



SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME  
2010 TRIMESTERS 1 & 2

INTP586: APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**2010 TRIMESTER 1 AND 2**

1 March to 14 November 2010

**Trimester Dates**

*Trimester One*

Teaching dates: 1<sup>st</sup> March 2010 to 4<sup>th</sup> June 2010  
Mid-trimester break: 5<sup>th</sup> April to 18<sup>th</sup> April 2010  
Teaching ends 4<sup>th</sup> June 2010

*Trimester Two*

Teaching dates: 12<sup>th</sup> July 2010 to October 15<sup>th</sup> 2010  
Mid-trimester break: August 23<sup>rd</sup> 2010 to September  
5<sup>th</sup> 2010  
Teaching ends: October 15<sup>th</sup> 2010  
Examination period: 18<sup>th</sup> October 2010 – 14<sup>th</sup>  
November 2010

**Seminar times:** Monday 4.10pm-6.00pm

**Lecture venues:** Murphy 102

**Names and Contact Details**

Lecturer: Dr. Ben Thirkell-White

Room: Murphy 540

Phone: 463 5796

Email: [ben.thirkell-white@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:ben.thirkell-white@vuw.ac.nz)

Office hours: Tuesday 1-2.00pm, Friday 1.00-2.00pm

**Note: This course is partly assessed by an examination which will take place in the examination period in Trimester Two. Attendance at the examination is compulsory and students who are not available for the whole of the examination period (22<sup>nd</sup> October – 14<sup>th</sup> November) should not enrol for this course.**

**Withdrawal dates**

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

**Course delivery:**

The course is taught via a weekly seminar over two trimesters. There is a final examination that will occur in the end-of-year examination period from 22<sup>nd</sup> October to 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010. The exact date for the examination will be released during Trimester 2.

Attendance at and active participation in all seminars is **compulsory** unless a specific arrangement has been made otherwise. Students may miss up to two seminars without penalty; absences beyond that number will be taken into account when calculating the final grade. PLEASE NOTE: THERE IS NO PROVISION FOR

MAKE-UP EXERCISES IN THIS COURSE TO COMPENSATE FOR ADDITIONAL ABSENCES EXCEPT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. You should allow for the possibility of unforeseen illness when using up your quota of permissible absences.

### **Communication of additional information:**

All additional information will be communicated via Blackboard. It is important that you check Blackboard regularly.

### **Course content:**

The aim of the first part of this course is to introduce students to the main concepts utilised within the International Relations discipline (IR), as well as the main theoretical approaches. We shall examine the debates over these theoretical approaches, and we shall also explore the contested nature of the concepts used. We start by looking at some influential conceptualisations of the specific constitution of the modern world order. We then move onto investigating both orthodox and un-orthodox theoretical approaches to IR. A full reading list is provided below.

### **Learning objectives:**

A student who has achieved a standard of work and understanding sufficient to pass the course will:

- Understand some of the key theoretical and practical issues that are presently debated in the International Relations discipline;
- Have some empirical knowledge of events and circumstances that are referenced by debates in the discipline;
- Be able to critically analyse issues and events in IR;
- Be able to use both parts of the course to make the connection between theoretical frameworks for the study of IR and international practice; and
- Be able to use terminology and concepts introduced in both parts of the course to interpret contemporary international issues and events.

**NB: These objectives are for the course as a whole, i.e. both parts 1 and 2.**

As with all POLS and INTP courses, learning objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of critical thinking, creative thinking, communication and leadership. Please consult the Programme Prospectus 2009, p. 10, for more details or on our website <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pols/>

### **Expected workload:**

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 18 hours per week to the course. This includes time in seminars.

### **Essential readings:**

Any standard textbook on international relations will cover aspects of the course, but the course content will follow the assigned readings lists that will be distributed throughout. For a general overview of IR, you may wish to refer to the following texts that are available from the Library:

1. Joshua Goldstein, *International Relations*, Brief 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed., (Pearson Longman, 2005);
2. Scott Burchill, et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed., (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005);
3. Baylis and Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, (Oxford University Press, 2005);
4. David N. Balaam and Michael Veseth, *Introduction to International Political Economy*, (Prentice Hall, 1996; and
5. Theodore H. Cohn, *Global Political Economy: Theory and Practice*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed., (Pearson, 2005).

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays)  
10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays.  
Phone: 463 5515

You should get to know and keep a watchful eye on the following periodicals and papers. Some are available in the University library, including:

*Millennium: Journal of International Studies*  
*International Studies Quarterly*  
*International Organization*  
*European Journal of International Relations*  
*World Politics*  
*New Left Review*  
*Review of International Studies*  
*Alternatives*  
*Foreign Policy*  
*Foreign Affairs*  
*International Security*  
*Review of International Political Economy*  
*Economist*

### **Assessment requirements:**

1. **Written Assignments:** one due each week for the duration of both Trimester 1 and 2, each approximately **one page** in length. The averaged grade is worth a total of **50%** of your final course grade. You must write your assignment in the form of an answer to one of the questions posed that week in the reading list. If you wish to formulate your own question, you must clear it with me beforehand.
2. **One research essay:** due 12<sup>th</sup> July, of **2,500** words. Worth **20%** of final grade. You must write your research essay in the form of an answer to one of the questions posed at the END OF THIS COURSE OUTLINE. If you wish to formulate your own question, you must clear it with me beforehand.
2. **Examination**, duration **3 hours**, worth **30%** of your final course grade. The exam will take place at the end of Trimester 2 in the exam period sometime between 18<sup>th</sup> October and 14<sup>th</sup> November 2008. Exact dates will be posted in Trimester 2 nearer the time.

### **Return of assignments:**

Weekly assignments will be returned during the following seminar. The research essay will be returned approximately three weeks after the submission deadline. They will be available for picking up from the PSIR office, 5<sup>th</sup> floor Murphy Building, **but only between 12 and 2pm.**

### **Penalties:**

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – 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 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, 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.

### **Mandatory course requirements:**

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work);

AND

- b) Take the final exam.

### **Statement on legibility:**

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:

- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply
- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) and lateness penalties apply
- if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

### **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

### **Statement on the use of Turnitin**

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

## **GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and

any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC(Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

[http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/avcacademic/Publications.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic/Publications.aspx)

For information on the following topics, see the

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support.

