

Fall 2021 Junior International Politics: Academic Reading & Writing

Course website w/ syllabus:

[http://omnifoo.info/pages/
IRR&WOnline.html](http://omnifoo.info/pages/IRR&WOnline.html)

(needs updating...ignore the
sections about exams &
schedule for now)

Session 1 9-1: Course Introduction

*News from summer (your
vacation, int'l news)
U.S. military withdrawal from

Afghanistan is complete (though not everyone who wanted out was able to leave), ending the longest war in U.S. history, after 20 years. ISIS-K launched rockets at the airport, with one intercepted by missile defense (they were also responsible for a terrorist bombing which killed 170 Afghans & 13 U.S. soldiers). In response, the USA sent a drone strike, which killed many civilians & some children, maybe a mistake.

Pres. Biden's speech claims a successful withdrawal, but Republicans criticized it heavily. The Taliban spoke from the airport and celebrated, declaring victory.

Covid-19 pandemic: In USA, 4th wave is ongoing w/ 100k cases, 1000

deaths per day, 20k cases & 200 deaths per day in Thailand. The new wave is caused by the delta variant (which is more transmissible), but also due to “vaccine hesitancy” in the USA.

In Myanmar/Burma, the junta has killed over 1,000 citizens since Feb.

Natural disasters: in Zhengzhou, Haiti (incl. An assassination of its president), hurricane Ida in Louisiana & MS, TN, Turkey

*Surveys – Grading this course

U.S. Military Withdrawal

from Afghanistan

*Plans for Semester: After 10-1, we will shift to being a writing class. We will read an academic article.

Topics will include Sino-American relations, the 20th anniversary of 9-11, terrorism, IPE, IR theory, East Asia.

*Student Presentations
Requirements

*Readings for Friday's Session

*Read syllabus

Session 2 (9-3)

*News: Sri Lanka declared a state of emergency over food shortages due to a lack of foreign currency reserves. Rationing could occur before the end of the year. Food security.
Ukraine's president visited the

U.S. to discuss Russia, with the U.S. affirming its support for Ukrainian sovereignty with military aid, invitation to NATO. John Kerry met w/ Yang Jiechi to discuss climate change in preparation for future global meetings. A key issue is the use (& growth) of coal, and there is concern that bilateral relations could hurt our cooperation on climate.

*Is anyone free Sat. morning (tomorrow) to help a polt. major and me with a handout on nationalism? Contact me if so.

*Two big, contentious concepts with varied definitions: imperialism, terrorism.

How can we talk about them if we disagree about their definitions?

Standard IR (imperialist countries directly control weaker countries through colonialism, etc.) Vs. Dialectical/Critical/Marxist (capitalist class, today represented by MNCs, are competing for natural resources and markets abroad, and they impose themselves on lower classes in weaker countries) =

global capitalism

In Chinese history, which
dynasties were imperialist?

Yuan, Qing = “conquest
dynasties” Were both imperialist
or not?

Is all “power projection”
imperialist? Is it all militaristic?
If a state projects power of any
kind (i.e. wants to influence the
int'l behavior and internal affairs)
towards another country. Do
“good intentions” mean it is OK?
Power projection is inevitable.
The term's acceptability &
desirability are subjective (it is

OK/good when we project power, not OK when our adversaries do...we accuse them of acting imperialistically). If we are isolationists, we may even oppose our own country's projection of power.

*Backgrounds of K.T.
McFarland & Noam Chomsky

*American Exceptionalism & Indispensability: Myth or Reality? Both are ideologies widely held by U.S. citizens & presidents (maybe other than

Trump)

American Exceptionalism =
Unlike other superpowers &
global hegemonies, the USA has
been benevolent, not imperialist.
The USA is the most special
nation.

The Indispensability of the USA
= The world needs U.S.
leadership. No other country is
willing or has the ability to
advance global/common interests
& provide global public goods.

*McFarland's text from *Fox
News* = *pro-U.S.* propaganda

*Chomsky's text

*Discuss the relative merits of each text with a partner, then share with the class.

*Wed. discuss survey results.
Begin consideration of terrorism (based on handout) in the context of the USA's "Global War on Terror" and the military withdrawal from Afghanistan.
New readings will be assigned over the weekend according to Afghanistan survey results.

Session 3 (9-8)

*News: Former Pres. Trump complained at a religious conference that Catholics & Jews didn't vote for him, claiming that he “did a lot for them” (i.e. placing new Supreme Court justices who are conservative Catholics, recently allowing the effective ban on abortion in Texas to stand as law).

Religious voting blocs in the USA: Mostly liberal = Jews & Catholics, Mostly conservative = Evangelicals

An interview on Sept. 5th says

several planes carrying American passengers have not been allowed to leave by the Taliban. A military revolt in the West African country of Guinea is officially a coup d'etat, with the president now in custody.

*Review

*Read updates to syllabus

*Handout on terrorism, with some comparisons to Chomsky's article

Interstate violence consists of war; they may be “state sponsors of terrorism” but not terrorists

themselves.

Why is ISIS, which calls itself “The Islamic State” not actually a state (according to IR)?

What is a state? Max Weber's definition: A bounded territory with a population and a government with a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. To this definition, we add “international recognition,” given by a seat in the United Nations.

mass shooting (especially in the USA): gun violence committed usually by one person who shoots at and kills two or more

people, apparently at random.
Are all mass shootings acts of terrorism?

It depends on whether the shooter has a political cause or not.

Spain faces separatist movements in Basque Country & Catalonia. In the former case, there was a terrorist organization called ETA that fought the Spanish gov't for Basque independence. Spain is a “virtual state” (rather than a traditional state extremely concerned about keeping all its territory & people together) which allows people to vote whether to stay in a country or split off. Catalunians in Spain have voted recently whether to stay in Spain or leave and form a new, independent state. Other examples: Canada, Britain (for Scotland)

Fri.: Finish general discussion of

terrorism from handout, talk about Nelson's article about int'l recognition of the Taliban regime.

