

POLI 4523/5523

International Relations Theory I: Order, Conflict and Change

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Office Hours: Tuesday, 1:30-3:00, or by appointment

Objectives:

“Theory is always *for* someone, and *for* some purpose.” This widely cited premise articulated by the Critical International Relations scholar Robert Cox captures the sense that theories – International Relations (IR) and other – arise at least partly out of particular historical, social, and intellectual contexts, and reflect the orientations of the place from which they emerge. Situating some of the main lines of focus, approach, and debate in IR from the Inter-War period between the First and Second World Wars through to the diverse array of contemporary ‘schools of thought’, this course should enable you to:

- Identify key approaches and debates that have shaped the field, particularly since its ‘maturation’ in the post-Second World War period;
- Develop an understanding of how and why these approaches and debates emerged, and how and why they have evolved over time;
- Identify key strengths and weaknesses of different authors and schools of thought for understanding and explaining IR;
- Develop an ability to apply theoretical insights and approaches as a means of understanding particular international issues, trends, or cases.

Needless to say, a semester length course allows only a relatively superficial and incomplete treatment of this vast and much-debated sub-field of Political Science. It should, however, help you to begin to understand who IR theory(ies) are for, and what purposes they serve in the increasingly complex landscape of international relations. Moreover, for PhD students who have chosen IR as one of their two comprehensive fields (major or minor), the structure of the course follows the logic of the IR comprehensive examination and covers a portion of the readings you will be required to engage with.

Assignments and Assessment

Your final grade will be arrived at approximately as follows:

Assignment	Due date	Share of final grade
Class participation	every week...	20%
Book review (grads) or Article review (undergrads)	see below	15% 10%
Essay #1	October 19	30% (grads)
Essay #2	December 10	35% (grads) 40% (undergrads)

Your **class participation** grade will be based on the quantity and quality of your contributions to class discussion. To state the obvious, attendance is vital. Before each class, you should: 1. carefully read all of the required readings assigned for the week; 2. make a few preparatory notes for discussion—e.g., a few sentences on the main ideas from each reading, plus a short list of ideas you thought were especially useful, arguments you disagreed with, or concepts you didn't understand; and 3. carefully read and think about the book/article review for that week (see below).

For your **Book or Article review**, you will be required to write a review of one classic book (for grads) or article (for undergrads), of 750-1000 words (grads) or 500-750 words (undergrads). The choices for review are incorporated in the outline below, and correspond to the topics for discussion each week. In other words, there should be one review per week. We will select review choices at the beginning of the second class (17 September). Reviews should include a succinct summary of what you see as the key arguments made in the book/article, and a pointed analysis of key strengths, weaknesses, and/or implications of the work, particularly in relation to IR as a field of study.

Each reviewer should submit their review to me and to the class 24 hours before the session to which it corresponds (that is, by 4:30 on Sunday), and prepare a 5-8 minute presentation summarizing your main points (*not* reading the paper), and how it relates to the issues and readings discussed in class.

Your **first essay** will address the question:

“What were the critical intellectual and historical influences on the emergence and focus of IR as a field of study in the inter-war and post-war periods (roughly to 1970)? How (ir)relevant do they remain today?”

You should focus on assigned readings in answering this question, but can also draw on outside sources. The paper should be *no more than 12 pages* (3000 words) in length, not including references. This is a big question and a short amount of space to answer it in, so you will need to carefully focus your answer. It is due by 4pm on Friday, 19 October.

Your **second essay** will focus on *either*:

1) applying one or more theoretical approach discussed in class to make sense of a historical case (e.g., “How do we explain the response of the ‘international community’ to the civil war in Syria?”; “How should we understand the emergence and impact of the international anti-apartheid movement?”; “Can China rise peacefully?”; “Which theory best enables us to imagine a species-preserving response to the challenge of global warming”; *or*:
2) analyzing a particular theoretical trend or debate in IR (e.g., “What are the main insights of postcolonial IR? How should the field change in response to it?”; “Is constructivism best understood as a critical theory?”; “Has neoclassical realism successfully sustained and advanced the centrality of the realist tradition in international relations, or has it confused and compromised it?”

The paper should be 15-20 double-spaced pages in length. It is due by 4pm on Monday, 10 December. In both cases, it is strongly advised that you meet with me (preferably at least two weeks before the paper is due) to discuss what you would like to focus on and how you are planning to do it (and/or any dilemmas you are encountering on how to approach your topic).

Readings:

All required readings are available either through Killam Library data bases or, in occasional cases, as electronic pdf’s that will be posted on the class Brightspace page. There is no required text for the course. The books for review should all be available through the Killam Library or from the instructor. If you have difficulty securing your chosen book, please let me know and we will find another way to obtain it.

