

# IR 350: Technology and U.S. Foreign Policy

Rev. 1

WHEN: Tuesdays 1:15pm-4:05pm

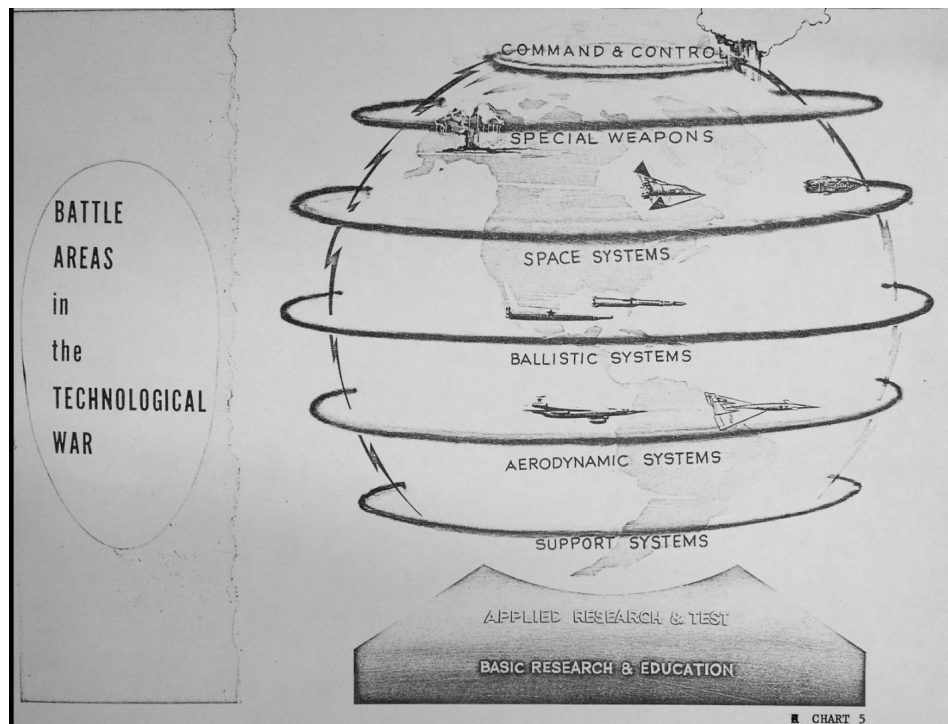
WHERE: Dwight Hall 202

INSTRUCTOR: Bryan Nakayama

EMAIL: [bnakayam@mtholyoke.edu](mailto:bnakayam@mtholyoke.edu)

OFFICE HOURS: 10am-11:00am Monday & Wednesday and by appointment

OFFICE: Skinner 211



## COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course examines how the United States has sought to manage global politics through technology since World War II. Beginning with a discussion of how to understand the relationship

between technology and politics this course explore such topics as nuclear weapons and peaceful nuclear technologies, space exploration and national prestige, the relationship between the Vietnam War and contemporary border surveillance, Internet technologies and the Arab Spring, and the rise of drone warfare.

## I ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADES

✓ Attendance and Participation 15%

✓ Two Analysis Papers 2 x 15% = 30%

✓ Research Paper 55%

1. One page proposal 5% **Due 10/24**
2. (Tentative) Thesis, Detailed Outline, and annotated bibliography 20% **Due 11/28**
3. Final Draft 30% **Due 12/19 by noon**

### **Attendance and Class Participation 15%**

Students are expected to arrive in class having read and thought about the assigned materials. Unexcused absences, side conversations, late arrivals, or early departures will detract from your overall participation grade. Being an active participant in class requires both contributing your own perspective as well as carefully listening to and engaging with others.

### **Analysis Papers 2 x 15% = 30%**

Two to three pages each. These papers will be written at the student's discretion, however, one paper must be submitted by 10/17. Students will not be expected to engage in original research for these papers but rather to critically analyze a primary source document read in class. These papers should develop an argument that answers the following questions: 1) How does the author understand the role between technology and politics? 2) What effects does the author believe technology has? 3) To what foreign policy end is technology being employed?

