

# World Politics

## Political Science 213

Fayerweather Hall 115

Amherst College

**FALL 2012**

<https://www.amherst.edu/people/facstaff/pmachala>

**(Edition: September 18, 2012)**

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*"All theory, dear friend, is gray, but the golden tree of actual life springs ever green."  
- Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*

*"History shows that human beings get it wrong, time and again. We think it must be one thing or the other, and it is always a third one."- Claude Levi-Strauss*

*"The more powerful a state and hence the more political a nation, the less inclined it is to explain the general principle governing social ills and seek out their causes by looking at the principle of the state, i.e., at the actual organization of society of which the state is the active, self-conscious and official expression. Political understanding is just political understanding because its thought does not transcend the limits of politics. The sharper and livelier it is the more incapable is it of comprehending social problems." - Karl Marx*

*"To read the newspaper is the modern man's morning-prayer." - Georg Hegel*

This is an introductory course which examines the interaction of military, political, economic, social and cultural forces in present-day world politics. Close attention is paid to the complex relationship between two central components of this system: great power relations and global capitalist dynamics. Among the topics covered are hegemonic stability and the rise and fall of the great powers, the changing role of state sovereignty, the strengths and weaknesses of international civil society, as well as the role of justice and international/transnational legal institutions in world politics. Other issues to be discussed include the relations of the world's sole superpower (the United States) vis-à-vis the newly emerging geopolitical centers of power, namely the European Union, China, India and Russia, as well as such regions as the Middle East and Latin America. The course does not rely on a single theoretical framework, be it (neo)realism, (neo)liberalism, constructivism or

historical materialism; instead, we will follow in the path of such world classics as Kautyilia, Sun Tzu, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Clausewitz, Kant, and Marx.

## SYLLABUS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

Prior each class, please consult the most recent electronic version of the syllabus for any changes in the forthcoming class readings. You can find this most recent version at any of three places:

(a) <https://www.amherst.edu/academiclife/departments/courses/0910S/POSC/POSC-13-0910S> OR (b) <http://www3.amherst.edu/~pmachala/Syllabi/> OR (c) the course's Moodle E-Reserve (the 4th item from the TOP, just bellow

 [News forum](#)

 [E-reserves E-Reserves Folder](#)

 [Video-reserves Video-Reserves Folder](#)

 [Syllabus](#)

- *The course is divided into THREE major parts and 26 sections. Unless otherwise indicated, each section corresponds to one class meeting.*

- **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

- Since my lectures are largely interpretative, I will not recapitulate the assigned readings. Therefore, *I will assume you have read them in advance of each class session.*
- *You are encouraged to post comments to at least 10 separate Moodle forums:* Each “forum” corresponds to one class meeting. No later than the preceding Sunday at NOON, I will post forum questions for the coming week classes. You in turn, please submit your comments no later than 10:00 pm on the day prior to the given class meeting. It is my hope that this exercise will enable you to better understand what you have read, and to more effectively organize your thoughts. Because these comments will be available to anyone enrolled in the course, I hope some of them will generate serious counter-comments, which will then spill over into our meetings. (*None of these comments will be graded or returned to you, though I will consult them if your final grade is borderline.*)
- **Snow Emergency:** In the event of a snow storm which would prevent me from driving to the College on the morning of our class, I will place a note in Moodle’s Forum that the class is cancelled. In such a case I will require from all of you during this cancelled class time (8:30-9:50am) to write a special essay on the class readings (on a topic which would be included in my note) and submit it Moodle’s Forum . *Again, none of these responses will be graded or returned to you, though I will consult them if your final grade is borderline.*
- **Regular class attendance is required.** (*Missing more than 3 classes will lower your course grade by a half a point; missing more than 5 classes will lower your course grade by one point; missing more than 7 will lower your course grade by one-and-half-points.*)

- **THREE in-class exam AND one online map quiz (the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> in-class exam will each count for 25% of the final grade; the 3<sup>rd</sup> in-class exam will count for 40% of the final grade and the online map quiz will count for 10% of the final grade.**
  - ❖ FIRST IN-CLASS EXAM (Thursday, September 27)
  - ❖ SECOND IN-CLASS EXAM (Thursday, October 25)
  - ❖ ONLINE MAP QUIZ (Tuesday, November 6) Note: The online map quiz may be taken in **Webster 102 on Tuesday, November 6 anytime between 6:00 and 9:00 pm.** The map quiz is self-scheduled and should take about 30 minutes to complete. Therefore, don't try to take the quiz after 8:30 pm.
  - ❖ **THIRD IN-CLASS EXAM (DURING THE EXAM PERIOD: the date and time will be determined by the registrar!!!!**

**VERY IMPORTANT- my policy on make-up in-class exams and the online quiz:**

“No makeup exams are given, but contact me by email (in advance of the exam) if you have a serious (e.g., medical) reason for missing the exam. Then get in touch with your class dean and only then if you are excused by the dean, your course grade will be based on your other completed work. If you do not have a valid excuse or if you fail to notify me and your dean **in advance**, you will receive a score of zero for the missed exam. (Travel plans **do not** constitute a valid excuse for missing an exam.)”