9-10

*News: Biden has asked all Trump appointees to military academy to resign or be fired. Biden says it is a matter of qualifications & alignment with Pres. Biden.

Xi & other leaders met in India for a BRICs Summit, which will be hosted by China next year.

Turkey & Egypt are reconciling bilateral ties in several meetings about Libya, Syria.

20th Anniversary of the 9/11 incident & the beginning of the “Global War on Terrorism”

*Review

*Sign up for very short presentation on an Afghanistan news article for Wed.

*Finish handout on terrorism

Is “terrorist” just a synonym for “enemy of the state”?

If the definition of terrorism and a terrorist organization varies from state to state, how effective can global counter-terrorism strategies be?

*Counter-Terrorism Strategies...The Bush Doctrine (Pre-emptive self-defense, treats states that harbor terrorists as enemies.) & The “Global War on Terrorism” 20 years later GwoT is different from most wars...Wars are interstate (not an idea/ideology, non-state actors), Wars should be limited to specific “war zones” (not anywhere around the world...the USA is not at war with countries like Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, etc. yet it conducts military strikes/operations in them) . Since the USA has left Afghanistan, is the GwoT finished? Will it ever end? Critics call it “The Forever War.”

One who believes in economic “root

causes” might try to help people find jobs and improve their lives, and give aid to states.

Since 9/11, under Pres. Bush's leadership, the USA has sought to fight terrorists abroad to prevent another attack on U.S. territory.

*Terrorism in Muslim-Majority Countries: Article by Prof. Matthew Nelson. Source: “The Mandarin”
Should we assume that neighboring Muslim states will recognize the Taliban? Why/why not?

Key distinction: Islamic (Muslim person who believes in Islam) Vs. Islamist (radical, fundamentalist, international movement to impose a very conservative kind of Islam around the world)

Diversity within Islam (& jurisprudence)

What do the Taliban want in terms of foreign policy, and what effects on other Islamist groups, including less ambiguously connected to terrorism, will the Taliban's victory have?

Wed. news articles on Afghanistan 5-minute presentations

9-15

*News

*Review

*Practice mini-presentations on articles about the return of the Taliban to Afghanistan.

Present for at least five minutes on your article, in the order listed on the sign-up sheet. After presenting, students & the instructor will ask you questions about your article.

*Finish discussion of Nelson's article on int'l recognition.

Fri. Counter-terrorism strategies & handout on drone strikes

9-17

*News: AZ filed a lawsuit challenging Pres. Biden's workplace vaccination mandate, calling it an “illegal, radical agenda”, and Covid-19 cases in the USA exceed

100 thousand, deaths almost 2,000/day.

Vladimir Putin is in self-isolation, as many of his officials have been infected, while his work is not expected to be greatly affected.

Vaccination rates have lagged.

U.S. media reports a new alliance between the UK, Australia, and the USA, with the USA left out. Australia will be deploying nuclear submarines from the USA (bad news for nuclear proliferation...though the subs are nuclear *powered*, not nuclear armed).

China has formally applied to join the CPTPP (TPP) which was abandoned by Pres. Trump.

Gen. Mark Milley, U.S.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (highest-ranking military

officer in the U.S. gov't)
published a book claiming that
he reassured China twice that
Pres. Trump would not launch a
strike against it to stay in office
after losing to Biden in 2020.
GOP lawmakers are calling for
his resignation.

*Debriefing on Mini-presentations
about Afghanistan
What questions do you have? How
much did you read of the other
groups' articles? What conclusions
can we draw about the U.S.
withdrawal & the return of the
Taliban? For future readings, do you
want to present them, or should I?

“Bad faith arguments” such as
“Afghans were not willing to fight for
themselves” as the reason why the
U.S.-backed gov't fell so quickly to
the Taliban.

Mikael concludes that the USA did
not learn the lessons of the Vietnam
War (about occupying and trying to
change countries' cultures & political
regimes).

*Preview of Presentation 1, Sept.
29th. Maybe need two days, unless
some are recorded on video (examples
will be sent on DingTalk). Readings
& topics will be chosen by the next
session on Wed.

*Finish Terrorism Handout & Nelson's article. Will the Taliban's priority be competent governance of Afghanistan or furthering global Islamist revolution?

How serious/urgent/real or exaggerated is the global threat of radical Islamist terrorism? If exaggerated, do you think the USA (or the West) is actually “at war with Islam”?

*Counter-terrorism Strategies & Tactics

The Global War on Terrorism – What are its components & unique characteristics? Why do critics call it “the forever war”?

The strategy: Global cooperation between states. The USA wants to

fight terrorism abroad to prevent attacks on U.S. territory. Bush Doctrine & neoconservatism = pre-emptive self-defense (don't wait to be attacked).

The main parts of the GwoT are: War in Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban, War in Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein, Prison in Guantanamo Bay (Cuba, used for “extraordinary rendition” of terrorist suspects awaiting trial), Drone strikes against suspected terrorists all around the world, U.S. PATRIOT Act changed domestic laws such as surveillance of citizens.

*Handout on Drone Strikes

Wed. discuss the article on humanitarian concerns about drone strikes. Two more articles are also assigned from the *NY Times* for Friday's session. If anyone would like to present them for 5-10 minutes, you may volunteer.

9-22

*News: In Sudan, an intra-military conflict has occurred which has resulted in the arrest of several soldiers.

Pres. Biden's speech at the UN says the USA is beginning a new era of diplomacy, with military force as a last, not first resort, seeks to return to the Iran nuclear deal.

*Review

*Plans for Presentation 1: Sign up w/ a partner. Read the texts. Decide how you want to present the topic (incl. live or recorded). Our class session on Sun. will be available for you to prepare. Read the requirements & suggestions on the sign-up sheet carefully, and ask questions if you have any!

