



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTP 365: SPECIAL TOPIC: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE GREAT POWERS

20 POINTS

TRIMESTER 3 2014

IMPORTANT DATES

Trimester dates: 17 November 2014 to 22 February 2015

Teaching dates: 5 January 2015 to 13 February 2015

Last assessment item due: *The final (in-class) test will be administered on 11 February 2015*

Withdrawal dates: Refer to www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/withdrawals-refunds. If you cannot complete an assignment or sit a test or examination, refer to www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats.

CLASS TIMES AND LOCATIONS

Mondays 1:10-3:00pm, MYLT220

Wednesdays 1:10-3:00pm, MYLT220

We will NOT meet on Monday, 19 January 2015 as it is a public holiday. Instead, we will meet on Friday, 23 January 2015 from 1:10-3:00pm at MYLT220.

NAMES AND CONTACT DETAILS

Instructor: Dr Manjeet S. Pardesi

Email: manjeet.pardesi@vuw.ac.nz

Office: 201, 16 Kelburn Parade

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3:00-4:00pm (and by appointment)

COMMUNICATION OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

I will be communicating with you over the course of the trimester through Blackboard. Please make sure that you have updated your email address on Blackboard to receive my emails in a timely fashion.

PRESCRIPTION

The rise of China, Japan, and India are making great power politics central to politics. This course aims to gain a theoretical and historical understanding of great power politics and international order. What is the relationship between the rise and fall of great powers, war, and the global economy? 100% internal assessment.

COURSE CONTENT

This course is divided into **four** different parts. In the **first part** (titled 'Introduction'), students will be introduced to the very concept of 'great powers' and their importance to world politics. More specifically, we will analyse how the great powers create international order – security order, institutional/normative order, and economic order. In the **second part** of the course (titled 'Historical Cases'), we will analyse the foreign policies of two important great powers – Britain and the United States (in the 19th and 20th centuries) – to examine how these great powers managed their own rise and relative decline, and the impact that these policies had on the international order. In the **third part** of the course (titled 'Contemporary Cases'), we will analyse the foreign policies of China, Japan, and India to understand how they are promoting their own rise to great power status. In the **fourth and final part** of the course (titled 'Emergent Order'), we will analyse the security and economic implications of the rise of Asia's leading powers for international order. It should be noted that the readings from all four parts of the course rely heavily on America's foreign policy as it continues to remain the leading global power.

COURSE LEARNING OBJECTIVES (CLOS)

Students who pass this course will be able to:

1. analyse the concept of a great power
2. examine the historical and theoretical literature on the rise and fall of the great powers
3. explain how great powers create (or fail to create) international order
4. critically analyse great power behaviour, especially as it pertains to warfare and the global economy
5. critically evaluate political arguments and will be able to make their own coherent arguments.

TEACHING FORMAT

The course will consist of two 2-hour long lectures/seminars per week. Students are expected to actively participate in these lectures/seminars. Each session will include a lecture by the instructor on the week's readings as well as discussion questions in which student participation is required.

MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS

In addition to achieving an overall pass mark of 50%, students must:

1. attend at least 9 lectures
2. participate in the class discussion
3. complete 3 different assignments (mentioned below) by the specified dates (subject to provisions for late work)
4. sit the in-class test.

WORKLOAD

This 20-point course has been designed on the assumption that students will devote approximately 200 hours to it throughout the trimester.

Please note that it is an important part of your skills development in working out how much time you should allocate to each of these tasks. But here are some very rough guidelines on what to expect:

Preparation for (including reading) and attendance at classes:	75 hours
Preparation for and writing the three assignments: hours)	30 hours each (total 90 hours)
Studying for and writing the in-class test:	35 hours

ASSESSMENT

You will be assessed on **four** different items for this course. As noted in the 'Course content', the course is divided into four different parts. Each item of your assessment corresponds with one of these parts. For Parts I, II, and III, you will be given a choice of two (or more questions) at the start of that part of the course. You will be asked to answer any one of these questions. These are essay-type questions (~1,500 words) and require some (limited) amount of research on your part (to demonstrate that you have consulted academic sources in addition to your assigned readings). The fourth item of assessment is an in-class test based on the material covered in Part IV. You will be asked to answer *two* questions from a choice of *three* of more questions.