- **“As pursuant to the honor code, plagiarism, multiple submissions, or any other serious violations will result in failure for the course.”**

- **Moodle**

Throughout the course we will be relying heavily on Moodle. Therefore, it is incumbent upon you to familiarize yourself with its basic features. For example, throughout the semester, I will be posting on Moodle any new information about course-related events, such as speakers. Notification of any new reading material or a class cancellation due to snow emergency will also be posted on Moodle.

- **Materials to be Read**

- **ALL READINGS for this course either exist in an electronic form on Moodle Reserve website or on Frost Library Reserve. (On Moodle you will primarily find the journal articles, whereas Reserve you will find the books recommended for purchase.)**
- You may also purchase the overwhelming majority required readings in a multilith form which will be available in the Political Science Office, Room 103, Clark House. Indeed I strongly recommend that you purchase this course READER! To do so you will need to submit a REQUEST PURCHASE FORM, [https://www.amherst.edu/academiclife/departments/political\\_science/multilithorderform](https://www.amherst.edu/academiclife/departments/political_science/multilithorderform) . If you order this three-volume Course Reader, it will be ready to be picked up around September 19.
- **The following books are also strongly recommended for purchase at Amherst Books (on the corner of Main and South Pleasant Street):**

Thucydides, On Justice, Power and Human Nature (Hackett) [*Read Hackett edition/ otherwise you may read a different translation!!*]

Immanuel Kant, Perpetual Peace [*Read Hackett edition; otherwise you will read the wrong pages!!*]

Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince (Crofts Classics) [*Read Crofts Classics edition/ otherwise you may read a different translation!!*]

G. John Ikenberry, Liberal Leviathan : the origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, (August 2012).

## ○ GLOSSARY

- Books recommended for purchase are marked **(P)**. (They also exist on Frost Library reserve.)
- Readings which are **not marked with any letter** are available both on Moodle Reserve Website **AND** in one of three multilith packets.
- Readings which exist only on Moodle are marked **“Only on Moodle.”**
- In addition to the course Moodle Website, a number of readings can also be found on my personal website (<http://www.amherst.edu/~pmachala/>); these readings are marked **(PM)**. The easiest way to access this last group of readings is by using the electronic version of the syllabus and then clicking on the texts’ hyperlinks (**username: “student;” password: “student1213**). The links to these readings do not always work though a Mac; if you encounter a problem, try to open these readings on a PC (A majority of “PM” readings also exist as Moodle readings.)
- Throughout the course we will be referring to current events in world politics and American foreign policy. **Please try to read one major (U.S. or non-U.S.) newspaper on a regular (preferably daily) basis.**

## I. World Politics as (American) Political Science

### 1. COURSE OVERVIEW (Tuesday, September 4)

#### OPTIONAL

- Kenneth N. Waltz, “Why Iran Should Get the Bomb”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Also for class# 20)
- Sebastian Mallaby, “Europe’s Optional Catastrophe”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4 (Also for class #19)
- Graham Allison, “The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4.

- Bernard K. Gordon, “Trading Up in Asia”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4.
- Bjorn Lomborg, “Environmental Alarmism, Then and Now”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Also for class #26.)
- Michele Flournoy, Janine Davidson, “Obama’s New Global Posture”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Also for class#16.)
- Pratap Bhanu Mehta, “How India Stumbled”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4.
- Amatzia Baram, “Deterrence Lessons From Iraq”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4.
- Alexander Benard, “How to Succeed in Business”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4.
- Robert O. Keohane, “Hegemony and After”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Also for class #5.)
- Andrew J. Nathan, “Confucius and the Ballot Box”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Also for class #18.)
- Paul D. Miller, Micah Zenko, Michael A. Cohen, “National Insecurity”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4.
- Shannon O’Neal, Richard Lapper, Larry Rohter, Ronaldo Lemos, Ruchir Sharma, “How Busted Is Brazil”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Also for class #19.)
- Singer, J. D. (1996). "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations" World Politics 12(3). Also in Ikenberry, G. J. (1999). *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*. New York, Longman. OR, R.J. Art and R. Jervis (2010). *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues* (10th Edition), Longman , just 9 pages (453-561!!!)
- The National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World* (skim) <http://www.aicpa.org/research/cpahorizons2025/globalforces/downloadabledocuments/globaltrends.pdf>
- Walter A. McDougall, *You Can’t Argue with Geography* (E) <http://www.fpri.org/footnotes/065.200009.mcdougall.cantarguegeography.html>