*Continue handout on drones
Why does the USA call drone strikes “targeted killings”? Compare this to “assassination”. Assassinations (killing of a major public figure, leader, or gov't official) are illegal under int'l law, and the USA has traditionally denied using assassinations as policy. 2020 killing

of the Iranian government official
Qassem Soleimani ordered by Pres.
Trump.

How do particular states “deal with”
their individual enemies of the state?
Most states begin by designating them
as terrorists.

The USA prefers drone strikes.

Russia seems to prefer to poison its
enemies.

Thailand raids dissidents' homes
abroad.

Chile & Argentina “disappeared”
people in the 1970s.

*Geneva Call article on humanitarian
concerns

Why, despite the “precision” of drone
strikes, are civilians especially

vulnerable?

Review of *jus in bello*: discrimination (distinguish or note distinctions between combatants & noncombatants, military & civilians) & proportionality (the act of violence must achieve an objective that is “worth the risk” to civilians and not kill in response that is “out of proportion” to the original act or threat).

Is it “a fair fight” when one side has drones (and is physically invulnerable) and the other doesn't? Is the “warrior paradigm” of battle over, and now we fight wars by pressing buttons & using machines? The article also talks about ANSAs (Armed Non-State Actors) who may acquire drones or modify them to be

used as weapons.

For Fri., read the two articles from the *NY Times* about drone operators & AI.

9-24

*News: Immigrants from Haiti have been trying to cross into the U.S. on the Mexico border. Photos show “border patrol” officers on horses whipping them. Many are now being deported, and the UN says it may be illegal under int'l law. U.S.

Ambassador to Haiti submitted his resignation, criticizing U.S. policy toward the impoverished, disaster-torn nation.

Russian media says U.S. Congress

passed sanctions on dozens of Russian citizens, specifically its security officers, Moscow's mayor, some military generals.

Malaysia's defense minister will seek China's advice on AUKUS, has also met w/ Australian officials. Might it lead to a nuclear arms race in SE Asia?

*Review

*Finish discussion of humanitarian concerns article. The article also talks about ANSAs (Armed Non-State Actors) who may acquire drones or modify them to be used as weapons.

Not all ANSAs are terrorists, and maybe not all terrorists are ANSAs. There is considerable overlap between

the two. For the same reason that drones are not allowed to be used near airports, many worry that terrorists will use UAVs (both armed and unarmed) to attack. Will armed drones “fall into the wrong hands”?

**NYT* articles on drone operators & autonomous weapons w/ AI autonomous (able to make one's own decisions, including when to start an automatic process) Vs. automatic (process that is undertaken w/out human input)

“centaur” = humans will be aided by machines

*What are the advantages & disadvantages

of using armed drones to counter terrorism (in U.S. strategy & in general)?

*Are drones a third revolutionary development in warfare & the use of force (i.e. 1= machines, 2= nuclear weapons, 3= AI), or are they just another tool to increase military capabilities slightly? Do you agree or disagree that armed drones may be *more* dangerous than nuclear weapons b/c drone strikes are increasing while nukes haven't been used since WWII? Terrorist organizations are also much more likely to get drones than the are nukes or other military-grade weapons. What does the future hold: drone warfare, fully autonomous killing (w/out human control)?

Sun. prepare for your Presentation 1 with your partner. Decide whether you want to give your presentation “live” or record it beforehand (or during fall break/National Week).

Ask questions about the texts for your topic.

9-29

*News: Canary Island volcano in Spain has been erupting since earlier this month, leading to evacuations & 400 million Euros in economic losses. A Taliban representative gave an interview outlining its media policy, claiming to allow media to report independently & fairly but also following religious principles. DPRK academy of national defence test-fired a new ballistic missile while a gov't representative was giving a speech at the UN. Power rationing in China's northeast is affecting both industry and

residential energy use. Many are debating the causes, reasons, etc. which seem to be related to the supply of coal. 90% of China's coal is domestically supplied, but it is difficult to increase production, while many exporters have been hampered by rain & Australian relations have deteriorated.

The air show in Zhuhai has highlighted new developments in Chinese drone technology.

*Review

ADVANTAGES: Save \$ (cheaper than manned vehicles); the soldier/operator is invulnerable (reduce human casualties for the side w/ drones); easy to operate worldwide; secretive (can be done w/out citizens or other countries knowing about); assumed to be efficient & precise; terrorists have no counter-measures; prestigious/high-tech & a clear application for AI research. May reduce the size of standing militaries generally & “boots on the ground” in

combat zones.

DISADVANTAGES: Questionable legality under int'l law; kills innocent civilians; operators have PTSD (psychological damage); low cost & operators' physical invulnerability may make the use of force more likely & a “first” rather than last resort; assassinations likely to increase; maybe a new global arms race; violates human rights such as the due process of law for those suspected of crimes; possible violation of sovereignty. Other countries will use this tactic, including proliferation to those the USA finds “irresponsible.” Lack of transparency: U.S. citizens are unaware of what the military is doing/where it is operating increases possibility of abuse. Terrorist groups will acquire & use drones, “blowback” from drone strikes may create more terrorists (civilians in countries where drone strikes are conducted live in fear & anger). Risk of AI getting out of human control → “Terminator” scenario.

With a partner or as a table, discuss whether you think the advantages or disadvantages of using drone strikes as a counter-terrorism tactic are more persuasive (in U.S. strategy & in general), and be prepared to share your reasons.

*With your presentation partner(s), prepare for your presentation on a topic related to terrorism. Decide by the end of class whether you want to give it live in Wed. Oct. 6th's session or record it. State your preference on the sign-up sheet.

If you have any questions about the presentation or don't understand something in the recommended readings for your topic, use this session to ask.

Wed. those who choose to present live will give their presentations. If half choose to record their presentation, we will only use one session of class. If most choose to present live, we will use Fri., Oct. 8th's session also.

10-6: Presentation 1 on Global Terrorism

*News: New Japanese PM, Japan's 100th, held a press conference emphasizing the importance of dealing w/ the pandemic.

DEA agent & law enforcement officers were killed at an Amtrak station in the USA. Is the “War on Drugs” more serious & dangerous than terrorism?

