October 2 Exam 1

October 4 Three views on globalization, poverty, and (in)equality.

- Bruce R. Scott, “The Great Divide in the Global Village,” in Art and Jervis, *International Politics*, pp. 290-302.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, “Why Multinationals Help Reduce Poverty,” *World Economy*, Vol. 30, Iss. 2, (2007), pp. 211-228.
- <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/little-notice-globalization-reduced-poverty>

These three readings provide differing views of how globalization is affecting global society, the poor specifically. Bhagwati emphasizes the positive effects of Multinational Corporations and Foreign Direct Investment. Scott highlights the growing inequality between and within nations as they open their economies. The brief reading from Yaleglobal argues that globalization is reducing poverty levels in poor countries.

Supplemental readings:

- John Tomlinson, “Cultural Globalization,” in George Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 352-366.
- Pankaj Ghemawat, “Why The World Isn’t Flat,” in Art and Jervis, *International Politics*, 9th ed., pp. 319-324.
- William H. McNeill, “Globalization: Long Term Process or New Era in Human Affairs?” in Steger, *Globalization: The Greatest Hits*, p. 294-303.
- Martin Wolf, “The ‘Magic’ of the Market,” in Henry Nau, pp. 471-489.

Section II: Different ways to think about security threats

Week 7

October 9

- Robert D. Kaplan, "Supremacy by Stealth," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 292, Issue. 1, (2003).

Supplemental Readings:

- It's time to bring Russia in from the cold. Intelligence Squared Podcast. June 15, 2017. (excellent, highly recommended)
- Henry Luce, "The American Century," originally from *Life* magazine 1941, reprinted in *Society*, Vol. 31, Issue. 5, (1994), pp. 4-11.
- Project for the New American Century, "Statement of Principles," June 3, 1997, at <http://www.rrojasdatabank.info/pfpc/PNAC---statement%20of%20principles.pdf>

October 11 **Quiz 4**, and

- Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" in *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 2003.
- 4 Approaches to International Theory that have Influenced US Foreign Policy

Supplemental Reading:

Richard Betts, "Conflict or Cooperation?" *Foreign Affairs*. November/December 2010

The Huntington piece is a classic. Neoconservative policymakers have referenced it extensively, particularly during the administrations of George W. Bush and Donald Trump. The analysis is still embraced by large populations in many parts of the world and has at least echoes in the rhetoric of Donald Trump. The Betts article reviews the global visions of Fukuyama, Mearsheimer, and Huntington.

Week 8 Environmental Issues

Oct. 16

- Environmental Challenges and Policies section of Eric Shiraev and Valadislav Zubok, eds., *Current Debates in International Relations*. Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 225-244.

Oct. 18 **Quiz 5** and discussion of Climate Change

- American Association for the Advancement of Science, What we Know. April 2014. http://whatweknow.aaas.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/whatweknow_website.pdf
- Critical response to AAAS report by CATO Institute. <http://www.cato.org/blog/aaas-guide-climate-alarmism>

Supplemental resources:

--Alternative Radio Podcast, August 31, 2017, a talk by Robert Hackett, "Climate Change and the Media." This is easy to find online.

--<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/20/business/energy-environment/renewable-energy-national-academy-matt-jacobson.html>

--**This is an explosive long article from NYT about the perils of what may come with climate change. It's a bit scary and I do not want to bum students out about what you may see during your lifetimes and even more so their kids. But, it looks also to be a balanced look at probabilities based on a lot of interviews with solid scientists.