Schedule:

Week 1 – Introduction

Week 2 – Inter-war Debates and their aftermath

Carr, Edward Hallett. (1946). “The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939”. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., chs. 1-3, 5-6. (circulated as pdf)

Quirk, J, Vigneswaran, D (2005). “The construction of an edifice: The story of a first great debate.” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 31(1): pp.89–107.

Wilson, P. (1995). "The 'Twenty Year Crisis' and the category of 'idealism' in International Relations Theory", in David Long and Peter Wilson (eds) *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-24.

Recommended:

Barry Buzan, George Lawson(2014). "Rethinking benchmark dates in International relations." *European Journal of International relations*. Vol. 20 (2): pp.437-462

Hoffmann, S (1977) "An American Social Science: International Relations." *Daedalus*, Vol. 106 (3): pp.41–59.

Week 3 – the post-war Rise of Realism, and the Traditionalist vs. Behaviouralist debate

Michael C. Williams (2004), "Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism and the Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* Vol.58: pp. 633-655.

Robert Gilpin, (1984). "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism." *International Organization* Vol.38 (2): pp. 287-304.

Kaplan, Morton A (1966). "The new great debate: Traditionalism vs. science in international relations." *World Politics* Vol.19 (1): pp.1-20.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2009840.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A66f54a44b78e1dc021e0fc7b37ac395c>

Bull, Hedley (1966). "International theory: The case for a classical approach." *World politics* Vol.18 (3): pp. 361-377.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2009761.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A5ddf1861db0bac409812f3faeddec8c8>

Recommended:

Ashley, Richard. (1984). "The poverty of Neorealism." *International Organization* Vol.38 (2): pp. 225-286.

Wolfers, Arnold. (1962). *Discord and Collaboration; essays on international politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Aron, Raymond. (1966). *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Book for Review:

Hans J. Morgenthau (1948). *Politics Among Nations; the struggle for power and peace*, (1st ed.,) New York: A.A. Knopf; or

Kenneth N. Waltz (1959). *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Week 4 – towards pluralism I: international organization and regionalism/(neo-)functionalism

Rochester, J. Martin. (1986). "The rise and fall of international organization as a field of study." *International Organization*, Vol. 44 (4): pp.777-813.

Burton, John W. (1972). *World Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Part I (circulated as PDF)

Haas, Ernst B. (1961). "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process." *International Organization*, Vol.15 (3): pp.366-392.

Schmitter, Philippe (2005). "Ernst B. Haas and the Legacy of Neo-functionalism." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.12 (2): pp.379-415

Recommended:

R. Gibb, (2009). "Regional Integration and Africa's Development Trajectory: Meta-theories, expectations, and realities." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 30 (4): pp. 701-721.

Book for Review:

Claude, Inis. (1971). *Swords into Plowshares: the problems and progress of international organization*. New York; Toronto: Random House.

Week 5 – THANKSGIVING

Week 6 – towards pluralism II: Dependency and Regime Theory

Frank, Andre Gunder. (1966). "The Development of Underdevelopment." *Monthly Review*, Vol. 9: pp.17-31.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1974). "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16: pp.387-415.

Krasner, Stephen. (1982). "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables." *International Organization*, Vol. 36 (2): 185-205.

Ruggie, John. (1982). "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: embedded liberalism in the post-war economic order." *International Organization*, Vol. 36 (2): 379-415.

Recommended:

Galtung, Johan. (1971). "A Structural Theory of Imperialism." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 2: pp.81-117.

Skocpol, Theda, (1977). "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 82: pp.1075-1090.

Strange, Susan. (1982). "Cave! Hic dragones: a critique of regime analysis." *International Organization*, Vol. 36 (2): 479-496.

Book for Review:

Keohane, Robert and Joseph Nye, (1977). *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little Brown.

Week 7 – narrowing the field in the 1980s: neo-realism vs. neo-liberalism

Robert Jervis, (1999). "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate" *International Security*, Vol. 24: pp.42-63.

Wohlforth, William, (1994/95). "Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol.19 (3): pp.91-129.

Gilpin, Robert, (1988). "The Theory of Hegemonic War." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol.18 (4): pp.591-613.

Milner, Helen, (1991). "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 17(1): pp.67-85.

Recommended:

Kindleberger, Charles P. (1981). "Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy: Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 25 (2): pp.242-254.

Ruggie, John Gerard, (1983). "Continuity and transformation in the world polity: Toward a neorealist synthesis." *World Politics*, Vol.35 (2): pp.261-285.