## COURSE OUTLINE

<b>TRIMESTER ONE – Concepts and theories</b>	
1 1 <sup>st</sup> Mar	Introduction: What is International Relations?
<b>WHAT IS THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD THE MAKING OF?</b>	
2 8 <sup>th</sup> Mar	Polity: Sovereignty and the States System
3 15 <sup>th</sup> Mar	Economy: The Capitalist World Market
4 22 <sup>nd</sup> Mar	Culture: (Western) Civilization
<b>MAINSTREAM APPROACHES TO IR</b>	
5 29 <sup>th</sup> Mar	Liberalism and ideas of universal progress
6 19 <sup>th</sup> Apr	The Realist critique of “utopian” Liberalism
7 26 <sup>th</sup> Apr	Neo-Realism Versus Neo-Liberal Institutionalism
<b>“ALTERNATIVE” APPROACHES TO IR</b>	
8 3 <sup>rd</sup> May	The “English School” and International Society
9 10 <sup>th</sup> May	Constructivism: Identities and the Power of Norms
10 17 <sup>th</sup> May	Neo-Marxism: Hegemony and Neo-Liberalism
11 24 <sup>th</sup> May	“Poststructuralism”: Foucault’s Biopower
12 31 <sup>st</sup> May	The Postcolonial Critique
<b>TRIMESTER TWO – Contemporary issues</b>	
Topics and readings will be supplied at the end of trimester one. Seminars for trimester two will run from Wednesday 14 <sup>th</sup> July -> Wednesday 18 <sup>rd</sup> August, and from Wednesday 8 <sup>th</sup> September -> Wednesday 13 <sup>th</sup> October.	

## ***READING LIST (Trimester 1)***

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1: What is International Relations?**

##### Questions:

- What, if anything, is distinctive about IR as a discipline in the social sciences?
- Why does Wight think that there can be no political theory of international relations?

##### Readings:

- Stephanie Lawson, *International Relations: a Short Introduction* (2003), ch.1
- Martin Wight, "Why is there no International Theory?", in J. Der Derian (ed), *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (New York)

##### Further readings:

- Rosenberg, Justin, 'International Relations — The 'Higher Bullshit': A Reply to the Globalization Theory Debate', *International Politics*, Vol. 44.4 (Summer 2007) 450-459
- Bull, Hedley, 'Society and Anarchy in International Relations', in Butterfield, H., and Wight, M., eds., *Diplomatic Investigations: Essay in the Theory of International Politics*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966, 35-50
- Buzan, Barry and Richard Little, 'Why International Relations Has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to Do About It', *Millennium*, 2001, 30(1): 19–39
- Walker, R. B. J., 'International Relations and the Concept of the Political', in Booth, K., and Smith, S., eds., *International Relations Theory Today*, London: Polity Press, 1997, pp. 306-327
- Tooze, R., & Murphy, C., 'The Epistemology of Poverty and the Poverty of Epistemology: Mystery, Blindness and Invisibility,' in: *Millennium*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1996
- Price, R., 'Interpretation and disciplinary orthodoxy in international relations', in: *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2, April 1994
- Krombach, H., 'International Relations as an Academic Discipline', in: *Millennium*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Summer 1992
- Lapid, Y., 'The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era,' in: *International Studies Quarterly*, 33, 3, 1989, 235-5
- Xiaoming Huang, 2007. "The invisible hand: modern studies of international relations in Japan, China, and Korea" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 10(2): 168-203
- Christopher LaMonica "Modelling Global Patterns of Political Thought: Challenges and Prospects," in Robbie Shilliam, ed., *Non-Western Thought and International Relations: Retrieving the Global Context of Investigation of Modernity* (forthcoming). [Ask me for a copy.](#)
- Ben Thirkell-White & Nick Rengger, *Critical International Relations Theory After 25 Years* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Waltz, K., *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979, chapters 2-3
- Schmidt, B., 'The historiography of academic international relations,' in: *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4, October 1994
- Friedrich Kratochwil and John Gerard Ruggie. 1986. International organization: a state of the art on the art of the state. *International Organization*, 40: 753-775.
- Ian Clarke, "Beyond the Great Divide: globalization and the theory of international relations" *Review of International Studies* (1998), 24, 479–498
- Tickner, J. Ann, 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists,' in: *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, 1997, 611-632

- Peterson, V. Spike, 'Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations', *Millennium*, 1992, vol. 21, no. 2

## WHAT IS THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD THE MAKING OF?

### 2: Polity: Sovereignty and the States System

#### Questions:

- Why, according to Hobbes, does human nature bring forth the requirement for sovereign rule?
- Do states really possess sovereignty?

#### Readings:

- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Various, 1651) 13, 14, 17
- Richard Devetak, "The Modern State and its Origins", in Devetak et al, *An Introduction to International Relations* (2007)
- Stephen Krasner, "Rethinking the Sovereign state Model", *Review of International Studies* 27 (2001)

#### Further readings:

- Bartelson, J. 1995. *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society*, (Routledge, 1992), chs. 17-18
- Evans, P., Rueschemeyer, D. & Skocpol, T. 1985. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- John G. Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations" in *International Organization* 47:1 (1993),
- Special issue on "Empires, Systems and States: Great Transformations in International Politics", *Review of International Studies* 27:5 (2001)
- Holsti, K., 1995. War, Peace, and the State of the State. *International Political Science Review*, 16(4), 319-339.
- Philpott, D., 2002. The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations. *World Politics*, 55, 66-95.
- Weiss, L., 'Globalization and the Myth of the Powerless State,' *New Left Review*, No. 225, September/October 1997.
- Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648* (London: Verso 2003). Chapter one is a good critique of historical explanations of modern sovereignty in IR
- Forum on Michael Mann (influential sociologist of modern state sovereignty) in *Millennium* 34 (2) 2006.
- *Politics without sovereignty: a critique of contemporary international relations* / edited by Christopher J. Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alexander Gourevitch. London: University College London Press, 2007.
- F.H. Hinsely, *Sovereignty* (London, 1966).
- J.J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Various). The classic treatise on "popular sovereignty"
- Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (Routledge, 1998). Ch.4.is a good overview of the link between the "nation" and the modern sovereign state.
- *State sovereignty as social construct* / edited by Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber. New York : Cambridge University Press, 1996
- Diana Coole, *Women in Political Theory: From Ancient Misogyny to Contemporary Feminism* (Lynne Rienner, 1993). A great feminist critique of Hobbes in one of the chapters.



- C. Mackinnon, *Towards a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge MA, 1989)
- Shaw, M., 2000. *Theory of the Global State: Globality as Unfinished Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- J. Elshtain, *Women and War* (Harvester, 1987). *A classic feminist critique.*
- Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

### 3: Economy: The Capitalist World Market

#### Questions:

- What do Locke, Marx and Lenin disagree upon?
- In what ways might the development of capitalism be of importance for understanding the development of our modern world order?

