



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME

**INTP 370: Special Topic: The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers
20 POINTS**

TRIMESTER 1 2016

Key dates

Trimester dates: 29 February to 29 June 2016

Teaching dates: 29 February to 5 June 2016

Easter break: 24–30 March 2016

Mid-trimester break: 25 April to 1 May 2016

Last assessment item due: 30 May 2016

Withdrawal dates: Refer to www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/withdrawals-refunds.

If you cannot complete an assignment or sit a test in the last three weeks of teaching, or an examination, it may instead be possible to apply for an aegrotat (refer to www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats).

Class times and locations

Lectures: Monday, 1410-1600hrs (Hugh Mackenzie LT 205)

Workshops: Thursday, 1200-1250hrs (Maclaurin LT 101)

Names and contact details

Course Coordinator: Manjeet S. Pardesi

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Email: manjeet.pardesi@vuw.ac.nz

Office hours: Thursday, 1400-1500hrs (and by appointment)

Communication of additional information

This course uses Blackboard and presumes that all enrolled students have valid myvuw.ac.nz addresses. Please check that this account is active and you have organised email forwarding.

Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture and tutorial programme will be advised by email, announced in lectures, and posted on the course Blackboard site.

Prescription

The rise of China, Japan and India is making the politics of great powers central to world politics. This course aims to analyse great power politics and international order from theoretical and historical perspectives. What is the relationship between the rise and fall of great powers, war, and the global economy?

Course content

This course is divided into **three** parts. In the first part, 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. The second part of the course will begin with an analysis of the United States (the current system leader) as a great power around the start of the 20th century to its status as the “unipole” after the end of the Cold War. We will then go on to analysing the (re-)rise of Russia as well as the rise of an entire region – Asia – in recent decades. In particular, we will study Asia’s three most important rising powers – China, Japan, and India – to understand their international ambitions. The third and the final section explores what the rise of Russia, China, Japan, and India means for the emerging order in the region and beyond. We will also briefly discuss the future of liberal democracy and free-market capitalism in this regard.

Course learning objectives (CLOs)

Students who pass this course should 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 made by some of the leading scholars in the field
6. choose a research project, select appropriate sources, critically evaluate those sources and synthesise them into a coherent and credible extended argument.

Teaching format

The course will consist of one 2-hour long lecture/discussion per week AND one 1-hour long workshop. Students are expected to actively participate in the lectures and workshops.

Mandatory course requirements

Students must receive an overall pass mark of 50%.

Any student who is concerned that they have been (or might be) unable to meet any of the MCRs because of exceptional personal circumstances, should contact the course coordinator as soon as possible.

Workload

This 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 the following tasks. But here are some very rough guidelines on what to expect:

Preparation for (including reading) and attendance at lectures/workshops:	75 hours
Preparation for and writing assignment 1:	35 hours
Preparation for and writing assignment 2:	55 hours
Studying for and writing the end-term test:	35 hours

Assessment

You will be assessed for **four** different items for this course. To begin with, 10% of your overall grade comes from participation in workshops. This includes actively partaking in the discussions. There may be surprise tests/quizzes during the workshops as well. In addition to this you are required to do two written assignments. The first assignment is an exercise in critical analysis and involves a short-essay (~1,500 words). The second essay is a research essay that assesses your ability to independently work on an issue that interests you (~2,500 words). The fourth and final item of assessment is **an in-class test based on the material covered from Lecture 5 onward**.

Assessment items and workload per item		%	CLO(s)	Due date
1	Participation in workshops	10%	1, 2, 3, 5	weekly
2	Assignment 1 – Essay (Critical Analysis) (~1,500 words)	25%	1,2,3,4	4 April 2016
3	Assignment 2 – Research Essay (~2,500 words)	40%	4,5,6	20 May 2016
4	End-trimester in-class test (2 hours, 14.10-16.00)	25%	1,2,3,4	30 May 2016

Participation in Workshops:

These workshops are interactive sessions. You are expected to have done the readings for the **previous** lecture as well as the assigned reading for the workshop of the day. Come prepared with any questions that you would like to discuss (based on these readings). We will have discussions and debates based on these questions. We may even have surprise tests or quizzes based on these readings (10% of your overall grade).

Assignment 1 – Essay (Critical Analysis) ~1,500 words

Choose any **one** of the assigned readings from Part I of the course (either from the lecture or the workshop **from the first four weeks**) and write a short report analysing the core argument of the reading. These readings are deal with historical, conceptual, and theoretical issues.

The essay should cover the following items:

1. a concise summary of the reading; its main argument and how the argument is made
2. a critique of the reading in the context of the scholarly discussion. (This may or may not require a **limited** amount of research)
3. a discussion of how this reading helps you understand (some aspect of) great power politics.

