



P.S. 375 Great Powers Prof. Frank Wayman 210820
Fall 2021, TTh 2:00-3:15 PM 1175 SSB [CRN 14428]
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P.S. 375 is concerned with the struggle for world supremacy among the great powers. This includes the decisions of foreign policy decision makers, and the policies that produce the underlying economic and military strength of nations.

Part I. Theory and History of Great Power Interaction

The course begins with an historical examination of the struggle for world supremacy since the Renaissance. Based on Paul Kennedy's best-seller, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, we will consider the thesis that economic strength is the primary basis of national supremacy, but that dominant powers in economic decline resort to military exploits that only further undermine their economic position. Would the two twentieth century superpowers, Russia and the U.S., avoid this fate or decline like their predecessors? A couple of years after Kennedy published his book, the Soviet Union fell apart. Why couldn't Gorbachev, who cut the Russian military back, revive the Russian economy quickly? Is the U.S. now following the Soviet Union/Russia into decline? What about China?

Moving on in the literature on the great powers, we will study at length Mearsheimer's *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, which presents a neo-realist theory of how great powers interact, and we will examine the evidence concerning power shifts, polarity, and war, starting from the list of great powers and consideration of their wars in Levy's *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975*.

If we go even broader than these books (as we will do in class), we see that over thousands of years until the past 200 years or so, the world was broken up into regions (Europe, the Mideast, South Asia, East Asia, and so on) that were not in daily touch with each other. Each region tended to be dominated by one dominant state. For instance, China dominated East Asia, and was the largest state in the world until a few hundred years ago. The terminology academics use for this condition is to say Asia was "uni-polar" (meaning dominated by one state). Unipolarity was typical of most other regions. Europe since the Renaissance was different than these regions: Europe was multipolar rather than unipolar. That means there were several relatively equal powers competing with each other. Europe came to dominate the globe, and for several hundred years this whole globe (which was moving away from regionalism toward globalization) was multipolar. So, we seem to have a situation where, until about 1492, the world was regionalized and the regions were each dominated, usually, by a single big state. Many of these big states were "continental" - on a continent, not on an island. The period we are studying is the past 500 years or so, since 1492, and we'll call that the "modern" world. That world has been dominated by Europeans, while Europe was multipolar, and the dominant powers came to be

islands (England) or, later, the whole the North American continent (notably, the U.S.), which is somewhat like an island, as it is separated from the other major powers by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

A theme of my own, for the course, is that the multipolar European great power system was affected by a "balance of power" mechanism, which was "maintained" by "insular" powers (such as England). This balance of power helped keep one state from dominating the others, and also seems to have fostered economic growth and the spread of liberalism.

Part II. The Economic Struggle for Power

Our next focus is how America can strengthen its economy and remain number one in the post-Cold War world. The problem is that, while China and India are growing fast and catching up to other countries economically, the other great powers (and the other nations) are suffering from declining rates of economic growth. The standard of living is almost stagnant. What do to do? We will read portions of Lester Thurow's *Head to Head*, and consider the validity of his proposals for strengthening the U.S. In a word, he thinks there are two forms of capitalism, individualistic and communitarian, and that the U.S. would do better if it was more communitarian. Many of the themes of Kennedy and Thurow were echoed in the national policy debates of the 1990s: the Perot campaign, Clinton-Gore administration policies, and Gingrich's contract with America. Bush 43 and Obama drifted away from Clinton (who stamped his platform with "It's the economy, stupid.") Bernie Sanders brought the economic issue back to us, in his 2016 primary campaign in Michigan, where he beat Hillary Clinton. Trump also talked about bringing jobs back, and it resonated with voters, but he had little idea what would be effective to do about it, and concentrated instead on a tax cut, tariffs, and slowing immigration. In the 2020 campaign, Elizabeth Warren and some candidates with less support, such as Andrew Yang, have made proposals that were supposed to help the U.S. economy, as did Biden, who won. President Biden's infrastructure bills are aimed at U.S. economic revival. We will discuss the political implications of these ideas about national revival and global competition. Here are the writings we focus on. Robert Reich, Clinton's Secretary of Labor, wrote *The Work of Nations*, analyzing the class struggle in the new world order. We will consider the writings of Reich, of the German author Erich Weede (*Economic Development, Social Order, and World Politics*), and of pollster Ronald Inglehart ("Clash of Civilizations or Global Cultural Modernization: Empirical Evidence from 61 Societies" [Intl. Soc. Assn., Montréal Aug. 1998]). Our main reading in this section of the course will be the updated edition of Thomas Friedman's *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, in which Friedman discusses the current globalized world economy, which offers nations and people the chance to have a Lexus if they chart their course well and choose peace. My impression of the 2020 Presidential campaign and early Biden administration is that these issues have not gone away, but that the public discourse has been impoverished, as most candidates posture and the country suffers. Insular nations, which play a big role in Part I (on the balance of power) have also been the most prosperous nations over the past 500 years, but non-insular (i.e., continental) countries like China did well in ancient times, and China has now been growing fast for forty years. This section concludes with 12 principal policies that have shown up in the literature, as conducive to superior long-term economic growth.