## 2. The Rise and Fall of Great Powers OR the End of History? (Thursday, September 6)

Paul Kennedy, "[The relative decline of America](#)," The Atlantic, August, 1987 (PM) \*\*\*\*

Francis Fukuyama, "[The End of History?](#)," National Interest, No.16, summer 1989 (PM) \*\*\*\*

Francis Fukuyama, "Can Liberal Democracy Survive the decline of the Middle Class?," Foreign Affairs, January/February 212 \*\*

### OPTIONAL

Paul Kennedy, 大國の興亡：1500年から2000年までの経済の変遷と軍事闘争 / ポール・ケネディ ; 鈴木主税訳. D210 .K4616 1988 (UMass)

#### Video

Robert Hartmann, China rising: Back to the future, <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/IC16Ad01.html>

"The Rise of the Great Powers" sample clip (《大國崛起》選段：海洋時代) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tAub0ITbyJI>

"The Rise of the Great Powers" sample clip <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zZx7sqeUZIM>

"The Rise of the Great Powers" YouTube - The First Emperor of China (Man Who Made China) sample clip (《大國崛起》選段 ... [Watch video](#) - 3 min 26 sec

"大國崛起"[http://youtube.com/results?search\\_query=%E5%A4%A7%E5%9B%BD%E5%B4%9B%E8%B5%B7&search\\_sort=video\\_date\\_uploaded&page=4](http://youtube.com/results?search_query=%E5%A4%A7%E5%9B%BD%E5%B4%9B%E8%B5%B7&search_sort=video_date_uploaded&page=4)

大國崛起》選段：海洋時 [http://uk.meie.tv/view\\_video.php?viewkey=0df63a8e370f0130059c](http://uk.meie.tv/view_video.php?viewkey=0df63a8e370f0130059c)

Condoleezza Rice on the Rise of China [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTwP4n7\\_8XM&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTwP4n7_8XM&feature=related)

## 3. The Clash of Civilizations, Globalizations OR Empire? (Tuesday, September 11)

Samuel Huntington, "[The Clash of Civilizations?](#)"( "[The Clash of Civilizations?](#)"? Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993 (PM) \*\*\*\*

Thomas Friedman and Ignacio Ramonet, "[Duelling Globalizations](#)," Foreign Policy no.116, (Fall 1999), pp. 110-127 (PM) \*\*\*\*

Thomas Friedman, "[It's A Flat World, After All](#)," New York Times, April 3, 2005 (PM) \*\*\*

Charles Krauthammer, [The Unipolar Moment](#), Foreign Affairs, winter 1990/91 (PM)\*\*\*\*

Patrick Tyler, "[U.S. Strategy Plan Calls for Insuring No Rivals Develop](#) – A One-Superpower World, New York Times, March 8, 1992 (PM) \*\*

Excerpts from "Defense Policy Guidance, "[Prevent the Re-emergence of a New Rival](#)," New York Times, March 8, 1992) (PM) \*\*\*\*

### OPTIONAL

Thomas E. Ricks, "[Empire or Not? A Quiet Debate Over U.S. Role.](#)" Washington Post, 21 August 2001 (PM) \*

Emily Eakin, "['It takes an empire.' say several U.S. thinkers.](#)" New York Times, April 2, 2002 (PM) \*

Ivo H. Daalder, James M. Lindsay, "[American Empire, Not If, but What Kind.](#)" New York Times, May 10, 2003 (PM) \*

#### **4. Classical and Structural Realism (Thursday, September 13)**

Hans Morgenthau & Kenneth Thompson, Politics Among Nations (6<sup>th</sup> edition), chapter 1 and 2 \*\*\*\*\*

Kenneth Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18:4 (1988), 615-28 \*\*\*\*\*

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chapter 1 (Introduction) and 2 \*\*\*

#### **5. Classical Liberalism and Structural Liberalism (Tuesday, September 18)**

G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan : the origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order*, chapters 2 and 5 (P) \*\*\*\*\*

David A. Baldwin, "Neoliberalism, Neorealism, and World Politics," in Baldwin, *Neoliberalism, Neorealism: Contemporary Debate* \*\*

Robert O. Keohane, "Hegemony and After", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. \* **Was also assigned for the first class!**

#### **OPTIONAL**

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics."

Michael M. DOYLE, "A more perfect union? The liberal peace and the challenge of globalization." *Review of International Studies* 26(05) (2000): 081-094

## 6. Social Constructivism (Thursday, September 20)

Alexander Wendt, "[Anarchy Is What States Make of It](#)," *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425. [International Organization 46/2 \(Spring 1992\)](#). \*\*\*

Dale C. Copeland, "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay." *International Security* 25(2) (2000): 187-212 \*\*\*

### OPTIONAL

Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security*, 23, 1, (Summer 1998), pp.171-200 [ more useful pages: 171-181; 186-196]; [less useful pages: 182-185]

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Review: The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50(2) 1998): 324-348.

