

PSC 530  
Fall 2010  
W 2:10-4:30  
LA 344

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## **Graduate Seminar in International Relations**

### **Course Description and Objectives**

This course will introduce you to the major literatures in international relations and provide you with theoretical, methodological, and empirical tools to evaluate and advance arguments about the contemporary international system. In the first part of the class, you will write and participate in seminar discussions about the structure, character, and future of the international system, as well as about the causes and consequences of recent and ongoing wars. In the second part of the class, you will write and present a professional-length paper analyzing an international issue of interest to you. The presentations and associated readings will help you develop expertise in four issue areas: security studies, international political economy, human rights, and the environment.

### **Prerequisite**

Graduate standing. Seniors with 3.0 GPAs and a strong record of upper-division coursework in international relations may be admitted with my permission.

### **Required Texts**

The following texts are required. The first two are available for purchase at the UM Bookstore.

Jennifer Sterling-Folker (JSF), ed., *Making Sense of International Relations Theory* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005).

Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (A&J), *International Politics*, 10<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2010 or 2011).

*The New York Times* (Monday - Friday): <http://www.nyt.com>.

Various online readings, denoted by a plus sign (+). These readings are available on the internet, in the Mansfield library's electronic holdings, or on the course's Blackboard website.

Additional readings to be disseminated by arrangement, denoted by an asterisk (\*).

### **Course Requirements and Grading**

Students are expected to attend and actively participate in each class session. This means that before class you must both read and begin to analyze and synthesize the assigned readings.

Grades will be calculated as follows:

- 5% Intellectual autobiography (3-5 pages)
- 20% Seminar participation
- 30% Four reading reviews (3-5 pages each)
- 5% Paper proposal (8-12 pages)
- 10% Draft of first half of paper (8-12 pages)
- 25% Research paper (18-20 pages)
- 5% Presentation of research paper (10 minutes)

The plus/minus grading system will be used. Grades may be curved, but the following distribution is the lowest I will use (*i.e.*, if you earn 93% of all possible points you are assured of an A in the course):

93-100	A	83-86	B	73-76	C	63-66	D
90-92	A-	80-82	B-	70-72	C-	60-62	D-
87-89	B+	77-79	C+	67-69	D+	0-59	F

For UM's policy on incompletes, please see the Course Catalog.

### **Academic Honesty**

All students must practice academic honesty and should be familiar with UM's Student Conduct Code. The Code is available at [http://life.umt.edu/vpsa/student\\_conduct.php](http://life.umt.edu/vpsa/student_conduct.php). Academic misconduct is subject to an academic penalty by the professor and/or a disciplinary sanction by the university.

### **Make-Up Policy**

I will excuse absences and accept late papers only from students directly involved in extreme, documented emergencies. If you find yourself in the midst of an emergency, you must notify me as soon as possible (in advance of the seminar or due-date if possible) that you will be unable to submit the work on time. To do so, call me or send me an email explaining the circumstances of your emergency and giving me a way to contact you. I reserve the right to deny any and all petitions for make-up work, and to administer makeup assignments substantially different from the regular ones. *Note: Because I accept make-up work only in the event of extreme, documented emergencies, if you fail to submit a paper for any other reason you will receive a 0 for the assignment. This will put you at risk of failing the course.*

### **Drop Policy, Grading Options, and Incompletes**

The 15<sup>th</sup> instructional day (September 17) is the last day to drop this class or change the grading option without my signature on an override form. If you wish to drop or change the grading option after September 17, you must provide documentation of an emergency or other serious situation that has made it impossible for you to complete the course. For UM's policy on incompletes, see <http://www.umt.edu/catalog/acad/acadpolicy/default.html>

### **Preparing for Class**

International relations is a venerable and far-reaching field composed of many literatures, each with many arguments and contributors. To provide as intensive and extensive an introduction to the field as is needed for Master's examinations and theses, this course has a significant reading load: an average of 200-250 pages per week. This means you need to set aside at least 6-8 hours per week to prepare for the seminar. To facilitate planning, weekly reading totals are noted on the reading schedule.

*Reading the assigned books and articles is necessary, but insufficient, to prepare for seminar meetings. You must also analyze and synthesize the material and reflect on the questions it has raised for you:*

#### **A. Analysis of Particular Readings**

- What is the central question or problem addressed by the author, and what is his or her answer or argument?
- What is the logic of this answer or argument? Does it make sense? Is it plausible? Into what school/s of thought does it fall?
- What evidence does the author use to support his or her argument? Is the evidence primarily quantitative (numerical) or qualitative (discussion of one or several historical cases)? Does the evidence support the argument? Is it convincing? Are you aware of other evidence that would support or weaken the argument?
- What is your overall position on this argument, and why?