Assignment 2 – Research Essay (~2,500 words)

In this second assignment, you are asked to write a substantive research paper. I will provide you with a list of questions during the very first lecture. You are free to choose any **one** of these questions to work on.

Alternatively, you can set your own research question but it needs to be approved by me first. (**NOTE:** If you are interested in choosing your own research question then you must discuss this with me in the first three weeks of the class and the question must be approved 7 April. The sooner the better!) Here are the general guidelines for choosing your own research question:

1. The topic has to be relevant to great power politics.
2. It can focus on any one great power's foreign policy in general **OR** a great power's relationship with one or more great powers **OR** a great power's relationship with a non-great power. (In the case of a great power's relationship with a non-great power, you will need to specify why your research question matters for great power politics.)
3. You may choose to write on contemporary or historical issues.

This assignment allows you to demonstrate your ability and analytical skills to conduct independent research on a relevant topic.

Marking Criteria

Each of your pieces of written work will be assessed on the basis of whether you have

- a) Answered the question correctly
- b) Developed clear and well-substantiated arguments
- c) Linked your arguments together in a clear logic that flows through the assignment
- d) Reflected an awareness in your writing of the literature on the subject
- e) Written a style that is easy to follow and communicates your point clearly and effectively
- f) Observed relevant scholarly conventions.

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.**

Students will be notified either in class or on Blackboard when graded essays are available.

Extensions and penalties

Extensions

It is important to keep-up with the readings (and research) 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.

The circumstances under which an extension will be considered are outlined in section 3.2.1 of the Assessment Handbook.

(See: www.victoria.ac.nz/documents/policy/staff-policy/assessment-handbook.pdf).

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. Extensions on deadlines for written work will only be granted under exceptional circumstances.

Set texts

There are no set texts for this course. There are three “required” readings every week (normally 2 for the lecture and 1 for the workshop) available on Blackboard.

Recommended reading

It should be noted that the rise and fall of great powers often takes place over long periods of time. As such, some familiarity with world history is important. While you will NOT be asked to discuss historical issues in your final test, you may find the following books useful (especially if you are concerned with great power behaviour in the past):

Jeremy Black, *Great Powers and the Quest for Hegemony: The World Order since 1500* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of the Global Empires, 1400-2000* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010).

You are encouraged to look at the following journals to refer to articles/issues that interest you – *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Survival*, 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.

Student feedback

Based on student feedback, students are now provided with more guidance in the course outline to help them formulate their own research question (if they wish to do so).

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
- 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
- Special passes: refer to the *Assessment Handbook*, at www.victoria.ac.nz/documents/policy/staff-policy/assessment-handbook.pdf
- 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
- Subject Librarians: <http://library.victoria.ac.nz/library-v2/find-your-subject-librarian>

- Terms and conditions: www.victoria.ac.nz/study/apply-enrol/terms-conditions/student-contract
- 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 1 - Introduction

In the first part of this course, we will analyze 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 merely an analytical (academic) one? Or are there substantive differences involved?

Lecture 1 – Understanding Great Powers – 29 February 2016

- Chapter 3 – “Wealth and Power” in John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* Updated Edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014).
- Barry R. Posen, “From Unipolarity to Multipolarity: Transition in Sight?,” in G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Workshop (Week 1) – 3 March 2016

- Manjeet S. Pardesi, “Is India a Great Power? Understanding Great Power Status in Contemporary International Relations,” *Asian Security* 11:1 (2015).

Lecture 2 – Great Powers and International (Security) Order – 7 March 2016

- Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, “Balancing on Land and at Sea: Do States Ally Against the Leading Global Power?,” *International Security* Volume 35, Number 1 (2010): 7-43.
- Stephen M. Walt, “Alliances in a Unipolar World,” *World Politics* Volume 61, Number 1 (2009): 86-120.

Workshop (Week 2) – 10 March 2016

- Jack S. Levy, “Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China,” in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China’s Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 11-33.

Lecture 3 – Great Powers and International (Institutional/Normative) Order – 14 March 2016

- 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.

(Please note that there is no workshop on 17 March).

Lecture 4 – Great Powers and International (Economic) Order – 21 March 2016

- Ronald Findlay, “Economics and Security: The Evolving Geopolitical Equilibrium,” in Richmond M. Lloyd, *Economics and Security: Resourcing National Priorities* (Newport: Naval War College, 2010) 47-55. Available online at <https://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Departments---Colleges/National-Security-Decision-Making/Recent-Highlights/Ruger-Economic-Papers/Economics-and-Security-Resourcing-National-Priorities-Ruger-No-5.pdf.aspx>
- Espen Moe, “Mancur Olson and Structural Economic Change: Vested Interests and the Industrial Rise and Fall of the Great Powers,” *Review of International Political Economy* Volume 16, Issue 2 (2009): 202-230.