John S. Duffield, "Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism," *International Organization* 53(4) (1999)

Sterling-Folker, J. "Competing Paradigms or Birds of a Feather? Constructivism and Neoliberal Institutionalism Compared (journal article)

## 7. Marxism (Tuesday, September 25)

Stephen Hobden and Richard Wyn Jones , "[Marxist theories of international relation](#)," in John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 4th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), chapter 8 [This note is just for prof.Machala /In GWP; see Endnote-Label-GWP] ("PM") \*\*\*

Immanuel Wallerstein, [The Modern World-System](#): Theoretical Reprise, in Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, pp. 229-233 ("PM") \*\*\*

Andre Gunder Frank (1966). "The Development of Underdevelopment." *Monthly Review* 9: 17-30. \*\*\*

Robert Cox (1983). "Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations: An Essay in Method." *Millennium* 12: 162-175 [http://tucnak.fsv.cuni.cz/~plech/Cox\\_Gramsci.PDF](http://tucnak.fsv.cuni.cz/~plech/Cox_Gramsci.PDF) \*\*\*

William I. Robinson, [Global Capitalism: The New Transnationalism and the Folly of Conventional Thinking](#), *Science and Society*, Volume 63: Issue 3, 2005 (W)(E) (M) \*\*\*

### OPTIONAL

John Maclean (1988). "Marxism and International Relations: A Strange Case of Mutual Neglect." *Millennium* 17: 295-319

Robinson, W. I. and J. Harris "Towards A global Ruling Class? Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class." *Science & Society*, Vol. 64, No. 1, Spring 2000 [http://net4dem.org/mayglobal/Papers/RobinsonHarris7\\_16.pdf](http://net4dem.org/mayglobal/Papers/RobinsonHarris7_16.pdf)

## 8. FIRST IN-CLASS EXAM (Thursday, September 27)

## II. POLITICAL THEORY AND WORLD POLITICS

### 9. Empire's Justice (Tuesday, October 2 )

Thucydides, On Justice, Power and Human Nature, chs. 1\*\*, 2\*\*\*\*, 3\*\*\*, 4\*\*\*\* and 6\*\*\*\* (P) and (Reserve) (read Hackett edition/ otherwise you may read a different translation!!)

Gilpin, R. "The Theory of Hegemonic War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1988, pp. 591-613. \*\*\*

Lebow, R. N. (2001). "Thucydides the Constructivist." *American Political Science Review* 95(03): Read, p. 547 (the first paragraph) and pp.557-559 \*\*

Thucydides (video) (streamed) \*\*\*\*

#### OPTIONAL

Elliot Cohen, "[Thucydides, Really!](#)," *The American Interest*, January-February 2007 ("PM")

Daniel Garst, "Thucydides and Neorealism," *International Studies Quarterly* 1989, 33(1): 3-27

Richard Betts, "[Not With My Thucydides, You Don't](#)," *The American Interest*, March-April 2007 ("PM")

Roger Scott, [Imperialist democracy, ancient Athenians and the US presence in Iraq](#), *Australian Journal of International Affairs* Vol. 59, No. 3, September 2005 ("PM")

### 10. Reason of State (Thursday, October 4)

Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince, (read Crofts Classics edition/ otherwise you may read a different translation!!) chapters 1-10, 15-19, 21-26 (P) and (Reserve) \*\*\*\*

Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ch. 13 and 17 \*\*\*\*

Noel Malcolm, [What Hobbes Really Said](#), *National Interest*, 08849382, Fall 2005, Issue 81 \*\*

#### OPTIONAL

Claudia Hart, Child's Machiavelli (Reserve) (skim)

David Hanson, 'Thomas Hobbes' "Highway to Peace," *INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION* 34/2 (1984), pp.329-54

[The Reason of State](#) ("PM")

#### OPTIONAL (VIDEO)

Machiavelli Class Project <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PpR0yMbjvO8&feature=related>

Machiavelli, Prince 1/5 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5IGBKu6qM7Y&feature=related>

Machiavelli and the Prince <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s25kX24j250&NR=1>

The 48 Laws of Power <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uQdi8Zl94uM&feature=related>

"Have you the stomach for greatness..?" <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXL8XHpfGI>

Machiavelli, The Prince, preface to <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8tVQJ3HK2k&NR=1>

Salman Rushdie - Machiavelli's Bad Rap [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y\\_7jRYLTzcE&NR=1&feature=fvwp](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y_7jRYLTzcE&NR=1&feature=fvwp)