*Are presentation recordings coming soon? Check in w/ each group.

*Presentations by the four groups signed up to present live, followed by Q&A sessions

1. Jonan & Bella; 2. Mikael & Emmy; 3. Charlotte, Echo, & Fanny; 4. Yee &

Marlon

Your presentations in this session will be recorded.

Treat your classmates' presentations today like an academic conference. Be cordially attentive, and you're encouraged to ask questions (when guest speakers present later in the semester, asking questions will help your daily grade for this course.)

Fri. Q&A for the recorded presentations, decide topic of academic article to be read in class w/ handout on academic articles

10-8

*News: The Chinese Foreign Ministry announced a meeting in Zurich, Switzerland, amidst ongoing tensions & conflict.

European energy crisis has intensified, due to supply problems from Russia for natural gas, with prices rising suddenly and drastically.

A U.S. nuclear submarine collided with an unidentified object in the S.China Sea, resulting in damage & some injuries. The incident will be under investigation.

Russia is considering the formation of an Arctic Fleet for its navy.

*Update on recorded presentations?

*Presentations by Yee & Marlon, Leonardo & Vance, followed by

Q&A.

*Topic for an academic article to discuss in next Friday's session? New topic or one we have studied? Theory or Policy? I will choose one ASAP and send it to you on Sat.

*Begin reading handout on academic articles

Wed. Q&A for recorded presentations, finish handout on academic articles
10-13

*News

*Q&A for Leonardo & Vance, Alan & Snow, Silvery & Daisy, Airxi & Claire, Talia & Via on their

presentations

I will send comments & grades for Presentation 1 via DingTalk soon.

*Handout on academic articles (using the article by Allen, Vucetic, & Hopf as a structural example)

Fri. discuss the article by Schweller & Pu, “After Unipolarity”. Be ready to summarize the main argument of the article in a few sentences, using your own words rather than just reading the text.

Start looking for an academic article in English you would like to use for Presentation 2. If you already know which article you want to use, send it

to me for approval.

10-15

*News: 4.2 million people have been reported as stateless at the end of 2020, but UNHCR estimates that the true # is much higher. Migration from Africa to developed countries remains a high flow & very controversial. Sec. Of State Blinken & Mexican security officials met to discuss migration from C.America (i.e. Guatemala), often in refrigerated trucks.

Chancellor Merkel said that the EU faces “centrifugal forces”, calling for it to remain united, perhaps aiming her comments at Polish officials.

Russia & the U.S. are setting a timetable for high-level meetings.

*Review

*Finish academic articles guide & map the sections onto the article by Allen, Vucetic, & Hopf

* “After Unipolarity” by Schweller & Pu (2011). Used in an Intro to IR textbook when I was a TA at the University of CA, Irvine.

Did you read it, and how much did you understand?

10-20

*News: A meeting in Moscow was

held between China, Pakistan, and Afghanistan to discuss security threats & economic aid to Afghanistan. The USA said it could not attend but may in the future.

AUKUS formally announced its partnership. Representatives at the UN expressed concern about nuclear proliferation and other possible consequences of the nuclear submarine agreement.

CBS News reports a unanimous decision to hold former Trump advisor Steve Bannon in contempt of Congress (refusing to testify in response to subpoenas).

*Review

*Continue discussion of “After Unipolarity” by Schweller & Pu.

How is their article similar to & different from most academic articles?
What do the authors assume to be true about the world?

Chinese foreign policy slogan before Xi was “taoguang yanghui”, usually translated into English as “Hide our strengths/abilities & bide our time” (AKA “Hide & bide”) Has China become more assertive/aggressive under Xi? What's the difference?

Assertive = self-confident, directly saying what one believes to be true, stating one's position confidently

Aggressive = similar to bellicose, warlike, bullying

“The Unipolar Moment” = post-Cold War to the beginning of the 21st century, the USA dominated the whole world, without any serious

rivals. Realists especially expect it to last only a short time. They expect that a balance of power will return, in which states try to balance against each other.

Is there a balance of power at the time S&P are writing? Under unipolarity, states cannot balance against a legitimate world order. Almost all states prefer to “bandwagon” with the unipole.

What do they assume will change about the world in the near future (especially regarding China & the USA)?

What is their research question?

After China becomes more powerful than the USA, how will China change (or not change) the U.S.-led global order (“The Liberal World Order”)?

prestige

How do they propose to answer their central question?

3 “scenarios” (hypotheses to answer the research question)... 1. Spoiler – Destroy & replace the U.S.-led order w/ a Sino-centric order that benefits China most. Ten years later, is there any evidence for this?

Alternative institutions may suggest this: SCO, AIIB (instead of the ADB & WB), “The Beijing Consensus” instead of the Washington Consensus, Belt & Road Initiative? The authors talk a lot about “Tianxia/ All under Heaven”. China has a foreign military base in Djibouti.

2. Supporter – Make China a “responsible stakeholder” in the current order, as advocated by

scholars such as Ikenberry. This would mean taking more prominent leadership roles in existing global institutions such as the UN, WTO, IMF, ICJ, etc.

3. Shirker – Does the global order sustain itself, or is a hegemon/superpower's leadership & sacrifices of self-interest necessary? The USA has declined & the authors correctly predicted the “retrenchment” under Pres. Trump. Does China want to lead the world?

They cite the book by UCSD Prof. Susan Shirk, whose book, “China: Fragile Superpower,” posits that today's PRC is “strong abroad, but weak at home”. China must focus on its domestic problems before it can take on any greater int'l responsibility.

Are any other scenarios possible? Do you agree with all of their assumptions? Liberals would say that the order & its institutions (such as int'l law) may be more self-sustaining than Realists or S&P think.

Two relevant sub-theories of IR
Realism: Hegemonic Stability Theory (especially U.S. scholars such as Stephen Krasner) & Power Transition Theory

Fri. continue discussion of Schweller & Pu's article (& Allen, Vucetic, & Hopf's article, if there is extra time).