Part III. Foreign Policy of the Great Powers.

In the last segment of the course, we will consider the causes and consequences of foreign policy decision making, the processes by which such decisions are

made, and current problems in world security and especially U.S. foreign policy. Unlike country-specific courses, such as American Foreign Policy or Chinese Foreign Policy, the present course looks beyond the horizons of one particular nation, and attempts to identify similarities and differences in the foreign policies of a variety of countries. This comparative approach, as the readings below will indicate, will be built on two foundation blocks. For one, there will be readings and lectures on the foreign policies of selected countries, such as Russia and China. These materials should provide a substantial body of knowledge about concrete cases. Second, there will be readings and lectures on some general laws, or at least hypotheses, that have emerged in the literature and that do seem to draw the study of various nations' foreign policies together. The optimists among us hope that we can learn these rules of the game faster than we acquire the capacity to blow our civilization up in a nuclear Armageddon, or ruin the climate by not working together to stabilize it. We will see that (and this is a very big deal) the bulk of evidence is that the amount of war is declining; but the picture is complicated, as to what are the most important two or three causes of this decline in war, and what policies would be best. For instance, I just noticed as this goes to press that, in terms of global public opinion, Merkel is the most popular world leader; what are we to make of my finding, which we will examine in this part of the course, that when great powers are led by women (Elizabeth I of England, Maria Theresa of Austria, et al.) wars have been much less likely than during male rule? It seems the spread of liberalism has reduced warfare, but it is intriguing that liberalism has spread among the great powers (e.g., to Germany in 1945) by war, in which a liberal country has conquered a non-liberal country and forced liberalism on the vanquished. This can't go any further, as China and Russia are too big to conquer, even if there weren't nuclear weapons to deter any fight.

In the contemporary context, in which the U.S. is the strongest superpower and hence the dominant global player, these and other issues are addressed in the reading of Robert Kagan's *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*. In lecture, we will also consider the post-Cold War world views of Singer and Wildavsky, *The Real World Order*. At this time, we will evaluate the adequacy of various foreign policy instruments, such as economic sanctions and resort to force, though only briefly, as this is taken up at greater length in P.S. 473, International Security.

The course examines the substance of foreign policy and the theories and methods used to understand foreign policy. The choice of proper theories and methods is crucial to understanding foreign policy, but unfortunately there is no consensus about the proper theories and methods in this field. Instead, competing cliques of analysts study foreign policy from a plethora of conflicting points of view, and the intelligent student must pick and choose elements from a variety of these perspectives in order to get a full picture of comparative foreign policy today. While sometimes striking some of you as trendy, confusing, and tedious, this diversity of approaches can enhance the drama, excitement, and intellectual challenge of the subject.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

This course is offered as part of the U of M Dearborn Political Science Program. The goals for this program can be found at <http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/politicalsciences/>

By the end of the course, students should
-- have a basic knowledge and understanding of great power behavior and its causes and effects.