### B. Synthesis of the Week's Readings

- What are the overarching themes developed in these readings?
- To what extent, and how, do the readings complement or compete with one another?
- Which of these readings do you find most and least interesting and convincing, and why?
- How do these themes and readings speak to those in other sections of the course?
- How do these themes and readings relate to current events?

### C. Reflection on Questions and Insights Raised by the Readings

- What questions (theoretical, methodological, empirical, etc.) have these readings raised for you?
- What insights (about theory, methodology, history, current events, etc.) have you had in reading, analyzing, and synthesizing these selections? How did you arrive at these insights? What theoretical and/or policy implications do they have? Is this something you might want to pursue in future research? If not, why not? If so, how?

*Before each seminar, record your answers to these questions. Bring both your notes and the readings to class.*

### Reading Reviews

Four times during the semester, each student will write a 3-5 page paper discussing his/her answers to the questions raised by one week's readings. These papers must be in essay form. They must have an introduction with thesis statement, an overarching argument developed over several paragraphs, and a conclusion. In addition, these papers must address the bulk of the week's readings. Thus, although it is fine to for the primary focus to be on one or two of the week's readings, at some point in the paper these readings must be compared to all or most of the others assigned that week. The purpose of the papers is to show that you have done and thought about *all* of the readings from the week, and to codify your analysis, synthesis, and reflection in essay form.

In writing these papers, I suggest you:

1. Read and answer the analytic questions for each assigned reading.
2. Answer the synthetic questions for all of the assigned readings.
3. Answer the reflection questions.
4. Decide which reflection question/s to address in your essay.
5. Brainstorm some possible answers to the question/s.
6. Review your notes to see which authors and what evidence would support and detract from this answer.
7. Outline, write, revise, and proofread your essay.

Papers must be typed, double-spaced, in 10-12 point font. The sources of all ideas, quotes, and facts must be cited in footnotes or endnotes formatted according to the *International Security* style sheet, available at [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/58/quarterly\\_journal.html?page\\_id=180&parent\\_id=46](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/58/quarterly_journal.html?page_id=180&parent_id=46)

*On the day your paper is due, bring two copies to class – one to turn in and one for you to refer to during our discussion. You may be asked to summarize the central question of your paper in a sentence or two. Or you may be asked to walk us through your paper in 8-10 minutes.*

My grading rubric is as follows:

Conforms to assigned length and format	60-69
Unclear or perfunctory treatment of some of the week's readings	70-79
Unclear or perfunctory treatment of most of the week's readings	80-89
Clear, informed, and interesting treatment of all or most of the week's readings	90-100

The schedule for reading reviews is as follows:

Week III	Realism	All students (Groups A, B, C)
Week IV	Classical Liberalism	All students (Groups A, B, C)
Week V	Neoliberalism	All students (Groups A, B, C)
Week VI	Marxism	Group A
Week VII	Constructivism	Group B
Week VIII	Feminism	Group C

I am in Group \_\_\_\_\_.

### **Seminar Format and Participation**

At the beginning of each seminar session, we will go around the room to collect questions for discussion. These questions and your active, informed, and respectful participation in the discussion they spark will be the basis of your participation grade. Incidental assignments (such as your proposed research paper question) will also contribute to your participation grade.

My grading rubric for each seminar discussion will be as follows:

Attended	60
Posed unclear or perfunctory question/s	70-79
Posed clear and informed question/s	80-89
Posed clear and informed questions and was active, informed, and respectful in discussion	90-100

During these discussions, you should take notes on the questions raised by other students and on your own further questions and insights. After class, take a few minutes to jot down your overall impressions of the session and the questions it has raised for you. Together, these notes will provide you with leads to follow in defining and writing your research paper and in preparing for the M.A. comprehensive exam in international relations.

### **Research Paper**

Over the course of the semester, each student will plan, research, write, and revise a 18-20 page paper on an international issue of his or her choice. This paper is worth 40% of your grade in the class. Detailed instructions will be provided in class and posted on the Blackboard website. For now, it is important to brainstorm, then narrow down the international issues of interest to you and consider which two theories you would like to use to analyze this issue. Papers must have both theoretical and empirical elements and must apply two theories to understand a significant contemporary or historical issue or problem.

### **Presentation of Research Paper**

Each student will present his/her paper to the class during one of the final weeks of the semester. This 8-10 minute presentation is worth 5% of your grade in the class. Presentations should be clear, concise, and informative and should raise questions for the class to discuss. To ensure that your presentation is polished and conversational and that it fits within 10 minutes, practice your remarks in advance. Presenters will be cut off after 10 minutes.

