

Order and Change in the Contemporary International System
Department of Politics
New York University G53. – 1732.002
Spring 2006

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Place: Room 747

INTRODUCTION

This course focuses on order and change in the contemporary international system. The fundamental question we ask throughout the course is whether the world is hanging together and if so, then, what makes the world hang together? Is there order in the contemporary international system? What are its sources? How is order sustained? The establishment and the maintenance of order in the international system are inextricably linked to the stability of its structures. We will ask whether the contemporary international system is stable or changing and, if so, in what respects? Is the current order facing any challenges that may lead to its radical, fundamental, and lasting change? What are the major challenges to this order? Could the most powerful challenges to the current international order lead to radical transformations that would, fundamentally or permanently, change the structure of international system?

The seminar is organized in three sections. In the first section, we examine the central concepts of order and change. How is order in the international system established and sustained? How, when, and why is change in the international order made possible? In the second section, we will focus on Great Power politics. The fundamental question we ask here is how is order maintained from the great powers perspective? We will examine the nature of current international order, the centrality of the United States and the evolving contemporary patterns of cooperation and conflict among the US and other emerging or resurgent great powers, such as China, Europe, Russia, Japan and India. In the third section, we will concentrate on several major challenges to order in the contemporary international system. We continue by focusing on processes and events that appear to strengthen, to test or to undermine ongoing efforts to establish order in international system. We will be unable to cover in depth every challenge that we may identify. As many of these challenges have been examined in the core course in this field, *International Relations Theories and Concepts* – the prerequisite for this seminar – as well as in other seminars, we will focus on a selective number of issues that are either central to the efforts to establish the international order as globalization and democratization, or as major challenges to any such efforts. Among these challenging centripetal forces are failed and rogue states, nationalism, revolutions, civilizational structures and culture, and the presumed shifts in technological edge and advancements.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Given the very intensive nature of the course schedule you are expected to keep up with the assigned readings and to be prepared to discuss them in a knowledgeable way. This means dedicating substantial time to careful reading and thoughtful reflection before coming to class. You should be familiar with a lot of readings for this course because you have taken them in the core course. These readings are marked with an asterisk (*). However, the core course readings, central as they are to debates on order and change will not be sufficient. Thus, if you fail to keep up with the new assigned readings, you will not be able to contribute to and learn from our class interactions. Be well prepared to ask questions and to participate. Often, asking the appropriate question requires more skills from you than just tackling or answering them. Open discussion will provide you with an important opportunity to wrestle with, criticize, and engage the very important ideas presented in this course. Class presence is required and more than four absences will result in an adverse grade.

The major requirement is writing a term paper (between 20-25 pages in length). You also are required to make a presentation of readings for a particular class. The presentation should summarize the main points of readings assigned and it should not exceed 5-7 (five to seven) minutes. Copies of the presentation must be prepared and distributed a day in advance to the classmates.

Required Readings:

The following books are required. In addition, a course-pack could be picked up at the New University Copy Center between the Mercer and Green streets. All readings are in the Reserve at the Bobst Library.

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

John J. Mearsheimer: *Tragedy of Great Power Politics* New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

ORDER IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND APPROACHES

Week 1: Introduction to Class: How To Think About Order in Social Relations And In The International System?

Thomas Hobbes, "Of the Natural Condition of Mankind", "Of the First and Second Natural Laws and of Contracts", "Of Other Laws of Nature" chapters XIII-XV in *Leviathan*, 1651.

Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace" in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays* Translated by Ted Humphrey, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1988: 107-113, 115, 118, and 127-135.

Karl Marx, excerpts from "The German Ideology" and "The Communist Manifesto" in *The Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Reader*, edited by Robert E. Tucker, 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002: 146-173 and 473-483.

Emile Durkheim, "Mechanical Solidarity" and "Solidarity Arising from the Division of Labor" *The Division of Labor in Society*, New York: The Free Press, 1984:31-88.

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16 Summer 1989.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Errors of Endism," *The National Interest* 17 Fall 1989.

Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy" *The Atlantic Monthly*, Volume 273, Number 2, February 1994: 44-76.

Recommended:

Mustapha Kamal Pasha, 'Ibn Khaldun and World Order' in Stephen Gill, and James H. Mielman, eds., *Innovation and Transformation in International Studies* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 56-70.

Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* [*On the Law of War and Peace*] [1625] London: Hyperion Books, 1979. at: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Thebes/8098/index.html>

Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion*, London: Heinemann, 1910.

Arnold Wolfers and L. Martin, eds., *The Anglo-American Tradition in Foreign Affairs*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956. (focus on Jeremy Bentham, pp. 180-191; but read also, Richard Cobden, pp. 192-205; and John Stuart Mill, in pp. 206-220.)

Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.

Harold Lasswell, *World Politics and Personal Insecurity* New York: The Free Press, 1965.

N.J. Rengger, *International Relations, Political Theory and the Problem of Order: Beyond International Relations Theory* London: Routledge, 2000.

Robert Kaplan, *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War* New York: Vintage, 2001.

David Long, and Peter Wilson, eds., *Thinkers of the Twenty Year' Crisis: Interwar Idealism Reassessed*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Donald J. Puchala, *Theory & History in International Relations* New York: Routledge, 2004.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Ian Lustick, "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective." *International Organization* Volume 51, Number 4, 1997: 653-83.

Karl Deutsch, et al., *Political Community: North-Atlantic Area*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1957.

B. Krasner, Stephen D. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Bradley Klein, *Strategic Studies and World Order* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Robert W. Cox with Timothy J. Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Week 2: Ordering Principles and Structures of the International System: Sovereign States, Societies, Nations, and Nation-States.

John Gerard Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Towards a Neorealist Synthesis" in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York; Columbia University Press, 1986: 131-158.

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in *Bringing the State Back In*. Edited by Theda Skocpol, Peter Evans, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985:169-192.

Daniel Philpott, "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," *World Politics*, January 2000:

Edward Carr, "States and Nationalism: The Nation in European History" in David Held et al., *States and Societies* London: Blackwell, 1985: 181-195.

Anthony Giddens, "State, Society, and History" and "Nation-States in the Global System" in *The Nation-State And Violence* Volume 2 of *A Contemporary Critique Of Historical Materialism*, Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press: 1981: 255-94.

Steven D. Krasner, "Sovereignty and Its Discontents" in *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* Princeton: Princeton university Press, 1999:3-43.

Recommended:

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe," *International Organization* Winter 2004.

John Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations." *International Organization* Volume 47, number 4, 1993: 140-174.

Su Shih, "Letter to Emperor Shen-Tsung" circa 1070 Translated by J.K. Rideout in *Anthology of Chinese Literature* New York: Grove Press, 1965: 370-380.

Gianfranco Poggi, *The State: Its Nature, Development, and Prospects* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, London: Verso, 1974.

Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* New Left Books, 1975.

Aristide Zolberg, "Origins of the Modern World System," *World Politics* 33, 2 January 1981:253-281.

Brian Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990*, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990

Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Translated by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, Volume II, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978: 40-43, 341-48, 387-98, 901-910, 922-26.

Hendrick Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

J. P. Nettl, "The State As A Conceptual Variable," *World Politics*, July 1968, 559-92.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Approaches To The State: Alternative Conceptions And Historical Dynamics," *Comparative Politics*, Volume 16, Number 2, January 1984: 223-246.

Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *American Political Science Review* Volume 85, Number 1, 1991: 77-94.

Richard L. Hough, "The Evolution Of The Nation-State" in *The Nation-State: Challenges And Prospects*, Lanham, MA: University Press Of America, 2003.

Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power Of The State: Its Origins, Mechanisms And Results," In John Hall, Ed., *States In History* London: Blackwell, 1986: 109-36.

Theda Skocpol, "States and Revolutions: Russia, France and China" A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Volume 18 Number 2 April 1976:175-210.

Theda Skocpol, *States & Social Revolutions*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1979.

James B. Rule, *Theories of Civil Violence*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988

Barrington Moore, Jr., *The Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

Charles Tilly, "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation" in Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975:601-638.