Wohlforth, William C., (2011). "Gilpinian realism and international relations." *International Relations*, Vol. 25 (4): pp.499-511.

Moravcsik, Andrew, (1997). "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics" *International Organization*, Vol. 51: pp.513-554.

Keohane, Robert (ed.), (1986). *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Book for review:

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. New York: Random House.

Week 8 – reactions and alternatives from the mainstream: Constructivism and the English School

Wendt, Alexander, (1992). "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46: pp.391-425.

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink, (1998). "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, Vol.52: pp.887-917.

Buzan, Barry, (2001). "The English School: An Underexploited Resource in IR," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 27(3): pp.471-488.

Little, Richard, (2003). "The English School vs. American Realism: A Meeting of Minds or Divided by a Common Language?" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 29 (3): pp.443-460.

Recommended:

Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore, (1999). "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization*, Vol. 53 (4): pp.699-732.

Copeland, Dale, (2003). "A Realist Critique of the English School," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 29 (3): pp.427-441.

Books for Review:

Bull, Hedley, (1977). *The Anarchical Society*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wendt, Alexander, (1990). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 9 – FALL READING WEEK

Week 10 – Critical responses I: neogramscian and post-structural approaches

Rengger, Nicholas, and Ben Thirkell-White, (2007). "Still Critical After All These Years? The past, present and future of Critical Theory in International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 33: pp.3–24

Cox, Robert W., (1982). "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 10: pp.126-155

Gills, Barry K. (1987). "Historical Materialism and International Relations Theory," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 16: pp.265-272. **(Note: Millennium is an open access journal and older articles can be accessed directly through Google)**

Ashley, Richard K. (1988). "Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 17: pp.227-262.

Recommended:

Gill, Stephen, and David Law, (1989). 'Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital'. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 33 (4): pp. 475-499.

Price, Richard, and Christian Reus-Smit, (1998). "Dangerous liaisons? Critical international theory and constructivism." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.4(3): pp.259-294.

Srdjan Vucetic, "Genealogy as a Research Tool in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 37 (2011): 1295-1312.

Books for Review:

Cox, R. (1989). *Power, Production, and World Order: Social forces in the Making of History*. New York: Columbia University Press; or

Murphy, Craig. (1994). *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance Since 1850*. Oxford University Press.

Week 11 – Critical responses II: post-colonial and feminist IR

Christine Sylvester, (1994). "Empathetic Cooperation: A Feminist Method for IR," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 23 (2): pp.315-334.

Tickner, J. Ann, (1997). "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 41(4): pp.611-632.

Sjoberg, Laura, (2011). "Gender, the State, and War Redux: Feminist International Relations across the 'Levels of Analysis'," *International Relations*, Vol. 25(1): pp.108-134.

Seth, S., (2011). "Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations," *Millennium-Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 40 (1): pp. 167-183.

Acharya, A., and Buzan, B. (2007). "Why is There no Non-Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 7(3): pp. 287-312.

Recommended:

Edkins, J., and Vaughan-Williams, N., eds. (2009). *Critical Theorists and International Relations*. London: Routledge. (chapters 2 On Agamben; 5 on Baudrillard; 11 on Deleuze, 12 on Derrida; 14 on Foucault). Available at <http://14.139.206.50:8080/jspui/bitstream/1/1987/1/Edkins%26Vaughan-Williams%20-%20Critical%20Theorists%20and%20International%20Relations.pdf>

Darby, P. (2004). "Pursuing the Political: A Postcolonial Rethinking of Relations International," *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 33(1): pp.1-32.

Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True, "Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations," *International Studies Review* 10 (2008).

Books for Review:

Pettman, Jan Jindy. (1996). *Worlding Women: a feminist international politics*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Week 12a – Contemporary debates I: Neo-classical realism; norms, networks, and practices

Rose, Gideon, (1998). "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 51 (1): pp.144-172.

Rathbun, Brian, (2008). "A Rose by Any other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism," *Security Studies*, Vol. 17 (2): pp. 294-321.

Pouliot, Vincent (2008). "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities," *International Organization*, Vol. 62: pp.257-88

Kustermans, Jorg. (2016). "Parsing the Practice turn: Practice, Practical Knowledge, Practices," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 44 (2): pp. 175-196

Recommended:

Legro, Jeffrey W. and Andrew Moravcsik, (1999). "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security*, Vol. 24(2): pp.5–55.

