

## SEMESTER AT SEA COURSE SYLLABUS

**Voyage: Spring 2014**

**Discipline: Political Science**

**PLIR 3010: Theories of International Relations**

**Division: Upper**

**Faculty Name: Fred R. Mabbutt**

**Pre-requisites:** None

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

The post-colonial age has been characterized by two contradictory tendencies: economic integration (globalization) and political fragmentation. The first has promoted international economic growth, but the benefits of that growth have been very unevenly distributed. While the imperial age of the 19<sup>th</sup> century reduced the number of independent countries in the world to 59 by the beginning of the First World War (1914), today the world is far more fragmented. After the end of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet empire there are now approximately 200 countries in the world. This political development, in some cases, has been accompanied by revolution, terrorism, civil war, instability, and refugee and migration problems, which have played a serious role in reshaping international politics. This course focuses on the principles, contours, and theories that explain international politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

1. To acquaint students with the major principles, concepts, and theories of international politics that attempt to explain the causes of war and the conditions of peace.
2. To enhance students' understanding of the causes of war, and how both war and diplomacy have changed over the past two hundred years.
3. To acquaint students with the sources of civil and regional conflict in the regions they visit, including such consequences as famine, disease, and refugee migration.
4. To provide students with an understanding of the framework of the modern waves of terrorism, and how they differ in their motives and targets.
5. To provide students with the concepts of varying approaches to peace.

### **REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS**

**AUTHOR:** Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

**TITLE:** *Understanding International Conflicts*

**PUBLISHER:** Longman

**ISBN #:** 0-205-85163-0

**DATE/EDITION:** 2012, 9<sup>th</sup> ed.

**AUTHOR:** Michael Doyle

**TITLE:** *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism*

**PUBLISHER:** Norton (paperback)

**ISBN#** 0-393-96947-9

**DATE/EDITION:** 1997

AUTHOR: Bill Emmott

TITLE: *Rivals: How the Power Struggle Between China, India and Japan Will Shape Our Next Decade*

PUBLISHER: Mariner Books (paperback)

ISBN: 10:0156033623

DATE/EDITION: 2009

## TOPICAL OUTLINE OF COURSE

(Subject to revision as necessitated by voyage)

1. **Topic:** Introduction to the Course and discussion of the Parlance of IR. The European multipolar Balance of Power System will be explained, and the following terms will be explored: state, nation, legitimacy, politics, government, sovereignty, hegemony, and balance of power.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflicts*, pp. 1-32; Barkin's "State and Nation"

2. **Topic:** Origins of the Dynastic- and Nation-State System and Three Theories of an Anarchic World: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism. Great wars (with the exception of World War II) often end with general or great peace treaties which crystallize the political map for a particular time. The great peace settlements will be examined (Westphalia [1648], Utrecht [1713], Paris [1763], Paris [1783], Vienna [1815], Paris [1919] and their principles evaluated, along with the structure of international relations before and after the two World Wars will be examined. A Profile of the Political Thought of Realist E.H. Carr will be included in this session.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflicts*, pp. 20-32; *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism*, pp. 15-92; Doyle's "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs"; Bernhard's "The Leadership Secrets of Bismarck"

### Hilo, Hawaii - A

3. **Topic:** Types of war and the correlation between what wars are about and how they are waged. Wars over property will be contrasted with wars over ideas. The focus of this topic will be on the origins of the great 20th century conflicts and levels of causation.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflicts*, pp. 33-57; Menon's "Pax Americana and the Rising Powers"

### Hilo, Hawaii - B

#### 4. QUIZ

**Topic:** Transnational Actors and Terrorism. In addition to examining the functions and power of NGOs (Nongovernment Organizations) in an Information Age, we will look at the four waves of terror since the French Revolution (1789).

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflict*, pp. 233-258; Drucker's "The Next Information Revolution"; Gause's "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism"

5. **Topic:** World War I and World War II: Japan's Road to Pearl Harbor. The focus will be on the causes of these wars with particular attention to the war in the Pacific which began with the Japanese imperial thrust into Korea and China in the 1930s.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflict*, pp. 59- 113; Graham's "Sixty Years After Hiroshima, A New Nuclear Era"

6. **Topic:** The Cold War and the Japanese Economic “Miracle”. The Bipolar System of the Cold War will be discussed. The focus will be on how the Korean War hardened the Cold War and how Japan’s economic “miracle” benefitted from this turning point. A Profile of the Political Thought of Realist George Kennan will be included in this session.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflict*, pp. 115-255; Schlesinger’s “The Origins of the Cold War”; Godwin’s “Asia’s Dangerous Security Dilemma”

7. **Topic:** Hegemony, Imperialism, and Globalization: The Integrated World. This session will focus on theories of imperialism, spheres of influence and the impact these forces have had on China, Vietnam, India, and South Africa. Types of colonies (Settlement, Exploitation, and Non-European Majority) will be examined as well as the broader category, namely “salt-water” and “dry-land” imperialism. Motives and consequences will be evaluated. A Profile of the Political Thought of Socialist V.I. Lenin and the influence of John Hobson will be included in this session.