The original story is here: http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2017/07/climate-change-earth-too-hot-for-humans.html?utm_campaign=nym&utm_source=fb&utm_medium=s1

Commentary from The Economist: <https://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/21725011-transition-away-fossil-fuels-necessary-it-will-not-be-painless-can>

--Here is an expanded argument from CATO. Patrick Michaels and Paul Knappenberger, Lukewarming. CATO Institute, 2015. You can also download a working paper of this work at <http://www.cato.org/publications/working-paper/climate-models-climate-reality-closer-look-lukewarming-world>

--There are a number of links here that might be of interest, including two to recent Bill McKibben articles in The New Republic and also an older 2012 link to Richard Muller that itself includes an interview and links to published articles by him:

https://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/30/as_earth_reaches_frightening_co2_milestone

--Technology fixes

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/carbon-capture-fuel_us_577a177ae4b0a629c1aa7669?section=

--Montana readings:

<https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/inside-a-western-town-that-refuses-to-quit-coal/>

*White Paper by Montana Senator Dick Barrett (let me know if you want to see it)

About the possibility of wind in Eastern Montana: http://billingsgazette.com/news/state-and-regional/montana/montana-s-largest-wind-farm-quietly-develops-northeast-of-colstrip/article_35f5dee1-175c-57f6-b778-dd9054bb8238.html

--After Nature: A Politics for the Anthropocene

[Jedediah Purdy](http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674368224&content=reviews) A web site from Harvard gives a number of sources that can be tapped.
<http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674368224&content=reviews>

--This article is an interview with one of the many climate scientists who are sounding a much more dire message concerning the onset of feedback loops. Note that his most recent book is cited here.

<http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/31661-mass-extinction-it-s-the-end-of-the>

--A long video of Guy McPherson on Youtube called Global Warming and Human Extinction.

-- Yale study on public opinion by self-identified political identity, from liberal democrat to conservative republican.

http://ouleft.org/wp-content/uploads/Politics_and_Global_Warming.pdf

--‘Climate change hysteria’ is a phrase used by critics of those who urge the government to take significant action to reverse global warming trends. One well known is a Princeton scientist named Freeman Dyson of Princeton. Watch him here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BiKfWdXXfIs>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pou3sGedeK4>

Week 9: Trump, Obama, and Their ‘Doctrines’

Oct. 23:

- Rebecca Lissner et. al., “There is No Trump Doctrine, and There Never Will Be,” in *Foreign Policy*, (2017).
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/21/there-is-no-trump-doctrine-and-there-will-never-be-one-grand-strategy/>
- H.R. McMaster, “America First Does Not Mean America Alone,” in *The Wall Street Journal*, (2017).
<https://www.wsj.com/articles/america-first-doesnt-mean-america-alone-1496187426>
- Interview by Jeffrey Goldberg “The Obama Doctrine,” in *The Atlantic*, (2016).
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>

Supplemental Reading:

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/08/18/the-drone-presidency/>

Oct. 25: **Quiz 6**, and U.S. Foreign Policy (note from Haber: the topic has not yet been chosen. Two potential candidates are North Korea or Iran. Some possible readings are listed below. Final decision on topic and required readings forthcoming. Student input on the decision more than welcome.)

- Evans J.R. Revere, “2017: A Year of Decision on the Korean Peninsula,” from *The Brookings Institute*. (2017).
https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/fp_20170208_evans_revere_krins.pdf

Supplemental Reading:

- Sam Harris, “Must We Accept a Nuclear North Korea?” in *Waking Up with Sam Harris* (Podcast), (2017).
 - *This is an interview acclaimed journalist and author Mark Bowden (“Black Hawk Down”).*
- Ian E. Rinehart et. al. “North Korea: Nuclear Relations, Nuclear Diplomacy, and Internal Situation,” from *Congressional Research Service*, (2016). pp. 2 – 26. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R41259.pdf>
 - *This is a comprehensive look at the history and situation in North Korea.*

Iran option: Chuck McCutcheon, “U.S.-Iran Relations” in *Global Issues: Selections From CQ Researcher*. Sage, 2017, pp. 77-96.

https://moodle.umt.edu/pluginfile.php/1440877/mod_resource/content/1/US-Iran%20Relations.pdf

Supplemental: <https://www.cfr.org/background/impact-iran-nuclear-agreement>

Week 10

Oct. 30: Jerry Brown, “A Stark Nuclear Warning” *New York Review of Books*, July 14, 2016.