Book for Review:

Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Week 12b – Cotemporary debates II: towards a decolonized sub-discipline? And 'post-paradigmatic' IR

Hobson, John. (2007). "Is critical theory always for the white West and for Western imperialism? Beyond Westphalia towards a post-racist IR." *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 33: pp. 91-116.

Blaney, David and Arlene Tickner, (2017). "Worlding, Ontological Politics and the Possibility of a Decolonial IR." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 45(3): pp. 293-311.

Lake, D (2013). "Theory is dead, long live theory: The end of the great debates and the rise of eclecticism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 19(3): pp. 567–587.

Cox, W., and K.R. Nossal. (2009). "The 'Crimson World': The Anglo core, the post-Imperial non-core, and the Hegemony of American IR," In A. Tickner and O. Waever (eds.), *International Relations Scholarship Around the World* (London: Routledge), pp. 287-306.
http://post.queensu.ca/~nossalk/papers/Cox-Nossal_2009_Crimson.pdf

Recommended:

Jackson, PT, Nexon, DA (2013). "International theory in a post-paradigmatic era: From substantive wagers to scientific ontologies." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 19(3): pp. 543–565.

Oren, Ido, (2016). "A Sociological Analysis of the Decline of American IR Theory." *International Studies Review*, Vol 18 (4): pp. 571–596

UNIVERSITY POLICIES, STATEMENTS, GUIDELINES and RESOURCES for SUPPORT

This course is governed by the academic rules and regulations set forth in the University Calendar and the Senate.

University Statements

Academic Integrity

At Dalhousie University, we are guided in all of our work by the values of academic integrity: honesty, trust, fairness, responsibility and respect (The Center for Academic Integrity, Duke University, 1999). As a student, you are required to demonstrate these values in all of the work you do. The University provides policies and procedures that every member of the university community is required to follow to ensure academic integrity. [Click here to read more.](#)

Accessibility

The Advising and Access Services Centre is Dalhousie's centre of expertise for student accessibility and accommodation. The advising team works with students who request accommodation as a result of: a disability, religious obligation, or any barrier related to any other characteristic protected under Human Rights legislation (NS, NB, PEI, NFLD). [Click here to read more.](#)

Student Code of Conduct

Everyone at Dalhousie is expected to treat others with dignity and respect. The Code of Student Conduct allows Dalhousie to take disciplinary action if students don't follow this community expectation. When appropriate, violations of the code can be resolved in a reasonable and informal manner—perhaps through a restorative justice process. If an informal resolution can't be reached, or would be inappropriate, procedures exist for formal dispute resolution. [Click here to read more.](#)

Diversity and Inclusion – Culture of Respect

Every person at Dalhousie has a right to be respected and safe. We believe inclusiveness is fundamental to education. We stand for equality. Dalhousie is strengthened in our diversity. We are a respectful and inclusive community. We are committed to being a place where everyone feels welcome and supported, which is why our Strategic Direction prioritizes fostering a culture of diversity and inclusiveness (Strategic Priority 5.2). [Click here to read more.](#)

Recognition of Mi'kmaq Territory

Dalhousie University would like to acknowledge that the University is on Traditional Mi'kmaq Territory. The Elders in Residence program provides students with access to First Nations elders for guidance, counsel and support. Visit the office in the McCain Building (room 3037) or contact the programs at elders@dal.ca or 902-494-6803 (leave a message).

University Policies and Programs

Important Dates in the Academic Year (including add/drop dates)

http://www.dal.ca/academics/important_dates.html

University Grading Practices: Statement of Principles and Procedures

https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/academic/grading-practices-policy.html

Scent-Free Program

<https://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/occupational-safety/scent-free.html>

Learning and Support Resources

General Academic Support - Academic Advising:

https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/advising.html

Copyright and Fair Dealing: <https://libraries.dal.ca/services/copyright-office/fair-dealing/fair-dealing-guidelines.html>

Libraries: <http://libraries.dal.ca>

Student Health and Wellness (includes Counselling and Psychological Services):

https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/health-and-wellness/services-support/student-health-and-wellness.html

Black Student Advising: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/communities/black-student-advising.html

Indigenous Student Centre: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/communities/indigenous.html

ELearning Website: <https://www.dal.ca/dept/elearning.html>

Student Advocacy Services: <http://dsu.ca/dsas>

Dalhousie Ombudsperson: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/safety-respect/student-rights-and-responsibilities/where-to-get-help/ombudsperson.html

Writing Centre: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/writing-and-study-skills.html

Studying for Success program and tutoring: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/study-skills-and-tutoring.html

Dalhousie grade scale and definitions

https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/grades-and-student-records/grade-scale-and-definitions.html

Please note: the minimum passing grade for graduate students in the department is B-.