### **Research Paper 55%**

12-15 pages. The research paper is written on a topic of your choosing, subject to the approval of the instructor. Students should plan to meet with me early in the semester to discuss potential topics. As this is a large paper covering a complex issue area, you will build up to the final draft through a series of intermediate assignments. The successful completion of the paper is contingent on taking each of these assignments seriously. *Details on these assignments, and a description of the requirements and expectations will be distributed a minimum of two weeks before they are due.*

**\*\*\*\*All written assignments are due as a hard copy\*\*\*\***

## II REQUIRED MATERIALS

This course requires that you purchase two books. Copies of these books will also be placed on reserve in the library.

- Grégoire Chamayou, *A Theory of the Drone* (New York, New York: The New Press, 2015)
- Fred Kaplan, *Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyberwar* (New York, New York: Simon / Schuster, 2016)

Additionally, there are three optional books for this course. We will be reading substantial portions of these books in class, which will be distributed via pdf. Only purchase if you would prefer a hard copy.

- Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, vol. Third (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
- Walter A. McDougall, *...the Heavens and the Earth* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985)
- Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

The remainder of the readings can be found on the course Moodle.

## III EXPECTATIONS AND POLICIES

### Assignments and Due Dates

Due dates for assignments will be strictly enforced, **the penalty for an unexcused late assignment is 1/3 of a letter grade per day**. Of course contingencies arise and exceptions to a due date will be granted on a case by case basis. However, **extensions will not be granted after the assignment is due**. In fairness to classmates, students will be required to provide some sort of written documentation for their late work or excused absence from class. Please contact me well ahead of time if you will need an extension or other accomodation. Course incompletes and final paper extensions will be granted in accordance with college policy (See: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/academicdeans/incompletes-extensions>).

### Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is critical to a productive learning and classroom environment. All students are expected to make a good faith effort to complete their assignments with *fairness* and *honesty*. Not only is academic dishonesty unfair to your classmates, it also limits your own ability to

learn and develop critical faculties. Using proper citation and attribution practices is critical to respecting the work of others and demonstrating the hard work you are doing.

An in-class tutorial on citation and a guide will be distributed in advance of the first paper so that we can establish a baseline understanding of what constitutes plagiarism and proper attribution. This means that will be zero tolerance policy for cases of plagiarism. Therefore, assignments that plagiarize other sources will garner an automatic F grade. Repeated instances of plagiarism will result in an F grade for the course.

## **Fostering a Positive Classroom Environment**

Effective learning can only occur in a positive classroom environment, therefore we have a shared responsibility in ensuring that everyone in the class feels welcome to contribute. Over the course of this class we will be discussing issues of war and violence and oftentimes it is easy to forget the real human suffering involved in these events. Therefore, it is incumbent on us to continually recognize that we are talking about things and events that impacted real people and speak about them with due respect. Everyone enters the classroom with their own unique perspective and relationship to historical events. Events that seem historically abstract to you may have involved the family or friends of a classmate. It is critical that we take care to recognize this as we go through class.

If students have any concerns about the conduct of class please do not hesitate to contact me by email, online anonymous comment box (<https://goo.gl/yG787e>), or in office hours.

## **Alternative Accommodations**

All students are welcome in class and should provide reasonable notice to myself for any potential alternative accommodations needed.

## **Email Policy**

When emailing me regarding the course please include in the subject line the course number (IR 350) and a short description of your query. I will only respond to emails between the hours of 7am-9pm, please plan accordingly for urgent queries.

## **Recording Policy**

With the exception of an AccessAbility accommodation, all audio/visual recording of class sessions is expressly prohibited.

## **If and When Problems Arise**

While I expect students to come to every class prepared and ready to engage in discussion I also realize that life has many complications. University approved reasons for missing due dates

or classes will be honored given proper documentation. If life throws you a curveball that will impact your ability to succeed in class I strongly recommend that you contact me immediately so we can work out a solution. On innumerable occasions students have missed opportunities to do better in class by failing to communicate with me. My role is to be an educator and not a disciplinarian, so please get in touch with me the moment you know you will have difficulty fulfilling course requirements.