## Course Outline and Schedule

Readings marked (\*) will be handed out in class. Readings marked (+) are online. All other readings are either in the books by Jennifer Sterling-Folker (JSF) or the book by Art and Jervis (A&J).

To access online readings not on Blackboard, go to the UM library homepage (<http://www.lib.umt.edu/>), click on "Journals," type in the name of the newspaper or journal, select the index that contains the issue in which the article appeared, and search for the article using the title and/or author's name.

Once you have accessed an electronic article or reserve, print, download, or email to yourself. To minimize the number of pages you have to print, print two pages per page and/or double-sided (duplex).

### **I. Introduction** (9/1; 46+ pp.)

+Stephen M. Walt, "International relations: one world, many theories," *Foreign Policy*, 110 (Spring 1998), pp. 29+, available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1149275?origin=JSTOR-pdf> (17 pp).

Jennifer Sterling-Folker in JSF, Chapter 1, pp. 1-17; Chapter 11, pp. 327-331; and Appendix, pp. 333-342 (29 pp).

+*International Security* Style Sheet,

[http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/58/quarterly\\_journal.html?page\\_id=180&parent\\_id=46](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/58/quarterly_journal.html?page_id=180&parent_id=46)

*Assignment:* After reading the article by Walt and the chapter by JSF, answer the analytic, synthetic, and reflective questions above. Then write an intellectual autobiography in which you explain what you have experienced, studied, and learned about international relations, as well as what you would like to know. In particular, discuss three issues upon which you may be interested in writing your research paper, and describe your goals for graduate study and beyond. (To spark your imagination, review your notes from today's class, and skim the table of contents of the Art and Jervis book.) In addition, explain which (if any) of the families of IR theory -- realist, liberal, or critical (Marxist/radical, constructivist, feminist, etc) - - you are familiar with and tend to favor, and why. Your autobiography should be in essay form, with an introduction with thesis statement, an overarching argument developed over 3-5 pages (double-spaced, with 10 or 12 point font), a conclusion, and proper footnote or endnote citations following the *International Security* Style Sheet. *This paper is due at the beginning of class on 9/8.*

*Note: for 9/8, in addition to this assignment, you are responsible for reading and preparing questions about the readings in Part II, below.*

### **II. Methodological Issues: Idealism & Realism; Levels of Analysis; Theory & Application; Testing**

(9/8; 244 pp.)

\*\*\**Intellectual Autobiography due today*

Review and follow the instructions (on page 2) about preparing for class. Please also bring your calendar, as we will be setting the presentation schedule.

#### Idealism and Realism

+Woodrow Wilson, "The World Must Be Made Safe for Democracy" (Address to Congress Asking for Declaration of War, April 2, 1917) and Woodrow Wilson, "Fourteen Points" (Address to Congress, January 8, 1918) available at the World War I Document Archive, <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/> (select year, then scroll down to dates) (9 pp).

\*Hans Morgenthau, "A Realist Theory of International Relations," *Politics among Nations*, Ch. 1, pp. 3-15

(12 pp).

Hans Morgenthau, "The Future of Diplomacy" in A&J (11 pp).

### Levels of Analysis

\*Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Ch. 1 (16 pp).

\*J. David Singer, "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Phil Williams, *et al.*, eds., *Classic Readings of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Wadsworth, 1999), pp. 105-119 (14 pp).

### Theory and Application

\*Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), Chapters 1, 4, and 5 (77 pp).

### History of and Major Debates in the IR Field

\*Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," in Robert M. A. Crawford and Darryl S.L. Jarvis, eds., *International Relations: Still an American Social Science?* (New York: SUNY Press, 2001), pp. 27-51 (24 pp).

\*Kalevi J. Holsti, "Along the Road of International Theory in the Next Millennium: Four Travelogues," in Robert M. A. Crawford and Darryl S.L. Jarvis, eds., *International Relations: Still an American Social Science?* (New York: SUNY Press, 2001), pp. 73-99 (26 pp).

\*Marysia Zalewski, "'All these theories yet the bodies keep piling up': theory, theorists, theorizing," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 340-353 (13 pp).

### Quantitative vs. Qualitative Approaches to Theory Testing

\*Michael Nicholson, "The continued significance of positivism?," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 128-145 (17 pp).

\*Zeev Maoz, "Case Study Methodology in International Studies: From Storytelling to Hypothesis Testing," in Frank P. Harvey and Michael Brecher, eds., *Evaluating Methodology in International Studies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002), pp. 161-186 (25 pp).

## **III. Realism: Classical, Structural, Offensive, and Neoclassical** (9/15; 237 pp.)

\*\*\**Reading Reviews due today from all students (Groups A, B, C)*

+Research Paper Proposal Assignment

+Research Paper Assignment

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Realist Approaches," in JSF, Ch. 2.1, pp. 13-17 (4 pp).

