DALHOUSIE
UNIVERSITY
Inspiring Minds

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY
Political Science 5523 – 2015

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PLEASE NOTE: The 2nd half of the course will be taught by Professor Brian Bow - a separate syllabus will be distributed in January.

Course Description

This course is designed to acquaint students with the prominent theoretical frameworks, perspectives in the subfield of international relations and comparative foreign policy. The field encompasses a series of contending explanations of dominant trends and patterns in state and non-state behaviour. The course approaches these subjects from different perspectives and levels of analysis (structural theory vs. mid-range theories) and features several seminal works and literature reviews. Students are expected to understand, analyze and critique these arguments by exploring their logical, theoretical and empirical strengths and weaknesses.

Students will become familiar with the most enduring literature of the discipline, and should try to answer for themselves why those works have endured. The theory of Realism, for example, has been a longstanding preoccupation of IR scholarship, and it has been said that much of IR theory has been a dialogue between proponents of Realism and their critics and supporters.

The bibliography in international relations is immense, and no attempt will be made here to list bibliographic references beyond those brief citations provided in the course outline. Students should become aware of the periodical literature in the field and should be familiar with the following journals -- *World Politics*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution, Security Studies, International Security*, *International Journal*, *Foreign Policy, Foreign Affair* and *Review of International Studies*. Other highly subscribed general-interest journals in political science will occasionally have excellent articles on IR theory, including the *American Political Science Review*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science* and *Millennium*.

The course will be run as a seminar with regularly assigned readings and discussion. Students will be expected to present summaries of assigned readings (the number depends on class size), and there will be approximately four reports per class. Students are required to complete two papers. The final grade for the course will be compiled as follows:

| Two Essays (topics TBA) | 30% each (60%) |
| Class Participation (including oral/written reports) | 40% |

Class attendance and participation are COMPULSORY.

Students are expected to complete **all** assigned readings prior to each class. Everyone should come prepared to evaluate the central contributions of these readings through consistent and active participation in class discussions. Each student will be required to deliver several oral presentations of selected readings during the semester (approximately 15 minutes each) and co-lead discussion during these classes. Specific guidelines for these presentations will be reviewed during the first class.

General policies concerning assignments, deadlines, and grades

The University Calendar makes plain that "students are expected to complete class work by the prescribed deadlines. Only in special circumstances may an instructor extend such deadlines." Late essays will be assessed a penalty at the instructor's discretion.

Plagiarism (intentionally or unintentionally representing other people's ideas as your own) is a serious violation of academic ethics, and will be taken seriously in this class. For info on what plagiarism is, how to avoid it, and the penalties for not doing so, check out: http://academicintegrity.dal.ca/index.php

Course Outline and Required Readings

> **PLEASE NOTE -- in order to eliminate the high cost of course material, the 2015 International Relations Theory syllabus has been revised to include only material that is accessible online. All readings and journal articles can be found using the links listed in the syllabus or by accessing the relevant *e-Journal* through Dalhousie's Electronic Journals web page. If there is no direct link provided in the syllabus (or if the link leads to a subscription page or pay wall), simply track the journal Title (edition/volume, author, article title and page numbers) here:**
>
> **http://sfxhosted.exlibrisgroup.com/dal/az?param_pattern_value=**

September 14

Introduction and Overview

Review syllabus and assign readings for oral presentations and two page summaries/reports

Recommended
Stanley Hoffmann (1977) "An American Social Science: International Relations"
Daedalus, Vol. 106, No. 3 (Summer), pp. 41-60

Classical Realism:
Anarchy, Power and Security in International Relations

1. Edward H. Carr (1939) The Twenty Years' Crisis. 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations, London: Macmillan -- Chapters 1-3 and 5-6
    Link to Book
    https://www.scribd.com/doc/167060273/E-H-Carr-the-Twenty-Years-Crisis-1919-1939-an-Introduction-to-the-Study-of-International-Relations-1946

    Strongly Recommended
    Thucydides -- "The Melian Dialogue"

    Niccolo Machiavelli "The Prince" - read Chapters 5, 15, 17, 18 and 21 (these are brief chapters) - http://www.constitution.org/mac/prince00.htm

    Thomas Hobbes "Leviathan" - read Chapter 13 - http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hobbes/thomas/h68l/chapter13.html

    Immanuel Kant Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch
    https://slought.org/media/files/perpetual_peace.pdf

    Norman Angell (1972 [1909]) The Great Illusion. Ayer co Pub.

