International Relations and South Asia – Winter 2019/2020

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October 22 2019

Wednesday: 4-6 pm at CATS-010.01.05

Student Contact Hours: 14.00-1530 hours on Friday

This course has two significant objectives. First, it will attempt to introduce key topics in International Relations such as anarchy, balance of power, hegemony, security dilemma, regionalism, ethnic conflict, state, ideas and perceptions, and approaches to global governance. It will then explore how relevant are these concepts for the study of South Asian international relations. In so doing, the course hopes to achieve the twin tasks of introducing the student both to international relations and South Asian international relations.

The Moodle password for this class is: IRSA9708

Class 1 – October 23

What is theory in IR? A few Thoughts on Methods.

- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 1-18, 88-99, 102-128, 163-170. Or, Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Anarchic Structure of World Politics," in Art and Jervis, eds., *International Politics* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996): 49-69.
- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425; or *Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, ch. 6, "Three Cultures of Anarchy," pp. 246-312.
- Immanuel Wallerstein, "The rise and future demise of the world capitalist system," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, 4 (September 1974): 387-415.

Supplementary

- John G. Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization* 52 (Autumn 1998), pp. 855-885. Readable, comprehensive overview.
- John M Hobson, *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics* (Cambridge U Press, 2012).
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30 (January 1978), 167-214.
- Elman and Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory*, Lakatosian evaluation of power transition, institutional, and other IR research programs.
- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

- Imre Lakatos, "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes," in Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave, eds., *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*, pp. 91-196.
- Jon Elster, *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*, ch. 1. Explanation by causal mechanism.
- Milton Friedman, "The Methodology of Positive Economics," in Friedman, *Essays in Positive Economics*, 3-43; "as if" theories.
- Ernest Nagel, *The Structure of Science*, ch. 3-5.
- Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry*, ch. 1-3.
- Henry E. Brady and David Collier, eds., *Rethinking Social Inquiry*.
- Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey Checkel, eds., *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, esp. Schimmelpfennig, "Efficient Process Tracing," (e-book, 2014).
- James Mahoney, "Process Tracing and Historical Explanation," *Security Studies*, April-June 2015, on "hoop tests" and "smoking guns."
- Eric Van Rythoven, "The perils of realist advocacy and the promise of securitization theory: Revisiting the tragedy of the Iraq War debate," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (September 2016): 487–511.
- James Fearon, "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science," *World Politics*, January 1991.

Class 2 - October – 30

Structure and Agency

- David A Lake and Robert Powell, "International Relations: A Strategic Choice Approach," in David A Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 3-38.
- Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization*, 32, Autumn 1978, pp. 881-911.
- Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41, Summer 1987, 335-370.

Supplementary

- Rahul Mukherji, "Ideas, Interests and the Tipping Point: Explaining Economic Change in India," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 20, No. 2 (2013), pp. 363-89.
- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, chapters 16-20. This is like reading the daily newspaper in today's era of neoliberalism and populist backlash.
- James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View," *Handbook of International Relations* (2002 ed.), eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons. Structure and agency.
- David A. Lake, "Theory is Dead, Long Live Theory: The End of the Great Debates and the Rise of Eclecticism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 19 (2013), pp. 567-587.

Class 3 – November 6

Strategy and Bargaining in Anarchy

- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, ch. 5.

- Stephen Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of Power," in Micheal E Brown, et al eds., *Perils of Anarchy* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995): 208-48.
- Randall Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit," Op Cit, pp. 249-286.
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30 (January 1978), 167-214.

Supplementary

- Jonathan Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," *International Organization* 49 (Spring 1995).
- Stacie Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power," *International Security* 33, Winter 2008/09, pp. 110-42.
- Robert Jervis, *System Effects,* ch. 2, 4, 5, and 7.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, ch. 6, on "the third image."

Class 4 – November 13

Origins of State Systems

- John Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity," *World Politics* 35 (January 1983), review essay on Waltz.
- Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter B Evans, et al eds., *Bringing the State Back in* (Cambridge University Press, 1985): 169-91.
- Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, ch. 5. Alliance of crown and town.

Supplementary

- John M Hobson, *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics* (Cambridge U Press, 2012).
- Simon Bulmer and Jonathan Joseph. (2016). "European integration in crisis? Of supranational integration, hegemonic projects and domestic politics". *European Journal of International Relations*, 22 (4), pp. 725-748.
- Hendrik Spruyt, "Institutional Selection in International Relations," *International Organization* 52 (1998), 855-85; similar to Spruyt, ch. 8.

- Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe," *International Organization*, winter 2004, and Victoria Hui, *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe*, ch. 4.
- John Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond," *International Organization* 47:1 (1992)
- Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty*, ch. 1 and 2.
- Marcus Fischer, "Feudal Europe, 800-1300: Communal Discourse and Conflictual Practice," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992), pp. 427-466.
- Amitav Acharya, "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism," *International Organization*, Spring 2004. How sovereignty norms came to ASEAN.
- David Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong," *International Security*, spring 2003.
- Amitav Acharya, "Will Asia's Past Be Its Future?" *International Security*, winter 2003-04. David Kang, "Hierarchy, Balancing, and Empirical Puzzles in Asian International Relations," *International Security*, winter 2003-04.
- Christian Reus-Smit, *The Moral Purpose of the State*, ch. 1-3. Claims that the moral purposes of domestic society are reflected in the norms of regional and historical international societies; short version in *IO* fall 1997.

- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism*. Ancient Chinese were realists, but realist ideas arose from and were transmitted through culture.
- Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*; Ernest Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*.
- Ronald Jepperson and John W. Meyer, "Multiple Levels of Analysis and the Limitations of Methodological Individualisms," *Sociological Theory* 29:1 (March 2011), 54-73. Agency/structure problem in Weber's *Protestant Ethic*.

Class 5 – November 20

Evolution of States in South Asia

- Hamza Alavi (1972). The State and Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh. *New Left Review*, *1*(74), pp. 64–74.
- Sumit Ganguly and C. Christine Fair, "The Structural Origins of Authoritarianism in Pakistan," *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 51:1 (February 2013) pp. 122-42.
- Maya Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins: Lessons from South Asia," in *Comparative Politics*. April 2013. *Lead article.*
- Ali Riaz, "Nations, Nation-State and Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia," Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, Vol. 22, No. 1&2, pp. 53-58 (2002).

Supplementary

- Maya Tudor, *The Promise of Power: The Origins of Democracy in India and Autocracy in Pakistan.* Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Stephen P. Cohen, The Idea of Pakistan, pp. 97-131.
- Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military, pp. 51-86, 199-309.
- Philip Oldenburg, *India, Pakistan and Democracy* (New York, Routledge, 2010).

Class 6 – November 27

Global Governance

- John Ruggie, "Embedded Liberalism," *International Organization* 36:2 (Spring 1982), special issue on "International Regimes."
- Kenneth A Oye, ed., *Cooperation under Anarchy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), chapter 1.
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, autumn 1998.

Supplementary

- Daniel W Drezner. "The System Worked: Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession." *World Politics* 66.01 (2014): 123-164.
- Jeffrey Frieden, "The Governance of International Finance," *Annual Review of Political Science,* vol. 19 (2016), 33-48.
- Peter Gourevitch, *Politics in Hard Times,* ch. 3-4.
- Helen Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information*, ch. 1-4, & browse 5-8 chap.

- Buthe, T. and H. V. Milner. 2008. The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment into Developing Countries: Increasing FDI Through International Trade Agreements?" *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4):741-762.
- Ronald Rogowski, "*Political* Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade," *American Political. Science Review* 81:4 (December 1987): 1121-1137.
- Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony*, 7-10, 85-98 (top), and 111-116.
- Joseph M Grieco (1988). Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism. *International Organization*. 42(3): 485-507, on relative gains.
- John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, winter 1994/1995.
- Michael N. Barnett, and Martha Finnemore. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organization." *International Organization* 53:4 (1999.): 699-732.
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, autumn 1998.
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (1998), Introduction (pp. 1-38), plus one of two empirical chapters (pp. 79-120, or 121-164).
- Stephen Krasner, "Life on the Pareto Frontier," *World Politics* 43:3 (April 1991): 336-66.
- G John Ikenberry, ed., *Power Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Class 7 – December 4

Kautilya and International Relations – Guest Lecture by Dr. Michael Liebig

- R P Kangle. (ed.) (2010): *The Kautilya Arthashastra* Part II (English Translation). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, pp 315-385.

- Subrata Mitra and Michael Liebig (2016): *Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Intellectual Portrait – The classical roots of modern politics in India*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp 60 – 155; 288 – 316.

Supplementary

- Kalyanaraman, S. (2015): "Arthashastra, Diplomatic History and the Study of International Relations in India". In: Gautam, P. K. / Mishra, S. / Gupta, A. (eds.): Indigenous Historical Knowledge – Kautilya and his Vocabulary. Vol I. Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses/Pentagon Press, pp. 1 -- 5

  https://idsa.in/book/IndigenousHistoricalKnowledgeKautilyaandHisVocabulary_011015

- Shahi, Deepshika (2015): Arthashastra Beyond Realpolitik: The 'Eclectic' Face of Kautilya. In: P K Gautam, S Mishra, A. Gupta (eds.): *Indigenous Historical Knowledge – Kautilya and his Vocabulary* I. Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses/Pentagon Press, pp. 63–79.

  https://idsa.in/book/IndigenousHistoricalKnowledgeKautilyaandHisVocabulary_011015

- Rashhed Uz Zaman (2006): "Kautilya: The Indian Strategic Thinker and Indian Strategic Culture." *Comparative Strategy*, 25/3, pp. 231–247.