10-22

*News: A gang attacked U.S. & Canadian missionaries in Haiti, & they have been taken hostage. The FBI may be involved in the negotiation.

A Taliban was caught on camera shooting foreign journalist to prevent them from reporting on a protest demanding education & the right to work. Deputy PM of the Taliban met w/ 10 countries' representatives, incl. China & Russia, called on the Taliban to moderate itself & be more inclusive in its gov't & policies.

*Review

*3 Positions on the role of the most powerful state's leadership in maintaining/enforcing global order, specifically the

current “liberal world order”: 1. U.S. Indispensability (only the USA can lead/enforce/maintain) Vs. 2. “Another country could play the U.S. leadership role” & take on its responsibility (Schweller & Pu's view as Realists) Vs. 3. Snow & Emmy's view: No leadership & strong material support from a single hegemon/superpower is necessary for the global order to continue (contributions from every country would be enough)

Partnership in leadership between China & the USA, in what some have called a “G2” is also possible.

*Finish article by Schweller & Pu.

*Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST). A global hegemon is good for peace & stability in the int'l system, specifically better than a world under shifting “balance of power”. Since global institutions, esp. int'l law, either “don't matter” (as tools of the great powers) or at least lack an

“enforcement mechanism”, a hegemon is necessary to enforce them. Critics say those who support HST are just “apologists” for American dominance.

* & Power Transition Theory (PTT), made famous by Robert Gilpin, sub-theories of Realism in IR.

This is a theory of rising powers, their relationship to the int'l system/order & the current hegemon, if one exists. (i.e. the BRICs, the EU, etc.). Can they rise peacefully, or is war inevitable? Zheng Bijian writes of China's “Peaceful Development” (“peaceful rise” sounded too threatening?)

Rising powers are either satisfied or dissatisfied with the *status quo*. (the current situation).

Dissatisfaction with the status quo will cause a rising power to want to revise the system/order in its favor. We then divide rising powers into 1. Status quo powers, 2.

Revisionist powers . Revisionist powers

want to challenge or even reorder the global hierarchy, including deposing (bring down)/ replacing the hegemon so that its own interests are more or primarily advanced.

What is at stake? What “hangs in the balance”?

Not only hegemony & global leadership but the status quo of the world order itself.

“Hegemonic war” is even more consequential & violent than great power war.

How similar to or different from HST is the “hegemonism” which appears in critical Chinese IR articles?

Wed. finish article by Allan, Vucetic, & Hopf. More on Sino-American relations or move on to a new topic?

Light reading to be sent on Sat.

(grades for Presentation 1 also to be sent soon). (Still working on this.)

10-27

*News: Xi met w/ UN leader

Guterres in Beijing to commemorate the recognition of the PRC at the UN, of 50 years' anniversary.

ISIS-K in Afghanistan says it has the capability to attack the USA. There is doubt whether the Taliban will be able to (or is willing to combat the terrorist org.). ISIS-K has attacked two mosques attended by the Shiite minority since the U.S. pulled out, incl. Suicide bombing by a Uyghur.

Transnational (more about non-state actors & orgs which cross or disregard int'l borders) Vs. International (involves state gov'ts)

Pres. Biden says the U.S. “will defend

Taiwan” and says there is no policy change. Chinese foreign ministry spokesman reiterated its sovereign claims to the island. The U.S. continues its policy of “strategic ambiguity”

*Review

*Really finish Schweller & Pu's article. To what extent & why is such an “old” article from 10 years ago still relevant?

Has their central research question been answered conclusively? Do we know what China wants/will do?

*Article by Allan, Vucetic, & Hopf:
A “sequel” to “After Unipolarity”?
Which “scenario” do they investigate?
Spoiler.

What is their research question? 1. If China wants to make a new order, what would it require? 2. How likely would China be in succeeding?

Global Hegemony: Material factors Vs. Ideas (incl. Legitimacy) , “thin” = pure dominance, which is closer to imperialism vs. “thick” = includes legitimacy (acceptance of the hegemony as right & beneficial to others than the hegemon itself) & other ideas which are commonly accepted. Which do the authors think are more important & stable?

Legitimation Vs. Delegitimation

What does it mean for an idea to be “hegemonic”? Everyone (or almost everyone) accepts it as “common sense” & does not question it.

What ideas do the authors consider

“hegemonic” in the 21st century since 2010 (aka “mass common sense”)?

Common sense is “the ideology of the non-ideological”...things we believe w/out having complicated or systematic views.

For the authors, there are two hegemonic ideas which dominate global “mass common sense”? 1.

Liberal Democracy aka “Western Democracy” 2. Neoliberal economics = globalization = global capitalism & “The Washington Consensus” mainly supporting “free-market” economics

*Fri. revisit interdependence in a more “competitive” overall relationship in Hass's article to transition to IPE. Nye's article is optional for now, though we may talk

about it when my colleague gives a talk on U.S. foreign policy.

10-29

*News: The German chancellor Merkel submitted a notice for the end of her term.

The German Defense Minister warned that it would use nuclear weapons against Russia, claimed by Russia on

the 26th with regard to NATO. (???)>

Fishing rights after Brexit are still under dispute & discussion, a trade war is underway. French boats entering British waters to fish.

Julian Assange of Wikileaks is still being prosecuted for leaking classified U.S. documents. Calls for

extradition continue, with 18 criminal charges totaling over 100 years in prison if convicted.

Beijing reiterated its opposition against any official ties with Taiwan, in response to Tsai Ying-wen stating that U.S. military troops are on the island for training purposes.

*Review

*Poll results: Presentation 2 will be in pairs again. Requirements & instructions coming soon. Think about what topic you and your partner are interested in reading and presenting about. You may choose an article by yourselves or tell me a topic and I'll give you some articles to choose from.

*Russian Foreign Ministry speaker on IPE lectures? Details? On Russian diplomacy since the dissolution of the USSR.