Charles Tilly, "State and Nationalism in Europe, 1492-1992" *Theory and Society* Volume 23, Number 1, 1994: 131-146.

Martin Marcussen et al., "Constructing Europe? The Evolution of Nation-State Identities." In Thomas Christiansen et al., eds, *The Social Construction of Europe* London: Sage, 2001.: 101-121.

Reinhard Bendix, *Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Christian Reus-Smit, *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Bruce D. Porter *War and the Rise of the State. The Military Foundations of Modern Politics*. The Free Press: New York, 1994.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Victoria Tin-Bor Hui, *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Week 3: A Constructed International Order?

The 1793 letter of Chinese Emperor Qian Long to the King George III of England. Available at: <http://acc6.its.brooklyn.cuny.edu/~phalsall/texts/qianlong.html>

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2nd ed., with a Foreword by John Stiglitz, Boston: Beacon, 2001: vii-xviii, and 3-33.

Robert Cox, 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond IR Theory', in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* New York: Columbia University Press, 1986: 204-255.

G. John Ikenberry, "America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-War Era" in G. John Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy* 5th edition New York: Longman, 2004: 274-297.

Recommended:

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

Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* New York: Basic Books, 2003.

Kubáľková, Vendulka, Onuf, Nicholas and Kowert, Paul (eds.), *International Relations in a Constructed World* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998

Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Martin Wight, *International Theory: The three traditions* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991.

Craig N. Murphy, *Global Institutions, Marginalization, and Development* London: Routledge, 2005.

John Gerard Ruggie, *Constructing the World Polity* London: Routledge, 1998.

Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," *International Organization*, Volume 46, Number 2, 1992: 391-425.

John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization* Volume 54, Number 4, Autumn 1998: 855-888.

Alex J. Bellamy, ed., *International Society and Its Critics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Nicholas G. Onuf, *A World of Our Making*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Jutta Weldes, "Constructing National Interests," *European Journal of International Relations*, volume 2, Number 3 1996: 275-318.

Charles Manning, *The Nature of International Society*, London: Macmillan, 1975.

Ralph Pettman, *Commonsense Constructivism or the Making of World Affairs* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.

Richard Ned Lebow, "Thucydides the Constructivist" *American Political Science Review* volume 95, Number 3, September 2001: 547-60.

Peter Haas, ed., *Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination*, special issue of *International Organization*, Volume 46, Number 1, Winter 1992

John Burton, *World Society* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Ruggie, John Gerard "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order" *International Organization* Volume 36, Number 2, Spring 1982: 378-415.

Peter J. Katzenstein, et al. eds., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* NY: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Edward Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Week 4: Institutions and Regimes to Sustain the International Order?

Tony Smith, "National Security Liberalism and American Foreign Policy" in G. John Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy* 5th edition New York: Longman, 2004: 258-274.

G. John Ikenberry, and Daniel Deudney, "The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order." *Review of International Studies* Volume 25, 1999: 179-96.

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Randall Schweller, "The Problem of International Order Revisited" *International Security* Volume 26, Number 1 2001: 161-186.

Recommended:

Michael N. Barnett, "Bringing in the New World Order: Liberalism, Legitimacy, and the United Nations" *World Politics* Volume 49, Number 4, 1997:526-551.

Judith Goldstein, and Robert O. Keohane, *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, Little Brown, 1977

Robert Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?," *Foreign Policy* Spring 1998.

Robert O. Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.

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

Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1993.

Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions" *International Organization* Volume 51, Number 4, 1997: 555-589. (the second chapter of his book).

Lisa L. Martin and Beth A. Simmons "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* Volume 52, Number 4, Autumn 1998: 729-757.

Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* Volume 20, Number 1, Summer 1995: 39-51.

Stephan Haggard, and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories of International Regimes" *International Organization*, Vol. 41, 1987, pp. 491-517.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War," *The Atlantic Monthly* Volume 266, Number 2, August 1990.

John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, Volume 19, Number 3, 1994-95: 5-49.