#### Readings:

- John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (Various, 1689), chapter: "Of Property"
- K. Marx, *Communist Manifest* (Penguin, 1848), section: "Bourgeois and Proletarians"
- V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) (abridged)

#### Further reading:

- McMichael, Philip, 'State Formation and the Construction of the World Market', *Political Power and Social Theory*, 6, 1987, pp.187-237.
- K. Marx, *Capital Vol 1*. (Various), Part 8: "So-called Primitive Accumulation"
- Midnight Notes Collective, 1990. The New Enclosures. *Midnight Notes*, 10. *You can find this online, it's an update of Marx's argument on "Primitive Accumulation".*
- Berki, R.N. 1971. On Marxian Thought and the Problem of International Relations. *World Politics* 24 (1): 80-105
- Rosenberg, J. 1994. *The Empire of Civil Society – a Critique of the Realist Theory of International Relations*. London: Verso
- Justin Rosenberg, "Why is there no International Historical Sociology?" in *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (2006)
- Benno Teschke, "Bourgeois Revolution, State-Formation and the Absence of the International" in *Historical Materialism* 13:2 (2005), pp.3-26
- Halliday, Fred, 'A Necessary Encounter: Historical Materialism and International Relations', in Halliday, *Rethinking International Relations*, London: Macmillan 1994, chapter 3.
- Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (Various). *The classic political economist of the Scottish Enlightenment. Compare with Marx, especially the first few chapters of Part 1.*
- Ben Thirkell-White "Globalisation and Development" in *Issues in International Relations (2nd Revised Edition)*, Trevor Salmon, M. F. Imber (ed.), (Taylor and Francis, 2008)
- Amin, S., 1976. *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*, New York: Monthly Review Press. *Amin is very famous for writing on capitalism's "underdevelopment" of the Third World*
- Kenichi Ohmae, *The Borderless World* (1990). *A good liberal-economist take on the global nature of capitalism.*
- Thomas Friedman, *The World is Flat* (1999). *See above: ditto.*
- Wood, E.M., 1981. The separation of the economic and the political in capitalism. *New Left Review*, (127), 66-9

- Wallerstein, I., 1974. *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York: Academic Press. This is the very influential “world systems approach”. See the very last bit, the conclusion.
- Santiago-Valles, K. 2005. Racially Subordinate Labour Within Global Contexts: Robinson and Hopkins Re-Examined. *Race and Class* 47 (2): 54-70. A good overview of debates in the “world systems” approach.
- Christine Delphy, *Close to home : a materialist analysis of women’s oppression* (London, 1984). A good feminist take on the exclusions of women’s oppression within Marxist theory. See also anything by Michele Barrett, and Sheila Rowbotham.
- Mies, M., 1986. *Patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale: women in the international division of labour*, London : Zed Books. A classic feminist critique, in the “world systems” tradition
- Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Various). Famously places the origins of capitalism in the slave plantations of the Americas.

Further readings on “International Political Economy” – a sub discipline of IR that looks at the relationship between states and markets, and how we might theorise the co-constitutive nature of this relationship):

- Tooze, R., & Murphy, C., ‘The Epistemology of Poverty and the Poverty of Epistemology: Mystery, Blindness and Invisibility,’ in: *Millennium*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1996
- R. Palan, *Global Political Economy: Contemporary Theories* (Palgrave, 2000)
- Boyle, Chris, ‘Imagining the World Market: IPE and the Task of Social Theory’, *Millennium*, 23:2, 1994, pp. 351-63.
- Robert Gilpin, *Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton, 1987). An influential take on International Political Economy.
- Robert Gilpin, *Global political economy: understanding the international economic order* (Princeton, 2001)
- Susan Strange, *States and Markets* (London, 1987). Another influential take on International Political Economy.
- *Power and Interdependence* / Robert O. Keohane, Joseph S. Nye ([1977] 1989). Ditto!

#### **4. Culture: (Western) Civilization**

##### Questions:

- What are Western values and are they universal in principle?
- How important for our understanding of international relations is the act of categorizing peoples as “civilized”?

##### Readings:

- Tony Blair, “A battle for Global Values”, *Foreign Affairs* Jan/Feb 2007
- Samuel Huntington, “The West, Unique not Universal”, *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 1996
- Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839), ch.18: “Tahiti and New Zealand” (abridged)

##### Further readings:

- Árnason, Jóhann Páll. *Civilizations in Dispute : Historical Questions and Theoretical Traditions*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Gong, Gerrit W. *The Standard of “Civilization” in International Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984. A classic “English School” approach to the importance of civilization in international history.

- Bowden, B. "In the name of progress and peace: The "standard of civilization" and the universalising project." *Alternatives* 29 (2004): 43-68.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. "The civilizational dimension in sociological analysis." *Thesis Eleven* 62, no. 1 (2000): 1-21.
- Hall, Martin, and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson. *Civilizational Identity: The Production and Reproduction of "Civilizations" in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- O'Hagan, Jacinta. *Conceptualizing the West in International Relations: From Spengler to Said*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002.
- Linklater, Andrew (2005) 'Dialogic Politics and the Civilising Process' *Review of International Studies* 31:1, 141-154.
- Robert Cox, "Thinking about Civilization" in *Review of International Studies* 26:5 (2000), pp.217-234
- O'Hagan, J. 2005. Beyond the Clash of Civilizations? *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 59 (3): 383-400
- Pagden, A. 1988. The "Defence of Civilization" in Eighteenth-Century Social Theory. *History of the Human Sciences* 1 (1)
- Reeves, J. 2007. *Culture and International Relations: Narratives and Tourists*. London: Routledge
- Mill, J.S. 1905. Civilization. In *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical and Historical Vol.1*. London: Longmans, Green, Reaer and Dyer: 160-205. *John Stuart Mill was the quintessential 19<sup>th</sup> century Liberal. His discussion is important and telling.*
- Navari, C. 2000. *Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975): Prophecy and Civilization*. Review of *International Studies* 26: 289-301. *Toynbee was a very influential historian, and his influence extended to many scholars of international relations during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.*
- Hobson, J. 2006. Civilizing the Global Economy: Racism and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Imperialism. In *Global Standards of Market Civilization*. Edited by Bowden, B. and Seabrooke, L. London: Routledge: 60-76
- Farrenkopf, J. 2000. Spengler's Theory of civilization. *Thesis Eleven* 62: 23-38. *Spengler wrote the very influential "Decline of the West" at the end of the first world war.*
- Bozeman, A.B. 1983. Decline of the West? Spengler Reconsidered. *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 59 (2): 181-207

Further readings on the encounter between Europeans and Pacific Islanders (good for reading in conjunction with Darwin!):

- I.C. Campbell, "Gone Native" in *Polynesia – Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998)
- Daniel Thorp, "Going native in New Zealand and America: Comparing Pakeha Maori and white Indians", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31:3 2003
- Max Quanchi and Ron Adams (eds), *Culture Contact in the Pacific* (Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Toon van Meijl, "The Māori as Warrior: Ideological Implications of a Historical Image", in Toon van Meijl and Paul van der Grijp (eds), *European Imagery and colonial History in the Pacific* (Saarbrücken, 1994)
- Richard Lansdown, *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought: An Anthology* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006)
- Harriet Guest, "Curiously Marked: Tattooing, Masculinity, and Nationality in Eighteenth Century British Perceptions of the South Pacific:", in J. Barrell, *Painting and the Politics of Culture* (1992)