Class 8 – December 11

The State & Ideas

Stephen D Krasner, *Defending the National Interest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), chapter 1, see:
https://books.google.de/books?id=OhhY_RcoHA8C&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Judith Goldstein and Robert O Keohanne, "Ideas and Foreign Policy," in Goldstein and Keohance, eds., *Ideas and Foreign Policy* (Cornell University Press, 1993): 3-30.

Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): chapter 2.

Supplementary

Rahul Mukherji, Globalization and Deregulation: Ideas, Interests and Institutional Change in India (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), especially chapters 1-2.

Martha Finnemore and Judith Goldstein, eds, *Back to Basics: State Power in a Contemporary World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Class 9 – December 18

Global Governance & North-South Relations

- Matthew D. Stephen. (2014). "Rising powers, global capitalism and liberal global governance: A historical materialist account of the BRICs challenge". *European Journal of International Relations*, 20 (4), pp. 912-938.
- Amrita Narliker, *Bargaining with a Rising India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), chapter 1.
- Fourcade, Marion. 2013. "The material and symbolic construction of the BRICs: Reflections inspired by the RIPE Special Issue." *Review of International Political Economy* 20(2):256-67.
- Rahul Mukherji, "India and Global Economic Governance: From Structural Conflict to Embedded Liberalism", *International Studies Review* Vol. 16, No. 3 (September 2014): 460-466.

Supplementary

- John M Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Michael A. Glosny. (2010). "China and the BRICs: A real (but limited) partnership in a unipolar world." *Polity,* 42 (1), pp. 100-129.
- Branislav Gosovic. (2016). "The resurgence of South–South cooperation". *Third World Quarterly*, 37 (4), pp. 733-743.
- Steven D Krasner, *Structural Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
- Joseph Y. S. Cheng. (2011). "The Shanghai Co-operation Organisation: China's Initiative inRegional Institutional Building". *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 41 (4), pp. 632-656.
- Zhang, Feng. 2013. "The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19 (2): 305-328.
- Mark Beeson, 2013. "Can China Lead?" *Third World Quarterly* 34 (2): 233-250.
- Sarah Babb, 2013. "The Washington Consensus as transnational policy paradigm: Its origins, trajectory and likely successor." *Review of International Political Economy* 20(2):268-97.
- Cornel Ban and Mark Blyth. 2013. "The BRICs and the Washington Consensus: An introduction." *Review of International Political Economy* 20(2):241-5.
- Scott Kennedy, Scott. 2010. "The Myth of the Beijing Consensus." *Journal of Contemporary China* 19(65):461-77.
- Matt Ferchen, 2012. "Whose China Model is it anyway? The contentious search for consensus." *Review of International Political Economy* 20(2):390-420.

- Narlikar, Amrita. 2011. "Is India a Responsible Great Power?" *Third World Quarterly* 32(9):1607-21.
- Leslie Elliott Armijo. 2007. The BRICs Countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as Analytic Category: Mirage or Insight? *Asian Perspective* 31(4): 7-42.
- Giovanni Arrighi. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*, Ch. 12, Origins and Dynamic of the Chinese Ascent. London: Verso. 351-378.
- Andrew Hurrell and Amrita Narliker. 2006. A New Politics of Confrontation? Brazil and India in Multilateral Trade Negotiations. *Global Society* 20(4): 415-433.

Class 10 – January 8

India as a New Donor – Guest Lecture by Dr. Andreas Fuchs

- Alesina, Alberto and David Dollar (2000). Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why? Journal of Economic Growth, 5(1): pp. 33–63.
- Mukherjee, Rohan (2015). India's International Development Program. In: Srinath Raghavan, David M. Malone and C. Raja Mohan [eds.], The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 173-187.

Supplementary

- Asmus Gerda, and Andreas Fuchs and Angelika Müller (2017). BRICS and Foreign Aid. AidData Working Paper #43. Williamsburg, VA: AidData.
- Andreas Fuchs, and Krishna Chaitanya Vadlamannati (2013). The Needy Donor: An Empirical Analysis of India's Aid Motives, World Development, 44, pp. 110–128.
  Mullen, Rani D. and Sumit Ganguly (2012). The Rise of India's Soft Power. Foreign Policy. May 8, 2012. Available at
  www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/05/08/the_rise_of_indian_soft_power.

