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## POSC 4230 Theories of International Relations

Fall 2008

Time Slot 32  
Wednesday 7:00pm to 9:30pm

Room: Science Bldg. 2018

### Instructor:

**Dr. Russell Alan Williams** (Assistant Professor, Political Science)  
**Office:** SN2047      **Office hours:** Monday and Wednesday 3:00pm - 5:00pm  
**Phone:** 737-4402

### Description and Learning Objectives:

This course provides a critical examination of international relations as a field of study through a survey of its main theoretical approaches. While the course will break the discipline into three broad theoretical traditions (realism, liberalism and critical approaches), weekly units will focus on specific theoretical approaches within each of those traditions. Students will be expected to read and discuss influential journal articles and chapters from classic texts in the field.

- Students should gain a clear understanding of the evolution of the discipline.
- Students should become familiar with the discipline's ongoing epistemological and ontological debates.
- Students should develop particular expertise in a theoretical approach of their choosing.

### Course Organization:

There will be a two and a half hour seminar each week.

### Required Texts:

- Dunne, Kurki and Smith, *International Relations Theories*, (Oxford 2007)
- Assigned reserve readings and e-journal articles and PDF's provided by Dr. Williams

### Grade Distribution:

Major Analytical Essay:	40%	Due: <i>November 19, 2008.</i>
Essay Outline/Proposal	required	Due: <i>October 22, 2008.</i>
Class Presentation	10%	
Class Participation:	20%	
Final Exam	30%	

## ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING:

### **MAJOR ANALYTICAL ESSAY (40%) Due: November 19, 2008.**

Students are to write an analytical paper of 4,500 words, typed, double-spaced exploring theoretical issues covered in the course. All papers must contain footnote references to *at least three sources* included in the course syllabus – this is to reduce the possibility of some forms of plagiarism – such as the purchase of online student essays.

All students must submit a one page synopsis of their proposed topic for approval by the instructor by **October 22, 2008**. This should include a clear statement of the topic, the student's proposed thesis and an initial bibliography.

- *Note: Five percent (5%) will be deducted per day for late papers.*

### **PARTICIPATION (20%):**

You are required to attend class on a weekly basis. Each week, *required readings* have been assigned specifically for the seminar. *Required readings* are intended to prompt class discussion of themes raised by that week's course unit. It is expected that you will have read this material and come to class prepared to discuss it and the broader issues it raises. Your participation grade will be based on the degree to which you consistently (over the whole term) demonstrate that you have come to class prepared. Simply attending class will not result in a good grade; rather, you must attend and discuss that week's topics.

Please keep in mind that "discussing" the readings does not require that you be an expert on the topic. Often, the best class discussions are prompted by students asking questions about what they don't understand about the topic or *required readings*.

### **CLASS PRESENTATION (10%):**

Students are required to do one seminar presentation on a *required reading*. You will be given the opportunity to choose one on a "first come, first served" basis in the second week of class.

- *Note: These presentations should take 10 to 20 minutes.*

A good presentation will promote and guide class discussion on the issues raised by the article or chapters you have chosen. To prepare for presentations, you should have a clear understanding of *all* of that week's readings. You should also examine the relevant background readings for that unit. Furthermore, you may wish to draw on additional materials from outside of the *required reading* materials. Students are encouraged to examine their material well in advance.

Please remember that a presentation is similar to an essay. It should have an introduction, an overview of the article, and should develop a clear set of analytical concerns. *Simply describing the article is not sufficient and will not result in a good grade.*

Analyzing a reading can take a number of forms depending on the material itself, or your reaction to that material. Some of the required readings will be more provocative and thought-provoking than others.

Some are simply book chapters – which will require you to be more creative. You should try to do one of the following:

- ***Engage with the reading itself.*** You might discuss the shortcomings of its argument or analysis. You may look for the “internal” problems or faults of the article – what is wrong with it.
- ***Discuss the broader implications of the reading.*** You might discuss how the article relates, supports or contradicts other course materials. You might simply speculate on the political issues raised by the article.

Regardless, please keep in mind that the point of our presentation is to enlighten the rest of us regarding the topic we are discussing that week. One useful strategy for accomplishing this is to end your presentation with several questions for class discussion.

### **FINAL EXAM (30%):**

There will be a final exam for this course which will require knowledge of the course material as whole. Students are encouraged to remember this throughout the semester. Skimping on weakly readings may help reduce work loads in the short term, but over the long term it may leave you unprepared for the final exam.

## COURSE OUTLINE:

- **Background Readings** are assigned for students unfamiliar with major theoretical debates. Students are encouraged to look at these prior to preparing for presentations and class discussion.
- **Required Readings** are available from the instructor. They are also often available in the stacks, or in the case of journal articles can be easily downloaded from the library's electronic journals. *Required Readings* will be discussed in class.

*Note: Required readings are available for student class presentations.*

- **Classic Readings** are key books and articles in the discipline. Students may wish to examine these books in relation to their major analytical essay.
- **Additional Readings** are for your reference and also may be of use in your major papers.

**Week 1: ORGANIZATION (September 10)**

**Week 2: INTRODUCTION – “New bottles, same old wine” (September 17)**

**Background Reading:**

- Dunne, Kurki and Smith, *Introduction, Chapters 1 and Chapter 2*.