- <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/07/14/a-stark-nuclear-warning/>

Supplemental podcast:

Intelligence Squared. Debate Proposition: Are China and the US Long-Term Enemies. 58 minutes. October 21, 2015. Haber note: very interesting.

Nov. 1: **Quiz 7**, and discussion of Andrew Bacevich

- Andrew Bacevich, “Ending Endless War” *Foreign Affairs Magazine*, Sept/Oct 2016, Volume 95, Issue 5, pp. 36-44. Available in word format on Moodle or download original at Mansfield Library.

Andrew Bacevich is in my view a national treasure. His realist insights are strikingly perceptive and if heeded by policymakers would be of utmost consequence. Look for him also at the Cato Institute and Nation Magazine sites. Why is this an unusual mix?

Supplemental: Bacevich has a new book out on the Middle East. A number of talks on the book are available:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7XNo5ShJpBQ> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1nBg8NrIVUo>

<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/middle-east-foreign-policy-afghanistan-unwinnable-213778>

Week 11 Prep for Exam 2

Nov. 6 Election Day. No school. Vote!!

Nov. 8 Exam Review

Week 12 Exam 2, United Nations, and International Law

Nov. 13: Exam 2

Section III: Global governance, international law, development, and immigration

Nov. 15 The U.N. and International Law

- Reed Karaim, "Reforming the U.N." in *Global Issues: Selections from CQ Researcher*. Sage, 2017, pp. 103 – 122.
- Aidan Hehir, "International Law and World Politics" in Mark Beeson and Nick Bisley, eds. *Issues in 21st Century World Politics*, third edition, Palgrave, 2017, pp. 113-125.

Week 13 Global Poverty and Foreign Aid

Nov. 20: Global Poverty and Foreign Aid: The MDGs and Beyond. (Two positive perspectives)

- Francois Bourguignon, "How the Rich Get Richer as the Poor Catch Up" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, Issue 1, Jan-Feb 2016, pp. 11-15.
- Steven Radelet, "Prosperity Rising: The Success of Global Development and How to Keep It Going" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, Issue 1, Jan-Feb 2016, pp. 85-95.

Both of these articles can be found online at Mansfield Library.

Nov. 22 Thanksgiving Holiday

Week 14 Immigration and Diplomacy

Nov. 27: Immigration

- Chapter one of Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. University of California Press, 4th edition, updated, and expanded. The chapter is entitled "The Three Phases of U.S.-Bound Immigration"

Supplemental Readings: (a wide range of views here)

- Peter Beinart, How the Democrats Lost Their Way on Immigration. Atlantic Magazine, July/August, 2017. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/07/the-democrats-immigration-mistake/528678/?utm_source=eb
- "Should Countries Liberalize Immigration Policies?" A debate between James Hollifield and Philip Martin. This is chapter 14 in Peter Haas and John Hird, editors, *Controversies in Globalization*. Sage, second edition, 2013.
- Seth Holmes, Fresh Fruit, *Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States*. Foreword by Philippe Bourgois. University of California Press, paperback, 2013.
- Mark Krikorian, *The New Case Against Immigration*. Sentinel Press, 2008.
- William Robinson, "The New Global Capitalism and the War on Immigrants." Truth-Out.org September 13, 2013.
- Rex Teixeira and John Halpin, "Building an All-In Nation: A View from the American Public." Center for American Progress, October 22, 2013.
- "The Senate's Comprehensive Immigration Bill: Top 10 Concerns." Heritage Foundation, June 24, 2013.
- <http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2016-01-20/why-immigration-is-a-big-deal-to-conservatives>
- <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/429192/immigration-new-culture-war>
- <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/427000/illegal-immigration-modest-but-comprehensive-solution-editors?target=topic&tid>

Nov. 29 **Quiz 8** and diplomacy

- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995, pp. 17-28.
- Hans Morgenthau, "The Future of Diplomacy" in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, *International Politics*, 13th edition (New York: Pearson, 2017), pp. 104-113.

Week 15 Exam 3

Dec. 4: Exam 3 review session

Dec. 6: Exam 3