- be able to demonstrate how the great power system evolved and how it is changing in the contemporary world.
- be able to compare the American experience with the great power system with that of great powers elsewhere.
- be able to apply critical thinking and analysis to make evaluations of, and judgments on, institutions, processes, and policies.
- be able to read and understand political science texts and write clear logical prose, and to see the relationship of political science to works in other fields (economics, history, geography, etc.) whose practitioners have examined the great powers.
- have the knowledge and understanding for responsible citizenship and political participation and how to be involved, as well as some fresh ideas on how to succeed as a nation or as a young citizen in the modern world.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The exams in the course will be designed to test your knowledge of the readings and lectures. The three exams will be half multiple choice and half essay. The multiple choice questions will be designed to test your knowledge of specific points in the readings and lectures. The essay portion of each exam will be 25 minutes long, and during that period you will answer one question, assigned to you from a set of about three questions that will be distributed at least one week before the exam. The three questions will attempt to give you the opportunity to integrate your knowledge into a broad perspective of your own on some aspect of foreign policy. You will have to answer the question on the exam without aid of notes, but the opportunity to prepare in advance will insure that you are not caught by surprise by the question. The three exams will have equal weight (each counts for 27 percent of the course grade). No make-up exams will be permitted without documentation of medical exigency (e.g., a physician's note). Fourteen percent of the grade will be the take-home paper assignment, discussed a few lines below. About five percent of the grade will be class participation, which will help those who participate but will not lower the grade of the shy or otherwise quiet. Strong leadership in analyzing and discussing the readings may boost the weight of this class participation for those who engage in serious thinking about the texts and their relevance to global conditions.

Grading Scale:

Grading of the multiple choice tests is curved, to roughly correspond to the historic average University grade, in the B to B- range. Grading of the essay portion of the exam and of the term papers is on a basis of absolute quality rather than a curve. Grades of A correspond to a GPA of 4.0, B is a 3.0, C is a 2.0, and so on down through D (1.0) and E or F (0).

THE PAPER ASSIGNMENT:

The essay assignment, DUE NOV. 26TH, IS AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER, DOUBLE SPACED: If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2020, what lessons on how to rebuild America would you want to draw from the readings and lectures, and why? To what extent are there "lessons" in Kennedy's history, in Mearsheimer, in the works on political economy such as Thurow's *Head to Head*, and in the Robert Kagan and Joseph Nye books, and readings on the war on terrorism?

TERM PAPER ASSIGNMENT

The term papers are keyed into items from the syllabus list of readings and lectures for the first exam, so you should be familiar with the basic concepts and issues by the time you write the paper. Each student should pick one topic from the following list, and hopefully no topic will be used by more than one of you. Other similar topics are possible. The theme is to explore the theoretical perspectives in the course, by seeking more information about a critical point in the argument. These topics worked well last fall, which was the first time I'd used them. Hopefully, the same will be true this term. I may expand this list before you select a paper, but this current list is a good place for each of you to start. It will take a couple of weeks of lecturing before you can see how all this fits together, so for now let's just say it's all related to the Mearsheimer book and to my lectures that relate to that.