Class 11 – January 15

India's Strategic Culture

- Kanti Bajpai. "Indian Strategic Culture." In: South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances, edited by Michael R. Chambers, 245–303. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2003.

- Rajesh M. Basrur, 'Nuclear Weapons and Indian Strategic Culture', Journal of Peace Research, 38 (2), March 2001, pp. 181-198.

- Michael Desch, Michael. Culture clash: Accessing the importance of ideas in security studies. *International Security* 23 (1): 141–170, 1998.

Supplementary

- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Thinking about Strategic Culture", In: *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 32-64, 1995.

- Harsh V Pant, *Indian Strategic Culture: The Debate and Its Consequences*. In: Scott, David, Handbook of India's International Relations. Routledge, 2011.

Class 12 – January 22

Nationalism Ethnic Conflict and South Asia

- Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," in Robert Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996), 415-35.
- Steven David, "Explaining Third World Alignment**,"** *World Politics* 43, 2 (Jan. 1991): 233-56.
- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, spring 1993.
- Amita Shastri, "Ending Ethnic Civil War: The Peace Process in Sri Lanka," Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, Vol. 47, No. 1 (2009): pp. 76-99.
- Ayesha Siddiqa, "Pakistan's Counterterrorism Strategy: Separating Friends from Enemies," The Washington Quarterly, Vol.34, No.1 (2011): pp. 149-162

Supplementary

- Myron Weiner, "The Macedonian Syndrome," *World Politics* 23, 4 (July 1971): 665-683.
- Jack L Snyder, *From Voting to Violence* (New York: Norton, 2000).
- Sumit Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," *International Security* 20, 1 (Summer 1995): 5-38.
- Neil de Votta, "Sri Lanka's Civil War," in in Sumit Ganguly, Andrew Scobell and Joseph Chinyong Liow (Eds.), Handbook of Asian Security Studies (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 158-171.
- Nira Wickramsinghe, "Waging War for Peace" Sri Lanka in 2008, Asian Survey, Vol. 49, Issue 1, 2008, pp. 59-66.
- Jayadeva Uyangoda, "Sri Lanka in 2010," Asian Survey, Vol. 51, No. 1 (January/February 2011): pp. 131-137.
- Paul Staniland, "Caught in the Muddle: America's Pakistan Strategy," The Washington Quarterly Vol.34, No.1 (2011): pp. 133-148.
- C. Christine Fair, "The Militant Challenge in Pakistan," Asia Policy, Vol. 11 (January 2011): pp. 105-37.

Class 13 – January 29

South Asia: Balance of Power or Regionalism

Read selectively from the following readings and form a view:

- Sumit Ganguly, ed., *Engaging the World: Indian Foreign Policy Since 1947* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Sumit Ganguly and S Paul Kapur, *India, Pakistan and the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- Kanti P Bajpai and Harsh V Pant, *India's Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Baldev Raj Nayar and T V Paul, *India in the World Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Final Exam – February 5

Prior Requirements

- This class does not require any prior knowledge of South Asia. What is required is a commitment to South Asia and to social theory. The instructor and the lecturers are happy to work with students. Students are required to go through the readings mentioned just below the titles. This is essential for taking the exam. The supplementary materials are further readings for students who want to learn more about a particular topic.

Organization

- The Vorlesung will be a 90-minute lecture with discussions wherever possible. I encourage students to ask questions, even though lecturing will be the main component of the class. Questions and comments make for a lively class both for the lecturer and the pupils. Otherwise, the class becomes boring. I will use slides, which will come with lecture notes.

- The lecture slides and essential readings will be uploaded on Moodle. The supplementary material will be available in the library reserves. Following the lecture and essential readings will earn you a good grade. If you go into the supplementary material as well, that will be impressive. There is no limit to how much you can learn from this class.

  Students who desire a "Schein" must register on Moodle by the second week after the lecture begins (November 6 2019). The password for registering for this class is: **IRSA9708**

Assessment

- Attendance in the Vorlesung is voluntary for those who do not wish to get a 'Schein' at the semester's end. For others, attendance is compulsory. BA students will answer 3 questions (for 6 credits) and MA students will answer 4 questions (for 6 credits). Appropriate arrangements will be made for students from the Institute of Political Science and others who need 8 credits. The exam paper will be given out on January 29th. The week between January 29 2020 and February 5 2020 can be used to prepare for the exam. There will be a closed book exam on February 5 2020.

- Students who do not attend the exam will receive no grade, unless they have a good excuse. Such students are required to submit a paper within a week. MA students will have to write a 5000 - word paper. BA students should turn in a 3500 - word paper. The right to turn in such a paper is not automatic. I

will need to be convinced that circumstances beyond the student's control led to the student's absence at the time of the exam.