- N. Gunson. "British Missionaries and Sexuality: The Polynesian Legacy and its Aftermath", in H. Hiery and J. MacKenzie (eds), *European Impact and Pacific Influence. British and German Colonial Policies in the Pacific and the Indigenous Response*, (London 1997).
- K. Green, "Colonialism's Daughters: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Western Perceptions of Hawaiian Women", in Spickard, Rondilla and Wright, *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2002)
- S. Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (NY: Ballantine Books, 1990)
- V.G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age* (Penguin 1972), ch. 7
- James Belich, "Myth, Race and Identity in New Zealand", in H. Hiery & J. MacKenzie, *European Impact and Pacific Influence* (Taurus)
- Tau, T.M. (2008). The Discovery of Islands and the Stories of Settlement. *Thesis Eleven* 92: 11-28
- Kelsey, J. 2002. Old Wine in New Bottles: Globalisation, Colonisation, Resource Management and Māori. In Kawharu, M. (ed), *Whenua: Managing Our Resources* Auckland: Reed

## MAINSTREAM APPROACHES TO IR

### 5: Liberalism and ideas of universal progress

#### Questions:

- How do liberal theories of IR explain the relationship between the domestic and the international sphere?
- Who is more optimistic about the future of humanity: Kant or Wilson?

#### Readings:

- Doyle, M.W. 1993. "Liberalism and International Relations". In *Kant and Political Philosophy: the Contemporary Legacy*, edited by Ronald, B. New Haven: Yale University Press: 173-203
- Immanuel Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose (1784)", *Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1991)
- Woodrow Wilson "The Coming Age of Peace (1918)", in E. Luard, *Basic Texts in International Relations* (1992)

#### Further readings: (see also the readings on the "First Great Debate" in next week's list)

- Rostow, W.W., 1991. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Very famous tract. Wilson updated for the Cold War?
- Frances Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *National Interest* 1989. Very influential, written at the end of the Cold War. Compare with Kant and Wilson. Is Fukuyama saying the same thing? And is he an optimist?
- Angell, Norman, "The Quest for Enlightenment," in Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Perspectives on Peace. 1910-1960*, London: Stevens & Sons Ltd, 1960, pp. 177-194. Angell is taken to be one of the quintessential liberal internationalists of the inter-war period.
- Lloyd Ambrosius, "Woodrow Wilson and The Birth of a Nation: American Democracy and International Relations", *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 18:4 (2007). A critique of President Woodrow Wilson, and the racist elements of his political thought that lay behind his support of the League of Nations.
- Hinsley, F.H. 1963. *Power and the Pursuit of Peace – Theory and Practice in the History of Relations Between States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Gardner, R.N., 'The Comeback of Liberal Internationalism,' *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1990, 23-39.
- *Millennium* Special Issue: 'The Globalisation of Liberalism?', *Millennium*, Vol.24, No.3. (1994)
- Hoffmann, Stanley, 'The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism,' *Foreign Policy*, vol. 98, 1995.
- Richardson, J.L., 'Contending Liberalisms – Past and Present,' *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1997.
- Zacher, Mark and Matthew, Richard, 'Liberal International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands', in Charles Kegley (ed.), *Controversies in International Relations Theory* (1995).
- Archibugi, D. 1992. Models of International Organizations in Perpetual Peace Projects. *Review of International Studies* 18 (4): 295-317
- Kant, I. 1991. Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch. In *Kant's Political Writings*, edited by Reiss, H.S. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 93-130. Perhaps the most cited classical author by liberal theorists in IR. Read carefully: to what extent is Kant really an unabashed liberal?
- Doyle, M. 1983. Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (3-4): 205-235, 323-353
- Esref Aksu, "Locating Cosmopolitan Democracy in the Theory-Praxis Nexus", *Alternatives* 32 (3), 2007
- Esref Aksu, *Early Notions of Global Governance: Selected Eighteenth-Century Proposals for 'Perpetual Peace' with Rousseau, Bentham, and Kant – Unabridged* (University of Wales, 2008)
- Kate Schick, 'Beyond rules: A critique of the liberal human rights regime', *International Relations*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (September, 2006), pp. 345-351.
- Cavallar, G. 2001. Kantian Perspectives on Democratic Peace: Alternatives to Doyle. *Review of International Studies* 27 (2): 229-248
- Franceschet, A. 2001. Sovereignty and Freedom: Immanuel Kant's Liberal Internationalist 'Legacy'. *Review of International Studies* 27 (2): 209-228
- Franke, M. 1995. Immanuel Kant and the (Im)possibility of International Relations Theory. *Alternatives* 20 (3): 279-322
- Hurrell, A. 1990. Kant and the Kantian Paradigm in International Relations. *Review of International Studies* 16 (3): 183-205

## 6: The Realist critique of "utopian" Liberalism

### Questions:

- Is Carr a Realist?
- Why does Morgenthau think liberalism is a dangerous ideology with regards to foreign policy making?

### Readings:

- E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis* (1939), chs.4-6
- Hans Morgenthau, *Scientific Man vs Power Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 1946), chs.2-3

### Further readings:

- John Mearsheimer, "E.H. Carr vs. Idealism: The Battle Rages On", *International Relations* 19, 2005
- Jones, C., 1998. *E.H. Carr and International Relations: A Duty to Lie*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Ralph Pettman, "Power and Morality: A Misleading Dichotomy", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 21 (2) 2008
- Morgenthau, H.J. 1948. The Political Science of E.H. Carr. *World Politics* 1 (1):
- Amstrup, N. 1989. The 'Early' Morgenthau: A Comment on the Intellectual Origins of Realism. *Cooperation and Conflict* 13: 63-175
- Bain, W. 2000. Deconfusing Morgenthau: Moral Inquiry and Classical Realism Reconsidered. *Review of International Studies* 26 (3): 445-464
- Barkawi, T. 1998. Strategy as a Vocation: Weber, Morgenthau and Modern Strategic Studies. *Review of International Studies* 24 (2): 159-184
- Williams, M. 2005. Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization* 58 (4): 633-665
- R. Shilliam, "Morgenthau in Context: German Backwardness, German Intellectuals, and the Rise and Fall of a Liberal Project", *European Journal of International Relations* 13 (3), 2007
- Koskeniemi, M. 2000. Carl Schmitt, Hans Morgenthau, and the Image of Law in International Relations In *The Role of Law in International Politics: Essays in International Relations and International Law*, edited by Byers, M. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Molloy, S. 2004. Truth, Power, Theory: Hans Morgenthau's Formulation of Realism. *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 15 (1): 1-34
- Herz, John, 'Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma', *World Politics*, 2 (1950), 157-80. Herz is very influential for coining the term, "security dilemma".
- Herz, J. 1959. *Political Realism and Political Idealism – A Study in Theories and Realities*. University of Chicago Press
- Spegele, R. 1996. *Political Realism in International Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Griffiths, M. 1992. *Realism, Idealism and International Politics – a Reinterpretation*. London: Routledge
- *The tragic vision of politics: ethics, interests, and orders* / Richard Ned Lebow. Cambridge University Press 2003
- Anne Tickner, "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation", *Millennium* 17 (3) 1988