    John Mearsheimer (2005) "E.H. Carr vs. Idealism: The Battle Rages On." International Relations, Vol. 19 (2): pp. 139–152 - http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0035.pdf

    Paul Rogers, Richard Little, Christopher Hill, Chris Brown and Ken Booth (2005) "Roundtable: The Battle Rages On". International Relations, Vol. 19 (3): pp. 337-360 - http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0036.pdf

2. Hans J. Morgenthau (1966) Politics Among Nations 4th Ed., New York: Knopf -- Chapters 1-4 (pp. 3-55).
    Link to Book:
    http://www.scribd.com/doc/78345920/Politics-Among-Nations

Structural Realism (offensive vs. defensive)

3. Kenneth Waltz (1979) Theory of International Politics. Mass.: Addison-Wesley -- chapters 4, 5 and 6
    Link to Book:
    http://www.scribd.com/doc/40007016/Kenneth-Waltz-Theory-of-International-Politics

    See Also

"Conversations with History: Kenneth Waltz"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9eV5gPlPZg

4.   John J. Mearsheimer (2001) "Structural Realism"
      http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/StructuralRealism.pdf

   See Also
   "Conversations with History: John Mearsheimer" -
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AKFamUu6dGw

Recommended
   Robert Jervis (1999) "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the
   Debate." International Security 24 (1): 42-63.

September 28

Neo-Classical Realism

5.   Gideon Rose (1998) "Review Article: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign
      Policy." World Politics 51.1 (1998) 144-172.

Recommended
   Randall Schweller (2004) "Unanswered threats: a neoclassical realist theory of under-
   balancing." International Security 29, 2: 159-201.

Constructivism

6.   Ted Hopf (1998) "The Promise of Constructivism in International relations theory,"
      International Security, Vol. 23, Issue 1 (Summer 1998): 171-200.

7.   Dale Copeland (2000) "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review
      Essay." International Security, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 187–212

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

   Michael C. Williams. "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International
   Politics," International Studies Quarterly 47 (2003): 511-531

   Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (2001) "Taking Stock: The Constructivist
   Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," Annual Review
   of Political Science 4, pp. 391-416.

John Gerard Ruggie (1998) "What makes the World Hang Together? Neoutilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," International Organization, Autumn.

Emanuel Adler (1997) "Seizing the middle ground: constructivism in world politics". European Journal of International Relations 3 (3): 319-363.

James Fearon and Alexander Wendt (2002) "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), Handbook of International Relations. London: Sage Publications, pp. 52-72. http://www.rochelleterman.com/ir/sites/default/files/Fearon%2Band%2BWendt%252C%2BChapter%2B3.pdf

English School

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

Recommended for English School
Hedley Bull (1977) The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. London: Macmillan

Stanley Hoffman (1986) "Hedley Bull and His Contribution to International Relations" International Affairs, Vol. 62, No. 2(Spring, 1986), pp. 179-195

Richard D. Little (2003) "The English School vs. American Realism: a meeting of minds or divided by a common language?" Review of International Studies 29 (3): 443-460.

Dale Copeland. 2003. "A Realist Critique of the English School," Review of International Studies 29: 427-441.