1. Charles Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann have written "What Is the Offensive/Defensive Balance and Can We Measure it?", in *International Security* 1998. This is readily available to anyone on line. The assignment is to read this and write an essay discussing whether what it says is damaging to the ideas I presented in lecture about the offensive/defensive balance, or supportive of them. Recall that basically I argued that there is an offensive/defensive balance, and when the defense has a stronger advantage, the era is different, than an era when there is a weaker advantage to the defense.
2. Read Jack Levy's article in *International Studies Quarterly* on the offensive/defensive balance in history, and do the same scrutiny as in question one.
3. Take Niall Ferguson's *Kissinger*, Vol. I, The Idealist (Penguin, 2015), especially p. 338. How is Kissinger's approach similar, and how is it different, to the insular power argument I made in class?
4. Mearsheimer has numbers of how often England and the US were invaded, versus continental major powers. If I recall correctly he has 10 invasions of continental major powers, nine by land and only one by sea, versus almost no invasions of his offshore balancers (England and US). What are these invasions of which he speaks? List them, look at the circumstances in which they happened. Is he correct?
5. Do military coups happen more often in landlocked and other continental countries, than they do in insular countries? Is this pattern true of major powers? If so, are insular countries more likely to have become liberal democracies?
6. When did fortress walls around cities come to an end in England, as opposed to the continental countries?
7. What alternatives are there in the literature of political science, to my argument that England became the first representative government in Europe because it was an island?
8. How does Kennan's argument, in *American Diplomacy*, chapter one, and "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", differ from and resemble my argument about America as a hegemon on the North American continent, facing the bigger continent of Eurasia, home to the other major powers? How does Spykman fit into this, with

his geo-political views in the 1930s (as described in Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations*)?

9. Does the theory I presented in class predict some things to not happen, that did happen? For instance, would what I said lead us to predict that Napoleon and Hitler would not attempt to wage war to defeat England?

10. Does the theory I presented in class predict some things to happen, that did not happen? For instance, would what I said in class lead us to predict that Britain would oppose and prevent German unification under Bismarck in 1870? To predict that Britain would defend the territory it occupied, to prevent Hitler's re-taking of the Rhineland in 1936? To predict that Britain would oppose Hitler at Munich in 1938, rather than appease him? To predict that Britain would oppose German unification in 1990, at the end of the Cold War?

11. Are the most long-lasting military alliances (see Doug Gibling's book in the COW book series from CQ Press/Sage Publications) between the offshore balancers/insular major powers and near-shore allies, as predicted from the balance of power theory presented in class?

12. When was the last inter-state war between the offshore balancers and each of their near-shore allies? For example, when did England fight against the Netherlands (and why) ?

13. What efforts have insular states made to shift the stopping power of water? How successful have these been?

14. What efforts have continental states made to shift the stopping power of water? How successful have these been?

15. What are the major publications on power transitions, in the past ten or fifteen years? (This is a literature review assignment.)

YOU MUST TURN IN TWO PRINT COPIES AND ONE EMAIL COPY. DUE DEC. 4TH.

READINGS:

The following required readings should be available in the bookstore, and should be purchased by all students:

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 2001. 553 pp. ISBN 0-393-02025-8. The 2014 edition, ISBN 978-0-393-34927-6, is also acceptable.

Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, expanded edition. N.Y.: Anchor Books (a division of Random House), 2000. 490 pp. ISBN 0-385-49934-5

Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*. N.Y.: Vintage Books (a division of Random House), 2004. 158 pp. ISBN 1-4000-3418-3

Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*. Oxford U. Press, 2003. Paperback, 258 pp. ISBN 0-195-16110-6

There is also a Course-Pack.

Each student should buy the course pack, available from Dollar Bill Copy, for sale on line or at their toll-free number. \$Bill can be reached at 1-877-738-9200, or at www.dollarbillcopying.com. At the website, go to order products on line, then to the order course packs on line bar, then to UM-D, then to the course number. After selecting all those things, proceed to order, give mailing info., credit card, and \$Bill ships next day UPS to your address. The texts are old classics, and hence affordable.

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND POLICIES:

The pandemic and keeping everyone safe is our top priority, and we will have to see how this goes during the semester, as we do not know how the medical situation is evolving. The following rules apply to in-person classes, and will have to be adjusted depending on how much contact we are able to safely have. I am listing my standard policies from previous years, but our need to be safe from the pandemic makes everything subject to change, to the degree that we can't meet in-person. Please follow my directions to keep us from infecting each other.

Those missing class should have a legitimate excuse, and should speak to me the week before if possible. Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students should register with the Disability Resource Services Office within the first few weeks of the semester to be eligible for services that semester.

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying) --

Code of Conduct from the office of the Provost:

The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth by the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the

schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

Any incidences of the above will be reported to the Social Science Department Chair, the CASL Deans office, and the Student's unit and/or school.