#### Further readings on the "first great debate":

- Nicholas Guilhot, "The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of IR Theory", *International Political Sociology* 2 2008
- Schmidt, Brian C. (2002) 'Anarchy, World Politics and the Birth of a Discipline', *International Relations*, 16:1, 9-31.
- Morgenthau, H.J. 1952. Another 'Great Debate': The National Interest of the U.S. *The American Political Science Review* 46 (4):
- Wilson, Peter, 'The Myth of the 'First Great Debate'', *Review of International Studies*, 24, Special Issue, 1998.
- Booth, K. 1997. 75 Years On: Rewriting the Subject's Past. In *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, edited by Smith, S., Booth K. & Zalewski, M. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Quirk, J. & Vigneswaran, D. 2005. The Construction of an Edifice: the Story of a First Great Debate. *Review of International studies* 31 (1): 89-107
- Thies, C.G. 2002. Progress, History and Identity in International Relations Theory: the Case of the Idealist-Realist Debate. *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (2): 147-185

### Further readings on Realism and Vietnam/Iraq:

- Morgenthau, H.J. 1967. We Are Deluding Ourselves in Viet-Nam. In *The Viet-Nam Reader: Articles and Documents on American Foreign Policy and the Viet-Nam Crisis*, edited by Raskin, M.G. & Fall, B.B. New York. *An excellent classical Realist critique of Vietnam. Compare with Walt and Mearsheimer*
- H.J. Morgenthau, "To intervene or not to intervene", *Foreign Affairs* 45 (1966)
- Mearsheimer, J. 2005. Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq War: Realism Versus neo-Conservatism. [http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-americanpower/morgenthau\\_2522.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-americanpower/morgenthau_2522.jsp)
- J. Mearsheimer and S. Walt, "Can Saddam be contained? History says yes", Nov 12 2002 <http://work.colum.edu/~amiller/mearsheimer-walt.htm> *To what degree is this neo-Realist argument the same as Morgenthau's argument about Vietnam?*
- Meyer, K.E. 2003. Weighing Iraq on Morgenthau's Scale. *World Policy Journal* 20 (3): 89-92
- E. Rafshoon, "A realist's moral opposition to war: Hans J. Morgenthau and Vietnam", *Peace and Change* 26 (1) 2001
- J. See, "A prophet without honor: Hans Morgenthau and the war in Vietnam, 1955-1965", *Pacific History Review* 70 (3) 2001

## **7: Neo-Realism versus Neo-Liberal Institutionalism**

### Questions:

- Can there be cooperation under conditions of anarchy?
- To what extent is Nye's "soft power" an anti-Realist foreign policy?
- What differentiates the "neo" approaches to their predecessors?

### Readings:

- G. Hellmann and R. Wolf, "Neorealism, Neoliberal Institutionalism, and the Future of NATO", *Security Studies* 3 (1) 1993
- Joseph Nye, "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy", *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (2) 2004
- Jim George, *Discourses of Global Politics* (Lynne Rienner, 1994), ch.5

### Further readings of neo-realists vs. neo-liberal institutionalists:

- Waltz, K.N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. London: McGraw-Hill
- Waltz, K.N. 1995. Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory. *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*, edited by Kegley Jr., C. New York: St. Martin's Press
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1990. Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory. *Journal of International Affairs*. 44 (1)21-37.
- Keohane, Robert O. (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York: Columbia University Press 1986, esp. chapters by Keohane and Grieco
- David Long, "The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory: A Case for Closure", *Millennium* 24 (3) 1995
- Robert Jervis, 'Cooperation under the Security Dilemma', *World Politics*, 30:2, 1978 pp. 167-214
- Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism and Cooperation", *International Security* 24 (1), 1999
- R.B. McCalla, "NATO's persistence after the cold war" *International Organization* 50 (3) 1996
- Walt, Stephen, 'Why Alliances Endure or Collapse', *Survival* 39 (1), (Spring 1997)

- Baldwin, David, 'Power and Interdependence: A Conceptual Analysis', *International Organisation* 34, 4 (1980)
- Axelrod, Robert & Keohane, R., 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions', *World Politics*, 1981, 34(1): 1-24.
- Robert Keohane, "Can interdependence work?", *Foreign Policy* (110), 1998
- Keohane, R. & J. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, London: Harper Collins, 1989, chapter 1.
- Nye, J., 'Neorealism and Neoliberalism,' *World Politics*, Vol. 40, Jan. 1988.
- Deudney, Daniel, and John G. Ikenberry, 'The nature and sources of liberal international order,' *Review of International Studies*, 25(2), 1999, pp.179-196
- Mearsheimer, John J., 'The False Promise of International Institutions', *International Security*, 19, 3, (Winter 1994/95) and exchange in 20, 1.
- Ganesan, N., 'Testing neoliberal institutionalism in Southeast Asia,' *International Journal*, 50(4), 1995, 779-804.
- Keohane, Robert O., 'Governance in a Partially Globalized World', *American Political Science Review*, 95:1 (2001), pp. 1-13.
- Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer, Volker Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, ch. 1.
- R.B. McCalla, "NATO's persistence after the cold war" *International Organization* 50 (3) 1996 (neo-liberal/neo-institutionalist viewpoint)

#### Further readings on theoretical issues in neo-realism and neo-liberalism:

- Kaplan, M. 1966. The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations. *World Politics* 19 (1) : 1-20. This should be read in conjunction with Bull.
- Hedley Bull, "International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach", *World Politics* 18 (3) 1966. Read with Kaplan above. These two form a classic argument about the desirability of re-establishing political inquiry on a positivist basis. Very important.
- King, Keohane and Verba, "The importance of research design in political science", AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW Volume: 89 Issue: 2 Pages: 475-481 Published: JUN 1995
- Schroeder, Paul, 'Historical Reality vs Neo-Realist theory', in *International Security*, 19: 1, 1994.
- Steven Forde, 'International Realism and the Science of Politics: Thucydides, Machiavelli, and NeoRealism', *International Studies Quarterly*, 39, 2, 1995, pp. 141-60
- Ashley, R. 1984. The Poverty of Neorealism. *International Organization* 38 (2): 225-286
- Feaver, P. et al, 2000. Brother, Can you Spare a Paradigm? (Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?) *International Security* 25 (1)
- Smith, Booth and Zalewski (eds), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (1996) Great chapters on critiques of positivism underlying both "neo" positions.
- Helen Milner, 'International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses', *World Politics* 44 (April 1992).
- Guzzini, Stefano, 'Structural Power: The Limits of Neorealist Power Analysis', *International Organization*, 47:3, 1993, pp. 443-478
- Schweller, Randall, 'Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?' in B. Frankel, ed., *Realism: Restatements and Renewal*, Portland: Frank Cass 1996, pp. 90-121.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich, 'The Embarrassment of Changes: Neo-Realism as the Science of Realpolitik Without Politics', *Review of International Studies*, 19:1, 1993, pp. 63-80.
- M. Desai, "Social Science goes to war: Economic theory and the Pentagon Papers", *Survival* Apr 1972. Ask me for a copy of this. It's a great critique of the positivist approach to conducting war. See also the film below:



- The fog of war [videorecording] : eleven lessons from the life of Robert S. McNamara (2004). An excellent set of interviews with the Secretary of Defence who did most to realign US foreign policy making along the lines of economic modelling.