Assessment items and workload per item		%	CLO(s)	Due date
1	Essay question on Part I (1,500 words)	25%	1,3,4,5	16 Jan
2	Essay question on Part II (1,500 words)	25%	2,3,4,5	26 Jan
3	Essay question on Part III (1,500 words)	25%	3,4,5	6 Feb
4	Final in-class test	25%	4	11 Feb

SUBMISSION AND RETURN OF WORK

Please note that you are required to submit your essays to me through Blackboard. (You may email me your essays should you have issues with Blackboard). **Essays submitted after 5pm on the due date will be considered "late" by one day.** Your marked assignment will be handed back as soon as possible. Assignments will be held for three months.

EXTENSIONS AND PENALTIES

Extensions

Since this is a summer course, it is important to keep up with the material and to submit your assignments in a timely fashion. Requests for extensions should be made with the lecturer in-

person with proper documentation before the due date. Extensions are normally given only to those with a medical certificate, or of other evidence of forces beyond your control.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of assignments – **a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days.** Work that is more than 10 weekdays late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but may not be marked. Penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

SET TEXTS

There are no set texts for this course. There are three readings for every lecture (as noted below).

RECOMMENDED READING

You are encouraged to look at the following journals to refer to articles/issues that interest you – *International Security*, *International Organization*, *Security Studies*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Review of International Studies*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *The Washington Quarterly*. This is not an exhaustive list and you may refer to other region-specific or issue-specific journals depending upon your interests.

In addition to this, it is important to keep up with current global developments by following important news media outlets such as the *BBC* and *The New York Times*.

CLASS REPRESENTATIVE

The class representative provides a useful way to communicate feedback to the teaching staff during the course. A class representative will be selected at the first lecture of the course. Students may like to write the Class Rep's name and details in this box:

Class Rep name and contact details:

STUDENT FEEDBACK

Enhancements made to this course, based on the feedback of previous students, will be covered during the course.

Student feedback on University courses may be found at www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/feedback/feedback_display.php.

OTHER IMPORTANT INFORMATION

The information above is specific to this course. There is other important information that students must familiarise themselves with, including:

- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/integrity-plagiarism
- Aegrotats: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats
- Academic Progress: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/academic-progress (including restrictions and non-engagement)

- Dates and deadlines: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/dates
- FHSS Student and Academic Services Office: www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin
- Grades: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/grades
- Resolving academic issues: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications
- Special passes: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications
- Statutes and policies including the Student Conduct Statute: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/strategy
- Student support: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/support
- Students with disabilities: www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/disability
- Student Charter: www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/student-charter
- Student Contract: www.victoria.ac.nz/study/apply-enrol/terms-conditions/student-contract
- Subject Librarians: <http://library.victoria.ac.nz/library-v2/find-your-subject-librarian>
- Turnitin: www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin
- University structure: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/structure
- Victoria graduate profile: www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/graduate-profile
- VUWSA: www.vuwsa.org.nz

COURSE STRUCTURE

Part I – Introduction

In the first part of this course, we will analyse the concept of a 'great power' and try to understand how great powers create international order – security, institutional/normative, and economic order.

- What is a great power? Is there a 'threshold criteria' for this status?
- How is international order created? Are some orders more stable than others? Why?
- Is the distinction between security, institutional/normative, and economic orders an analytical (academic) one only? Or are there any substantive differences involved?

Lecture 1 (5 January 2015) – Understanding Great Powers

- Jeremy Black, *Great Powers and the Quest for Hegemony: The World Order Since 1500* (London: Routledge, 2008), 1-22.
- Barry Buzan, *The United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 46-76.
- George Modelski and William R. Thompson, *Seapower in Global Politics, 1494-1993* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 3-26.

Lecture 2 (7 January 2015) – Great Powers and International Order 1 (Security)

- Chapter 5 in John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* Updated Edition (New York: W. W. Norton: 2014).
- Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, "Hegemonic Threats and Great-Power Balancing in Europe, 1495-1999," *Security Studies* 14:1 (2005): 1-33.
- William C. Wohlforth, "Hegemonic Decline and Hegemonic War Revisited," G. John Ikenberry, ed., *Power, Order, and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 109-130.

Lecture 3 (12 January 2015) – Great Powers and International Order 2 (Institutions/Norms)

- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19:3 (1994/95): 5-49.
- Evelyn Goh, "Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing Regional Security Strategies," *International Security* 32:3 (2008): 113-157.
- Amitav Acharya, "Norm Subsidiarity and Regional Orders: Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Rule-Making in the Third World," *International Studies Quarterly* 55:1 (2011): 95-123.