**Reading Assignment:** *Ways of War and Peace*, pp. 93-110; Keohane’s “Hegemony and After”

### Yokohama/Kobe, Japan

8. **Topic:** Contest for Supremacy: China, India, Japan, America and the Greater Indian Ocean. Since the turn of this century, China’s explosive economic growth has propelled it outward in search of new markets, materials and, above all, oil. The fact that the U.S. Navy dominates the oceans puts the PRC in competition with the U.S. (and India) for dominance in the Indian Ocean. We will look at this strategic and demographic hub to see how it affects American, Chinese, Indian, and Japanese interests.

**Reading Assignment:** *Rivals: How the Power Struggle Between China, India and Japan Will Shape Our Next Decade*, chaps. 1-4; Kaplan’s “The Geography of Chinese Power”

### Shanghai/Hong Kong, China

9. **Topic:** The Vietnam Wars. This session will focus on Vietnam as a French colony and the impact of the World Wars and the Cold War on its national identity and development. We will examine issues of nationalism, sovereignty and intervention, containment and deterrence, as well as an evaluation of “the decent interval” by Frank Schnepf (who was the CIA’s chief strategist in Vietnam) from his book of that title. A Profile of the Political Thought of Realist Henry Kissinger will be part of this session.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflict*, pp. 157 -174; *War and Peace*, pp. 340-364; Mearsheiner’s “The Future of America Pacifier”; Altman’s “American Profligacy and American Power”; Kaplan’s “The Statesman: In Defense of Henry Kissinger”

### Ho Chi Minh, Viet Nam

10. **First Mid-Term:** This examination will be based on readings and lectures 1-8.

### Singapore

11. **Topic:** India and Pakistan: Three Wars of Religion. This session will focus on colonialism, partition and war in 1947, the Kashmir war of 1965, the bloody birth of Bangladesh in 1973, and the problem of nuclear proliferation.

**Reading Assignment:** *Ways of War and Peace*, pp. 301-314, 383-420

### Rangoon, Burma

12. **Topic:** Globalization and India. Globalization is a new word that describes an old process: the

integration of the global economy that began in the European colonial era five centuries ago. This process was accelerated over the past four decades with the explosion of computer technology, internet, dismantling of trade barriers and expanding economic and political power of multinational corporations. We will focus on globalization and its effects on various nations, with particular attention to India.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflicts*, pp. 204-230; *Rivals*, chaps. 5-9; Green's "Asia's Forgotten Crisis [Burma]"; Rodrik's "Sense and Nonsense in the Globalization Debate"; James "The Late, Great Globalization"

**13. Topic:** War in the Holy Land: Israel and the Arab World

This session will examine the major wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973 and subsequent efforts to find a way to peacefully co-exist.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflict*, pp. 185-202

**Cochin, India**

**14. Topic:** Diplomacy. We will examine the evolution of diplomacy, diplomatic language and the impact of technology as well as the transition from the Old Diplomacy to the New Diplomacy. Realist Hans Morganthau's "Nine Rules of Diplomacy" will be discussed.

**Reading Assignment:** Nicolson's "Diplomatic Language"; Mohan's "India and the Balance of Power"; Kleine-Ahlbrandt's "China's New Dictatorship Diplomacy"

**15. Topic:** Balance of Power. This session focuses on the definition of world power and how it is currently distributed in the post-Cold War world. The many pyramidal tiers of power will be examined.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflicts*, pp. 59-85; Ikenberry's "The Future of the Liberal World Order"; Gaddis's "Towards the Post-Cold War World"

**Port Louis, Mauritius - A**

**16. Second Mid-Term:** This examination will be based on lectures and readings 9, 11-15.

**Port Louis, Mauritius - B**

**17. Topic:** Let's Bring the Statesmen Back In: Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy. This session will focus on the role of statesmanship in IR, and the importance of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela in that transition.

**Reading Assignment:** Byman's "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In"; Herbst's "Mbeki's South Africa"

**18. Topic:** Sub-Saharan Africa and Political Violence. Sub-Saharan Africa comprises 80% of Africa's landmass and is home to 47 of its 55 independent states. This class will focus on the causes and consequences of political violence or civil war in this diverse region. Particular attention will be given to the military coups in Ghana, led by Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings in 1979 and 1981 as well as the problems and prospects after one of the most remarkable transitions in modern history when South Africa discarded apartheid for democracy in 1994.