**Notes ONLY for PM (March 25, 2012)**

Leviathan, ch. 17 <http://www.libraryoftheancients.com/leviathan/index.html>

"No is it enough for the security, which men desire: should live all the time of their life, that they be governed, and directed by one judgment, for a limited time, as in one Battle, or one Warre. For though they obtain a Victory by their unanimous endeavour against a foreign enemy, yet afterwards when either they have no common enemy, or be that by one part is held for an enemy, is by another part held for a friend, they must needs by the difference of their interests dissolve, and fall again into a Warre amongst themselves"

For analysis of the Leviathan see also, e.g. James Der Derian, The Value of Security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche, and BinLladin (published in Marproject - P's creation)

## 11. NO CLASS (Thursday, October 11)

## 12. War (Tuesday, October 16)

Roger Boesche, [Moderate Machiavelli? Contrasting The Prince with the Arthashastra of Kautilya](#), Critical Horizons 3:2 (253-276) ("PM") \*\*\*\*

Kautilya, [Arthashastra](#) excerpts ("PM") \*\*\*

Sun Tzu, [The Art of War](#) excerpts ("PM") \*\*\*

Michael Howard, "[Clausewitz: Man of the Year](#)", [New York Times](#), 1/28/91 ("PM") \*\*

Karl von Clausewitz, [On War](#), Book One, [chapter one and two](#); [chapter three, four, five, and six](#) AND chapter seven and eight!! (Read Princeton Univ. Press edition Michael Howard)  
READ the text in BOTH links (Reserve) \*\*\*\*

Rep. Alan Grayson Quotes Sun Tzu: "No Nation Has Ever Benefited from a Protracted War"  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-EHIXoqq2DI> VIDEO \*

## 13. Liberal Peace (Thursday, October 18)

Immanuel Kant, [Perpetual Peace](#) (Make sure that you read from the Hackett edition; otherwise you will read the wrong pages !!), pp. 25-27 29-39, 104-139 (Reserve) (P) \*\*\*\*

Roger Scruton, "[Immanuel Kant and the Iraq War](#)", open Democracy, February 19, 2004 ("PM") \*\*\* (attention: in the multilith this essay is attributed to "anonymous")

Antje Vollmer, "[Immanuel Kant and Iraq: reply to Roger Scruton](#)," openDemocracy, April 1, 2004 ("PM") \*\*\* (attention: in the multilith this essay is attributed to "anonymous")

Woodrow Wilson, War Messages, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. Senate Doc. No. 5, Serial No. 7264, Washington, D.C., 1917; pp. 3-8, passim. [http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s\\_War\\_Message\\_to\\_Congress](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s_War_Message_to_Congress) \*\*

Barack Obama, "Nobel Prize acceptance lecture: A Just and Lasting Peace," White House (2009). \*\*

#### 14. Capitalist Peace (Tuesday, October 23)

John Cassidy, "[The Return of Karl Marx](#)," New Yorker, October 20, 1997 ("PM") \*\*

David P. Calleo, "[Restarting the Marxist Clock?](#)" (excerpts selected by Dr. M for PS-13) World Policy Journal, 13(2), Summer 1996 ("PM") \*\*\*

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Communist Manifesto, sections 1-2 (OR pages pp.1-21) [read this online text/ otherwise you may read a different translation!!](#) \*\*\*\*

Karl Marx, [The German Ideology](#), (excerpts selected by Dr.M for PS 13) ("PM") \*\*

Karl Marx, [Grundrisse](#) (excerpts selected by Dr M for PS 13) ("PM")\*\*

Karl Marx, [The Future Results of British Rule in India](#), (excerpts selected by Dr. M for PS-13) MECW, Volume 12: Issue ("PM")\*\*\*

Karl Marx, "[Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association 'The First International'](#)," (excerpts selected by Dr. M for PS 13) ("PM") \*\*\*

Karl Marx, "[Address of the International Working Men's Association to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America](#)," ("PM") \*\*

Karl Marx, "[Poland and the Russian Menace](#)," (excerpts selected by Dr M for PS 13) ("PM") \*\*

#### 15. SECOND INCLASS EXAM (Thursday, October 25)

### III. The 21<sup>st</sup> Century IR Questions

**16. The American Hegemony (Tuesday, October 30)**

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chapter 1 and 10 \*\*\*

Richard N. Haass, "What to do with American Primacy," September/October 1999, Brookings Institution [http://www.brookings.edu/articles/1999/09diplomacy\\_haass.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/1999/09diplomacy_haass.aspx) \*\*

Richard N. Haass, *The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance?* *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008 \*\*\*\*

G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: the origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order*, chapter, 1, 4, 5, 7 and 8 (P) \*\*\*\*

Michele Flournoy, Janine Davidson, "Obama's New Global Posture", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Was also assigned for the first class) \*\*

**17. China Hard Power (Thursday, November 1)**

Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "The Coming Conflict with America," *Foreign Affairs*, 76, 2, (March/April 1997), pp.18-32 (E) \*\*\*

David Lampton, [The Faces of Chinese Power](#), *Foreign Affairs*, 86 (1) 2007 (W) (E) (M) \*\*

Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, *China's National Defense in 2006*, December 2006, Preface Chapters I-II, IX-X.