### Classical Realism

Review Morgenthau readings from last week.

### Structural Realism

\*Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), review Chapter 5; read Chapters 6-9 (108 pp).

### Offensive Realism

John J. Mearsheimer, "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power," in A&J (10 pp).

### Applications of Realism

+Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 18:2 (Fall

- 1993), pp. 44-79 (35 pp).
- +William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24:1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5-41 (36 pp).
- Karen Ruth Adams, "Structural-Realism: The Consequences of Great Power Politics," in JSF, Ch. 2.2, pp. 18-37 (19 pp).
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Neoclassical Realism: The Psychology of Great Power Intervention," in JSF, Ch. 2.3, pp. 38-53 (15 pp).
- \*Henry Kissinger, "Foreign Policy in the Age of Terrorism," in Marc A. Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004), pp. 116-121 (5 pp).
- \*Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Continuity of International Politics," in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne, eds., *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 348-353 (5 pp).

#### **IV. Classical Liberalism** (9/22; 148 pp.)

##### **\*\*\**Reading Reviews due today from all students (Groups A, B, C)***

- Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Liberalism," in JSF, Ch. 3.1, pp. 55-61 (6 pp).

#### **Economic Liberalism** (27 pp)

- \*Norman Angell, "Synopsis," *The Great Illusion* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1933), pp. 59-62, reprinted in Richard K. Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War*, Updated 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Longman, 2004), pp. 226-227 (2 pp).
- \*John Burton, "International Relations or World Society?," from John Burton, et al., *The Study of World Society: A London Perspective*, Occasional Paper no. 1, International Studies Association (1974), reprinted in John A. Vasquez, ed., *Classics of International Relations* (Prentice Hall, 1996), pp. 108-117 (9 pp).
- +Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift," *Foreign Affairs* 76:1 (January/February 1997), pp. 50-66 (16 pp).

#### **Political Liberalism** (20 pp)

- \*Immanuel Kant (1795), "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," in John A. Vasquez, ed., *Classics of International Relations* (Prentice Hall, 1996), pp. 368-376 (8 pp).
- Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," in A&J (12 pp).

#### **Cultural & Ideological Arguments about Liberalism** (37 pp)

- \*Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The National Interest*, Summer 1989, pp. 3-18 reprinted in Richard K. Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War*, Updated 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Longman, 2004), pp. 5-16 (11 pp).
- +Samuel P. Huntington, "The West: Unique, Not Universal," *Foreign Affairs* 75:6 (November/December 1996), pp. 28-46 (18 pp).
- \*Benjamin Barber, "Jihad vs. McWorld," *Atlantic Monthly* 269:3 (March 1992), pp. 53-61 (8 pp).

#### **Applications of Classical Liberalism** (58 pp.)

- +Richard Rosecrance, "A New Concert of Powers," *Foreign Affairs* 71 (Spring 1992), pp. 64-82 (18 pp).
- +Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, "'War is Never Civilised': Civil Society, the Construction of the Post-Cold War Order and Western Intervention in Kosovo, 1999," paper presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 14-18, 2000, available at <http://www.ciaonet.org/isa/ram01/>. Note: you may need to Google the title to avoid the CIAO sign-in (13 pp).
- \*Thomas P.M. Barnett, "The Pentagon's New Map," *Esquire*, March 2003, pp. 174-179, reprinted in Thomas J. Badey, ed., *Annual Editions: Violence and Terrorism 04/05* (Guilford, CT: McGraw-

- Hill/Dushkin, 2004), pp. 24-31 (7 pp).
- \*Karen Armstrong, "Ghosts of Our Past," *AARP Modern Maturity*, January/February 2002, pp. 44-47, reprinted in Thomas J. Badey, ed., *Annual Editions: Violence and Terrorism 04/05* (Guilford, CT: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2004), pp. 18-21 (3 pp).
  - +Bruce Stokes, "Bloodied and Baffled," *National Journal* 33:39 (9/29/2001), p. 2974+ (8 pp).
  - +Francis Fukuyama, "The west has won: Radical Islam can't beat democracy and capitalism, We're still at the end of history," *Guardian* (London), October 11, 2001 (2 pp).
  - \*Benjamin Barber, "Beyond Jihad vs. McWorld," *The Nation* 274:2 (1/21/2002), pp. 11-18 (7 pp).

