

**Bowdoin College - Spring 2018**  
**Department of Government and Legal Studies**  
**Government 3630**  
**America's Place in the World, 1945-Present**  
(version 180119)

Adams 202  
Mondays & Wednesdays, 10:00-11:25 am  
Office hours: Tuesday 2:00-4:00 pm or by appointment

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**Course Description**

The United States has been in a position of unparalleled material power since 1945. With this power, U.S. leaders have sought to establish order in the international system. This class examines the elements of this order in terms of economics, politics, and security. How did this order develop? We will explore the rules and norms of the American-led order and the tools by which the United States has sought to establish these rules. We will explore the theoretical implications of U.S. leadership for international relationship. For example, is the system better characterized by hierarchy than anarchy? What are the implications of unipolarity? Finally, the course will conclude with a discussion of U.S. decline. What do international relations theories suggest about the future of the global system? What will China's rise mean for the future character of the international system?

## Learning Objectives

The course seeks to cultivate the ability to engage in critical thinking, analysis, and independent learning and to improve students' writing skills. To that end, reading, discussing, and writing will be the central activities of the course. The goal is for students to leave the class possessing not only a better understanding of specific concepts and events, but also an increased ability to express that knowledge in prose and speech. Specifically, students in this course will:

- Assess and critique the written arguments within the major texts on international order
- Understand the major elements and tools of the U.S. ordering project
- Apply theories to empirical evidence
- Conduct original research and draw policy implications
- Present original research to classmates

## Course Policies

**Attendance:** Attendance is required at all course meetings. Since class discussion will go well beyond the readings, absence severely diminishes what you learn from this course. Each unexcused absence will result in no credit for class participation on that day. Email me at least 24 hours before class regarding any extenuating circumstances that may lead to an absence. A note from your academic Dean or the Student Health Center will be required for this absence to be excused. If you are aware of school sanctioned absences, please submit those in writing within the first two weeks of the course. These absences will be considered excused.

**Email Communication:** I will respond to your emails within 48 hours. Please put "GOVT 3630" in the subject line of your email.

**Technology:** Please turn off or silence your cell phone before coming to class. No laptops will be allowed during class discussion. If possible, please bring assigned texts to class in hard copy.

**Readings:** All assigned readings should be completed *before* each class. Students should come prepared to discuss the author's main argument, the evidence for this argument, and critiques of this argument. All assignments will be posted on our course Blackboard site. Students should check this site regularly for announcements and details on course assignments. The assignments listed on the syllabus may be subject to minor changes throughout the semester. If changes are made, they will be announced in class as well as posted on Blackboard.

**Academic Integrity:** If there is a question as to whether you should cite something, err on the side of caution and cite it. You must cite the ideas of others—even if you are not directly quoting them—as well as facts and figures. Make sure that you provide as specific a citation as possible; if an author discusses an idea in one section or one page, cite the specific section or page instead of the full article or book. To review Bowdoin's academic honor code and the definition of plagiarism, visit the following site: <http://www.bowdoin.edu/studentaffairs/student-handbook/college-policies/>.

**Students Accommodations:** Please contact me at the beginning of the semester if specific accommodations are required for papers or exams.

**Grading Policy:** Except in extreme cases—such as documented medical emergencies—late assignments will lose one-third of a letter grade per day. Receiving a paper extension because of an absence requires notice from the Student Health Center or your academic Dean, preferably prior to the due date. Please note that no student can pass this course without completing all assignments. Students are responsible for retaining a copy of their papers until they have received a grade.

Grades are assigned according to the following grading scale:

A	100-94	C+	79-77
A-	93-90	C	76-74
B+	89-87	C-	73-70
B	86-84	D	69-60
B-	83-80	F	<60

## **Course Assessments**

**Class Participation & Reading Reflections (30%):** You are expected to have read and carefully thought about each of the required course readings. Prepare to come to each class ready to explain each author's primary arguments and critique the author's methods evidence, and conclusions. To help you prepare for class discussion and focus on key issues raised by the readings, you will be expected to submit one short (1-2 double-spaced pages) reading response paper each class. You do not need to turn in a response paper on the day you lead class discussion (see below). These short papers will be graded on a Credit-Fail basis. In addition, more than one unexcused absence in the semester will have a detrimental effect on your participation grade.

**Research Project (50%):** You will conduct an original research project on a course topic of your choosing. Unless otherwise noted, please submit the following to me at [rgibbons@bowdoin.edu](mailto:rgibbons@bowdoin.edu) as a Word email attachment by 5 p.m. on the required date. How your paper develops through each of these stages will be considered in assigning a final grade for the project.