## IV COURSE GOALS

This course is an advanced seminar with the following goals:

1. Students will be able to identify the overarching policies and beliefs that guided the uses of technology in United States Foreign Policy since the Second World War.
2. Students will be able to think critically about the relationship between technology and politics.
3. Students will be able to interpret and contextualize primary sources.
4. Students will be able to read U.S. National Security documents.
5. Students will be able to give presentations on complex historical topics.
6. Students will be able to understand the role of ideas in history.
7. Students will be able to write a qualitative research paper.

## V CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

### September 12: Introductions and Conceptual Tools

*What is the fundamental relationship between politics and technology? Is there one?* (41pp)

Langdon Winner, "Do Artifacts Have Politics?," *Daedalus* 109, no. 1 (1980): 121–136

John Law, chap. Power, Discretion, Strategy in *A Sociology of Monsters* (New York, New York: Routledge, 1991), 165–191

*What about international politics and foreign policy?* (77 pp)

Maximilian Mayer, Mariana Carpes, and Ruth Knoblich, "The Global Politics of Science and Technology: An Introduction," in *The Global Politics of Science and Technology*, ed. Maximilian Mayer, Mariana Carpes, and Ruth Knoblich (Berlin, Germany: Springer-Verlag, 2014), 1-23

*This chapter provides a useful overview of the various approaches taken to technology from the perspective of foreign policy and global politics. It will serve as a useful resource for your research papers.*

Daniel R. McCarthy, *Power, Information Technology, and International Relations Theory* (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 19-73

## The Nuclear Age

### September 19: What is the meaning of Nuclear Weapons?

*World War II: Science, Technology, and the American State* (25pp)

Scientific and Technological Resources as Military Assets, Eisenhower, Dwight, 1946, Papers of Henry Arnold, Box: 6, Folder: 1: Correspondence Chronological 1946-1947, Library of Congress Manuscript Division

Anna Finkbeiner, *The JASONS: A Secret History of Science's Postwar Elite* (New York, New York: Penguin, 2007), 1-18

*What did the bomb mean?* (42pp)

*Memorandum on "Political and Social Problems" from Members of the "Metallurgical Laboratory" of the University of Chicago (aka Franck Report), 1945*

Harry S. Truman, *Statement by the President Announcing the Use of the A-Bomb at Hiroshima*, The American Presidency Project, [Online; accessed July 23, 2017], 8-6-1945, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=12169>

Selections from *One World or None: A Report to the American Public on the Full Meaning of the Atomic Bomb*, 1946

*What has the bomb meant?* (77pp)

Michael Mandelbaum, "The Bomb, Dread, and Eternity," *International Security* 5, no. 2 (1980): 3-23

John Mueller, *Atomic Obsession* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 55-72

Selections from *Conference for a Nuclear Free Pacific*

Joseph Masco, "Mutant Ecologies: Radioactive Life in Post-Cold War, New Mexico," in *The Nuclear Borderlands: The Manhattan Project in Post-Cold War New Mexico* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 289-329

### September 26: Nuclear Strategy for War and Peace

*Evolving Strategy* (117pp)

Selections Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, vol. Third (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

*Nuclear Intellectuals* (85pp)

Matthew Connelly et al., ““General, I Have Fought Just as Many Nuclear Wars as You Have”: Forecasts, Future Scenarios, and the Politics of Armageddon,” *American Historical Review* 117, no. 5 (2012): 1431–1460

Carol Cohn, “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals,” *Signs* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687–718

*NB: This article contains an analysis of sexual themes.*

Jutta Weldes, “The Cultural Production of Crises: U.S. Identity and Missiles in Cuba,” in *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger*, ed. Jutta Weldes et al. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 35–60

### **October 3: No Class—Mountain Day**

### **October 10: No Class—Mid-semester Break**

### **October 17: The Nuclear Taboo / What Actually Happened**

*Selections from Nina Tannenwald, The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

## **The Space Age**

### **October 24: Missiles, Surprise, and Spies...Space until Sputnik**

\*\*\*\*PAPER PROPOSAL DUE IN CLASS\*\*\*\*

*How it happened* (97pp)