*Finish article by Allan, Vucetic, & Hopf

Dissolution of world order/dispersion of power Vs. Transition & Succession
What is their methodology for this study? Methodology is the way, the techniques, used to answer the research. (quantitative, qualitative, or mixed). Their methodology is mixed, specifically “discourse analysis” (see what people say & write, analyze it, and draw conclusions about its meaning).

Does it convincingly establish the “distribution of identity” among the

cases?

Do you find these articles convincing?
Or mainly that they “misunderstand”
China? Or are they just too difficult
to understand in detail?

Having read two academic articles in
English on the topic of China & the global
order, how would you compare their
analyses to IR textbooks, popular/mass
media & “trade journals” like *Foreign
Affairs* & *Foreign Policy Magazine*? Does
the greater length & complexity (&
professional jargon, methodologies) mean
they are more likely to be accurate & useful
or not?

*Sections of the article (based on
academic articles guide)

Wed. discuss Hass & ongoing U.S.-

China “deep interdependence” in an increasingly competitive context. I should have your Presentation 1 grades & full instructions for Presentation 2 ready by then.

11-3

*News: Details of the cancellation of the French submarines by Australia are being publicized. Accusations of corruption and unreliability are coming out. Pres. Biden is trying to repair French ties while in Europe. About 3 million children in Afghanistan are expected to suffer from malnutrition over the winter. G20 leaders met to discuss the crisis, but their main concern was to prevent

the country from becoming a refuge for terrorists again.

Pres. Biden & other world leaders met for Cop26 in Glasgow, Scotland, to share pledges to reduce greenhouse gases, apologizing for former Pres.

Trump pulling out. Many states are also pledging to reduce methane.

Vladimir Putin says it is ready to respond to military threats, saying its readiness to defend its airspace against threats remains high/strong.

Perhaps Russia's satellites are not as advanced as it had seemed?

*Review

*Revisit U.S.-China interdependence, in current context:

Security vs. IPE (trade, finance) & “securitization” of topics (i.e. Pres.

Trump securitized the trade deficit w/
China b/c it is v.large & growing)

Finance includes the purchase gov't
bonds, currency markets, & FDI
(foreign direct investment)

Engagement-Containment “policy
paradigms”

Competitive Vs. Adversarial bilateral
relations

Globalization & “complex
interdependence”: If I try to hurt you,
I will also be hurting myself.

(Keohane & Nye's alternative to
realism has become more important/
accepted if not dominant)

Biden Vs. Trump strategies &
policies: so far little change, despite
Biden's previous criticism. He says
the major strategies & policies are
“under review.”

What other interdependent relationships in IR can you think of?
Are any just one-sided dependencies?
Are all in IPE, or are some mainly for security?

*Hass's Aug. 2021 article from *Brookings Institution* (slightly liberal but not radical think tank w/ an excellent reputation, has a global office at Tsinghua U).

Article details...

Fri. begin IPE w/ Powerpoint presentation on Int'l Development. A draft of instructions for Presentation 2

will be sent immediately.

11-5

*News: Regional Economic Comprehensive Partnership will take effect in Jan. 2022, covering 30% of the world economy, with Australia & New Zealand newly joining, the first free trade agreement (FTAs) between Japan & China, South Korea.

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister says the current dispute w/ the U.S. could be more dangerous than the Cold War, describing it as a “crisis.” Today's bilateral relationship lacks clear rules & is more uncertain. Confrontations over the Black & Baltic Seas.

Russia & Belarus signed a treaty on

the integration of union states to resist external interference in the internal affairs of both countries.

*Review

*Finish discussion of Hass's article
supply chain = where components of complex products are sourced from.
Under globalization, the supply chains for most manufactured products are global (globalized).

“Rare earth” metals are found in greater quantity in China

Self-sufficiency is usually less efficient in a globalized supply chain (due to “comparative advantage”)

Why is our bilateral relationship so important? What is “at stake”? Is the USA a united or divided country? Most see the USA today as very polarized, divided by partisanship & polt. ideology. One issue which tends to unite Americans is China: it is popular among both parties in Congress to be: “tough on China.”

“climate deniers” (people who deny that humans are causing it, or that it is not a serious problem, or that we can't do anything about it) tend to be right wing (Republicans). Hawks (favor military action) Vs. doves (favor diplomacy)

Economic aid logistics

Does Hass's article take the same approach as the left-wing article from *The Nation* (Vine's “Do We Really Need Another Cold War”?) or right-wing articles (which I can't share w/ you b/c they are very critical of China)? How accurate is Douthat's *NY Times* summary of the Left-Center-Right spectrum of views on China?

How does IR theory guide our expectations?

What other interdependent relationships in IR can you think of? Are any just one-sided dependencies? Are all in IPE, or are some mainly for security?

*Opening question: should our interdependence deepen, remain steady, or be reduced, and why? Will it be enough to prevent our conflicts escalating to war in the coming decades, or not, and why?

*Presentation 2 requirements draft

Wed. begin IPE presentation

11-10

*News: Pres. Pinera of Chile was impeached by the House and may be removed by the Senate for corruption related to the illegal sale of his company.

Two U.S. airforce bombers flew over

the Black Sea about 100km from the Russian border, with Russia criticizing it as “destabilizing”.

*Review

Globalization has made all countries interconnected (but some countries like North Korea & Iran resist it). Interdependence is the highest level of this. How exactly do China & the USA need each other? China lends money to the USA by buying gov't bonds (in USD) which allows the USA to run a budget deficit every year. The USA buys Chinese goods with these funds (i.e. credit cards, etc.), which helps the Chinese economy grow.

*Opening question: should our

interdependence deepen, remain steady, or be reduced, and why? Will it be enough to prevent our conflicts escalating to war in the coming decades, or not, and why?

*Presentation 2 requirements draft

*IPE Presentation: Int'l Development

Stages of economic development: 1. subsistence agriculture; 2. industry; 3. services; 4. knowledge (or information, digital).