<http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194421.htm> (E) Julian: do you have something more recent?

Office of the Secretary of Defense, *The Military Power of the People's Republic of China* (July 2006). (PDF - 1.3 MB) Executive Summary and pp. 1-17.

<http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China%20Report%202006.pdf> (E) Julian: do you have something more recent?

Henry A. Kissinger, "The Future of U.S.-Chinese Relations," *Foreign Affairs*. 91: 44-55, 2012

Brzezinski, Z. (January/February 2012). "Balancing the East, Upgrading the West: U.S. Grand Strategy in an Age of Upheaval" *Foreign Affairs*

**OPTIONAL**

The Economist, "A Special report on China's Place in the World," *The Economist*, December 2, 2010 (Steve was in my PS-53/ volume 2)

**18. China's Soft Power and Diplomacy: An Emerging Hegemony  
(Tuesday, November 6)**

Nicholas Kristof, [1492: The Prequel](#), New York Times Magazine, June 6, 1999 ("PM")

M. BEESON, "Hegemonic transition in East Asia? The dynamics of Chinese and American power," [Review of International Studies](#), (2009) 35 (01): 95-112 \*\*\*

David C. Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks." [International Security](#) 27(4) 2003: 57-85 \*\*\*\*\*

G. John Ikenberry, [The Rise of China and the Future of the West](#), Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb2008, Vol. 87, Issue 1 ("PM") \*\*\*\*\*

Qing Cao, Confucian Vision of a New World Order? Culturalist Discourse, Foreign Policy and the Press in Contemporary China

E. Weede, "The Capitalist Peace and the Rise of China: Establishing Global Harmony by Economic Interdependence." [International Interactions](#) 36(2) (2010): 206-213.

A. Acharya, "Can Asia Lead? Power Ambitions and Global Governance in the 21st Century." [International Affairs](#) 87(4) (2011)

Andrew J. Nathan, "Confucius and the Ballot Box", Foreign Affairs, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4 (Was also assigned for the first class!)

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19. “BRIC+ Plus (or Minus) “Europe” (Thursday, November 8)

“The Trillion-Dollar Club”, *The Economist* (Apr. 15, 2010).

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Andrew Hurrell, [Lula’s Brazil: A Rising Power, but Going Where?](#) *Current History*, February 2008 \*\*\*

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S. Neil Macfarlane, “[The ‘R’ in BRICs: Is Russia an Emerging Power?](#)” *International Affairs*, vol. 82 no. 1, 2006, pp. 41-57 (“PM”)\*\*\*\*

Robert Kagan, “[Power and Weakness](#),” *Policy Review*, No.113, June 2002 edited for FYS-9 & PS-13 (“PM”) [Only (“PM”)) the e-copy is edited – 6-7 pages shorter] \*\*\*

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Jing-dong Yuan, [The Dragon and the Elephant: Chinese-Indian Relations in the 21st Century](#), *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3, Summer 2007 (“PM”)

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Pang Zhongying, [The Dragon and the Elephant](#), *National Interest*, May/June 2007 (W) (E)

Yasheng Huang and Tarun Khanna, “[Can India Overtake China?](#)” *Foreign Policy*, July-August 2003 (W) (E)

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Vladimir Putin and Harley Balzer, [Vladimir Putin’s Academic Writings and Russian Natural Resource Policy](#), *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.53, No. 1, January/February 2006 (E)

*Super Powers Big Powers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century* <http://www.spacewar.com/Superpowers.html> (E)

Leslie Elliot Armijo, “The BRICS Countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) As Analytical Category: Mirage or Insight?,”

**VIDEO (optional)** A note from Julian (Ji An) Wang

Dear Professor Machala

It seems we will soon be examining the rise of China and the other BRIC countries in the World Politics class. A friend of mine introduced me to a 15-minute video of a Swedish statistician, Hans Rosling, who "predicts" the precise time at which China and India will catch up with Britain and the United States in terms of wages and health standards. The man is very humorous, and is armed with dazzling visual aids. I hope you find it an entertaining and interesting watch. Here is the link:

[http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/eng/hans\\_rosling\\_asia\\_s\\_rise\\_how\\_and\\_when.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/eng/hans_rosling_asia_s_rise_how_and_when.html) Sincerely, Julian (Ji An) Wang

## 20. Iran and the “Second” Nuclear Age ( Tuesday, November 13)

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George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn, A World Free of Nuclear Weapons, *The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/hoover-digest/article/6109> (“PM”) \*\*\*

Sagan, S. D. (1996). "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb." *International Security* 21(3): 54-86.