Walter A. McDougall, *...the Heavens and the Earth* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 79-176

*What they were thinking* (40pp)

Aristide V. Grosse, “II-5: A.V. Grosse, The Research Institute of Temple University, to Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development, “Report on the Present Status of the Satellite Problem,” August 25, 1953, pp. 2-7,” in *Exploring the Unknown: Selected Documents in the History of the U.S. Civil Space Program Volum I: Organizing for Exploration*, ed. John Logsdon et al. (Washington, D.C.: NASA History Office, 1995), 266–269

Paul Kescskameti, *RM-567: The Satellite Rocket Vehicle: Political and Psychological Problems*, technical report (Santa Monica, California: RAND Corporation, October 1950)

Technological Capabilities Panel, *Report by the Technological Capabilities Panel of the Science Advisory Committee*, FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1955–1957, NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY, VOLUME XIX, [Online; accessed July 31, 2017], 2-14-1955, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v19/d9>

National Security Council Planning Board, *NSC 5520* (May 1955)

*What they told us* (21pp)

Selections from *Man Will Conquer Space Soon*, Collier's Weekly, March 22, 1952

Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Radio and Television Address to the American People on Science in National Security*, [Online; accessed 6-Feb-2017], November 7, 1957, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10946>

The White House, *Introduction to Outer Space* (Washington, District of Columbia: Government Printing Office, 1958)

## **October 31: From Prestige to Global Domination**

*To infinity and beyond* (120pp)

Walter A. McDougall, *...the Heavens and the Earth* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 177-236, 301-360

John F. Kennedy, *John F. Kennedy Moon Speech - Rice Stadium*, NASA, [Online; accessed July 31, 2017], 9-12-1962, <https://er.jsc.nasa.gov/seh/ricetalk.htm>

*And then came Star Wars (and Reagan...)* (65pp)

Maxwell Hunter III, *Strategic Dynamics and Space-Laser Weaponry*, technical report (Sunnyvale, California: Lockheed Missiles & Space Company, 1977)

Ret. Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham, "Toward a New U.S. Strategy: Bold Strokes Rather than Increments," *Strategic Review* 9 (Spring 1981): 9-16

Ronald Reagan, *Address to the Nation on Defense and National Security*, [Online; accessed 10-May-2017], March 23, 1983, <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1983/32383d.htm>

James Clay Moltz, *The Politics of Space Security: Strategic Restraint and the Pursuit of National Interests* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 176-227

## **Cyberspace**

### **November 7: A Cyber-Politics?**

*Configurations of Control?* (65pp)

S. Lukasik, "Why the Arpanet Was Built," *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing* 33, no. 3 (March 2011): 4-21

Laura Denardis, *Internet Architecture as a Proxy for State Power*, [Online; accessed 10-May-2017], August 2015, [http://www.ipjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/IPJustice\\_Journal\\_DeNardis\\_Internet\\_Architecture.pdf](http://www.ipjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/IPJustice_Journal_DeNardis_Internet_Architecture.pdf)

*NB: Truly one of the best scholars on the politics of the Internet architecture.*



Laura DeNardis, "The Internet Design Tensions between Surveillance and Security," *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing* 37, no. 2 (April 2015): 72–83

Daniel R. McCarthy, *Power, Information Technology, and International Relations Theory* (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 74-100

#### *The Internet and Democracy Promotion* (138pp)

Hillary Clinton, *The prepared text of U.S. of Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech, delivered at the Newseum in Washington, D.C.*, [Online; accessed 10-May-2017], January 21, 2010, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/01/21/internet-freedom/>

Hillary Clinton, *SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON REMARKS ON INTERNET FREEDOM*, [Online; accessed 10-May-2017], February 15, 2011, [https://www.eff.org/files/filenode/clinton\\_internet\\_rights\\_wrongs\\_20110215.pdf](https://www.eff.org/files/filenode/clinton_internet_rights_wrongs_20110215.pdf)