Developing countries in the 20th C. were mostly “pre-industrial”. Today, they include NICs “newly industrialized countries” like China, Vietnam, etc. Countries that still

haven't industrialized their economies are considered LDCs (“less developed countries”).

Is FDI necessary for transition from 1. to 2.? No. Domestic investment may be preferable, but it may not be available or not enough (due to insufficient capital accumulation).

Industrialization in China has involved the largest human migration in history, with people from interior provinces & rural areas migrating to cities. This has also created a “floating population” of people who live & work in coastal or urban areas without the local *hukou* (residence permit).

Is this model of growth sustainable (can it continue this way)? How does

Xi hope to keep China out of the “Middle Income Trap”? Xi has proposed a transition from the manufacture of basic goods & become an “innovation economy”.

Fri. continue presentation.

11-12

*News: China & the USA issued a joint declaration on climate change cooperation at Glasgow, committing to “increase ambition” in pledges for “common but differentiated responsibilities” to respond to the climate crisis. They will “intensify” their cooperation during the 2020s and over the next three decades, both

bilaterally and w/ all parties, a major conclusion to the Cop26 conference.

*Review

*Continue presentation on int'l development

Wed. presentation on globalization & Gruber's article on IPE

11-17

*News: Pres. Biden signed the \$1.2 trillion bill to repair U.S. infrastructure, smaller than initially proposed, but the largest in 50 years (Pres. Eisenhower's interstate highway system).

Refugee standoff on the Polish-Belarusian border is escalating into violence. Germany is deploying troops to Poland, the gateway to the EU, recalling WWII but now with Polish permission.

Pres. Biden & Xi's 3-hour virtual summit. The two sides assured that foreign journalists & academics can go about their jobs and research. Reciprocity is promised, as well as effort to avoid conflict & “reduce the temperature” of bilateral relations. Xi said he was happy to meet his “old friend” again.

*Review

*Presentation 2 sign-up form. If you choose a topic, I will send you a few articles to choose from, or you can

just choose an article you know is interesting.

*Finish Int'l Development presentation. Compare the RoK's "Miracle on the Han River" to the DPRK.

Discuss w/ a partner or as a table: To what extent was China's development strategy & experience unique (or basically another example of "The East Asian Model" of Japan, Korea, and others in the region)? Are there other recent economic "success stories" in the world? Can other countries outside the region use the East Asian Model, and why/why not (Is a Confucian culture necessary? Does the opportunity still exist today for poor countries just starting to develop?)?

Emmy thinks China's story is fundamentally a domestic narrative (marketization, going

from public to private sector ownership), Deng's decisions, and it's unique/can't be copied.

Leonardo disagrees, noting int'l industrial transfer of technology, low labor prices attracting FDI, and “opening the door” were most significant.

*A U.S.-centric narrative of the East Asian Model's success: most of the FDI came from the USA (MNC's based there) & the USA has been/continues to be the largest export market (East Asians save “too much” & “don't have enough domestic consumption”)

*Globalization (increased int'l interconnectedness): IPE (neo-liberal economics: free trade, openness to FDI & of financial markets, The

Washington Consensus = balanced budgets w/ low social spending on welfare/health/education, privatization, low taxes, maybe liberal/Western democratization?), security (de-nationalization of the concept to focus on transnational/non-traditional threats, global governance means giving up some sovereignty to IGOs to pursue collective security, rise of int'l law), culture (perhaps a cultural convergence, loss of traditional cultures & customs, possibly Westernization)

NAFTA, revised under Pres. Trump (to favor U.S. rural producers). Did it destroy Mexican industry? Arguably, Mexico's agricultural sector benefitted

more than its industry (as the former was more competitive and the latter less so). Many U.S. automobile manufacturers moved to Mexico to save \$ on labor costs.

Fri. continue presentation on globalization & discuss questions about Gruber's article more specifically

11-19

*News: The Biden Admin issued a corporate vaccine order to vaccinate all employees by Jan. 4th or be fined. A court declared the order to be unconstitutional, OSHA (employment safety monitoring agency).

The U.S. & Japan announced a new framework for trade partnership on Nov. 7th to counter China's influence, focusing on its subsidies on domestic companies. Japanese steel & aluminum, currently affected by tariffs, will be affected.

Sec. Blinken listed Russia, China, and 8 other countries as suspected of not providing religious freedom; China rejects the accusation. Islamophobia is central to the concerns in many cases.

*Review

*Opening questions: Is globalization continuing, stalled, or reversing in the 2020s? How do we know? Does a “Beijing Consensus” exist, and is it a better developmental strategy/the

same or different from the East Asian Model? Are you less Chinese than your grandparents as a result of globalization (do you like Chinese opera, prefer tea or coffee/cola, Kung Pao Chicken or KFC, wear blue jeans or a Mao suit, etc.)?

*Lloyd Gruber's article & new presentation on globalization. What is his main research question? It is: “What does globalization do (to the rich & poor within & between countries)?” He answers: “Globalization creates 'winners and losers'”. Via thinks it increases “gaps” (increases inequality).

Wed. continue globalization presentation. Presentation 2 could be

as early as next Fri., so declare your topic on the sign-up sheet ASAP, and then choose an article of interest.

11-24

*News: A new era of “ping-pong diplomacy” begins in Houston, TX, 50 years after the original.

Under the AUKUS agreement, Australia will receive nuclear power & AI cooperation in research from the USA. China suspects these are targeting it. Asian countries may feel they “have to choose between the USA & China.”

Vladimir Putin may attend the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing & Winter games involving an exchange

of kind words between Beijing & Russia.

*Review

Reminder: cite your article for Presentation 2 on the sign-up sheet, and send it to the group on DingTalk so we can read it if we're interested. Choose again whether to present live or record a video to send to us.

Guest speaker on USFP schedule:

Lunch on Fri., Dec. 3rd? This means no class during the usual time Fri.

