

University of Toronto, St. George Campus

**Department of Political Science: POL 487H1S: Topics in International Politics II,
Great Power Politics**

Summer 2021

Mondays & Wednesdays, 12:00pm - 2:00pm

Your name: Nathan Alexander Sears, PhD Candidate

Your office: Cyberspace

Office Address: IP: 192.168.0.251

Phone number: 647-646-2965

Email: n.sears@mail.utoronto.ca

Office Hours: Monday & Wednesdays, 11:00am - 12:00pm, or by appointment

Course Objective:

Great power politics is once again at the forefront of international politics. This course explores the drivers and dynamics of great power politics, which concerns the political relations between the most powerful states in international politics. The first part of the course seeks a general theoretical understanding of the sources and patterns of great power politics. The second part of the course examines how factors such as ideology, domestic politics, geography, alliances, global economics, military capabilities, and grand strategy influence great power politics. The third part of the course explores the nature and stakes of great power politics in the twenty-first century, with respect to a growing spectrum of existential risks to humanity.

Student Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this course, students should:

- Understand some of the leading theories, concepts, and debates about why and how great powers compete for power and status in international politics;
- Apply theories and concepts of the sources and dynamics of great power politics to the emerging U.S.-China rivalry;
- Think strategically about the opportunities and challenges facing great powers in their political, economic, and security relations with other states;

- Analyze the implications of great power politics for some of the biggest threats to humankind in the twenty-first century, such as nuclear weapons, climate change, and artificial intelligence.
-

Course Materials:

No textbooks or book purchases are necessary for this course. All reading material should be available to students through the university's online Library database (<https://search.library.utoronto.ca/index>). Any readings that are not accessible online — especially book chapters — will be made available by the instructor through the course website on Quercus.

Prerequisites:

Prerequisites are strictly checked and enforced and must be completed before taking a course. By taking this course you acknowledge that you will be removed from the course at any time if you do not meet all requirements set by the Department of Political Science. Further information can be found in the 2020-2021 Courses Calendar <https://fas.calendar.utoronto.ca/>.

Policies, Rules and Expectations:

Technology: This course is designed for **online-delivery**, meaning that students will attend class virtually. Students will require access to a computer and the Internet to attend class and to complete all assignments and tests. The course will make use of various online platforms and resources, including Quercus, Outlook, Zoom, Slack, and Youtube. Students will also require access to the university's online Library database in order to gain access to the course readings (<https://onsearch.library.utoronto.ca/research/articles-databases>).

Communication: If students have specific questions or concerns about the course material or their coursework, they should direct them to the Instructor at n.sears@mail.utoronto.ca. The Instructor will aim to respond to emails within 48 hours. The instructor will not respond to emails on weekends.

Office Hours: If students have questions or concerns that require deeper discussion, this should be reserved for the Instructor's office hours. Office hours will be held online via Zoom and should be scheduled ahead of time by emailing the Instructor.

Attendance and Participation: Students are expected to attend classes virtually and participate actively in class discussions and activities.

Workload: This course has a heavy reading requirement: roughly 3 journal articles/books chapters per class session. Students should reserve at least 8–10 hours per week for class preparation, in addition to class time and assignments.

Assignments:

Argumentative Essay/Mid-Term

Value: 25%

Due date: July 19th at 11:59pm (after Session 5).

Description: Students write an essay that responds to the following question: *Will China's rise to great power status be peaceful?* Students should develop an original argument based on their comprehension and application of various theories and concepts of great power politics to the contemporary case of the rise of China. The paper should be no more than 3,000 words (+/- 300), including notes and bibliography. Students must include citations/references where appropriate, following a recognized citation style. This assignment assesses students primarily on their comprehension and application of theory, and is based on the course materials from Sessions 1 through 5.

