

College of Continuing Education

The University of Oklahoma

Advanced Programs

Course Title: Morality and U. S. Foreign Policy

Course Number: PSC 5522-220

Course Description: This course will frame its announced topic in terms of the obligations of the United States of American as a hegemonic military power in the post-Cold War era. To begin, however, we will put in place some foundations. Thus, we will begin with two classic treatments of the morality of empire and of morality in international relations: Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, and Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. Thucydides offers a classical exposition of the morality of empire, and first raises the competing claims of national interest and justice in foreign relations. Kant frames the moral obligations of sovereign states in a nation-state system initiated by the Treaty of Westphalia, which is still with us today in fundamental respects. The dilemma posed by these thinkers is, what obligations do nations have to each other and to humanity itself?

Our attention will then turn to the role of the United States in the world today. We will consider the Bush administration's doctrine of preemptive war and its application in Iraq. We will also discuss the Bush administration's approach to foreign policy, and the related question of America's role in the world and best approach to fulfilling that role. We will begin with the Bush administration's case for itself by discussing the National Security Memorandum of October 2002. Then, we will discuss alternative perspectives. In *Colossus*, the British historian Niall Ferguson argues that American is an imperial power even though we refuse to admit it. Because of our hesitant approach to the application of our power, we are unable to fulfill the obligations of empire even as we hold its strings in our hands. From Ferguson's point of view, it would appear, the Bush Doctrine does not go far enough and has been only hesitantly applied. In *America Unbound*, two American scholars explicate and critique the Bush administration's foreign policy. Ivo Daalder and James Lindsey argue that Bush has taken a radical departure from the post World War II internationalist approach that proved so effective in winning the Cold War. They assess the possible consequences for the future of America's role in the world.

So these are our main topics. Along the way we will take up specific foreign policy issues as they arise.

Class Dates, Location, and Hours: July 26-31, 2005 - Mildenhall, England. See Site Manager for classroom location. Class Hours: Tue-Fri 6:00-9:30 p.m.; Sat-Sun 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

Last Day to Enroll or Drop without Penalty: June 27, 2005

Site Manager: Allison Heslin. Field Assistant: Erica Carroll. Phone: DSN 238-4172; CIV 44-1638-54-4172. DSN Fax: 238-4172; E-mail: apmildenhall@ou.edu

Course Professor: Ronald M. Peters, Ph.D.

Mailing Address: The University of Oklahoma
Carl Albert Center
Monnet Hall, Room 101
Norman, OK 73019

Telephone Number: (405) 325-6372 **Fax Number:** (405) 325-6419

E-mail Address: rpeters@ou.edu

Professor availability: The professor will be available via e-mail to students before and after the class sessions. On-site office hours are half an hour before and after each class session, or by appointment.

Textbook(s) and Instructional Materials:

Student materials are available at the Follett/AP Bookstore at www.oklahomaunion.bkstr.com. Orders may also be placed by telephone at 866-369-9713 (toll free in the U.S.) or 405-325-5960 (outside the U.S.). E-mail orders may be sent to oklahomaunion@bkstr.com. Representatives are available from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. CST Monday through Thursday and 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. CST on Friday. Faxed orders may be placed 24 hours a day to 866-223-5607 (toll free in the U.S.) or 405-325-1557 (outside the U.S.).

01 Thucydides (1998). *The peloponnesian war* (Jennifer Robert, Editor) (Walter Blanco, Translator). New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. ISBN 0393971678. **(Text prices are available online.)**

02 Ferguson, Niall (2004). *Colossus: The price of America's empire*. New York: Penguin Group (USA) Inc. ISBN 1594200130. **(Text prices are available online.)**

03 Lindsey, James & Daalder, Ivo (2003). *America unbound: The Bush revolution in foreign policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. ISBN 0815716885. **(Text prices are available online.)**

04 Kant, Immanuel (2003). *To perpetual peace: A philosophic sketch*. (Ted Humphrey, Translator). Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. ISBN 0872206912. **(Text prices are available online.)**

05 Selected readings are available on the course Blackboard web page.

Materials posted on the OU Blackboard System:

1. Access the OU Blackboard Page at: <https://ou.blackboard.com/>.
2. Enter OU NetID (4+4) and password.
3. You will be directed to the course materials for the courses in which you are enrolled.

If the student needs additional assistance, contact the Site Manager.

Note: The Follett/AP Bookstore is the Advanced Programs contractual textbook provider. Should text changes become necessary after publication of the course syllabus, Advanced Programs will facilitate text returns/refunds only for texts purchased through the Follett/AP Bookstore.

Course Objectives:

1. To consider the underlying philosophical foundations of morality in international relations and foreign policy.
2. To examine America's role in the world today and the obligations it imposes upon the United States.
3. To discuss United States foreign policy in moral perspective.