*Continue (& finish) presentation on globalization

Fri. example of what's expected for Presentation 2 using Gruber's article.

If any groups would like to give their presentation in Friday's session, please say so. Otherwise, we'll review U.S. foreign policy in preparation for an upcoming guest speaker. We will do Presentation 2 after the exam. This means we will start to review for the exam next week & take it in early Dec. How many review sessions do you want? (1-3 SCGs, Vocabulary Game, Review Game?) The exam may be the most difficult exam in English you will ever take.

11-26

*News: China's first domestically produced ice-breaker will go into use

in the polar regions. It will also monitor pollutants and serve as a meteorological research site.

As the world's two biggest carbon emitters, the U.S. & China must cooperate to meet temperature goals and prevent catastrophic climate change. Their joint declaration to “increase ambitions” of their climate pledges has been roundly criticized as not nearly enough.

Olympic games diplomatic boycott is under question, noting that countries which do not participate will face IOC sanctions.

*Review

*Really finish globalization presentation

Wed. example of Presentation 2 for
Gruber's article
Review of USFP (using previous
handout) for guest speaker's talk next
Fri. Preview the two assigned texts
on Realism.

12-1

*News: Omicron variant's spread is
now worldwide in many countries.
GST treatment of EU & UK have
designated China as a developed
country.

The conference on China-Africa
cooperation concluded, with an
outline of China's long-term
objectives on the continent.

*Review

*IPE conclusions: NYT editorial by Applebaum

What is the opposite of free trade?

Protectionism

If free trade is the most efficient for the global economy, and anything less is “wasteful” according to economists & globalization advocates, why does any country resort to protectionist policies? Why might protectionism “make sense” for “emerging sectors” but not “mature industries”? Do you agree or disagree that they are basically an “interference” in the ideal, more efficient free market of the global economy?

*Example of Presentation 2 using

Gruber's article

*Handout on U.S. foreign policy
(review)

*Article by Ronald Osborn on
Noam Chomsky's leftist realism
(differing mainly in finding
domestic elites advancing a
“military industrial complex”).
National interests (pursued by a
national grand strategy expressed
in foreign policy & diplomacy).
Realists say all countries have an
interest in strong national defense
(building their militaries) for
security & survival. National

interests are natural & static
(unchanging), determined by the
int'l anarchic system. Domestic
politics don't really matter.

Why does IR shun Prof.
Chomsky?

*Book chapter by Anatol Lieven
on the threat to states from
climate change.

How does the chapter build on
what we've read previously about
non-traditional security?

What does Lieven mean by

“runaway” climate change?
What might cause it, and how
bad could it get?

World Map Four Degrees
Warmer

How are states responding to
current shortages in energy
supplies, and how will these
“short-term” actions impact
recent Cop26 pledges?

What role, from a “realist”
approach, does Lieven reserve
for states & militaries, & why?

Fri. no class at usual time. We

will instead meet for the guest speaker from 11:45-1:15. I will note who asks him questions and add a point to your final grade if you do. Next week we'll review for the exam.

12-10

*News

Vocabulary Game

Review game on Wed., Written exam next Fri. (note that Prof. Beattie's texts will not be on it). Oral exam sign-up will be

available over the weekend.

12-15

*News: Xinhua reports that 80+ Americans recently died in tornadoes, with many still unaccounted for, many are left homeless. Xi Jinping sent his condolences on behalf of China. The strength of these Dec. tornadoes may be connected to climate change.

A Pentagon report says no military personnel will be punished for the errant drone strike at the conclusion of the

war in Afghanistan, which killed 10 civilians.

EU Foreign Minister will sanction Russia, holding it responsible for training militants sent around the world, threatening Ukraine, etc.

*Oral Exam Questions (No review game)

Your very difficult written exam will be on Fri., and oral exams will be on Tues. & Wed.

Our second guest speaker will give a lecture on his 2021 book

on Mon. night at 9pm. Please read the introduction and one chapter of his book, and again, students who ask him questions will have a point added to their final grades.

No class on Wed. If Fri. the 24th is our last session, you can give Presentation 2 then or record & send it to us. The remainder of the session I'll explain the final writing assignment based on the guest speakers.

12-24

*News: Vladimir Putin held a press conference mentioning that China will inevitably become the world's largest economy, that it would be both wrong & impossible to contain China (or any other country).

HPV vaccinations were held for girls in Gansu . The effectiveness of screening & vaccines has been widely praised, to prevent cervical cancer and STDs.

Xi'an is reportedly under lockdown.

*Guest speaker debriefing
What was Prof. Gellers's research

question for his book? Was he advocating for robot rights, saying that they should have rights?

Advocacy = arguing for or on behalf of something, saying something should be done (calling for action)

RESEARCH QUESTION(S): Under what circumstances can/will/should robots be given rights?

Should human rights be established & protected first?

Human rights are generally described as universal, but also grouped as “first-order” (socio-economic: food, shelter, & employment, health care) & “second-order” (civil-political: such as freedoms/electing one's political leaders, privacy, racial & gender equality, etc.).

Value (something that is important)
Vs. Right (an entitlement: everyone
should receive it; to deny it to anyone
is a crime.)

Anthropocentrism Vs. Bio-centrism
(all living things have rights) Vs.
Eco-Centrism (all things in an
ecosystem can have rights: i.e. rivers
& lakes, even the whole earth/Mother
Nature)

Sinocentrism (the “All Under
Heaven” Tianxia, Chinese traditional
world perspective/view)
codification = becoming formally
written into law

*Presentation 2 from Airxi &
Leonardo, followed by Q&A. Submit

your video file by Jan. 7th.

*Exams will be graded in a week, but I don't know if I can send them back to you. They will be kept/used as the material record for the course.

*The course website will be updated in January with this chalkboard file.

*Final writing assignment: short essay on one prompt based on materials from guest lectures. Due Jan. 17th.

Good luck on your final exams and other projects, and have a nice, healthy winter vacation, Omicron-free. I hope to see all of you in the spring writing course.