Strategic Policy Memorandum

Value: 20%

Due date: July 28th at 11:59 PM (after Session 8)

Description: In groups, students produce a strategic policy memorandum that critically analyzes the strategic situation of a great/major power and makes a set of policy recommendations to the government. This strategic policy memorandum should consider, inter alia, (1) the goals or objectives of foreign policy; (2) the means or capabilities of national power; and (3) the threats or constraints from other states. The memorandum should also analyze at least two distinct approaches to grand strategy and then make the case for one of these in a recommendation to the government. The policy memorandum should be no more than 3,000 words (+/- 300), including notes and references. Students must include citations/references where appropriate, following a recognized

citation style. This assignment assesses students primarily on their analytical and critical thinking skills.

Seminar Participation/Attendance

Value: 20%

Due date: Cumulative

Description: Students are expected to attend class and participate actively in class discussions and activities, especially in any discussion or activities following the lecture. Students should be ready to pose or answer questions, and generally contribute to seminar discussions. Students will be evaluated on both the quality and quantity of their participation throughout the semester. During the second unit of the course, students will participate in a multi-session game on the “The Struggle for Power and Peace in Asia-Pacific.” Students will be asked to role-play a particular great/major power in groups. This game will represent half of their seminar participation grade.

Final Research Paper/Presentation

Value: 35% (25% for research paper; 10% for recorded presentation)

Due Date: Final research paper due on August 16th at 11:59pm (after Session 12)

Description: Students write a research paper that responds to an original research question on great power politics. The paper should follow the style of an academic paper, and should include an introduction, a literature review, a theoretical framework, empirical analysis, and a conclusion. The introduction should clearly articulate the research question/puzzle and the thesis statement of the paper. The paper should be well-researched, with a minimum of 15 sources, in which the majority should be academic sources (e.g., published journal articles or books). Students must include citations/references where appropriate, following any recognized citation style. The length of the paper should be no more than 4,000 words (+/- 400), including notes and references. The paper will be evaluated on the basis of four criteria: knowledge and research; comprehension and application of theory; critical thinking and analysis; and writing and communication. Then, students will submit a recorded video presentation of the paper (between 8-10 minutes), within 2 days of the due date of their final paper (August 18th at 11:59pm). Students are encouraged to use Powerpoint or some other visual aid for their presentation.

Missed/Late Assignments:

Late assignments will be subject to a late penalty of **5% per day (including weekends)** of the total marks for the assignment. Assignments submitted five calendar days beyond the due date will be assigned a grade of zero. Assignments handed in AFTER the

work has been returned to the class cannot be marked for credit. Accommodations due to late registration into the course will NOT be approved.

Please note that an ACORN self-declaration does NOT constitute adequate documentation. You cannot self-declare yourself too sick to work on the essay.

Missed Tests:

Students who miss a term test will be assigned a grade of zero for that test unless they are granted special consideration. If the term test/midterm was missed for reasons entirely beyond the student's control, a written request for special consideration must be submitted to the instructor within 3 days of the missed test. This request must explain the reason for missing the test and include appropriate documentation.

A student whose explanation is accepted by the instructor may be granted a makeup test. The instructor will assign the date(s) for makeup tests, administer them, evenings and Saturdays included, and will inform the students. If the student is granted permission to take a makeup test and misses it, they will be assigned a grade of zero for the test.

Absence Declaration:

The University of Toronto has created an "Absence Declaration" tool for students to record any absence from academic work, whether for medical or non-medical reasons. Students should complete the Absence Declaration anytime they are absent from academic work.

Students may add up to 14 consecutive days for which they are absent and should record each day of absence from the beginning until the day before returning to classes. This Absence Declaration tool will help the university to make decisions about academic accommodations.

For more information, see: <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/covid19-artsci-student-faqs#fw2021-absence-declaration-accordion-2>.

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence with a severe penalty. It is essential for students to inform themselves about what constitutes plagiarism and the penalties. Ignorance of the rules against plagiarism is not a defense. Students must at all times adhere to the

rules and norms of proper citations and references. Cases of suspected plagiarism will be reported to the Department of Political Science.