Assignments, Grading, and Due Dates:

Pre-class Paper: Students are asked to bring to class on the first day a paper not to exceed 10, double-spaced pages in length that addresses the following topic. One-third of your course grade will be based on this paper.

Topic. Two of the most famous dialogues in *The Peloponnesian War* are the debates between Cleon Diodotus, which appear in Book 3 (read pp. 102-132, paragraphs 3: 1-87), and the Melian Debate, which appears in Book 5 (read 227-331, paragraphs 5: 84-116). Discuss the relationship of justice and expediency as presented in these dialogues. Do the two dialogues offer similar lessons about justice and expediency? Who, among the speakers, seems to you to present the strongest argument? Explain your position.

Participation. Students are expected to participate in class discussions in a thoughtful and informed way. One third of the course grade will be based on my assessment of your contributions to class discussion.

Take-Home Final. Students will be asked to electronically submit a final exam within two weeks of the class. The final exam will address issues that have been discussed during the class, and will be tailored to the material we have actually covered. The exact assignment will be given to you in class. One-third of your course grade will be based on this exam. In submitting your take-home final, please use the following template for the file name.

YOURLASTNAME5522FINAL

Please note: There are many editions of Thucydides and Kant respectively, and both books can be found on the internet. You may already own these books or prefer a different edition or to access them online. I have ordered the Norton Critical Edition of Thucydides because it is both complete and provides commentary. *Perpetual Peace* is of course, brief, and so you should read all of it and its appendices. To facilitate your reading of Thucydides, I provide the following specific passages. The *History of the Peloponnesian War* is divided into numbered books and chapters that are, for the most part, individual paragraphs. So, in what follows, I offer book and paragraph numbers, and the page numbers for the Norton edition. As you will find, we will be focusing on those passages involving speeches, dialogues, and treaties, rather than the narratives of battles. You may need to read some passages before and after these to set the context of the assigned passages.

Book 1:

pp. 1-20 [paragraphs 1-45]

pp. 26-35 [66-88]

pp. 45-48 [118-125]

pp. 54-57 [13-146]

Book 2:

pp. 71-83 [34-65]

Book 3:

pp. 102-132 [1-87]

Book 4:

pp. 144-160 [1-41]

pp. 165-168 [58-65]

pp. 186-194 [117-134]

Book 5:

pp. 195-206 [1-26]

pp. 213-215 [46-48]

pp. 224-225 [76-80]

pp. 227-231 [84-116]

Book 6:

pp. 232-244 [1-29]

pp. 257-269 [63-93]

Book 7:

pp. 278-279 [10-16]

pp. 297-308 [60-87]

Other readings

Other readings will include articles posted on Blackboard. I am asked to submit this syllabus in December, 2004 and am not prepared at the moment to provide a listing of these articles at this time. See the instructions for accessing Blackboard.

We will use Blackboard to post documents and announcements. You should check it regularly starting at the beginning of the semester and continuing until it is over. See instructions for accessing Blackboard on page two of this syllabus. I will be posting some required course documents as well as other supplementary readings that may be of interest.

Articles or other required reading material will be posted in the Course Document area of Blackboard. Please let me know if you are having any difficulty accessing these materials.

Course Plan

We will work our way through the material, beginning with Thucydides and Kant. We will be considering the Bush administration's doctrine of preemptive war, and so you should be sure and read the National Security Memorandum and any related articles that are posted. Then we will discuss *Colossus* and *American Unbound*.

Grading: This is a letter-graded course: A, B, C, D, or F.

Companion Directed Reading: PSC 5521-720

Textbook(s) and Instructional Materials:

06 Prestowitz, Clyde V. (2004). *Rogue nation: American unilateralism and the failure of good intentions*. New York: Basic Books. ISBN 0465062806. **(Text prices are available online.)**

Course Objectives: The CDR (Companion Directed Reading) is offered to enhance and reinforce the objectives of PSC 5522.

Assignment: Write a paper of ten, double-spaced pages in length. This paper should not be a book review per se. That is, do not try and summarize the book. Instead, discuss Prestowitz's main thesis in the context of this course and other literature to which you have been exposed. What case does Prestowitz make, how does he compare it to the other arguments that we have considered, and what do we learn about America's place in the world?

Your paper should be submitted electronically by the due date specified. In submitting the CDR please use the following template for the file name.

YOURLASTNAME5522CDR

Grading: This CDR is graded Satisfactory or Unsatisfactory (S/U). A grade of S is equivalent to B or better.

CDR Due Date: August 21, 2005

NOTICE: Failure to meet this CDR Due Date could result in a grade of U or I (Incomplete), depending on the professor's guidelines, and may adversely impact Tuition Assistance and/or Financial Aid.