## “ALTERNATIVE” APPROACHES TO IR

### 8: The “English School” and International Society

#### Questions:

- How, according to Bull, can there be society in the absence of government?
- According to an English School approach, what, precisely, does Al Qaeda threaten?

#### Readings:

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, 1976. Chs.1-3.
- Barak Mendelsohn, “Sovereignty Under Attack: the International Society Meets the Al Qaeda Network” in *Review of International Studies* 31 (1) 2005

#### Further readings:

- Buzan, B., 1993. From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School. *International Organization*, 47(3), 327-352.
- Buzan, Barry (2004) *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- C. Brown, “World society and the English School: an ‘international society’ perspective on world society”, *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (4) 2001
- Watson, Adam, *The Evolution of International Society* (1992).
- Little, Richard, ‘The English School’s Contribution to the Study of International Relations’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 2000, 6:3
- Vincent, R.J., ‘Hedley Bull and Order in International Politics’, *Millennium*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Summer 1988
- Hall, Ian, ‘Still the English Patient? Closures and Inventions in the English School’, *International Affairs*, 2001, 77:3, pp. 931-42.
- Hurrell, Andrew, ‘Keeping History, Law and Political Philosophy Firmly within the English School’, *Review of International Studies*, 27:3, pp.489-94.
- James, “System or Society?”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3. Good critical article on the English School and its differentiation of system and society
- Various Contributors, ‘Forum on the English School’, *Review of International Studies*, 27, 3, July 2001, 465-519
- Miller, J.D.B. and R. J. Vincent, *Order and Violence: Hedley Bull and International Relations*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- Colas, Alejandro, ‘International Society from below’, in Colas, *International Civil Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press 2002, chapter 4.
- D. Copeland, “A Realist critique of the English School”, *Review of International Studies* 29 (3), 2003
- M. Finnemore, “Exporting the English School?”, *Review of International Studies* 27 (3) 2001
- Reus-Smit, “Imagining society: constructivism and the English School”, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 4 (3) 2002

#### Further readings on the historical “expansion” of European society into “International society”:

- Bull, Hedley and Adam Watson (eds) (1984) *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Gong, Gerrit W. *The Standard of "Civilization" in International Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984
- Keene, Edward, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics*, Cambridge: CUP 2002.
- Rosemary Foot, John Gaddis and Andrew Hurrell, (eds.) *Order and Justice in International Relations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press (2002)
- S. Suzuki, "Japan's socialization into Janus-Faced European International Society", *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (1) 2005
- Zhang, Yongjin (1991a) 'China's entry into international society: beyond the standard of "civilization"', *Review of International Studies* 17:1.

## 9: Constructivism: identities and the power of norms

### Questions:

- Why, according to Wendt, are Realists wrong?
- Are Constructivists such as Finnemore and Sikkink "idealists", realists, or neither?

### Readings:

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What Stakes Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization* 46 (2), 1992
- M. Finnemore and K. Sikkink "International norm dynamics and political change", *International Organization* 52 (4) 1998

### Further readings:

- J. Sterling-Folker, "Competing paradigms or birds of a feather? Constructivism and neoliberal institutionalism compared", *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (1), 2000
- Reus-Smit, "Imagining society: constructivism and the English School", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 4 (3) 2002
- E. Adler, "Seizing the middle ground: constructivism in world politics", *European Journal of International Relations* 3 (3), 1997
- Onuf, N. 1989. *World of Our Own Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*. Columbia: South Carolina University Press
- Wendt, Alexander (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Wendt, Alexander (1987) 'The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory' *International Organization* 41:3, 335-370.
- Wendt, A., 1995. Constructing International Politics. *International Security*, 20(1), 71-81.
- Risse, Thomas (2000) 'Let's Argue: Communicative Action in World Politics', *International Organization* 54:1, 1-41.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich (2006), 'Constructing a New Orthodoxy?: Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics and the Constructivist Challenge' in Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leader (eds), *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics* (New York: Routledge), 21-47.
- Ruggie, J.G., 1998. What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge. *International Organization*, 52(4), 855-885.
- Checkel, Jeff, 'The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory', *World Politics*, 50, 2, 1998, pp. 324-48

- Zehfuss, Maja, *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality* Cambridge: CUP 2002.
- Keohane, Robert O., 'Ideas Part –Way Down', *Review of International Studies*, 26:1, 2001, pp.125-30.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich, 'Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt's 'Social Theory of International Politics' and the Constructivist Challenge', *Millennium*, 29:1, 2000, 73-101.
- Smith, S. 2004. Singing Our World into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11. *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 499-515
- Acharya, Amitav. 2004. How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization* vol.58: 239-375.
- Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver et al, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, 1998), ch.2.
- MacKenzie, Megan. "Securitization and De-securitization: Female Soldiers and the Construction of the Family," *Security Studies* (summer 2009).Ask Megan for an advanced copy.
- M. Williams and I. Neumann, "From alliance to security community: NATO, Russia, and the power of identity" in *Millennium* 29 (2) 2000
- Weldes, Jutta, "Constructing National Interests," *European Journal of International Relations*, 2:3, 1996, pp. 275-318.
- Finnemore, Martha (1996) 'Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention' in Peter Katzenstein (ed), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, (New York: Columbia University Press), 153-188.
- Finnemore, Martha (2003) *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- David Capie, "Localization as Resistance: The Contested Diffusion of Small Arms Norms in Southeast Asia" *Security Dialogue*, vol. 39, no.6 (December 2008).
- David Capie, "Constructing New Zealand in the World," in Raymond Miller and Michael Mintrom (eds.) *Political Leadership in New Zealand* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006).
- Florini, Anne, 'The Evolution of International Norms', *International Studies Quarterly*, 40:3, 1996, pp. 363-90.
- Biersteker, T.J. & C. Weber (eds.), *The Social Construction of State Sovereignty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Samuel J. Barkin and Bruce Cronin, "The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations" in *International Organization*, 48:1 (1994), pp.107-130;
- Christian Reus-Smit, "Human Rights and the Social Construction of Sovereignty" in *Review of International Studies* 27:4 (2001), pp.519-538

#### Further readings on the "third debate" – also called "post-positivist debate"

- R. Keohane, "International Institutions: 2 approaches", *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (4) 1988. A very influential article. How is Keohane policing the re-introduction of identity and values back into IR theory?
- Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One world, Many Theories", *Foreign Policy* no.110 special issue 1998
- Hollis, M. & Smith, S., *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- Katzenstein, Peter, Robert O. Keohane and Stephen Krasner (eds.), *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics*, Cambridge, Mass./London: MIT Press, 1999.