<b>February 12</b>	One paragraph overview of research topic along with a working title
<b>February 14-15</b>	Individual meetings to review paper proposals
<b>February 26</b>	Proposal due
<b>March 9</b>	Full outline due
<b>April 25</b>	Rough draft of paper
<b>May 9</b>	Final version of paper due

**Leading Class Discussion (20%):** Twice during the semester, you and a partner will lead class discussion. The format for class is flexible, but it must include creating discussion questions for the class. These questions should be turned in to your instructor and classmates at the beginning of class. On each occasion you will submit a 5-page (double-spaced, 12-point font) analysis paper on the day's readings. This paper should identify the thesis of the assigned readings, outline the arguments and evidence used to prove that thesis, explain how the readings relate analytically to one another and to previous readings, and analyze the treatment that the readings received during discussion. Discussion leadership will usually be performed in pairs, but each leader is responsible for independently producing an analysis paper. Papers will be due on Blackboard by 5:00pm two days after the discussion.

## Course Schedule & Assignments

All readings are on Blackboard except for the three books offered by the campus bookstore for purchase:

- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (1981)
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (2001)
- Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Is the American Century Over?* (2015)

### Introduction

#### **1) January 22 (M): Introduction to the study of international order**

- Short articles sent via email

### Theories of Order

#### **2) January 24 (W): How is international order created?**

- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in the International System*, Chapter 1, pp. 1-49.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Boston, MA: McGraw Hill, 1979), Chapter 9, pp. 194-210.

#### **3) January 29 (M): What is the character of the U.S.-led international order?**

- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 3-49.
- John Bew, "[World Order: Many-Headed Monster or Noble Pursuit?](#)" *Texas National Security Review*, October 24, 2017.

#### **4) January 31 (W): What does it mean to consider the international system one of hierarchy? Hegemony?**

- David A. Lake, "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics," *International Security* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer, 2007), pp. 47-79.
- Carla Norrlof, *America's Global Advantage* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Chapter 2, pp. 11-29.

### The US-Led Order

#### **5) February 5 (M): Establishing order in the 1940s and beyond: The United Nations**

- [The 1941 Atlantic Charter](#)
- David L. Bosco, *Five to Rule Them All: The UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-38, pp. 249-256.
- Erik Voeten, "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force," *International Organization* Vol. 5, No. 3 (July 2005), pp. 527-557.

**6) February 7 (W): No class – Professor Away**

- In lieu of class: “The Cold War Order,” in Haass, Chapter 2, pp. 37-54.

**7) February 12 (M): Establishing order in the 1940s and beyond: The Marshall Plan**

- Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986), Chapters 13 and 14, pp. 386-438.
- Craig Parsons, “Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union,” *International Organization* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Winter, 2002), pp. 47-84.

**\*\*One paragraph research topic proposal due by 5pm\*\***

**8) February 14 (W): No class, one-on-one meetings to discuss paper proposals**

- Meetings will be by appointment on Wednesday and Thursday
- Start reading for Monday’s class

**9) February 19 (M): Establishing order in the 1940s and beyond: The U.S. Alliance System**

- Stanley R. Sloan, *NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered* (Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), pp. 13-39.
- [The North Atlantic Treaty](#), Washington D.C., April 4, 1949.
- Andrew T. Wolff, “The Future of NATO Enlargement After the Ukraine Crisis,” *International Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 5 (September 2015), pp. 1103-1121.
- Victor D. Cha, “Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia,” *International Security* Vol. 34, No. 3 (2009/2010), pp. 158-196.

**10) February 21 (W): Establishing order in the 1940s and beyond: U.S. military strength**

- Ken Young, “Revisiting NSC 68,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol.15, No. 1 (Winter 2013), pp. 3-33.
- Barry R. Posen, “Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony,” *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 1 (Summer, 2003), pp. 8-22 [**Note:** we are only reading a section of this article]
- Dylan Matthews, [“Defense spending in the U.S., in four charts,”](#) *The Washington Post* (Wonk Blog), August 28, 2012.
- Norrlof, *America’s Global Advantage*, Chapter 6, pp. 167-191.

**11) February 26 (M): Establishing order in the 1940s and beyond: The Liberal Economic System**

- [“The WTO and GATT: A Principled History,”](#) The Brookings Institute, 2016.
- Norrlof, *America’s Global Advantage*, pp. 94-114.
- Daniel J. Sargent, *A Superpower Transformed*, (Oxford University Press, 2015), Chapter 1, pp. 14-37.

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- Daniel Sargent, “The United States and Globalization in the 1970s” in *The Shock of the Global* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 49-64.

**\*\*Paper proposal due\*\***

**12) February 28 (W): Post-Cold War: A New World Order? The End of History?**

- Hal Brands, *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 274-335.
- SKIM: Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest* No. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 3-18.

**13) March 5 (M): Post-Cold War: Unipolarity**

- G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno and William C. Wohlforth, “Introduction: Unipolarity, State Behavior, and Systemic Consequences,” *World Politics* Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 1-27.
- Gerard Ruggie, “Third Try at World Order? America and Multilateralism after the Cold War,” *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 109, No. 4 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 553-570.

**14) March 7 (W): Post-Cold War: Unipolarity**

- Michael Mastanduno, “System Maker and Privilege Taker U.S. Power and the International Political Economy,” *World Politics* Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 121–54.
- Martha Finnemore, “Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn’t All It’s Cracked Up to Be,” *World Politics* Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 58–85.