## **V. Neoliberalism** (9/29; 165 pp.)

\*\*\**Reading Reviews due today from all students (Groups A, B, C)*

### Neoliberal Interdependence Theory (35 pp.)

- \*Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, "International Interdependence and Integration" and "Realism and Complex Interdependence," in Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (New York: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 384-421 (17 pp).
- \*James Rosenau, "Turbulent Change," in Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (New York: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 438-448 (10 pp).
- \*Stephen J. Kobrin, "Electronic Cash and the End of National Markets," in Phil Williams, et al., eds, *Classic Readings of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Wadsworth, 1999), pp. 677-685 (8 pp).

### Neoliberal Institutional Theory (62 pp)

- Kenneth A. Oye, "The Conditions for Cooperation in World Politics," in A&J (13 pp).
- \*Ernst B. Haas, "Multilateralism, Knowledge, and Power," in Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (New York: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 422-437 (15 pp).
- \*Stephen D. Krasner, *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), Chs. 1 and 5, pp. 1-22 and 355-368 (34 pp).

### Applications of Neoliberalism (68 pp)

- +Robert O. Keohane, "Governance in a Partially Globalized World," *American Political Science Review* 95:1 (March 2001), pp. 1-13 (12 pp).
- +G. John Ikenberry, "Getting Hegemony Right," *The National Interest*, Spring 2001, pp. 17-24 (7 pp).
- Sean Kay, "Neoliberalism: Institutions at War," in JSF, Ch. 3.2, pp. 62-74 (12 pp).
- Mark A. Boyer and Michael J. Butler, "Public Goods Liberalism: The Problems of Collective Action," in JSF, Ch. 3.3, pp. 75-91 (16 pp).
- \*Robert O. Keohane, "The Globalization of Informal Violence, Theories of World Politics, and the 'Liberalism of Fear,'" in Marc A. Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004), pp. 176-190 (14 pp).
- +Richard Falk, "Ends and Means: Defining a Just War," *The Nation* 273:13 (10/29/2001), pp. 11+ (5 pp).
- +Richard Falk and Andrew Strauss, "Toward a Global Parliament," *The Nation* 277:8 (9/22/2003), pp. 28+ (2 pp).

## **VI. Marxism and Other Materialist Theories: Marxism, Leninism, Dependency Theory, World Systems Theory, Historical Materialism** (10/6; 206 pp.)

**\*\*\*Reading Reviews due today from students in Group A**

**\*\*\*Paper Question due to today from all students**

### Theories (134 pages)

- Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Historical Materialism and World System Theory Approaches," in JSF, Ch. 7.1, pp. 199-208 (9 pp).
- \*Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in Marc A. Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004), pp. 201-210 (9 pp).
- \*Vladimir Lenin, "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism," in Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation*, pp. 210-213 (3 pp).
- \*Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," in John A. Vasquez, ed., *Classics of International Relations* (Prentice Hall, 1996), pp. 265-273 (8 pp.).
- +Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16:4 (Sep., 1974), pp. 387-415 (28 pp).
- \*Immanuel Wallerstein, "The inter-state structure of the modern world-system," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 87-107 (20 pp.).
- \*Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Snyder, *Essential Readings in World Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 2004), pp. 86-93 (7 pp).
- \*Robert Cox, "Social forces, states, and world orders: beyond international relations theory," in Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair, eds., *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 85-123 (38 pp).

### Applications (72 pp.)

- +Immanuel Wallerstein, "The World-System after the Cold War," *Journal of Peace Research* 30:1 (Feb., 1993), pp. 1-6 (5 pp).
- \*Robert Cox, "Production and security," in Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair, eds., *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 276-295 (19 pp).
- Alan W. Cafruny, "Historical Materialism: Imperialist Rivalry and the Global Capitalist Order," in JSF, Ch. 7.2, pp.209-224 (15 pp).
- Annette Freyberg-Inan, "World System Theory: A Bird's Eye View of the World Capitalist Order," in JSF, Ch. 7.3, pp.225-241 (16 pp).
- +John Bellamy Foster, "The New Age of Imperialism," *Monthly Review* 55:3 (July-August 2003), available at <http://www.monthlyreview.org/0703jbf.htm> (17 pp).

## **VII. Constructivism and Postmodernism** (10/13; 218 pp.)

**\*\*\*Reading Reviews due today from students in Group B**

### Constructivism (76 pp)

- Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Constructivist Approaches," in JSF, Ch. 5.1, pp.115-122 (7 pp).
- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics," *International Organization* 46:2 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425, excerpted in A&J (7 pp).
- \*Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State is Inevitable: Teleology and the Logic of Anarchy," *European Journal of International Relations* 9:4 (December 2003), pp. 491-542 (51 pp).
- Matthew J. Hoffman, "Social (De)Construction: The Failure of a Multinational State," in JSF, Ch. 5.2, pp.123-138 (15 pp).
- +Daniel McCarthy, "Images of Terror: What We Can and Can't Know about Terrorism, by Philip

Jenkins,” *Independent Review* 9:2 (Fall 2004), pp. 289-292 (3 pp).