- Smith, S., Booth, K., Zalewski, M. (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Lapid, Y. and F. Kratochwil (eds.), *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996.
- Lapid, Y., 'The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era,' in: *International Studies Quarterly*, 33, 3, 1989
- R. Keohane, "International Relations theory: contributions of a feminist standpoint", *Millennium* 18 (2) 1989.
- Weber, C., 'Good Girls, Little Girls, Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's Critique of Feminist International Relations,' in: *Millennium*, 1994, vol. 23, no. 2. *Read this along with Keohane's chapter above: fun to read and insightful!*
- Peterson, V. Spike, 'Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations', in: *Millennium*, 1992, vol. 21, no. 2

## 10: Neo-Marxism: Hegemony and Neo-Liberalism

### Questions:

- Is the US presently a hegemonic power as understood by Cox?
- In what ways might Neo-liberalism be understood as the governing logic of international relations?

### Readings:

- Robert Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method", *Millennium* 12 (2), 1983
- Mark Rupert, "Globalizing Common Sense: A Marxian-Gramscian (re-)vision of the politics of governance/resistance," *Review of International Studies* 29 (2003), pp. 181-98
- David Harvey, "Accumulation by Dispossession" in *The New Imperialism* (Oxford University Press, 2003)

### Further readings on neo-Gramscian approaches:

- Gill, S. 2002. Constitutionalizing Inequality and the Clash of Globalizations. *International Studies Review* 4 (2): 47-65
- Gill, S. 1995. Globalisation, Market Civilization, and Disciplinary Neoliberalism. *Millennium* 23 (3): 399-423
- Morton, A.D. 2003. Historicizing Gramsci: Situating Ideas In and Beyond Their Context. *Review of International Political Economy* 10 (1)
- *Social forces in the making of the new Europe : the restructuring of European social relations in the global political economy* / edited by Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton (Palgrave, 2001)
- Overbeek, H. (2000). Transnational Historical Materialism: Theories of Transnational Class Formation and World Order. In *Global Political Economy – Contemporary Theories*, edited by Palan, R. London: Routledge: 168-183
- van der Pijl, K. 1998. *Transnational Classes and International Relations*. London: Routledge
- Rupert, M. 1993. *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, edited by Gill, S. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Rupert, M. and Solomon, S. *Globalization and International Political Economy*. Romwan & Littlefield, 2005
- Germain, Randall and Michael Kenny, 'Engaging Gramsci: International Relations Theory and the New Gramscians', *Review of International Studies*, 1998, 24:1, pp. 3-21

- Shilliam, R. 2004. Hegemony and the Unfashionable Problematic of Primitive Accumulation. *Millennium* 33 (1): 59-88
- Bakker, I. & Gill, S., 2003. *Power, Production, and Social Reproduction: Human In/security in the Global Political Economy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cox, R.W., 1987. *Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Robinson, William I., *Promoting Polyarchy*, Cambridge: CUP 1995, Part I.

Further readings on “neo-Marxism” and contemporary globalization:

- Bromley, S. 1999. Marxism and Globalisation. In *Marxism and Social Science*, edited by Gamble, A., Marsh, D. & Tant, T. Basingstoke: Macmillan
- Adrienne Roberts. (2008) Privatizing Social Reproduction: The Primitive Accumulation of Water in an Era of Neoliberalism. *Antipode* 40:4, 535-560
- Will Robinson, *Social Theory and globalization: The rise of a transnational state*. Theory and Society Vol. 30/2. April 2001, pp. 157-200.
- Laffey, M. & Dean, K. 2002. *A Flexible Marxism for Flexible Times: Globalization and Historical Materialism*. In *Historical Materialism and Globalization*, edited by Rupert, M. & Smith, H. London: Routledge: 90-109
- Hannes Lacher, *Beyond Globalization: Capitalism, Territoriality and the International Relations of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Di Muzio, T., 2007. The 'Art' of Colonisation: Capitalising Sovereign Power and the Ongoing Nature of Primitive Accumulation. *New Political Economy*, 12(4), 517-539.
- Gowan, Peter, 'A Calculus of Power', *New Left Review*, 16, 2002, pp. 47-67 <http://www.newleftreview.net/NLR25003.shtml>
- Anderson, Perry, 'Force and Consent', *New Left Review* II, 17, pp.5-30.
- Special issue of *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, December 2007, 20 (4) on the state, imperialism and capitalism
- Ellen Wood, *The Empire of Capital*, London: Verso 2003
- See also the annual issues of *Socialist Register* (especially the ones in 2003-2004 on imperialism)
- S. Gill and I. Bakker, *Power, Production and Social Reproduction* (Palgrave, 2003). *A very good collection of feminist critiques of global capitalism.*

**11: “Poststructuralism”: Foucault’s Biopower**

Questions:

- In what ways does a Foucauldian understanding of the rise of the modern economy differ from that provided by Marx?
- In what ways does a Foucauldian understanding of the rise of modern sovereignty differ from that provided by the Realists?

Readings:

- Michel Foucault, “Governmentality”, in J. Faubion (ed), *Power* (Penguin, 2000)
- Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended* (Penguin, 2003), ch.11
- Robert Deuchars, “Towards the ‘Global Social’: Critical Reflections on Governance and Risk”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* (Forthcoming, 2009)

Further readings on Foucault / biopolitics:

- Foucault, M. 1991c. Orders of Discourse. In *Post-Structuralist and Post-Modernist Sociology*, edited by Lash, S. Elgar: 134-157
- Foucault, M. 1986. Disciplinary Power and Subjection. In *Power*, edited by Lukes, S. Oxford: Blackwell: 229-242
- Foucault, M. 1986a. Of Other Spaces. *Diacritics* 16
- Keeley, J. F. (1990). "Toward a Foucauldian analysis of international regimes." *International Organization*, Vol. 44, No. 1: 83-105.
- Nancy Fraser, "From discipline to flexibilization? Rereading Foucault in the shadow of globalization", *Constellations* 10 (2) 2003
- Tim Di Muzio, "Governing Global Slums: The Biopolitics of Target 11", *Global Governance* 14 (3) 2008
- Campbell, D. The biopolitics of security: Oil, Empire and the sports utility vehicle. *American Quarterly*. 2005;57:943-972
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- Michael Dillon, "Correlating Sovereign and Biopower" in Edkins et al, *Sovereign Lives: Power in Global Politics* (Routledge, 2004)
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#### Further readings on poststructuralism in IR:

- Der Derian, J. 1989. The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations. In *International/Intertextual Relations – Postmodern Readings of World Politics*, edited by Der Derian, J. & Shapiro, M. J. Lexington, M.A.: Lexington Books
- Der Derian, J. 1995. A Reinterpretation of Realism: Genealogy, Semiology, Dromology. In *International Theory - Critical Investigations*, edited by Der Derian, J. Basingstoke: Macmillan
- *Poststructuralism & international relations: bringing the political back in* / Jenny Edkins (Boulder, 1999)
- Connolly, W., 'Democracy and Territoriality' in: *Millennium*, Vol. 20, No. 3, Winter 1991.
- Kuehls, T. *Beyond Sovereign Territory: The Space of Ecopolitics*, Minneapolis: Minneapolis University Press, 1996.
- Shapiro, M. *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War*, Minneapolis: Minneapolis University Press, 1997.
- Walker, R.B.J., 1993. *Inside/outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A seminal book in IR theory.
- Richard Ashley with Robert B. J. Walker (eds.), "Speaking the Language of Exile: Dissidence in International Studies," special issue of *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (September 1990).
- Campbell, D. 1992. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Manchester University Press
- Richard Devetak, "The Project of Modernity and International Theory," *Millennium*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1995), pp. 27-51.