DISABILITIES:

The University will make reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students need to register with Disability Resource Services (DRS) every semester they are enrolled for classes. DRS is located in Counseling & Support Services, 2157 UC. To be assured of having services when they are needed, students should register no later than the end of the add/drop deadline of each term.

CLASS POLICIES:

1. No make-up exams will be given except under documented circumstances.
2. RESPECT. We are all to respect others opinions, beings, comments, and habits. This does not mean we cannot disagree, nor does it mean we cannot have fun. However, we each need to respect the diversity of our fellow students. There are also topics discussed that may challenge you either intellectually or emotionally; while we try to be sensitive, a university is also a place for inquiry and discovery. More about this in class.
3. Students arriving late should do so as quietly and unobtrusively as possible.
4. In the event that I am aware of a major accident on the road or a weather problem, I may delay class start by five to ten minutes.
5. ON E-MAIL: E-MAIL IS THE MAIN VEHICLE WE WILL USE TO STAY IN TOUCH OUTSIDE OF CLASS. For example, if school is canceled, I will send you an email with some attached materials. Anyone without access to the Internet at home should see me the first week of class to have alternative plans in place. While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, there is so much trouble for all of us from hackers and viruses, that it is good to observe appropriate norms of behavior. Because of the threat from viruses and similar plagues, I do not open emails that do not have your name as the sender, or emails that do not have a subject heading that indicates a topic related to you and the course. We should all also be cautious about opening e-mail attachments. This means, for example, your e-mail must actually be readable by me when I click on it; in other words, when I open an e-mail and there is no text because all the text has been placed in an attachment, I do not open the attachment out of caution. I look forward to hearing from you; on the whole, this email system is a blessing.
6. Class discussion and participation is an integral part of this class. If you are within two or three points of a higher grade, your participation and attendance will be taken into account. (I do not count you as present if you are sleeping, carrying on personal discussions, or otherwise "tuned out.")

7. **As a general rule, use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, but there are reasonable exceptions for portable computers for class purposes. Please step up to the podium area and notify me, in the first week of class, if you are wish to use a laptop computer.**

Put your pagers on vibrate and turn off your cell phones. (In the event that you are on stand-by to be asked by President Obama to be a liaison in secret meetings with the Syrian rebels, or Donald Trump has asked you to be his on-call foreign policy advisor, or some critical personal reason, let me know ahead of time). **If your pager or cell phone goes off, or if you read or answer a text, YOU LOSE 5 POINTS. If you get up and leave to be on the phone, you lose five points. If mine goes off, you get five points.**

8 **The use of a laptop in class is acceptable ONLY FOR CLASS PURPOSES.** Game playing, emailing, and web surfing, unless approved by instructor, are not acceptable. This has become a problem and students have complained privately that it is distracting and annoying. If you feel a need to keep emailing your friends, surfing the web, or playing games, you probably should not come to class. It is your choice. If you have a laptop, I will, on occasion, ask you to look up something we are discussing.

9. I reserve the right to make minor changes to the syllabus, and we may fall behind or surge ahead, but any changes to exam dates (due to school closure, falling behind because we had a speaker, etc.) will be decided by the class by vote.

10. **UM-Dearborn's official attendance policy states that, "a student is expected to attend every class and laboratory for which he or she has registered. Each instructor may make known to the student his or her policy with respect to absences in the course. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of this policy. The instructor makes the final decision to excuse or not to excuse an absence. An instructor is entitled to give a failing grade (E) for excessive absences or an Unofficial Drop (UE) for a student who stops attending class at some point during the semester."** If you are absent, you must get notes from a fellow student. I will not go over what we covered in class, nor will I excuse you from any assignment or new information unless a real (documented) emergency occurred.

11. I will make every effort to meet with any student so requesting. You need to build relationships with your instructors so when it is time for a recommendation for a scholarship or something else, your instructors will know you. Try to come up and see me at least twice during the semester. I am around many other times than my official hours indicate; just ask. Using my email fwayman@umich.edu is definitely the BEST way to contact me.