Postmodernism and Critical Theory (142 pp.)

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, “Postmodernism and Critical Theory Approaches,” in JSF, Ch. 6.1, pp. 157-167 (10 pp).

\*Richard K. Ashley, “The Poverty of Neorealism,” in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 255-300 (45 pp).

\*Richard K. Ashley, “The achievements of post-structuralism,” in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 240-253 (13 pp).

\*David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, revised ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 1-33 and 169-172 (35 pp).

Rosemary E. Shinko, “Postmodernism: A Genealogy of Humanitarian Intervention,” in JSF, Ch. 6.2, pp. 168-181 (13 pp).

Marc Lynch, “Critical Theory: Dialogue, Legitimacy, and Justifications for War,” in JSF, Ch. 6.3, pp. 182-197 (15 pp).

+James Der Derian, “War as Game,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10:1 (Summer/Fall 2003), pp. 37-48, available at <http://www.watsoninstitute.org/bjwa/archive/10.1/WarGaming/DerDerian.pdf> (11pp).

**VIII. Feminism, Biopolitics, and the English School** (10/20; 221 pp.)

\*\*\**Reading Reviews due today from students in Group C*

Feminism (130 pp.)

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, “Feminist Approaches,” in JSF, Ch. 8.1, pp. 243-251 (8 pp).

J. Ann Tickner, “A Critique of Morgenthau’s Principles of Political Realism,” in A&J (12 pp).

\*Sandra Whitworth, “Feminist Theories: From Women to Gender and World Politics,” in Peter R. Beckman and Francine D’Amico, eds., *Women, Gender, and World Politics: Perspectives, Policies, and Prospects* (Westport, CN: Bergin & Garvy, 1994), pp. 75-88 (13 pp).

+Marysia Zalewski, “Old Wine in New Bottles?” (review of Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*), *International Studies Review* 4:1 (Spring 2002), pp. 161-165, available through Academic Search Premier (note: in ASP, one document called “reviews” contains all of the reviews in this issue of the journal) (4 pp.).

+J. Ann Tickner, “What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions,” *International Studies Quarterly* 49:1 (March 2005), pp. 1-21 (20 pp.)

\*Cynthia Enloe, “Margins, silences and bottom rungs: how to overcome the underestimation of power in the study of international relations,” in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 186-202 (16 pp).

\*Christine Sylvester, “The contributions of feminist theory to international relations,” in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 254-278 (24 pp).

Julie Mertus, “Liberal Feminism: Local Narratives in a Gendered Context,” in JSF, Ch. 8.2, pp. 252-267 (15 pp).

Francine D’Amico, “Critical Feminism: Deconstructing Gender, Nationalism, and War,” in JSF, Ch. 8.3, pp. 268-281 (13 pp).

+Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin, “Sex, Gender, and September 11,” *The American Journal of International Law* 96:3 (Jul., 2002), pp. 600-605 (5 pp).

### Biopolitics (17 pp.)

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Biopolitical Approaches," in JSF, Ch. 9.1, pp. 283-287 (4 pp).

Vincent S.E. Falger and Johan M.G. van der Dennen, "Biopolitics: Evolutionary History and Modern Conflict," in JSF, Ch. 9.2, pp. 288-301 (13 pp.)

### The English School (74 pp.)

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "The English School," in JSF, Ch. 10.1, pp. 303-310 (7 pp).

\*Hugo Grotius, "On the Law of War and Peace," in Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation*, pp. 133-138, (5 pp).

\*Hedley Bull, "The Anarchical Society," in Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation*, pp. 141-154 (13 pp).

+Barry Buzan, "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School," *International Organization* 47:3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 327-352 (25 pp).

Tonny Brems Knudsen, "The English School: Sovereignty and International Law," in JSF, Ch. 10.2, pp. 311-326 (15 pp).

\*Barry Buzan, "Who May We Bomb?," in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne, eds., *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 85-94 (9 pp).

## **IX. Case Study: The Situation in Kosovo (10/27)**

\*\*\**Paper Proposals due today; come with questions raised during your research and writing process.*

+William Finnegan, "Letter from Kosovo: The Countdown," *New Yorker*, October 15, 2007, [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/10/15/071015fa\\_fact\\_finnegan](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/10/15/071015fa_fact_finnegan)

+Bilefsky, Dan. "Kosovo's New Constitution Takes Effect." *New York Times*. June 16, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/16/world/europe/16kosovo.html?scp=5&sq=kosovo&st=cse>

+Cooper, Helene, C.J. Chivers, and Clifford J. Levy. "U.S. Watched as a Squabble Turned Into a Showdown." *New York Times*. August 17, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/18/washington/18diplo.html?scp=10&sq=georgia%20russia%20august&st=cse>

+Read recent articles on the Serbia and Kosovo in the *New York Times* and *Guardian*; access from the NYT's Serbia page,

<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/serbia/index.html>

and the Guardian's Kosovo page,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/kosovo>

## **X. Case Study: The Situation in Iraq (11/3)**

Readings will be announced.