Stephen D. Krasner ed., *International Regimes* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Devesh Kapur, "Who Gets to Run the World?," *Foreign Policy* November/December 2000.

Joseph Nye, *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Cannot Go It Alone*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power in the Global Information Age* London: Routledge, 2004.

Week 5: Realist and Neorealist Approaches: International Order As The Outcome Of Power Relations And Capabilities

Kenneth Waltz, "Structural Realism After the Cold War" *International Security* Volume 25, Number 1 Summer 2000: 5-41.

John J. Mearsheimer: *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.

Jeffrey W. Legro, *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005: 24-49 and 161-189.

Recommended:

Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Game Plan* New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986.

Inis L. Claude, *Power and International Relations* New York: Random House, 1962.

Henry Kissinger, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1969.

Niccolo, Machiavelli, *The Prince and the Discourses* New York: Modern Library, 1950.

Hans J. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.

Reinold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* New York: Scribners, 1947.

Frederick L. Schuman, *International Politics: The Western State System and the World Community* New York: McGraw Hill, 1958.

Georg Schwarzenberger, *Power Politics: an Introduction to the Study of International Relations and Post-War Planning* London: J. Cape, 1941.

Alfons Sollner, 'German Conservatism in America: Morgenthau's Political Realism', *Telos*, 72, Summer 1987: 161-172.

Kenneth W. Thompson, *Political Realism and the Crisis of World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory", *Journal of International Affairs*, volume 44, Number 1, 1990.

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War: a theoretical analysis* New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security*, Volume 18, Number 2, Fall 1993:44-79.

Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962.

Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored* London: Gollancz, 1957.

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley Press: Reading MA, 1979: 79-129.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1994.

Edward Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power*, New York, Norton, 1955.

Paul Schroeder, "The 19th-Century International System: Changes in the Structure", *World Politics*, Volume 29 Number 1, 1986: 1-26.

Michael C. Williams, "Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Fall 2004.

Randall Schweller and William Wohlforth, "Power Test: Evaluating Realism in Response to the End of the Cold War", *Security Studies*, Volume 9, Number 3, 2000: 60-107.

Corinna Kagan, "The Myth of the European Concert," *Security Studies*, winter 1997/98.

GREAT POWER POLITICS AND CHALLENGES TO ORDER IN THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Week 6: The US Strategy to Establish A New International Order and Symptoms of Balancing Behavior in the Contemporary International System

(*) Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981: 1-49; and 156-244.

The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002.

John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2005.

Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine" in G. John Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy* 5th edition New York: Longman, 2002: 576-599.

Robert A. Pape, "Soft Balancing against the United States", *International Security* Volume 30, Issue 1, Summer 2005: 7-47.

T. V. Paul, "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy" *International Security* Volume 30, Issue 1, Summer 2005: 47-71.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing" *International Security* Volume 30, Issue 1, Summer 2005: 72-108.

Keir A. Lieber and Gerard Alexander, "Waiting for Balancing: Why the World Is Not Pushing Back" *International Security* Volume 30, Issue 1, Summer 2005: 109-139.

Recommended:

Ernest May, "National Security in American History," in Graham T. Allison and Gregory F. Treverton, eds., *Rethinking America's Security: Beyond Cold War to New World Order* New York: W.W. Norton, 1992:94-117.

NSC 68: *United States Objectives and Programs for National Security* (April 14, 1950)

<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm>

John Lewis Gaddis, "Paul Nitze, NSC-68 and the Soviet Threat Reconsidered" *International Security*, Volume 4, Number 4. Spring, 1980: 164-176.

Paul D. Wolfowitz, "The New Defense Strategy" in Graham T. Allison and Gregory F. Treverton, eds., *Rethinking America's Security: Beyond Cold War to New World Order* New York: W.W. Norton, 1992:176-196

(*) Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* Volume 21, number 3 Winter 1996/97: 5-53. (Via JSTOR) Stable URL:

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age*, December 2000,

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-0012.pdf>.

Condoleezza Rice, "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs* volume 79 number 1 January/February 2000: 45-62.