Lecture 4 (14 January 2015) – Great Powers and International Order 3 (Economics)

- Douglas A. Irwin and Kevin H. O'Rourke, "Coping with Shocks and Shifts: The Multilateral Trading System in Historical Perspective," in Robert C. Feenstra and Alan M. Taylor, eds., *Globalization in an Age of Crisis: Multilateral Economic Cooperation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 11-42.
- "An Introduction to Growth, Trade, and Systemic Leadership," in Rafael Reuveny and William R. Thompson, *Growth, Trade, and Systemic Leadership* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).
- Jonathan Kirshner, "The Political Economy of Realism," in Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 69-102.

Essay I due on 16 January

Part II – Historical Cases

We will analyse the foreign policies of Britain and the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries in Part II. The British case will largely focus on how it managed its global dominance and then managed its relative decline. The American case will focus on America's rise to great power status followed by the maintenance of its leading position. How did America's chief rival in the second half of the twentieth century fare?

Lecture 5 (21 January 2015) – Britain

- "Mahan versus Mackinder: Two Interpretations of British Sea Power," in Paul M. Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945: Eight Case Studies* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983).
- John Gooch, "The Weary Titan: Strategy and Policy in Great Britain, 1890-1918," in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 278-306.
- "Introduction" and "Conclusion" in Paul MacDonald, *Networks of Domination: The Social Foundations of Peripheral Conquest in International Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Lecture 6 (23 January 2015) – the United States

- Michael Lind, *The American Way of Strategy: U.S. Foreign Policy and the American Way of Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 55-78.
- John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 35-67.
- Adam Roberts, “An ‘Incredibly Swift Transition’: Reflections on the End of the Cold War,” in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume III – Endings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 513-534.

Essay II due on 26 January

Part III – Contemporary Cases

We will analyse the foreign policies of China, Japan, and India in Part III. What makes them candidates for great power status? Have they attained this status? How are they pursuing their quest for great power status and what kind of great powers will they be?

Lecture 7 (26 January 2015) – China

- “The Legacy of the Past” in John W. Garver, *Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993).
- “Problems of Stateness: Tibet, Xinjiang, Hong Kong, and Taiwan,” in Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
- Jessica Chen Weiss, “Authoritarian Signalling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China,” *International Organization* Volume 67, Issue 1 (2013).

Lecture 8 (28 January 2015) – Japan

- Richard J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo’s Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 1-9; and 185-210.
- “Japan’s Shifting Security Trajectory and Policy System” &
- “For a Strengthened US-Japan Alliance” in Christopher W. Hughes, *Japan’s Re-Emergence as a ‘Normal’ Military Power* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Lecture 9 (2 February 2015) – India

- Manjeet S. Pardesi, “Understanding the Rise of India,” *India Review* 6:3 (2007): 209-231.
- Sumit Ganguly, “Will Kashmir Stop India’s Rise?,” *Foreign Affairs* 85:4 (2006).
- Sumit Ganguly and Manjeet S. Pardesi, “Can China and India Rise Peacefully?,” *Orbis* 56:3 (2012): 470-485.

Part IV – Emergent Order

How are Asia’s rising powers changing the strategic/security architecture? What is their impact on the emerging economic order? Are China, Japan, and India rising ‘Asian’ powers or rising ‘global’ powers? Is there a difference? Why?

Lecture 10 (4 February 2015) – Emerging Security Order

- Randall L. Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu, “After Unipolarity: China’s Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline,” *International Security* 36:1 (2011): 41-72.
- Robert G. Sutter *et al.*, “Balancing Acts: The U.S. Rebalance and Asia-Pacific Stability,” George Washington University, August 2013. Available online at http://www2.gwu.edu/~sigur/assets/docs/BalancingActs_Compiled1.pdf
- Azar Gat, “The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers,” *Foreign Affairs* 86:4 (2007).

Essay III due on 6 February

Lecture 11 (9 February 2015) – Emerging Politico-Economic Order

- Christopher A. McNally, “Sino-Capitalism: China’s Reemergence and the International Political Economy,” *World Politics* 64:4 (2012): 741-776.
 - Background Reading (*Recommended*): John Cassidy, “Enter the Dragon,” *The New Yorker*, 13 December 2010.
<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/12/13/enter-the-dragon>
- Andrew Hurrell, “Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Space for Would-Be Great Powers?,” *International Affairs* 82:1 (2006): 1-19.
- Pranab Bardhan, *Awakening Giants, Feet of Clay: Assessing the Economic Rise of China and India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 125-159.

Lecture 12 (11 February 2015) – In-Class Test