Ian Hall (2012) "Taming the Anarchical Society" http://www.e-ir.info/2012/07/05/taming-the-the-anarchical-society/

Robert W. Murray System, Society & the World: Exploring the English School of International Relations - http://www.e-ir.info/wp-content/uploads/Exploring-the-English-School-e-International-Relations.pdf

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

Michael Nicholson "Realism and utopianism revisited" Review of International Studies http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/38025/1/S0260210598000655a.pdf

October 5 and 19

Liberalism / Institutionalism
Cooperation, Stability and the Power of Institutions in IR

9. Helen Milner (1996) "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." Review of International Studies - Vol. 17, No. 1, Jan., 1991(pp. 67-85)

10. Kenneth Oye (1985) "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies" World Politics, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Oct., 1985), pp. 1-24

11. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye "Power and Interdependence Revisited. International Organization, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Autumn, 1987), pp. 725-753 - http://www.ri.ie.ufrj.br/intranet/arquivos/power_and_interdependece.pdf

All Robert Keohane (2001) "The Globalization of Informal Violence, Theories of World Politics, and 'The Liberalism of Fear' -- http://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/keohane2.htm

All Joseph Nye (2002) "The New Rome Meets the New Barbarians: How America Should Wield Its Power." The Economist (23 March 2002) -- http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1172/new_rome_meets_the_new_barbarians.html

See Also
Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (1998) "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age." Foreign Affairs. September/October. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/54395/robert-o-keohane-and-joseph-s-nye-jr/power-and-interdependence-in-the-information-age

Recommended
John Vasquez (1979) "Colouring it Morgenthau: New Evidence for an Old Thesis on Quantitative International Politics". British Journal of International Studies 5, 210-228.

John A. Vasquez (1997) The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition. American Political Science Review Vol. 91, No. 4 (Dec., 1997), pp. 899-912

Kenneth Waltz (1997) "Evaluating Theories". The American Political Science Review, Vol. 91, No. 4 (Dec., 1997), pp. 913-917

Stephen M. Walt, "The Progressive Power of Realism," American Political Science Review, Vol. 91, No. 4 (Dec., 1997), pp. 931-935.

Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik "Is Anybody Still a Realist" <u>International Security</u>, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999), pp. 5–55

Richard Ned Lebow (1994) "The long peace, the end of the cold war, and the failure of realism," <u>International Organization</u>. 48, 2, Spring, pp. 249-277.

Michael W. Doyle (1986) "Liberalism and World Politics." <u>American Political Science Review</u> Vol. 80 pp. 1151-

Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik (1999) "Is Anybody Still a Realist." <u>International Security</u>, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999), pp. 5–55.

Peter D. Feaver, Gunther Hellman, Randall L. Schweller, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, William C. Wohlforth, Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik (2000) "Brother, Can You Spare a Paradigm? (Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?)." <u>International Security</u>, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2000), pp. 165–193.

12. John G. Ikenberry (1998) "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of Great Power Order." <u>International Security</u> (Winter 1998/99). Vol 23 (3), pp. 43-78.

13. Schweller, Randall L (2001) "The Problem of International Order Revisited: A Review Essay," <u>International Security</u>, 26 (1): 161-186.

14. John Mearsheimer (1994/95) "The False Promise of Institutions" <u>International Security</u> 19(3): pp. 5-49. ***AND*** "A Realist Reply". <u>International Security</u> 20(1), pp. 82-93.

15. Robert Keohane and Lisa L. Martin (1995) "The Promise of Institutional Theory", <u>International Security</u> 20 (1), pp. 39-51.

October 26

Institutional Failures - Case Study: Rwanda 1994

16. United Nations (1999) Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of The United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda
    -- http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/rwanda.htm
    -- Please read Conclusions.

17. Samantha Power (2001) "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen". Atlantic Monthly. September 2001, pp. 84-108
    -- http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/09/bystanders-to-genocide/304571/

Institutional Success (?) - Case Study: IAEA and JCPOA 2015

18. Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (Iran Nuclear Deal)
http://www.slideshare.net/whitehouse/the-joint-comprehensive-plan-of-action-jcpoa-with-iran

19. Robert Einhorn (2015) "Debating the Iran Nuclear Deal"
http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports2/2015/08/iran-nuclear-deal-battleground-issues-einhorn#.Vct1liiBaqw.twitter

November 2

IR Paradigms vs. Mid-Range Theories

20. Tim Dunne, Lene Hensen and Colin Wright (2013) "The end of International Relations theory?" European Journal of International Relations September 2013 vol. 19 no. 3 405-425

21. David A. Lake, "Why 'isms' Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress," International Studies Quarterly 55:2 (June 2011), 465-480

Recommended

Stephen Walt (1999) "Rigor or Rigor Mortis: Rational Choice and Security Studies". International Security, vol. 23, no. 4 (Spring) pp. 5-48.