## **XI. International Security** (11/10; 254 pp)

**\*\*\*Part I of Research Paper due (first half, 8-12 pp):** Introduction with a clear statement of the question/s you are asking; discussion of the theories you are testing; discussion of the hypotheses each of these theories suggests in answer to your question/s; and discussion of the evidence that would be needed to test these hypotheses (don't present evidence in this draft; just explain why this evidence would be useful in evaluating the theories).

### Functions of Force

Robert J. Art, "The Four Functions of Force," in A&J (7 pp).

Thomas C. Schelling, "The Diplomacy of Violence," in A&J, (13 pp).

Robert J. Art, "The Fungibility of Force," in A&J (15 pp).

+Samuel P. Huntington, "Patterns of Violence in World Politics," (1962) in Richard K. Betts, *Conflict after the Cold War*, 3rd edition (New York: Longman, 2007), pp. 486-510 (24 pp).

Bruce Hoffman, "What is Terrorism?," in A&J (7 pp).

### Nuclear Weapons and the Security Dilemma

Robert Jervis, "Offense, Defense, and the Security Dilemma," in A&J (20 pp).

+Karen Ruth Adams, "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance," *International Security* 28:3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 45-83 (38 pp).

Henry Sokolski and Patrick Clawson, "Getting Ready for a Nuclear-Armed Iran," in A&J (10? pp.).

Barry R. Posen, "Dealing with a Nuclear-Armed Iran," in A&J (15 pp ?).

+Seymour Hersch, "Preparing the Battlefield," *The New Yorker*, 7 July 2008, available at [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/07/07/080707fa\\_fact\\_hersh](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/07/07/080707fa_fact_hersh) (8 pp).

### Insurgency, Terrorism, and Intervention

+Pankaj Mishra, "Exit Wounds: The Legacy of Indian Partition," *New Yorker*, August 13, 2007, pp. 80-84, [http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo\\_books\\_mishra](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo_books_mishra) (5 pp).

+Ted Galen Carpenter, "The Unintended Consequences of Afghanistan," *World Policy Journal* 11:1 (Spring 1994), pp. 76-87 (10 pp).

Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," in A&J (18 pp).

Mary Kaldor, "New and Old Wars," in A&J (9? pp).

Audrey Cronin, "Ending Terrorism," in A&J (8? pp).

Alan J. Kuperman, "Humanitarian Intervention," in A&J (8? pp).

Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," in A&J (21 pp).

James L. Payne, "Deconstructing Nation Building," in A&J (4 pp).

+Steve Coll, "The Back Channel: India and Pakistan's secret Kashmir talks," *The New Yorker*, March 2, 2009 (14 pp).

## **XII. International Political Economy** (11/17; 187 pp.)

### Perspectives on Political Economy

Robert Gilpin, "The Nature of Political Economy," in A&J (16 pp).

Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?," in A&J (8 pp).

Michael J. Hiscox, "The Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policies," in A&J (9 pp).

Bruce R. Scott, "The Great Divide in the Global Village," in A&J (13 pp).

### Globalization and Its Critics

Jeffrey Frankel, "Globalization of the Economy," in A&J (15 pp).

Pankaj Ghemawat, "Why the World Isn't Flat," in A&J (6 pp).

Alan S. Blinder, "Offshoring: The Next Industrial Revolution?," in A&J (10? pp).

Dani Rodrik, "Trading in Illusions," in A&J (8 pp).

John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, "Why the Globalization Backlash is Stupid," in A&J (7? pp.).  
Kenneth N. Waltz, "Globalization and Governance," in A&J (11 pp).

#### New Actors and New Forces

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Activist Networks," in A&J (6 pp).

Sebastian Mallaby, "NGOs: Fighting Poverty, Hurting the Poor," in A&J (7 pp).

Phil Williams, "Transnational Organized Crime and the State," in A&J (14 pp).

#### The International Financial Crisis

Robert Wade, "Financial Regime Change?," in A&J (7 ? pp).

+Harold James, "The Making of a Mess: Who Broke Global Finance, and Who Should Pay for It?" (book review), *Foreign Affairs* 88:1 (Jan/Feb 2009), pp. 162-168 (7 pp).