## **12: The Postcolonial critique**

### Questions:

- “India is not the non-West: India is India”. What is the significance of Nandy’s statement for IR theory?
- How do identities of gender and race combine to inform Eurocentric understandings of international relations?

### Readings:

- Arlene Tickner, “Seeing IR differently: Notes from the Third World” *Millennium* 32 (2) 2003
- Ashis Nandy, “The Uncolonized Mind: A Post-Colonial View of India and the West”, in *The Intimate Enemy* (Oxford University Press, 1983)
- L.H.M. Ling, “Cultural chauvinism and the liberal international order: “West versus Rest” in Asia’s financial crisis”, in Chowdhry et al, *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations* (Routledge, 2004)

### Further readings on IR scholars who grapple with issues related to the postcolonial critique:

- Krippendorf, E. 1987. The Dominance of American Approaches in International Relations. *Millennium* 16 (2): 207-214
- Wæver, Ole (1998) ‘The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline’, *International Organization*, 52:4, 687-727.
- Chowdhry et al, *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations* (Routledge, 2004)
- Inayatullah, N. & Blaney, D.L. 2004. *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*. London: Routledge
- Jahn, B. 2000. *The Cultural Construction of International Relations: the Invention of the State of Nature*. Basingstoke: Macmillan
- Hobson, John. “Civilizing the Global Economy: Racism and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Imperialism.” In *Global Standards of Market Civilization*, edited by B. Bowden and L. Seabrooke, 60-76. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Hobson, John (2004) *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Xiaoming Huang, 2002. "Culture, Institutions and Globalization: What is 'Chinese' about Chinese civilization?" in Mehdi Mozaffari, *Globalization and Civilizations* London: Routledge, pp. 218-241.
- Randolph B. Persaud, “Re-envisioning Sovereignty: Marcus Garvey and the Making of a Transnational Identity” in Kevin Dunn & Timothy Shaw (eds.), *Africa’s Challenge to International Relations Theory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001)
- Priya Chacko, "The Search for a Scientific Temper: Nuclear Technology and the Ambivalence of India’s Postcolonial Modernity", *Review of International Studies*, (Forthcoming). [You can ask Priya for a copy.](#)
- Shilliam, R. 2006. What about Marcus Garvey? Race and the Transformation of Sovereignty Debate. *Review of International Studies* 32, 3: 379–400.
- Grovogui, S. 2002. Regimes of Sovereignty: International Morality and the African Condition. *European Journal of International Relations* 8 (3): 315-338
- Keene, Edward. 2002. *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reeves, Julie. *Culture and International Relations: Narratives, Natives and Tourists*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Sampson, Aaron B. (2002) ‘Tropical Anarchy: Waltz, Wendt, and the Way We Imagine International Politics’, *Alternatives* 27:4, 429-457.
- Barkawi, T. and M. Laffey. 2006. The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies. *Review of*

*International Studies* 32, 2: 329–52.

- Ayooob, M. 1995. *The Third World Security Predicament – State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*. London:
- Slater, David, 'Postcolonial Questions for Global Times,' *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1998, 647-678.
- Darby, P. 1997. *At the Edge of International Relations: Postcolonialism, Gender and Dependency*, London: Pinter.
- R.L. Doty, "The Bounds of 'Race' in International Relations", *Millennium* 22 (3), 1993
- Gruffydd-Jones, B. 2006. *Decolonizing International Relations*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Jarvis, D.S. 2001. Beyond International Relations: Edward Said and the World. In *Still an American Social Science? Towards Diversity in International Thought*, edited by Crawford, M.A. SUNY Press: New York: 349-367.

Further readings in general on postcolonial issues (see also the readings in the week on (Western) Civilization):

- Marzec, R.P. 2002. Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome: A Genealogy of Land in a Global Context. *Boundary 2* 29 (2): 129-156
- Said, E. 1983. *The World the Text and the Critic*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press. Said is perhaps the most famous postcolonial writer. See especially his critique of Foucault's eurocentrism.
- Said, E. (Various) *Orientalism*. A real classic.
- Nandy, Ashis. "History's forgotten doubles." *History and Theory* 34, no. 2 (1995): 44-66.
- Chakrabarty, D., 2000. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Chatterjee, P., 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Euben, R.L. 2002. Contingent Borders, Syncretic Perspectives: Globalization, Political Theory and Islamizing Knowledge. *International Studies Review* 4 (1): 23-48.
- Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", in Nelson and Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (1988). A seminal article – challenging and rewarding reading.
- Paul Gilroy *The Black Atlantic* (Verso, 1993). A very important text on the racial constitution of America and the West.
- *The post-colonial studies reader* / edited by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (Routledge, 2006). A great resource for postcolonial thought.

**RESEARCH ESSAY QUESTIONS**

1. Which is the most important dimension of international relations: politics, economics or culture?
2. "Interests rather than identities determine actions in international relations." Do you agree?
3. "Domestic and international politics operate according to different logics". Do you agree?
4. What, in your opinion, are the most important points of contention between the various theories of IR?
5. To what extent is International Relations an international discipline?
6. Is International Relations a racist discipline?
7. "This is a man's world". Discuss.



8. Which concept best describes the fundamental faultlines that divide humanity: class or civilization?
9. Which is the most appropriate classical source for understanding international relations: Hobbes, Kant, Marx or Darwin?
10. "Liberalism is a dangerously utopian ideology." Discuss.
11. What, if anything, is realistic about Realism?
12. How might the concept of "primitive accumulation" help to explain the making of modern world order?
13. Is cooperation possible under conditions of anarchy?
14. Is neo-Realism a scientific improvement upon classical Realism?
15. Do international relations constitute a system or a society?
16. Is anarchy a fabricated condition?
17. "Threats are symbolic, not real". Discuss.
18. "There is no alternative to neo-liberal economic policies." Discuss.
19. How does our understanding of power change if we focus our attention upon the governance of populations rather than of states?
20. What would Ashis Nandy say to Samuel Huntington? **OR** What would Ashis Nandy say to Tony Blair?