National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction, December 2002,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/WMDStrategy.pdf>

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs* volume 81 4 July/August 2002: 20-34

R. Gilpin, "The Theory of Hegemonic War", in Robert I. Rotberg and T. K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989: 15-38.

John Mearsheimer, "The Future of the American Pacifier" *Foreign Affairs*, volume 80 September/October 2001.

Charles A. Kupchan, *The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century* New York: Knopf, 2002.

Samuel Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower" in G. John Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy* 5th edition New York: Longman, 2002: 540-550.

Jack Lewis Snyder, "Imperial Temptations," *The National Interest*, Spring 2003: 29-40 and the reply of Philip Zelikow, "The Transformation of National Security" *The National Interest*, Spring 2003.

Colin S. Gray, *The Sheriff: America's Defense of the New World Order*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004. and its review by Damon Coletta, "The Sheriff: America's Defense of the New World Order" *Parameters*, Summer, 2005.

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

G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 81, Number 5 September/October 2002.

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* Volume 21, Number 3 Winter 1996-1997: 5-53.

Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *America's Strategic Choices*, revised edition Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000.

Francis Fukuyama, "The Neoconservative Moment," *The National Interest* volume 76, Summer 2004: 57-68.

Charles Krauthammer, "In Defense of Democratic Realism," *The National Interest* Fall 2004.

Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003.

G. John Ikenberry, ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Henry R. Nau, *At Home Abroad: Identity and Power in American Foreign Policy* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

James J. Wirtz and James A. Russell, "U.S. Policy on Preventive War and Preemption," *Nonproliferation Review* volume 10, number 1 Spring 2003: 113-123,

Antony J. Blinken, "From Preemption to Engagement" *Survival*, vol. 45, no. 4, 2003: 33-60

Walter B. Slocombe, "Force, Pre-emption and Legitimacy" *Survival*, volume 45, Number 1, March 2003: 117-130.

Douglas J. Feith, "Transforming the U.S. Global Posture" remarks to CSIS December 3, 2003.

Week 7: China: A Resurgent Great Power and/or The Challenger?

"Building a New World Order The power triumvirate of China, Europe and the U.S", *Beijing Review*, 2005, volume 48, Number 37, 2005: 14-15. <http://www.bjreview.com.cn/En-2005/05-37-e/viewpoint.htm>

Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* Volume 30, Issue 2, Fall 2005: 7-45.

Robert D. Kaplan, "How We Would Fight China" *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 2005.

David Shambaugh, "China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order" *International Security* Volume 29, Issue 4, Winter 2004: 64 - 99.

Nicholas Khoo, Michael L. R. Smith, and David Shambaugh, *International Security* Volume 30, Issue 1, Summer 2005:196-214.

Evan S. Medeiros, and M. Taylor Fravel. "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 82, November-December 2003: 22-35.

David Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong," *International Security*, Volume 27, Number 4, Spring 2003:57-85.

Recommended:

Andrew Small, *Preventing The Next Cold War: A View from Beijing* London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2005.

Joseph S Nye, "China's Re-emergence and the Future of the Asia-Pacific," *Survival*, Volume 39, Winter 1997-98: 65-79.

Thomas J. Christensen, "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security*, Volume 23, Spring 1999: 49–80.

Charles Horner, "China and the Historians," *The National Interest*, Volume 63, Spring 2001: 86–96.

Aaron L. Friedberg, "Will Europe's Past Be Asia's Future?" *Survival*, Volume 42, Autumn 2000: 147–59.

Eugene A. Matthews, "Japan's New Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 82, November-December 2003 72-90.

Peter J. Katzenstein and Noburo Okawara, "Japan, Asia-Pacific Security, and the Case for Analytical Eclecticism," *International Security*, Volume 26, Number 3, Winter 2001: 153-185.

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

Gerald Segal, "Does China Matter" *Foreign Affairs* Sept. Oct 1999 Vol. 78 issue 5 pp. 24-36;

David Shambaugh, "Facing Reality in China Policy" *Foreign Affairs* January 2000. Vol. 80 p.50-64.

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