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt (2013) "Leaving theory behind: why simplistic hypothesis testing is bad for International Relations." European Journal of International Relations September 2013 vol. 19 no. 3 427-457

Friedrich Kratochwil (2007), "Of False Promises and Good Bets: A Plea for a Pragmatic Approach to Theory Building. Journal of International Relations and Development. 10, 1 2007 1-15

Agency, Leadership and War

22. Daniel Byman and Kenneth Pollack (2001) "Let us now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back in." International Security -- Spring, Vol. 25 Issue 4 p. 107-146

23. Robert Jervis (1988) "War and Misperception", Journal of Interdisciplinary History. Vol. 18, No. 4, The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars (Spring, 1988), pp. 675-700

24. Jack Levy (1992) "An Introduction to Prospect Theory", Political Psychology, Vol. 13 (June).

Recommended
  James Fearon (1995) "Rationalist Explanations of War." <u>International Organizations</u>.
  49:3 pp. 379-414
  Dan Lindley and Ryan Schildkraut (2004) "Is War Rational? The Extent of
  Miscalculation and Misperception as Causes of War" --
  http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/IWR/IWR%20Article.doc

  Rose McDermott (1992) "Prospect Theory in International Relations: The Iranian
  Hostage Rescue Mission", <u>Political Psychology</u>. Vol. 13 (June).

  Jonathan Mercer (2005) Prospect Theory and Political Science. Annual Review Political
  Science. 2005. 8: pp. 1-21

November 9 and 16

Leadership, Groups, Institutions and/or Intelligence Failures
Case Study: 2003 Iraq War

25. Brian C. Schmidt and Michael C. Williams (2008) "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War:
     Neoconservatives versus Realists." (June) <u>Security Studies</u>, 17:2, 191-220.

26. Kaufmann, Chaim (2004) "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas:
     The Selling of the Iraq War." <u>International Security</u> - Volume 29, Number 1, Summer
     2004, pp. 5-48

27. Dina Badie (2010) "Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift
     toward Iraq. <u>Foreign Policy Analysis</u> (2010) 6, 277–296

All Frank P. Harvey (2012) President Al Gore and the 2003 Iraq War: A Counterfactual
     Critique of Conventional "W"isdom. <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>. Volume 45 /
     Issue 01 / March, pp. 1-32

28. Richard K. Betts (1987) "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are
     Inevitable," <u>World Politics</u> 31 (October): pp. 61-89.

All. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441
        -- 1441 -- http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2002/sc2002.htm

All. UNMOVIC Reports to UN by Chief Weapons Inspector Hans Blix
        -- March 7 -- http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/SC7asdelivered.htm
        -- March 19 -- http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/recent%20items.html

All. Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of
     Mass Destruction -- http://www.wmd.gov/report/

-- Read Overview; Chapter 1; Case Study Iraq, pp. 45-51 (only); and Conclusion, pp. 192-196

29. Robert Jervis (2006) "Reports, politics, and intelligence failures: The case of Iraq." <u>Journal of Strategic Studies</u>, Volume 29, Issue 1.

November 23

<u>Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy: Media and Interest Groups</u>

30. Piers Robinson (1999) "The CNN effect: can the news media drive foreign policy." <u>Review of International Studies</u>, 25, pp. 301-309.

31. Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay and Evan Lewis (2003-2004) "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War." Political Science Quarterly Volume 118 Number 4, pp. 569-598

All Deborah Howell (2006) "The Post and the Whole Picture in Iraq." Washington Post. Sunday, March 26, 2006 -- http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/24/AR2006032401327.html

All http://www.fair.org/index.php?page=3062

32. John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt (2006) "The Israeli Lobby: Does it have too much influence on U.S. foreign policy?" <u>London Review of Books</u>, Vol. 28 No. 6 dated 23 March 2006 -- http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01_.html

   -- reply to critics -- http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01_.html
   -- reply to critics -- http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n09/letters.html#letter1
   -- reply to critics -- http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n10/letters.html#letter3

33. Critique of Mearsheimer and Walt - summarize strongest critiques of Mearsheimer and Walt article -- see London Review of Books letters page and scroll to the end of Mearsheimer and Walt article.