[Ehud Eiran](#), What Happens After Israel Attacks Iran, *Foreign Affairs*, Feb. 23, 2012

Kenneth Waltz, Why Should Iran Get the Bomb, *Foreign Affairs*, 91:1, 2012 (Was also assigned for the very first class!)

Amatzia Baram, "Deterrence Lessons From Iraq", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4. (Was also assigned for the very first class!)

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Kenneth Waltz, Scott Sagan and Richard K. Betts [A NUCLEAR IRAN: PROMOTING STABILITY OR COURTING DISASTER?](#), *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring/Summer 2007, Vol. 60, Issue 2 ("PM")

#### VIDEO (optional)

[The Fog Of War Eleven Lessons From The Life Of Robert S. McNamara](#)

#### MAPS and TABLES (optional)

Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization <http://www.ctbto.org/>

Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization: Status of Signature and Ratification <http://www.ctbto.org/>

Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization: map [http://www.ctbto.org/s\\_r/global\\_040907.pdf](http://www.ctbto.org/s_r/global_040907.pdf)

TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS <http://www.fas.org/nuke/control/npt/text/index.html>

The [Non-Proliferation Treaty](#)

#### WEBSITES (optional)

[www.cdi.org](http://www.cdi.org) – centre for defense information, a site with links to a number of nuclear issues. [www.cdiss.org](http://www.cdiss.org) – a site that focuses on missile proliferation issues.

## 21. Transnational and State Terrorism (Thursday, November 15)

Audrey Kurth Cronin, 2002/03. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism." *International Security* 27 (3): 30-58 [was also in PS-53-vol III] (E) \*\*\*

Richard K. Betts, "[The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror](#)," pdf OR "[The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror](#)," htm, *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 2002, Vol. 117, Issue 1 [was also in PS-53-vol III] ("PM") \*\*\*

[The Foundations of the New Terrorism](#)," from [The 9/11 Commission Report](#); [http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report\\_Ch2.htm](http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report_Ch2.htm) \*\*\*

Andrew J. R. Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January 1975): 175-200 [required pages: 175-188] (E) \*\*\*

Robert Pape, The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, "[American Political Science Review](#) Vol. 97, No. 3 August 2003 , 343-362 [was also in PS-53-vol III]

STUART KINROSS, Clausewitz and Low-Intensity Conflict, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol.27, No.1, March 2004, pp.35 – 58

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Pejman Yousefzadeh, "[Carl von Clausewitz's Advice: Make War, Not Love Against Terrorism](#)," *Capitalism Magazine* (August 19, 2002) (W) (E also under "Optional" in #10))

## 22. The Middle Eastern Revolutions (Tuesday, November 27)

TBD

## 23. United Nations System ( Thursday, November 29)

Brian Urquhart, "[A Great Day in History](#)," *New York Review of Books*, January 15, 2004 ("PM")\*\*\*\*

Nigel White, [The United Nations System](#), chapter 1 ("PM") \*\*\*

Shashi Tharoor, [Why America Still Needs the United Nations](#), *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 82:Issue 5 September/October, 2003 ("PM") \*\*

MICHAEL J. GLENNON, [How War Left the Law Behind](#), November 21, 2002, *New York Times*, 11/21/2002 ("PM") \*\*

Kofi Annan, 'Two Concepts of Sovereignty' *The Economist*, Sept 18, 1999 \*\*\*

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Anthony Clark Arend, [International Law and the Preemptive Use of Military Force](#), *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 26:Issue 2, 2003 (PM)

James A. Baker, [The Case for Military Action](#), *Wall Street Journal*, February 4, 2003 (PM)

Goldsmith, [Full advice from Attorney General on legality of Iraq war](#), March 7, 2003 (PM)

James Traub, [Who Needs the U.N. Security Council](#), *New York Times*, November 17, 2002 (PM)

## 24. Transnational Law (Tuesday, December 4)

Henry Kissinger, "[The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction](#)," or <http://www.globalpolicy.org/intljustice/general/2001/07kiss.htm> *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2001 ("PM")\*\*\*\*

John R. Bolton, [The Risks and Weaknesses of the International Criminal Court: From America's Perspective](#), Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 64: No. 1, 2001 (“PM”) \*\*\*

Kenneth Roth, The Case For Universal Jurisdiction | [Foreign Affairs](#), September/October 2001 <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/57245/> (“PM”) \*\*\*

Susan Waltz, “[Prosecuting Dictators: International Law and the Pinochet Case](#),” [World Policy Journal](#), Spring 2001 (“PM”) \*\*\*