For more information on what constitutes as plagiarism and how to avoid it:

“How to Use Sources and Avoid Plagiarism”:

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

Other Advisory Material available at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

Turnitin.com

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Course Overview:

Unit I: Great Power Politics: Theories, Concepts and Debates

Session 1 (July 5th) — Deja Vu? “Great Powers” and “Great Power Politics” in International Relations

Session 2 (July 7th) — The Sources and Dynamics of Great Power Politics: Why Do Great Powers Compete for Power?

Session 3 (July 12th) — Great Power War & Peace: Why Do(n't) Great Powers Fight?

Session 4 (July 14th) — Great Powers and International Orders: Balance-of-Power, Hegemony, and Power Transitions

Session 5 (July 19th) — The Rise of China

Unit II: The Great Powers in the Twenty-First Century: The United States and China in Comparison

Session 6 (July 21st) — Grand Strategy

Session 7 (July 26th) — Military Power, Arms Races, and the Use of Force

Session 8 (July 28th) — Geography, Alliances, and (Non-)Alignment

Session 9 (August 4th) — Ideology, Identity, and Domestic Politics

Session 10 (August 9th) — Great Powers, Economic Statecraft, and the Global Economy

Unit III: Great Power Politics and Existential Risk

Session 11 (August 11th) — Great Power Politics and Nuclear Weapons

Session 12 (August 16th) — Great Powers Politics and the “Age of Existential Threats”

Course Outline: Themes & Readings

Session 1: Deja Vu? “Great Powers” and “Great Power Politics” in International Relations

Key Concepts: Great Powers; Power; Interest; Capabilities; Authority; Status; Prestige; Ranking; International System; Thucydides

Required Readings:

*Kirshner, Jonathan. 2019. “Handle Him with Care: The Importance of Getting Thucydides Right.” *Security Studies* 28(1): 1-24.

*Paul, T.V., Deborah Welch Larson, and William C. Wohlforth, eds. 2014. *Status in World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1: “Introduction,” pp. 3-29.

Recommended Readings:

Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Book I, Chapters 2-5. Project Gutenberg. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7142/7142-h/7142-h.htm>.

Seminar Question: Is it still relevant for International Relations students to study Thucydides?

Case: N/A

Class Activities: Game on great power politics and war / Discussion of Thucydides / Explanation of course and syllabus.

Session 2: The Sources and Dynamics of Great Power Politics: Why Do Great Powers Compete for Power?

Key Concepts: Great Power Politics; Realism; Realpolitik; International Anarchy; International Society; Great Power Management

Required Readings:

*Cui, Shunki, and Barry Buzan. 2016. "Great Power Management in International Society." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9(2): 181-210.

*Goddard, Stacie E., and Daniel H. Nexon. 2016. "The Dynamics of Global Power Politics: A Framework for Analysis." *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 1(1), 2016, 4–18.

*Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (Revised Edition)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Chapter 1: "Introduction"; Chapter 2: "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power."

Recommended Readings:

Bettiza, Gregorio, and David Lewis. 2020. "Authoritarian Powers and Norm Contestation in the Liberal International Order: Theorizing the Power Politics of Ideas and Identity." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5(4): 559–577.

Larson, Deborah Welch, and Alexei Shevchenko. 2010. "Status: Seekers: Chinese and Russian Response to U.S. Hegemony." *International Security* 34(4): 63-95.

Morgenthau, Hans J. 2005. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace (Seventh Edition)*. Boston: McGraw Hill. "Chapter 1: Six Principles of Political Realism," pp. 3-16

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

Wohlforth, William. 2009. "Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War." *World Politics* 61(1): 28-57.

Seminar Question: What is "great power politics"? Why do great powers compete for power and status in international politics?

Case: N/A

Class Activities: Lecture/seminar discussion.

Session 3: Great Power War & Peace: Why Do(n't) Great Powers Fight?