Safety:

All students are encouraged to program 911 and UM-Dearborn's Public Safety phone number (313) 593-5333 into personal cell phones. In case of emergency, first dial 911 and then if the situation allows call UM-Dearborn Public Safety. The Emergency Alert Notification (EAN) system is the official process for notifying the campus community for emergency events. All students are

strongly encouraged to register in the campus Emergency Alert System, for communications during an emergency. The following link includes information on registering as well as safety and emergency procedures information: <http://umdearborn.edu/emergencyalert/>. If you hear a fire alarm, class will be immediately suspended, and you must evacuate the building using the nearest exit. Please proceed outdoors to the assembly area and away from the building. Do not use the elevators. It is highly recommended that you do not head to your vehicle or leave campus since it is necessary to account for all persons and to ensure that first responders can access the campus. If the class is notified of a shelter in place requirement for a tornado warning or severe weather warning, your instructor will suspend class and shelter the class in the lowest level of this building away from windows and doors. If notified of an active threat (shooter) you will Run (get out), Hide (find a safe place to stay) or Fight (with anything available). Your response will be dictated by the specific circumstances of the encounter.

SCHEDULE: GREAT POWERS PS 375

Please note: we may go slower or faster than indicated, depending on classroom discussion, a significant current event, or for some other reason.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS:

Students should complete the following readings by the indicated dates.

I. THE THEORY AND HISTORY OF THE GREAT POWERS' INTERACTION

By Sept. 8th: Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (N.Y.: Random House, 1987), course pack, 72 pages.

By Sept. 10th: Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, front cover to page 100.

By Sept. 17th: Mearsheimer, pp. 101-200.

By Sept. 24th: Mearsheimer, pp. 201-300.
Course pack, Wayman, "Power Shifts and War."

By Oct. 1st: Mearsheimer, rest of book.

-- THE FIRST EXAM WILL BE ON THURS., OCT. 3RD --
THE EXAM WILL COVER ALL MATERIAL IN PART I.

II. THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE FOR POWER

By Oct. 10th: Weede, and Reich in course pack:

Recommended reading (this item *not* required): Lester Thurow, *Head to Head* (N.Y.: William Morrow, 1992), excerpts (pp. 27-55, 259-286). These pages will be summarized in lecture.

Erich Weede, *Economic Development, Social Order, and World Politics* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1996), excerpts.

Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations* (N.Y.: Knopf, 1991), excerpts.

Note: OCT. 14TH AND 15TH HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED AS UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-DEARBORN FALL BREAK

By Oct. 17th: Friedman, *Lexus and Olive Tree*, chs. 3-4 (Lexus and Olive Tree; Walls Come Tumbling Down), 6-7 (Golden Straightjacket; Electronic Herd), 9-10 (Globalution; Shapers, Adapters, ...)

By Oct. 24th: Friedman, *Lexus and Olive Tree*, chs. 12 (Golden Arches), 14 (Winners Take All), 18 (Revolution in the U.S.)

By Oct. 31st: Clyde Prestowitz, *Three Billion New Capitalists*. ch. 5, "Serviced in India." (26 pp.)

William Baumol, Sue Blackman, and Edward Wolff, *Productivity and American Leadership: The Long View*, pp. 9-25 (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1989.)

-- THE SECOND EXAM WILL BE ON THURS., NOV. 7TH --
THE EXAM WILL COVER ALL MATERIAL IN PART II.

III. CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN FOREIGN POLICY

By Nov. 14th: Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*, pp. 1-103.

By Nov. 21st: Kagan, pp. 104-158. Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*, pp. 1-100.

Note: THANKSGIVING IS NOV. 28th, THANKSGIVING VACATION IS NOV. 28-DEC. 1

By Nov. 24th: Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*, pp. 100-end.

By Dec. 1st: David Wilkinson, Zeev Maoz, in course pack:

David Wilkinson, "Central Civilization," *Comparative Civilization Review*, 1987, pp. 31-59, excerpts.