**Reading Assignment:** *Ways of War and Peace*, pp. 315-382; Kaplan's "The Coming Anarchy"

**Cape Town, South Africa**

**19. Topic:** Ghana: On the Road to Democracy? Ghana, a British colony for 113 years, was the first black African nation to obtain its independence from Great Britain in 1957. After decades of military rule, Ghana is now in its 4<sup>th</sup> Republic and working towards democracy. This session will focus on the viability of its progress.

**Reading Assignment:** Diamond's "Democracy's Third Wave Today"

**20. Topic:** The Scramble for Africa (1876-1912). This session will examine how European powers, adhering to the balance of power principle, carved up Africa to avoid conflict with each other, but without regard for the cultural or ethnic differences of their African colonies. How did this affect nation-building and maintain peace and stability when these new countries gained their independence? An evaluation of the legacy of European imperialism will follow this presentation.

**Reading Assignment:** *Ways of War and Peace*, pp. 340-365

**Recommended reading:** Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa*

**21. Topic:** Collective Security, International Law and the United Nations. The balance of power principle, widely blamed for World War I, was also criticized for violating democratic principles and national self-determination. This session will examine the principles of collective security and the United Nations. A Profile of the Political Thought of Liberals Woodrow Wilson and Norman Angell will be provided.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflicts*, pp. 157-202; *Ways of War and Peace*, pp. 301-314; Harris "Destructive Creation and the New World Disorder"

#### **Takoradi/Tema, Ghana**

**22. Topic:** A New World Order? This session will look at future configurations of power and two alternative possibilities: Francis Fukuyama's "The End of History" or Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations?" The first possibility falls in the family of Liberalism; the second is from the School of Realism.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflict*, pp. 261-283.

**23. Topic:** New Challenges to International Stability: Internet, Social Media, and Cyber-Warfare. We will look at the Arab Spring and the Muslim anti-American riots and storming of the U.S. embassy in Libya and elsewhere in September 2012.

**Reading Assignment:** *Understanding International Conflict*, pp. 233-258; Drucker's "The Next Information Revolution"

#### **24. Review**

#### **Casablanca, Morocco**

**25. Final Examination:** This examination is based on lectures and readings 16-22.

#### **FIELD WORK**

The field component represents twenty percent of your grade. This will be facilitated through the requisite Field Lab and report, class journal and attendance at all Diplomatic Briefings.

**Field Lab:** *U.S. Embassy Visit in Rangoon:* A presentation by a representative[s] of the diplomatic core to acquaint students with the functions and responsibilities of foreign service and to consider the current state of human rights in Burma. Students will provide a 2-3 page report summarizing what was learned during the lab.

### **Field Assignments:**

Journal: Students are required to maintain a journal of their field experiences and political observations in each country visited as it pertains to the course. To provide some structure for field observations there will be pre-port presentations that help frame important questions to ponder while in port. Journal entries should be a record of the student's notes and a connection between readings and class lectures with field experience. Students are encouraged to engage locals in serious conversation and to take notes of relevant comments from this dialogue. (Given language barriers, this may not always be possible, and remember that politics—like religion—can be a sensitive issue. Be respectful.) Try to conduct at least one or two interviews with a local in each country to get some idea of their views on relevant subjects. The final journal entry should compare two of the countries visited during the voyage with a focus on one key concept. The key concepts from which the student may choose include: democratization, economic violence, issues of population growth, equality/inequality, political culture (parochial, subject, civic), urban/rural patterns, globalization, and social change.

Students are also encouraged to visit the following sites:

JAPAN:	Hiroshima; War Museums; Edo-Tokyo Museum
CHINA:	American Consulate
VIET NAM:	Museum of War Remnants; Cu Chi Tunnels
BURMA:	American Embassy
INDIA:	Fort Cochin
SO. AFRICA:	Robben Island Tour; Parliament; District 6 Museum
MOROCCO:	American Consulate

### **METHODS OF EVALUATION / GRADING RUBRIC**

1. Three essay examinations will account for 65% of your total grade. Mid-terms are worth 20% and the final counts for 25%. Each exam will include short one- paragraph answers to several "Identify and give the Significance" questions as well as two or three broader essay questions. Answers to the broader essay questions will be evaluated in terms of the student's ability to grasp concepts, synthesize lectures and readings, and express an answer in a logical and organized essay.
2. The Field Component, comprised of the Field Lab report and journal, is worth 20% of your total grade. These will be evaluated in terms of the student's ability to connect concepts to observation and experience.
3. Announced quizzes will count for 10% of your final grade.
4. Class participation will account for 5% of your total grade. A significant expectation of this part of your grade depends on being prepared to discuss readings and lectures in class. Attendance to all classes is mandatory.