Workshop (Week 4) – 31 March 2016

- Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, “Regimes of World Order: Global Integration and the Production of Difference in Twentieth Century World History,” in Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Anand A. Yang, eds., *Interactions: Transregional Perspectives on World History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), 202-238.

Part II – Case Studies

In the second part of this course we will look at the following:

- The rise of the United States (followed by the emergence of new great powers in an America-led world)
- We will also try to understand the fall of the Soviet Union followed by the rise of Russia

- What is the significance of Asia's rising powers? (The simultaneous rise of a few great powers in Asia and the region's rising wealth makes it one of the most important world regions).
- More specifically, we will study the rise of three "emerging" great powers – China, Japan, and India – to understand what they seek from the international system.
- What makes China, Japan, and India 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?

Assignment 1 due on 4 April 2016

Lecture 5 – America's Rise to Great Power Status (and Beyond) – 4 April 2016

We will look at three questions in particular.

1. How did the United States – the current system leader – rise to great power status?
 2. How did America interact with the international system after becoming a great power?
 3. Finally, how did American unipolarity emerge and what does it mean for the United States and for other aspiring great powers?
- 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.
 - Relevant sections (on US behavior in the 20th century) from Chapters 8 and 9 in John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2014), updated edition. (*Students will be provided with the relevant sections through Blackboard*).

Workshop (Week 5) – 7 April 2016

- Chapter 5 in Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Lecture 6 – Russia – 11 April 2016

Russia

- Chapter 5 in Ayse Zarakol, *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

- Dmitri Trenin, “The Ukrainian Crisis and the Resumption of Great Power Rivalry,” Carnegie Moscow Center, July 2014. Available: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/ukraine_great_power_rivalry2014.pdf

Workshop (Week 6) – 14 April 2016

- Andrew C. Kuchins, “Russian Power Rising and Falling Simultaneously,” in Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills, eds., *Strategic Asia 2015-16: Foundations of National Power in the Asia-Pacific* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2015).

Lecture 7 – China – 18 April 2016

- “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).

Workshop (Week 7) – 21 April 2016

- “Modernities” in Odd Arne Westad, *Restless Empire: China and the World Since 1750* (New York: Basic Books, 2012).

Lecture 8 – Japan – 2 May 2016

- “Introduction: What is a ‘Normal Country’,” and “Embracing Normalcy: Toward a Japanese ‘National Strategy’,” in Yoshihide Soeya, David A. Welch, and Masayaki Tadaokoro, eds., *Japan as a ‘Normal Country’: A Nation in Search of its Place in the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).
- Michael Green, “Japan is Back: Unbundling Abe’s Grand Strategy,” Lowy Institute, December 2013. Available: http://www.lowyinstitute.org/files/green_japan_is_back_web_0.pdf

Workshop (Week 8) – 5 May 2016

- 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.

Lecture 9 – India – 9 May 2016

- Manjeet S. Pardesi, “Understanding the Rise of India,” *India Review* 6:3 (2007): 209-231.
- Sumit Ganguly, “India’s National Security,” in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Workshop (Week 9) – 12 May 2016

- Eswaran Sridharan, “Rising or Constrained Power?,” in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Part III – Emergent Order

In the third and final part of this course we will try to understand how Russia and Asia’s rising powers are changing the strategic/security architecture. What is their impact on the American-led world order? What is their impact on the global economic order? What is the future of liberal democracy and free-market capitalism? Are China, Japan, and India rising ‘Asian’ powers or are they rising ‘global’ powers? Is there a difference? Why?

Lecture 10 – Emerging Order (1) – 16 May 2016

- 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.
- Chapter 10 “Can China Rise Peacefully” in John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* Updated Edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014).

Workshop (Week 10) – 19 May 2016

- Sumit Ganguly and Manjeet S. Pardesi, “Can China and India Rise Peacefully?,” *Orbis* 56:3 (2012): 470-485.

Assignment 2 due on 20 May 2016

Lecture 11 – Emerging Order (2) – 23 May 2016

- Azar Gat, “The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers,” *Foreign Affairs* 86:4 (2007).
- Peer Vries, “Decline of the West – Rise of the East?,” *Journal of Modern European History* Volume 11, Number 3 (2013).
- Chapter 6 – “The Future of International Relations” in Simon Reich and Richard Ned Lebow, *Good-Bye Hegemony!: Power and Influence in the Global System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

26 May 2016 - Revision

30 May 2016 – In-class test