Muzammil M. Hussain and Philip N. Howard, "What Best Explains Successful Protest Cascades? ICTs and the Fuzzy Causes of the Arab Spring," *International Studies Review* 15, no. 1 (2013): 48–66

Pamina Firchow, "A Cuban Spring? The Use of the Internet as a Tool of Democracy Promotion by United States Agency for International Development in Cuba," *Information Technology for Development* 19, no. 4 (2013): 347–356, ISSN: 02681102

Daniel R. McCarthy, *Power, Information Technology, and International Relations Theory* (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 101-121

Evgeny Morozov, *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* (New York, New York: Perseus, 2011), 1-56, 302-320

### **November 14: Cyberwars: From Information Age to Cyberology**

#### *How it happened* (143pp)

Fred Kaplan, *Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyberwar* (New York, New York: Simon / Schuster, 2016), 1-143

#### *A New Epoch of Warfare?* (44pp)

Atwood, Donald J, *Department of Defense Direction Number TS 3600.1*, DOD FOIA Online Reading Room, 12-21-1992, [http://www.esd.whs.mil/Portals/54/Documents/FOID/Reading%20Room/Other/14-F-0492\\_doc\\_01\\_Directive\\_TS-3600-1.pdf](http://www.esd.whs.mil/Portals/54/Documents/FOID/Reading%20Room/Other/14-F-0492_doc_01_Directive_TS-3600-1.pdf)

Colin Powell, *Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Memorandum of Policy No. 30 (CMOP); Command and Control Warfare*, Defense Technical Information Center, [Online; accessed June 11, 2017], 3-8-2013, <http://www.dtic.mil/docs/citations/ADA389344>

Air Force Office of the Chief of Staff, *Cornerstones of Information Warfare*, <http://www.c4i.org>, [Online; accessed May 25, 2017], 1995, <http://www.c4i.org/cornerstones.html>

George J. Stein, "Information Warfare," *Airpower Journal* IX, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 30–55

William B. Black Jr., "Thinking Out Loud About Cyberspace," *Cryptolog* XXIII, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 1-4

Author Redacted, "IO, IO, It's Off to Work We Go," *Cryptolog* XXIII, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 5-9

## **November 21: Cyberwars: A Fierce Domain**

*Warfare Made Anew?* (82pp)

Fred Kaplan, *Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyberwar* (New York, New York: Simon / Schuster, 2016), 145-190, 203-220, 265-285

*Further readings TBA*

## **Drones and Remote Control Warfare**

### **November 28: The Rise of the Modern Drone**

\*\*\**THESIS, DETAILED OUTLINE, AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OR DRAFT DUE IN CLASS*\*\*\*

*Modern Drones* (82pp)

Katharine Hall Kindervater, "The emergence of lethal surveillance: Watching and killing in the history of drone technology," *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 3 (2016): 223-238

Chris Woods, *The Story of America's Very First Drone Strike*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 30, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/05/america-first-drone-strike-afghanistan/394463/>

Brian Glyn Williams, "The CIA's Cover Predator Drone War in Pakistan, 2004-2010: The History of an Assassination Campaign," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 33 (2010): 871-892

Barack Obama, *Obama's Speech on Drone Policy*, *The New York Times*, 5-23-2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/24/us/politics/transcript-of-obamas-speech-on-drone-policy.html>

Jameel Jaffer, *The Drone Memos: Targeted Killing, Secrecy, and the Law* (New York, New York: The New Press, 2016), 36-56

*Colonialism and the Production of Space* (7pp)

Madiha Tahir, *Bombing Pakistan: How Colonial Legacy Sustains American Drones*, [http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2015/Tahir\\_FINAL%20Costs%20of%20War%206.7.15.pdf](http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2015/Tahir_FINAL%20Costs%20of%20War%206.7.15.pdf)

*A Grand Theory?* (59pp)

Grégoire Chamayou, *A Theory of the Drone* (New York, New York: The New Press, 2015), 1-59

**December 5: A Grand Theory? (pt 2)**

Grégoire Chamayou, *A Theory of the Drone* (New York, New York: The New Press, 2015), 60-227