#### Grading

- A = 90%
- B = 80 – 89%
- C = 70 – 79%
- D = 60 – 69%

## RESERVE LIBRARY LIST

AUTHOR: James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr  
TITLE: *Contending Theories of International Relations*  
PUBLISHER: Harper & Row  
DATE/EDITION: 1981  
ISBN #:0-06-045215-3

## ELECTRONIC COURSE MATERIALS

Additional assigned readings:

- Altman, Roger C. (2010) "American Profligacy and American Power" *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec.): 25-34.
- Barkin, Samuel (1994) "The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and Rules of Sovereignty" *International Organization* (Winter): 107-130.
- Bernhard, Michael (2011) "The Leadership Secrets of Bismarck" *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec.): 150-154.
- Byman, David (2001) "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security* (Summer): 205-235.
- Diamond, Larry (2011) "Democracy's Third Wave Today" *Current History* (November): 299-307.
- Doyle, Michael (1983) "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (Summer): 205-235.
- Drucker, Peter (1998) "The Next Information Revolution" *Forbes* (August 4): 46-58.
- Florida, Richard (2005) "The World Is Spiky," *The Atlantic Monthly* (October): 48-51.
- Gause, Gregory (2005) "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct.): 62-76.
- Gaddis, John (1991) "Towards the Post-Cold War World" *Foreign Affairs* (Spring): 102-122.
- Godwin, Paul (2010) "Asia's Dangerous Security Dilemma" *Current History* (Sept.): 264-266.
- Graham, Thomas (2005) "Sixty Years After Hiroshima, a New Nuclear Era" *Current History* (April): 147-152.
- Harris, Paul (2012) "Destructive Creation and the New World Disorder" *Current History* (January): 29-33.
- Green, Michael (2008) "Asia's [Burma] Forgotten Crisis" *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec.): 147-159.
- Kaplan, Robert (2010) "The Geography of Chinese Power" *Foreign Affairs* (May/June): 22-41.
- Kaplan, Robert (2013) "The Statesman: In Defense of Henry Kissinger" *The Atlantic* (May): 70-78.
- Herbst, Jeffrey (2005) "Mbeki's South Africa" *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./ Dec.): 93-105.
- Huntington, Samuel (1993) "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (Summer): 22-32.
- Ikenberry, G. John (2011) "The Future of the Liberal World Order" *Foreign Affairs* (May/June): 56-68.
- James, Harold (2009) "The Late, Great Globalization" *Current History* (January): 20-25.
- Keohane, Robert (2012) "Hegemony and After" *Foreign Affairs* (July/Aug.): 114-118.
- Kleine-Ahlbrandt, Stephanie (2008) "China's New Dictatorship Diplomacy" *Foreign Affairs* (Jan./Feb.): 38-56.
- Layne, Christopher (2008) "China's Challenge to US Hegemony" *Current History* (Jan.): 13-18.
- Mearsheimer, John (2001) "The Future of America Pacifier" *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct.): 46-61.
- McFaul, Michael (2008) "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model" *Foreign Affairs* (Jan./Feb.): 23-37.

- Menon, Rajan (2009) "Pax Americana and the Rising Powers" *Current History* (November): 353-360.
- Mohan, C. Raja (2006) "India and the Balance of Power" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August): 28-41.
- Nicolson, Sir Harold (1964) ch. 10 "Diplomatic Language" (New York: Oxford University Press): 84-97.
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr. (1967) "The Origins of the Cold War," *Foreign Affairs* (October): 22-53.
- Rodrik, Dani (1997) "Sense and Nonsense in the Globalization Debate" *Foreign Policy* (Summer): 19-37.
- Walzer, Michael (2006) "On Humanitarianism" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August): 69-80.

## **HONOR CODE**

Semester at Sea students enroll in an academic program administered by the University of Virginia, and thus bind themselves to the University's honor code. The code prohibits all acts of lying, cheating, and stealing. Please consult the Voyager's Handbook for further explanation of what constitutes an honor offense.

Each written assignment for this course must be pledged by the student as follows: "On my honor as a student, I pledge that I have neither given nor received aid on this assignment." The pledge must be signed, or, in the case of an electronic file, signed "[signed]."

In the field of international relations, I find *Understanding International Conflicts* by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. meets almost all of these criteria. Nye begins with a quick explanation of three forms of international compositions which in itself may come as a surprise to the many who have just assumed that there have always been countries similar to those of recent times and that they all interacted as they do today. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 6th ed. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007) (ISBN 0-321-39395-3). While there is a more recent edition of the book, for our purposes, it does not make any difference; therefore, I recommend you to acquire a copy of the 6th edition book.