ATTENDANCE/GRADE POLICY NOTICE

Students are required to attend all classes and submit coursework according to the assigned deadlines. If you anticipate any deviations from the attendance or coursework submission requirements, you must coordinate with the professor for approval in advance of the on-site seminar. Professors *are not required* to allow missed class time or to accept late coursework. **Failure to meet attendance guidelines or coordinate deviations with the professor may result in a lower grade being assigned. Failure to meet the coursework submission requirements or coordinate deviations with the professor may result in a grade of I or U being assigned, or the work may not be accepted.** Professors *are not required* to allow students a year to make up grades of "Incomplete." Professors may adopt guidelines that are more restrictive than the University maximum of one year. Professors understand the workload and associated issues of students in a military population, and they will do everything they can to help you meet your educational goals. You must understand, however, that the *guidelines and requirements are at the professor's discretion*. This policy applies to the two credit hour course, the one-credit hour Companion Directed Reading and the three- credit hour online course.

Government regulations for completing coursework frequently differ from university requirements. **Students are responsible for meeting the guidelines of Tuition Assistance and Veterans Assistance.** See the education counselor at your local education center for a complete description of your TA or VA requirements.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

Honesty is a fundamental precept in all academic activities and ... [you] have a special obligation to observe the highest standards of honesty. Academic misconduct in any form is inimical to the purposes and functions of the University and is therefore unacceptable and is rigorously proscribed. Academic misconduct includes:

- a) cheating (using unauthorized materials, information, or study aids in any academic exercise), plagiarism, falsification of records, unauthorized possession of examinations, intimidation, and any and all other actions that may improperly affect the evaluation of a student's academic performance or achievement;
- b) assisting others in any such act;
- c) or attempting to engage in such acts.

All acts of academic misconduct will be reported and adjudicated as prescribed by the [Student Code](#) of the University of Oklahoma.

***Please see OU website for details concerning OU Academic Honesty policy set forth by the Honor Council at www.ou.edu/honorcouncil.**

ACCOMMODATION STATEMENT

The [College of Continuing Education](#) [Advanced Programs] is committed to making its activities as accessible as possible. The College and the University provide a range of special services for those with disabilities. If you anticipate a need for some of these services, please contact your OU Site Manager.

Advanced Programs policy is to order books in paperback if available. Courses, dates, and professors are subject to change. Please check with your OU Site Manager. Students should retain a copy of any assignments that are mailed to the professor for the course.

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RONALD M. PETERS, Jr., Ph.D.

EDUCATION

1974 Ph.D. in Political Science, Indiana University

CURRENT POSITIONS

Advanced Programs Professor since 1975

Regent's Professor, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center

FREQUENTLY TAUGHT ADVANCED PROGRAMS COURSES

PSC 5172	Bureaucracy and Politics
PSC 5222	American Foreign Policy
PSC 5262	Congress in the Political System
PSC 5222	American Foreign Policy
PSC 5392	Regulatory Policy
PSC 5452	The Presidency
PSC 6172	Leading Public Organizations

MAJOR AREAS OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTEREST

Political Theory, American Government, Congress and Congressional Leadership

REPRESENTATIVE PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

“The Demise of Newt Gingrich as a Transformational Leader: Does Organizational Leadership Theory Apply to Legislative Leaders?” *Organizational Dynamics*, January 2002.

“Southern Party Leaders in the Postreform House,” in John Kuzenski, Larry Moreland, and Robert Steed, eds., *Eye of the Storm: The American South in the Postreform House*, (Westport, CONN: Praeger, 2001).

“Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The Case of Newt Gingrich,” in Nicol Rae and Colton Campbell, eds., *New Majority or Old Minority: The Impact of the Republicans on Congress*, (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 1999).

With Vega, A. (1996, Spring). Principal-agent theories of party leadership under preference homogeneity: The case of Simpson-Mazzoli. *Congress & the Presidency*.

Peters, R. M. (1994, revised paperback edition, 1995). *The Speaker: Leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Congressional Quarterly, Inc. Washington, D.C. (editor and author of two chapters).

Peters, R. M. (1992). *The Next Generation: Dialogue Between Leaders and Students*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

With Hertzke, A. D. (Eds.). (1991). *The Atomistic Congress: An Interpretation of Congressional Change*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe Press.

Peters, R. M. (1990, 1997). *The American Speakership: The Office in Historical Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Peters, R. M. (1978). *The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780: A Social Compact*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Publications have appeared in *The Political Science Reviewer*, *The Encyclopedia of American Political Parties*, *Journal of Legislative Studies* and *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*.

MAJOR PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association
American Society for Public Administration
Southwest Political Science Association
Oklahoma Political Science Association

REPRESENTATIVE HONORS AND AWARDS RECEIVED

Regents' Teaching Award in 1994
Named Outstanding Oklahoma Political Scientist for 1995