   See Also
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJoq5y5ofnE
   http://www.counterpunch.org/2008/02/11/the-power-of-the-israel-lobby/

November 30

<u>Deterrence, Credibility and Reputations in International Politics</u>

Case Study: Chemical Weapons use in Syria 2012-2013

34. Daryl Press and Jennifer Lind (2013) "Red Lines and Red Herrings." *Foreign Policy*, 6 May - http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/05/06/red_lines_and_red_herrings;

35. Jonathan Mercer (2013) "Bad Reputation: The folly of going to war for 'credibility'." *Foreign Affairs*, 28 August - http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136577/jonathan-mercer/bad-reputation.

All Fareed Zakaria (2013) "US Credibility is not on the line in Syria." *Washington Post*, May 8 - http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-05-08/opinions/39115046_1_u-s-marine-syria-cold-war;

All Daniel Drezner (2013) "Swing and a miss: The sabermetric spat about whether it's important for a president to appear 'credible.'" *Foreign Policy*, 16 September - http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/09/16/swing_and_a_miss_credibility_syria?page=full;

All Frank Harvey "Rigor Mortis or Rigor, More Tests: Necessity, Sufficiency and Deterrence Logic," *International Studies Quarterly* (December 1998), vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 675-707

Recommended

Daniel Larison (2013) "The Desperation of the Syria Hawks' 'Credibility' Argument." *The American Conservative*, 6 May - http://www.theamericanconservative.com/larison/the-desperation-of-the-syria-hawks-credibility-argument/;

Ezra Klein (2013) "Why Obama Shouldn't Care About Backing Down in Syria." *Washington Post*, September 12 - http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/09/12/why-obama-shouldnt-care-about-backing-down-on-syria/;

Benjamin Friedman (26 August 2013) "Credibility over 'Red Lines' No Reason for War," *Cato Institute* http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/credibility-over-red-lines-no-reason-war [accessed 22 Sept 2014]

James Fallows (2013) Syria: Some Arguments for Intervention and a Response." *The Atlantic*, August - http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/08/syria-some-arguments-for-intervention-and-a-response/279241/

36. Richard Price (2013) "No Strike, No Problem: The Right Way to Nurture a Norm." Foreign Affairs (September 5 2013) - https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2013-09-05/no-strike-no-problem

December 7

So What?
Theory-Policy Gap(s) in International Relations

37. Joseph Lepgold (1998) "Is anyone listening? International relations theory and the problem of policy relevance." Political Science Quarterly, Spring, Vol. 113 Issue 1, p.43-63.

38. Stephen M. Walt (2005) "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations." Annual Review of Political Science. 2005. 8: pp. 23–48.

All Stephen Walt (2012) "What of Realists were in Charge od US Foreign Policyt" Foreign Policy. April 30 - http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/30/what-if-realists-were-in-charge-of-u-s-foreign-policy/

All Responses to Walt (2012) "'Realists' in Foreign Policy" National Interest http://www.the-american-interest.com/2012/05/02/realists-in-foreign-policy/

39. Bruce Jentleson (2002) "The Need for Praxis: Bringing Policy Relevance Back." International Security, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring, 2002), pp. 169-183 http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092106

All Bruce W. Jentleson and Ely Ratner (2011) "Bridging the Beltway–Ivory Tower Gap." International Studies Review 13, 6–11.

All Stephen Walt (2012) "What if realists were in charge of U.S. Foreign Policy" Foreign Policy (April 30). http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/04/30/what_if_realists_ran_us_foreign_policy_a_top_ten_list

All Joseph S. Nye Jr. (2009) "Scholars on the Sidelines." Washington Post. Monday, April 13, 2009 - http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/12/AR2009041202260.html.

See also
Joseph Nye (2008) "Conversation with History: Theory and Practice." http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/conversations/Nye/