Zeev Maoz, "The Controversy over the Democratic Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 162-198.

TERM PAPER Assignment due Thurs., Dec. 4th. YOU MUST TURN IN TWO PRINT COPIES AND ALSO SEND ME AN EMAIL COPY. However, if we are in a bad stretch of the pandemic, I may eliminate the two print copies.

By Dec. 8th:

David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* Vol. 29 (Summer 2004), pp. 49-91.

-- THE THIRD EXAM WILL BE DURING FINAL EXAM WEEK, DEC. 13-17 --

ESSAY QUESTIONS FOR THE THREE EXAMS. (Subject to possible modification).

Essay Half of each exam: Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following THREE questions. One of these three will be on the exam.

P.S. 375 Exam No. 1, 121009, Prof. Wayman

1. What causes the rise and decline of great powers relative to each other? Base your answer on Kennedy, and be sure to discuss material capabilities (demographic, economic, and military), government policy. Distinguish persistent forces (causes that have endured over the whole period since the Renaissance) from shorter term forces (causes that are fundamentally different now than in the past). In the case of shorter term forces, identify which operate now and which are of only historic interest, and focus primarily on the former.
2. In class, we discussed the Soviet Union and Russia. To what extent do you think the Soviet Union fit the pattern of an expansionist land power discussed by Kennedy, Dehio, Goldstein, and Thompson? In what ways was the Soviet Union similar to the Hapsburgs in their bid for expansion, the French under Louis XIV and Napoleon, and the Germans under Kaiser Wilhelm and Hitler?
3. Describe as carefully as you can the thesis and supporting argument of Mearsheimer. What evidence does he have for it? How useful is it for us in the 21st century?
4. Do power shifts among the great powers cause wars? Are there any logical reasons to expect that power shifts would cause wars, and is there any evidence that they do? (Last fall this question was postponed until the next exam; it may happen again, if we run short on time.)

ALSO, WHILE YOU STILL HAVE KENNEDY FRESH IN YOUR MIND, MAKE SOME NOTES FOR THE UPCOMING TERM PAPER QUESTION, DRAWING FROM KENNEDY AND OUR CLASS LECTURES AND DISCUSSION:

5. If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2020, what lessons on how to rebuild America would you want to draw from the readings and lectures, and why? To what extent are there "lessons" in Kennedy's history? Can we extract lessons from the distant past? If so, what are they? In what ways is our present (and foreseeable future) so different from the past that the "lessons" are irrelevant?

Second Exam:

Essay Questions.

Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following questions. One of the questions will be on the exam.

1. How do the arguments of Thurow, Reich, and Baumol et al. compare, contrast, and complement each other? (Be sure you summarize the main points each makes, so that I see that you know the basic theses of each book.)

2. What is the thesis of the *Lexus and the Olive Tree*? What is the logical argument by which Friedman develops his point of view? To what extent to you agree?

3. If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2020, what lessons on how to rebuild America would you want to draw from the readings and lectures, and why? To what extent are there "lessons" in Kennedy's history, in Mearsheimer, and in the works on political economy such as Thurow's *Head to Head*?

4. (IF delayed from first exam:)

Do power shifts among the great powers cause wars? Are there any logical reasons to expect that power shifts would cause wars, and is there any evidence that they do?

Third Exam:

Essay Questions.

Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following questions.

One of the questions will be on the exam.

1. What is Kagan's argument, and what is Nye's? In what ways do you agree with Kagan, and in what ways do you agree with Nye?

2. Mearsheimer's book was written before Sept. 11, 2001. Does he take a realist perspective that is out of touch with the real problems of American foreign policy that were made manifest by the attack? Does Kagan provide a basis to correct this? Does Nye?

3. If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2020, what lessons on how to rebuild America would you want to draw from the readings and lectures, and why? To what extent are there "lessons" in Kennedy's history, in Mearsheimer, and in the works on political economy such as Thurow's *Head to Head*? What about Kagan and Nye?