Makau Mutua, “[America And the International Criminal Court](#),” [Nation \(Nairobi\)](#) January 2004 (PM)\*\*

Murat Metin Hakki, [War Crimes and the War in Iraq: Can George W. Bush and Tony Blair be Held Legally Responsible?](#), [The International Journal of Human Rights](#), Vol. 10, No. 1, 3–17, March 2006 (“PM”) \*\*

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Emma Daly, [Spanish Judge Sends Argentine to Prison on Genocide Charge](#), [New York Times](#), June 30, 2003 (PM)

Human Rights Watch, [The Pinochet Case - A Wake-Up to Tyrants and Victims Alike](#), (PM)

John R. Bolton, Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, The United States and the International Criminal Court <http://www.state.gov/t/us/rm/15158.htm>

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NEIL A. LEWIS, U.S. Is Set to Renounce Its Role in Pact for World Tribunal, [NYT](#), May 5, 2002 <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9901E0DB1F31F936A35756C0A9649C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>

MARLISE SIMONS, Without Fanfare or Cases, International Court Sets Up, [NYT](#), July 1, 2002 <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C06E7D81F3EF932A35754C0A9649C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>

STEVEN LEE MYERS, U.S. SIGNS TREATY FOR WORLD COURT TO TRY ATROCITIES, [NYT](#), January 1, 2001 (W) <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D0CE0D7153BF932A35752C0A9679C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print> (\*\*\*)

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International Criminal Court Archive website <http://www.globalpolicy.org/intljustice/icc/index.htm>

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Hedley Bull, [International Law and International Order](#), in Bull, [The Anarchical Society](#),

## 25. Transnational Civil Society (*Tuesday, December 6*)

Mary Kaldor, “[The Idea of Global Civil Society](#),” [International Affairs](#), 79.3, 2003 pp. 583-593 [ READ only: [pp. 583-591](#)] (“PM”) \*\*\*\*

Akira Iriye, [A Century of NGOs](#), [Diplomatic History](#), Volume 23: Issue 3, 1999 \*\*

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 'Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics', *International Social Science Journal*, 51, 159, March, 1999, pp. 89-101. [http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic446176.files/Week\\_7/Keck\\_and\\_Sikkink\\_Transnational\\_Advocacy.pdf](http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic446176.files/Week_7/Keck_and_Sikkink_Transnational_Advocacy.pdf)  
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Dana Priest, [U.S. Activist Receives Nobel Prize for Land Mine Campaign; Home-Based Effort, Via Computer, Led to International Ban in Treaty](#), *New York Times*, October 11, 1997 (“PM”)\*

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Gordon Laxer, Popular National Sovereignty and the U.S. Empire <http://jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/vol11/number2/pdf/jwsr-v11n2-laxer.pdf>

Jessica Matthews, 'Power Shift : The Rise of Global Civil Society', *Foreign Affairs*, 76, 1, January-February, 1997. [http://www.fpvvmv.umb.sk/fpvvmv\\_www/phprs/storage/File/ksp/GLUN/S\\_Matthews\\_FA.pdf](http://www.fpvvmv.umb.sk/fpvvmv_www/phprs/storage/File/ksp/GLUN/S_Matthews_FA.pdf)

S. J. Simmons, 'Learning to Live with NGOs' *Foreign Policy*, Fall, 1998. <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/sjlux/NGO/Simmons%20-%20Living%20with%20NGOs.pdf>

David Held, 'Cosmopolitanism and Globalization,' (2000) [Logos Issue 1.3, Summer 2002](#) (E)

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Cox, R. 'Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order,' [REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES 25/1 \(1999\).](#)

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Morris-Suzuki, T. 'For and Against NGOs,' [New Left Review II 2 \(2000\), pp.63-84.](#)

Amoore, L. & Langley, P. 'Ambiguities of Global Civil Society,' [REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES 30/1 \(2004\), pp.89-110.](#)

## 26. Global Climate Change and World Politics (*Tuesday, December 11*)

“The Melting North”, *The Economist* Special Report (June 16, 2012), 3-15. (13 pages) <http://www.economist.com/node/21556798> Bjorn Lomborg, “Environmental Alarmism, Then and Now”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume 91, No.4.

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David G. Victor. "International Cooperation on Climate Change: Numbers, Interests and Institutions" *Global Environmental Politics* 6.3 (2006) 90-103 (2006)

David G. Victor, Charles F. Kennel, and Veerabhadran Ramanathan. "The Climate Threat We Can Beat" *Foreign Affairs*, (May/June 2012)

M. Blunden, "Geopolitics and the Northern Sea Route." *International Affairs* 88(1) 2012: 115-129.

D. Bell, ("Global Climate Justice, Historic Emissions, And Excusable Ignorance." *The Monist* 94(3), 2011).

# THE END