**Structuring the peace: How do great powers influence international politics?**

Long wars fought among great powers tend to remake the structure of international politics by transforming the main political actors in the system

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Structure as the agents (political organizations like states, empires, and international organizations) and the rules that guide their interactions (sovereignty, arms control agreements, trade liberalization)

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Many of these changes ratified or instituted at great power settlements that end these wars

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Examples: Napoleonic Wars (1815), World War I (1919 created new states), World War II (1945), end of Cold War (1990 caucuses in central asia)

**Structuring the peace: How do great powers influence international politics?**

Victors write the rules of the new system and, therefore, shape its long-term sustainability

1.

Set requirements for membership and redraw territorial boundaries: statehood and sovereignty

2.

Regime type of new members (US promotes democracy (nato) after 1919, 1945, 1991)

3.

Distribution of military power -> willingness to abide status quo, Germany and Hitler.

4.

Enforcement mechanisms (reparations, League of Nations, Nato)

5.

Division of territory among surviving great powers changes as well, Putin dissatisfaction with cold war

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Important: shapes degree of satisfaction with new status quo and long-term sustainability of the system

**How did US influence subsequent international political order in 1919?**

Wilson

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National self determination (new states and anti-imperialism)

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Support for democracy

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Collective security in League of Nations

**How did US influence subsequent international political order in 1945?**

Truman and FDR – Atlantic charter

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Democracy promotion and support (think Marshall Plan aid)

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Nation building in Germany and Japan (reintegrated into Western order)

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Collective security through NATO, no repeat of interwar period

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Creation of new international organizations (UN, International Monetary Fund, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], World Bank)

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New international economic order around promoting globalization (Bretton Woods)the world bank, the GATT, reduction of trade barriers

**The Cold War as a Great Power Conflict**

The Cold War was NOT a great power war, but GP conflict

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No direct military conflict between the U.S. and USSR

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But, the end of the Cold War resembled the end of a great power war

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State/territorial change: Killed states (Soviet collapse, Yugoslavia collapse, Czechoslavakia split), created new states (Soviet successor states), re-established states (Germany reunited)

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Regime change (communist systems collapsed, democracies emerged)

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Distribution of military power changed (bipolar to unipolar world)

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Enforcement mechanisms changed (Warsaw Pact collapsed, NATO and EU expanded)

**Russia as “loser” of the Cold War**

Post-communist Russia as a “defeated” country after the Cold War:

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Post-communist Russian “losses”:

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Territory – Soviet Union becomes 15 newly independent states

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Empire – loss of hegemony in Eastern Europe, psychological effects: countries that were soviets gravitated to Murica

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Superpower status and influence, loss of ideology and national identity

**U.S. and West as “winners” of the Cold War**

American/Western “gains” from the end of the Cold War:

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Military hegemony over Eastern Europe – Expansion of NATO

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Economic hegemony – Expansion of European Union

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Ideological hegemony – Ascendance of democracy

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Unipolarity – Unrivaled US power around the world

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Challenges maintaining the post-Cold War order

**Endurance of American-led order?**

Traditionally, great power war and their settlements key role in structuring international politics

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If great power war over, do broad outlines of the American system—created in 1945 and 1990—survive indefinitely?

**Sources of great power peace (I)**

Economic interdependence and changing value of territory

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Globalization has reduced imperative to expand by equalizing access to economic resources of territory

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Example: US-China relations

**Sources of great power peace (II)**

Nuclear deterrence: secure second-strike capabilities make military invasion of another great power extremely less likely

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Frozen territorial boundaries among great powers

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May fight proxy wars (e.g. Vietnam), but avoid direct confrontation

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Still compete (e.g. Ukraine), but limited

**Sources of great power peace (III)**

Unipolarity: United States so far ahead in military terms than nearest competitor that it reduces incentives to challenge

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US can see it coming and adjust

**Pavlovsky reading**

Assessment of Russian domestic politics under Putin, Crimea was ‘reckless’ and Syria is ‘risky’

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Failure to build efficient state bureaucracy that is responsive to political leadership

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Lots of Putin surrogates (curators) with significant autonomy to experiment; and potentially to make mistakes

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Examples: difficulties of pulling back support for separatists in Ukraine

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Caution: what follows Putin?

**Lukyanov reading**

Deterioration of US-Russian relations from

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Power shifts (Russian decline and then American decline/Russian resurgence) 2008 crisis

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American violation of spirit of compromise with Gorbachev

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Expansion of Western institutions post Cold War (buffer states )

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NATO

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Support for color revolutions that threatened Russian allies