Key Concepts: Human Nature; International Anarchy; Security Dilemma; Hegemonic War; Democratic Peace; Economic Interdependence; International Institutions; Cooperative security

Required Readings:

*Gilpin, Robert. 1988. "The Theory of Hegemonic War." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(4): 591-613.

*Jervis, Robert. 2002. "Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace." *The American Political Science Review* 96(1): 1-14.

*Waltz, Kenneth N. 1988. "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(4): 615-628.

Recommended Readings:

Einstein, Albert. 1932. "Why War? A letter from Albert Einstein to Sigmund Freud." UNESCO. <https://en.unesco.org/courier/may-1985/why-war-letter-albert-einstein-sigmund-freud>.

Gaddis, John Lewis. 1986. "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System." *International Security* 10(4): 99-142.

Mueller, John. 1989. *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*. New York: Basic Books.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1967. "The Politics of Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 11(3): 199-211.

Seminar Question: Why do(n't) great powers fight? What factor best explains the "long peace" between the great powers since 1945?

Case: The Cold War and the "Long Peace"

Class Activities: Lecture/seminar discussion.

Session 4: Great Powers and International Orders: Balance-of-Power, Hegemony, and Power Transitions

Key Concepts: Anarchy; Polarity; Distribution-of-Capabilities; Balance-of-Power; Balance-of-Threats; Balancing; Bandwagoning; Hierarchy; Hegemony; Hegemonic Cycles; Differential Growth; Power Transitions

Required Readings:

*Morgenthau, Hans J. 2005. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace (Seventh Edition)*. Boston: McGraw Hill. Chapter 11: "The Balance of Power"; Chapter 12: "Different Methods of the Balance of Power," pp. 179-208.

*Ikenberry, G. John, and Daniel H. Nexon. 2019. "Hegemony Studies 3.0: The Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders." *Security Studies* 28(3): 395-421.

*Wohlforth, William. C. 1999. "The Stability of a Unipolar World." *International Security* 24(1): 5-41.

Recommended Readings:

Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goddard, Stacie E. 2018. *When Might Makes Right: Rising Powers and World Order*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1: "The Great Power's Dilemma," pp. 1-15.

Ikenberry, G. John, ed. 2014. *Power, Order, and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ikenberry, G. John, and Charles A. Kupchan. 1990. "Socialization and Hegemonic Power." *International Organization* 44(3): 283-315.

Kennedy, Paul. 1987. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. Random House.

Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Lake, David A. 2007. "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics." *International Security* 32(1): 47-79.

Layne, Christopher. 1993. "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise." *International Security* 17(4): 5-51.

Levy, Jack, and William R. Thompson. 2005. "Hegemonic Transition Threats and Great Power Balancing in Europe, 1495-1999." *Security Studies* 14(1): 1-33.

Modelske, George. 1978. "The Long Cycle of Global Politics and the Nation-State." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20(2): 214-235.

Monteiro, Nuno. 2014. *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morton, Adam David. 2003. "Social Forces in the Struggle over Hegemony: Gramscian Perspectives in International Political Economy." *Rethinking Marxism* 15(2): 153-179.

Organski, A. F. K. 1958. *World Politics*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Chapter 14: The Power Transition," pp. 338-344; 361-376.

Tickner, J. Ann. 1988. "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17(3): 429-440.

Walt, Stephen. 1985. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." *International Security* 9(4): 3-43.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1964. "The Stability of a Bipolar World." *Daedalus* 93(3): 881-909.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Illinois: Waveland Press.

Wohlforth, William. C., et al. 2007. "Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History." *European Journal of International Relations* 13(2): 155-185.

Cases: European balance-of-power; U.S. hegemony

Class Activities: Lecture / seminar discussion.

Session 5: The Rise of China

Key Concepts: The Rise of China

Required Readings:

*Bijian, Zheng. 2005. "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great-Power Status." *Foreign Affairs* 84(5): 18-24.

*Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (Revised Edition)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Chapter 10: "Can China Rise Peacefully?"

*Schweller, Randall L., and Xiaoyu Pu. 2011. "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline." *International Security* 36(1): 41-72.

*Yuan, Yang. 2018. "Escape both the 'Thucydides Trap' and the 'Churchill Trap': Finding a Third Type of Great Power Relations under the Bipolar System." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11(2): 193-235.

Recommended Readings:

Allison, Graham. 2017. *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. 2015/16. "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-First Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position." *International Security* 40(3): 7-53.

Buzan, Barry. 2010. "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3: 5-36.

Edelstein, David M. 2020 "Time and the Rise of China." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 0(0): 1-31.

Han, Zhen, and T. V. Paul. 2020. "China's Rise and Balance of Power Politics." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 31(1): 1-26.

Roy, Denny. 1994. "Hegemon on the Horizon?: China's Threat to East Asian Security." *International Security* 19(1): 149-168.

Scobell, Andrew. 2012. "Learning to Rise Peacefully? China and the Security Dilemma." *Journal of Contemporary China* 21(76): 713-721.

Sears, Nathan Alexander. 2018. "The Rising Power Dilemma: Unipolarity and the Strategic Challenge of Great Power Emergence." Quito, Ecuador: FLACSO-International Studies Association. https://www.academia.edu/37705721/The_Rising_Power_Dilemma_Unipolarity_and_the_Strategic_Challenge_of_Great_Power_Emergence.

Zhao, Minghao. 2019. "Is a New Cold War Inevitable? Chinese Perspectives on US–China Strategic Competition." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 12(3): 371-394.

Seminar Question: Will China's rise to great power status be peaceful?

Case: The Rise of China

Class Activities: Lecture / seminar discussion.

Session 6: Grand Strategy

Key Concepts: Grand Strategy; Isolationism; Offshore Balancing; Retrenchment; Preponderance; Primacy; Liberal Hegemony; Reassurance; Reform; Resistance; Counter-Hegemony

Required Readings:

*Avery, Goldstein. 2020. "China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance." *International Security* 45(1): 164–201.

*Layne, Christopher. 1997. "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy." *International Security* 22(1): 86-124.

*Quinn, Adam & Nicholas Kitchen. 2019. "Understanding American Power: Conceptual Clarity, Strategic Priorities, and the Decline Debate." *Global Policy* 10(1): 5-18.

Recommended Readings:

Brooks, Stephen G., G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. 2012/13. "Don't Come Home America: The Case against Retrenchment." *International Security* 37(3): 7-51.

Buzan, Barry. 2014. "The Logic and Contradictions of 'Peaceful Rise/Development' as China's Grand Strategy." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 0(0): 1-40.

Foot, R. (2006). "Chinese Strategies in a US-Hegemonic Global Order: Accommodating and Hedging." *International Affairs*, 82(1), 77-94.

Friedberg, Aaron L. 2014. "The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Explaining Beijing's Assertiveness." *The Washington Quarterly* 37(4): 133-150.

Goddard, Stacie E. 2018. *When Might Makes Right: Rising Powers and World Order*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Itzkowitz Shiffrinson, Joshua R. Rising. 2018. *Titans, Falling Giants: How Great Powers Exploit Power Shifts*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Jisi, W. (2011). "China's Search for a Grand Strategy: A Rising Great Power Find Its War." *Foreign Affairs*, 90(2), 68-79.

Krickovic, Andrej, and Chang Zhang. 2020. "Fears of Falling Short versus Anxieties of Decline: Explaining Russia and China's Approach to Status-Seeking." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 13(2): 219-251.

MacDonald, Paul K., and Joseph M. Parent. 2018. *Twilight of the Titans: Great Power Decline and Retrenchment*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

MacDonald, Paul K., Joseph M. Parent. 2011. "Graceful Decline? The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment." *International Security* 35(4): 7-44.

Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. 2016. "The Case for Offshoring Balance: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy." *Foreign Affairs*, pp. 70-83.

Men, Honghua. 2020. *China's Grand Strategy: A Framework Analysis*. Peking: Peking University Press.

Posen, Barry R., and Andrew L. Ross. 1996/97. "Competing Visions of U.S. Grand Strategy." *International Security* 21(3): 5-53.

Seminar Questions: What is grand strategy? What are the optimal grand strategies for the United States and China?

Cases: U.S. grand strategy; Chinese grand strategy

Class Activities: Lecture/seminar discussion; Game: "The Struggle for Power and Peace in East Asia".

Session 7: Military Power, Arms Races, and the Use of Force

Key Concepts: Military Power; Arms Races; Security Dilemma; Offense-Defense Balance; Military Technical Revolutions; Command-of-the-Commons; China's Military Modernization; Anti-Access/Areal-Denial (A2/AD)

Required Readings:

*Montgomery, Evan Braden. 2014. "Contested Primacy in the Western Pacific: China's Rise and the Future of U.S. Power Projection." *International Security* 38(4): 115-149.

*Posen, Barry R. 2003. "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony." *International Security* 28(1): 5-46.

*Troxell, John F. 2006. "Military Power and the Use of Force." In *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy*. Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Recommended Readings:

International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2020. "Chapter 2: Comparative Defence Statistics." *The Military Balance*: 21-27.

Buzan, Barry. 1987. *An Introduction to Strategic Studies: Military Technology & International Relations*. International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Fravel, M. Taylor. 2007/08. "Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes." *International Security* 32(3): 44–83.

Gilli, Andrea and Mauro Gilli. 2018/19. "Why China Has Not Caught Up Yet: Military-Technological Superiority and the Limits of Imitations, Reverse Engineering, and Cyber Espionage." *International Security* 43(3): 141–189.

Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214.

Johnston, Alastair Iain. "China's Militarized Interstate Dispute Behaviour 1949-1992: A First Cut at the Data." *The China Quarterly* 153: 1-30.

Liff, Adam, and G. John Ikenberry. Racing Toward Tragedy? China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma. *International Security* 39(2): 52-91.

Seminar Question:

Cases: U.S. military power; Chinese military power

Class Activities: Lecture/seminar discussion; Game: "The Struggle for Power and Peace in East Asia".

Session 8: Geography, Alliances, and (Non-)Alignment

Key Concepts: Regional Systems; Geography; Heartland; Rimland; Land Power; Sea Power; Alliances; Hedging; (Non-)Alignment; Spheres-of-Influence; Great Power Intervention; Proxy Wars; Client Regimes

Required Readings:

*Kaplan, R. (2010). The Geography of Chinese Power: How Far Can Beijing Reach on Land and at Sea? *Foreign Affairs* 89(3): 22-41.

*Lim, D. J. Cooper, Z. (2014). "Reassessing Hedging: The Logic of Alignment in East Asia." *Security Studies* 24(3): 331-356.

*Ross, Robert S. 1999. "The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-First Century." *International Security* 23(4): 81-118.

Recommended Readings:

Casey, Adam E. "The Durability of Client Regimes: Foreign Sponsorship and Military Loyalty, 1946-2010." *World Politics* 72(3): 411-447.

Levy, Jack S., and William R. Thompson. 2010. "Balancing on Land and at Sea: Do States Ally against the Leading Global Power?" *International Security* 35(1): 7-43.

MacKinder, H. J. 2004 [1904]. "The Geographical Pivot of History." *The Geographical Journal* 170(4): 298-314.

Walt, Stephen. 1985. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." *International Security* 9(4): 3-43.

Seminar Question: How does geography shape the patterns of alignment across the Asia Pacific?

Case: East Asia / Asia Pacific

Class Activities: Students analyze the strategic geography and patterns of alignment in East Asia and Asia Pacific. Game: "The Struggle for Power and Peace in East Asia".