+Roger Altman, "The Great Crash, 2008: A Geopolitical Setback for the West," *Foreign Affairs* 88:1 (Jan/Feb 2009), pp. 2-14 (13 pp).

+Ian Bremmer, "State Capitalism Comes of Age," *Foreign Affairs* 88:3 (May/Jun2009), pp. 40-55 (16 pp).

+Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Politics of Economic Disaster," *Commentary* No. 251 (Feb. 15, 2009).

+Immanuel Wallerstein, "Civil War in the United States?," *Commentary* No. 253 (Mar. 15, 2009).

+Immanuel Wallerstein, "What Was the Point of the G-20 Meeting?" *Commentary* No. 255 (Apr. 15, 2009)

#### **Note: No class 11/24 due to Thanksgiving holiday**

Please let me know if you can help at the Montana Model conference on 11/22 and 11/23.

### **XIII. Human Rights, the Environment, and Other Global Issues** (12/1; 139 pp)

#### Human Rights, Justice, and International Law

+Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?," *International Security* 26:2 (Fall 2001), pp. 87-102 (15 pp).

+Hans Peter Schmitz and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Human Rights," in Walter Carlsnaes, et al., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 517-533 (16 pp).

+Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in Richard K. Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Longman, 2002), pp. 191-206 (15 pp).

Stanley Hoffman, "The Uses and Limits of International Law," in A&J (6 pp).

Rhoda E. Howard and Jack Donnelly, "Human Rights in World Politics," in A&J (12 pp).

Kofi Annan, "Reflections on Intervention," in A&J (7 pp)

Steven R. Ratner, "International Law: The Trial of Global Norms," in A&J (7 pp).

Thucydides, "The Melian Dialogue," in A&J (11? pp).

#### Environment

+Jessica Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1989, pp. 162+ (8 pp).

Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in A&G (7 pp)

\*Ronald B. Mitchell, "International Environment," in Walter Carlsnaes, et al., eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 500-516 (16 pp).

Barry Schwartz, "Tyranny for the Commons Man," in A&J (11? pp)

David G. Victor, "International Cooperation on Climate Change: Numbers, Interests, and Institutions" (8 pp)

**XIV. The Future International System** (12/8; 183 pp. review; 141 pages new)

**\*\*\*Research Papers due today.** Come ready to make a formal presentation of your findings in 10 minutes or less, and bring questions raised during your research and writing process.

Review the following readings from earlier in the semester:

- +Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 18:2 (Fall 1993), pp. 44-79 (35 pp).
- +William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24:1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5-41 (36 pp).
- +Richard Rosecrance, "A New Concert of Powers," *Foreign Affairs* 71 (Spring 1992), pp. 64-82 (18 pp).
- +Robert O. Keohane, "Governance in a Partially Globalized World," *American Political Science Review* 95:1 (March 2001), pp. 1-13 (12 pp).
- +G. John Ikenberry, "Getting Hegemony Right," *The National Interest*, Spring 2001, pp. 17-24 (7 pp).
- +Immanuel Wallerstein, "The World-System after the Cold War," *Journal of Peace Research* 30:1 (Feb., 1993), pp. 1-6 (5 pp).
- \*Robert Cox, "Production and security," in Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair, eds., *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 276-295 (19 pp).
- \*Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State is Inevitable: Teleology and the Logic of Anarchy," *European Journal of International Relations* 9:4 (December 2003), pp. 491-542 (51 pp).
- +Kenneth N. Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *International Security* 25.1 (Summer 2000), pp.5-41 (37 pp).
- +Robert O. Keohane and Kenneth N. Waltz, "Correspondence," *International Security* 25.3 (Winter 2000), p. 204 (1 p).
- Robert Jervis, "The Era of Leading Power Peace," in A&J (16 pp).
- Robert J. Art, "The US and the Rise of China," in A&J (10? pp).
- Adam Roberts, "The United Nations and International Security," in A&J (10 pp).
- G. John Ikenberry, "Rising Powers and Global Institutions," in A&J (7 pp).
- Moses Naim, "Minilateralism," in A&J, (10? pp)
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Government Networks and Global Governance," in A&J (10 pp).
- US National Intelligence Council, "Global Trends 2025," in A&J, (10? pp)
- Barry Posen, "Emerging Multipolarity: Why Should We Care?," in A&J, (10? pp)
- Robert Kagan, "The Return of History," in A&J, (10? pp)
- Richard Jackson and Neil Howe, "A Demographic Map of our Geopolitical Future," in A&J, (10? pp).

**Note for students in the PSC Masters' program:** The Comprehensive Exam in International Relations will be a take-home essay exam. The question will be posted on Blackboard at noon on Saturday, December 11. Your essay is due under my door (LA 353) by noon on Tuesday, December 14.