**\*\*March 9: Full outline of research paper due \*\***

**March 12, 14, 19 & 21: No Class, Spring Break**

**Tools of order creation**

**15) March 26 (M): Tools of Order Creation: Hegemonic Socialization**

- G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, “Socialization and Hegemonic Power,” *International Organization* Vol. 44, No. 3 (Summer, 1990), pp. 283-315.
- Carol Atkinson, “Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972–2000,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 50, No. 3 (September 2006), pp. 509–537.

**16) March 28 (W): Tools of Order Creation: Prestige, Soft Power, and Institutional Power**

- Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York, NY: PublicAffairs, 2004), Chapter 1, pp. 1-32.
- Daniel H. Nexon and Paul Musgrave, “Defending Hierarchy from the Moon to the Indian Ocean: Symbolic Capital and Political Dominance in Early Modern China and the Cold War,” Forthcoming, *International Organization*.
- Axel Dreher, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and James Raymond Vreeland, “Global horse trading: IMF loans for votes in the United Nations Security Council,” *European Economic Review* Vol. 53 (2009), pp. 742 - 757.

**17) April 2 (M): Tools of Order Creation: Diplomacy**

- Various authors in *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy*, edited by Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), Introduction, Chapter 4, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7.
- Stephen M. Walt, “[Which Works Best: Force or Diplomacy?](#)” *ForeignPolicy.com*, August 21, 2013.

**18) April 4 (W): Tools of Order Creation: Coercive Power**

- Elizabeth Rosenberg, Zachary K. Goldman, Daniel Drezner & Julia Solomon-Strauss, [\*The New Tools Of Economic Warfare: Effects And Effectiveness Of Contemporary U.S. Financial Sanctions\*](#) (Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, 2016).
- David C. Gompert, Hans Binnendijk, “[The Power to Coerce Countering Adversaries Without Going to War.](#)” (Washington, DC: RAND Corporation 2016).

**19) April 9 (M): Tools of Order Creation: Military Power**

- Review [this list of U.S. military engagements](#)
- Watch “The History of the World” (April 1969-May 1970), (Episode 8 of Ken Burns and Lynn Novack’s *The Vietnam War* (PBS).
- Lawrence Freedman, “The Gulf war and the new world order,” *Survival* Vol. 33, No. 3 (1991), pp. 195-209.
- Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), Chapter 6, pp. 141-166.
- David Vine, “[Where in the World Is the U.S. Military?](#)” *www.Politico.com* (July / August 2015).
- Christopher Preble, “[New Rules for U.S. Military Intervention.](#)” *War on the Rocks*, September 20, 2016.

Case study: U.S. Tools of Hegemony and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime

**20) April 11 (W): Case Study**

- Gibbons, *The Hegemon’s Toolkit*, Chapters TBD

**21) April 16 (M): Case Study**

- Gibbons, *The Hegemon’s Toolkit*, Chapters TBD



## Decline of the U.S.-led order?

### **22) April 18 (W): What does decline look like?**

- Gilpin, *War and Change in the International System*, Chapters 5-6, pp. 186-230.
- Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Is the American Century Over?* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2015), Chapters 1-3.

### **23) April 23 (M): Debates over Decline**

- Finish: Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Is the American Century Over?* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2015), Chapter 4-7.
- Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure," *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 41–78.
- Robert Lieber, "[Is American decline real?](#)" *Salon.com*, May 14, 2012.

### **24) April 25 (W): Debates over Decline**

- G. John Ikenberry, "The end of liberal international order?" *International Affairs* Vol. 94, No. 1 (January 2018), pp. 7–23.
- Christopher Layne, "The US–Chinese power shift and the end of the Pax Americana," *International Affairs* Vol. 94, No. 1 (January 2018), pp. 89–111.
- Doug Stokes, "Trump, American hegemony and the future of the liberal international order," *International Affairs* Vol. 94, No. 1 (January 2018), pp. 133–150.

## **\*\*Rough draft of research paper due\*\***

### **25) April 30 (M): What would a Chinese order look like?**

- Bentley B. Allan, Srdjan Vucetic, and Ted Hopf, "The Distribution of Identity and the Future of International Order: China's Hegemonic Prospects," Forthcoming, *International Organization*.
- Charles A. Kupchan, "Unpacking hegemony: the Social Foundations of Hierarchical Order," in *Power Order and Change in World Politics* (ed. G. John Ikenberry). SKIM pp. 19-52. READ pp. 53-60.
- Other short articles via email

### **26) May 2 (W): Research presentation panels**

- You will be assigned to read and comment on student research papers.

### **27) May 7 (M): Research presentation panels**

- You will be assigned to read and comment on student research papers.

### **28) May 9 (W): Research presentation panels**

- You will be assigned to read and comment on student research papers.

**FINAL PAPER DUE: Wednesday, May 16 by 5pm via email**