Session 9: Ideology, Identity, and Domestic Politics

Key Concepts: Ideology; Ideological competition; Ideological distance; Hegemonic Shocks; Second-Image Reversed; Regime Type; Populism; Democracy; Autocracy

Required Readings:

*Gunitsky, Seva. 2017. *Aftershocks: Great Powers and Domestic Reforms in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1: "A Century of Shocks and Waves," pp. 1-32.

*Haas, Mark. 2005. *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1: "Ideological Similarities and Differences and Leaders' Perceptions of Threats," pp. 4-39

*Tsang, Steve. 2020. Party-State Realism: A Framework for Understanding China's Approach to Foreign Policy. *Journal of Contemporary China* 29: 304-318.

Recommended Readings:

Colby, Elbridge, and Robert D. Kaplan. 2020. "The Ideology Delusion: America's Competition with China Is Not About Ideology." *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-09-04/ideology-delusion>

Gotz, Elias. 2017. "Putin, the State, and War: The Causes of Russia's Near Abroad Assertion Revisited." *International Studies Review* 19(2): 228-253.

Snyder, Jack. 1991. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambitions*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1: "The Myth of Security through Expansion," pp. 1-20.

Xuetong, Yan. 2018. "Chinese Values vs. Liberalism: What Ideology Will Shape the International Normative Order?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11(1): 1-22.

Seminar Question: What are the contours of contemporary ideological competition between the great powers? Does great power politics threaten liberal democracy?

Case: The Cold War; The Chinese Communist Party

Class Activities: Lecture/seminar discussion; Game: "The Struggle for Power and Peace in East Asia".

Session 10: Great Powers, Economic Statecraft, and the Global Economy

Key Concepts: Global Economy; Geoeconomics; Hegemonic Stability Theory; Economic Interdependence; Weaponized Interdependence; Economic Nationalism; Protectionism; Mercantilism; Core-Periphery; Decoupling; Trade War

Readings:

*Farrell, Henry and Abraham L. Newman. 2019. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security* 44(1): 42-79.

*Johnson, Keith, and Robbie Gramer. 2020. "The Great U.S.-China Economic Decoupling." *Foreign Policy*, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/14/china-us-pandemic-economy-tensions-trump-coronavirus-covid-new-cold-war-economics-the-great-decoupling/>

*Lake, David. 2018. "Economic Openness and Great Power Competition: Lessons for China and the United States." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11(3): 237-270.

Drezner, Daniel W. 2019. "Counter-Hegemonic Strategies in the Global Economy." *Security Studies* 28(3): 505-531.

Gilpin, Robert. 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. "Chapter Three: The Dynamics of the International Political Economy," pp. 65-117.

Keohane, Robert. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Seminar Question: Can global economic interdependence withstand the resurgence of great power politics, or is economic nationalism and decoupling the inevitable outcome of the U.S.-China rivalry?

Case: The U.S.-China Trade War

Class Activities: Lecture/seminar discussion; Game: "The Struggle for Power and Peace in East Asia".

Session 11: Great Power Politics and Nuclear Weapons

Key Concepts: The Nuclear Revolution; Deterrence; Arms Control; Nuclear Safety; Nuclear Winter; Nuclear Taboo

Requiring Readings:

*Brodie, Bernard. 1959. "The Anatomy of Deterrence." *World Politics* 11(2): 173-191.

*Jervis, Robert. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. "Chapter 1: The Theory of the Nuclear Revolution," pp. 1-45.

*Waltz, Kenneth N. 1990. "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities." *The American Political Science Review* 84(3): 731-745.

Recommended Readings:

Acton, James. 2018. "Escalation Through Entanglement: How the Vulnerability of Command-and-Control Systems Raises the Risks of Inadvertent Nuclear War." *International Security* 43(1): 56-99.

Craig, Campbell. 2003. *Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau and Waltz*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gartzke, Erik, and Jon Lindsay. 2017. "Thermonuclear Cyberwar." *Journal of Cybersecurity* 3(1): 37-48.

Herz, John. 1959. *International Politics in the Atomic Age*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Morgenthau, Hans J. 1964. "The Four Paradoxes of Nuclear Strategy." *The American Political Science Review* 58 (1): 23-35.

Niebuhr, Reinhold. 1963. "The Nuclear Dilemma." *Chicago Review* 16 (3): 5-11.

Sagan, Carl. 1983. "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe: Some Policy Implications." *Foreign Affairs* 62(2): 257-92.

Sagan, Scott. 1995. *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Schlosser, Eric. 2013. *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety*. New York: Penguin Books.

Schelling, Thomas. 1960. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Tannenwald, Nina. 2018. "How Strong Is the Nuclear Taboo Today?" *The Washington Quarterly* 41(3): 89-109.

Seminar Question: Are nuclear weapons a source of international peace and security?

Cases: The Cuban Missile Crisis; The U.S.-North Korean Crisis

Class Activities: Lecture / seminar discussion.

Session 12: Great Power Politics and the “Age of Existential Threats”

Key Concepts: Existential Threats; Anthropocene; Climate Change; Tipping Points; Hothouse Earth; Geoengineering; Climate Governance; Emerging Technologies; Technological Disruption; Technological Loss-of-Control; Vulnerable World Hypothesis; Great Power Responsibility

Required Readings:

*Bernstein, Steven. 2019. “The Absence of Great Power Responsibility in Global Environmental Governance.” *European Journal of International Relations* 26(1): 8-32.

*Bostrom Nick. 2019. “The Vulnerable World Hypothesis.” *Global Policy* 10(4): 455-475.

*Sears, Nathan Alexander. 2020. “International Politics in the Age of Existential Threats.” *Journal of Global Security Studies* 0(0): 1-23.

Recommended Readings:

Bostrom Nick. 2013. “Existential Risk Prevention as Global Priority.” *Global Policy* 4(1): 15-31.

Corry, Olaf. 2017. “The International Politics of Geoengineering: The Feasibility of Plan B for Tackling Climate Change.” *Security Dialogue* 48(4): 297-315.

Biermann, F., et al. 2012. “Navigating the Anthropocene: Improving Earth System Governance.” *Science* 335(6074): 1306-1307

Burke, Anthony, et al. 2016. “Planet Politics: A Manifesto from the End of IR.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 44(3) 499–523.

Danzig, Richard. 2018. *Technology Roulette: Managing Loss of Control as Many Militaries Compete for Technological Superiority*. Washington, D.C.: CNAS.

Deudney, Daniel. 2018. “Turbo Change: Accelerating Technological Disruption, Planetary Geopolitics, and Architectonic Metaphors.” *International Studies Review* 20: 223-231.

Deudney, Daniel. 2020. *Dark Skies: Space Expansionism. Planetary Geopolitics, and the Ends of Humanity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrington, Cameron. 2016. “The Ends of World: International Relations and the Anthropocene.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 44(3): 478-498.

Horowitz, Michael C. 2018. “Artificial Intelligence, International Competition, and the Balance of Power.” *Texas National Security Review* 1(3): 36-57.

Scholten, Daniel, et al. 2020. "An Energy Transition Amidst Great Power Rivalry." *Journal of International Affairs* 73(1): 195-204.

Sears, Nathan Alexander. 2020. "Existential Security: Towards a Security Framework for the Survival of Humanity." *Global Policy* 11(2): 255-266.

Terhalle, Maximilian, and Joanna Depledge. "Great-Power Politics, Order Transition, and Climate Governance: Insights from International Relations Theory." *Climate Policy* 13(5): 572-588.

Seminar Question: How does great power politics exacerbate/ameliorate the existential risks facing humanity?

Case: Climate Change; Artificial Intelligence

Class Activities: Lecture/seminar discussion.