**Required Readings:**

- Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939*, (Palgrave 2001), **Chaps. 1 and 2** (pp. 1-21), **Chaps. 4, 5 and 6** (pp. 42-88). (Available from the instructor or in various editions in the library stacks)
- United Nations, *The UN Charter* (Available from the instructor, or from: <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>)
- Keir Lieber and Robert Lieber, “The Bush National Security Strategy” Commentary, *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda – An Electronic Journal of the US Department of State*, Vol. 7, No. 4, December 2002, pp. 32-35, and, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, (White House, 2002). (Available on reserve or via the internet at <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/1202/ijpe/pj7-4lieber.htm> and <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>, respectively)

**Additional Reading:**

- Peter Dombrowski and Rodger A. Payne, “Global Debate and the Limits of the Bush Doctrine,” *International Securities Perspectives*, (2003), 4, pp. 395-408.
- Robert Litwak, “The New Calculus of Pre-emption,” *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 4, Winter 2002-3, pp. 53-80.

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## UNIT I – “Realism, anarchy, and interstate rationalism – the problem of cooperation”

### *Classical Readings:*

- Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society, (MacMillan, 1977).
- Hans Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, (Various Editions)
- Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State, and War, (Columbia University Press, 1954).
- T. Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict, (Harvard University Press, 1980).
- John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (W. W. Norton, 2003).

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### Week 3: The Origins of Realism(?) (September 24)

#### *Background Reading:*

- Richard Ned Lebow, “Classical Realism” in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, *Chapter 3*.

#### *Required Reading:*

- Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, Steven Lattimore trans., (Hackett Publishing, 1998), *Book I* (pp. 1-71) and the “*Melian Dialogue*” of *Book V* (pp. 294-301). (Available from the instructor or in various editions in the library stacks)
- Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince, Q. Skinner ed., (Cambridge University Press, 1988), *Chapters XII-XXVI* (pp. 42-91). (Available from the instructor or in various editions in the library stacks)

#### *Additional Reading:*

- Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen, “Realism,” in, Introduction to International Relations – Theories and Approaches, (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 67-104.

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### Week 4: Contemporary Structural (or “Neo”) Realism (October 1)

#### *Background Reading:*

- John J. Mearsheimer, “Structural Realism” in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, *Chapter 4*.

#### *Required Readings:*

- Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics, (Addison Wesley Pb, 1979) *Chaps. 5 and 6* (pp. 78-128). (Available from the instructor or in the library)
- John Gerard Ruggie, “Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity, Toward a Neorealist Synthesis,” in Robert Keohane, ed., Neorealism and its Critics, (Columbia University Press, 1986), *Chapter Six*, pp 131-157. (Available from the instructor or in the library)
- Robert Keohane, “Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond,” in Robert Keohane, ed., Neorealism and its Critics, (Columbia University Press, 1986), *Chapter Seven*, pp 158-203. (Available from the instructor or in the library)

#### *Additional Reading:*

- R. Schweller, “Neo-realism’s Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?” Security Studies, 5, 1996.

- John J. Mearsheimer, “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War,” International Security, 15-1 (Summer 1990), pp. 5-56.
- Christopher Layne, “Unipolar Illusion: Why Great Powers Will Rise,” International Security, 17-4 (Spring 1993), pp. 5-51.
- Christopher Layne and Benjamin Schwarz, “American Hegemony without an Enemy,” Foreign Policy, vol. 92, Fall 1993, pp. 5-23.

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**Week 5: Game Theory, Rational Choice and Cooperation under Anarchy (October 8)**

***Required Readings:***

- ***Cooperation Under Anarchy:*** Kenneth Oye, “Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy,” World Politics, Vol. 38, No. 1, (October 1985). (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- ***Defensive Realism:*** Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” World Politics, January No. 2, 1978, pp. 167-214. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- ***Rational Choice Insights?*** Stephen Walt, “Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies,” International Security, Vol. 23, No. 4, (Spring 1999). (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)

***Additional Reading:***

- Mancur Olsen, Logic of Collective Action, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).
- Andrew Kydd, “Trust, Reassurance and Cooperation,” International Organization, Vol. 54, No. 2, (Summer 2000).

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**Week 6: Neo-“Liberal” Institutionalism and Neorealism – a Discursive “Meeting of the Minds”? (October 15)**

***Background Reading:***

- Lisa Martin, “Neoliberalism” in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, ***Chapter 6***.

***Required Readings:***

- John J. Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions,” International Security, 19-3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 5-49. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, “The Promise of Institutional Theory,” International Security, 20-1 (Summer 1995), pp. 39-51. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” International Organization, 42 (August 1988), pp. 485-507. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)

***Additional Reading:***

- D. Baldwin ed., Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism: The Contemporary Debate, (Columbia University Press, 1993)
- Joseph Grieco, Cooperation among Nations – Europe, America and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade, (Cornell University Press, 1990), Chaps 1, 2 and 8.

- Marc A. Levy, Oran R. Young, and Michael Zürn, "The Study of International Regimes," European Journal of International Relations, 1-3 (1995), pp. 267-330.

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## UNIT II – “Liberalism - the Messy ‘Centre’ of International Relations”

### *Background Reading:*

- Dianna Panke and Thomas Risse, “Liberalism” in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, *Chapter 5*

### *Classical Readings:*

- Robert Keohane, After Hegemony, (Princeton University Press, 1986 or 2005) (ebrary or HIF 1411 K442 2005)
- Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Power and Interdependence, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, (Little Brown, 2001).
- J. Mueller, Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War, (Basic Books, 1990).
- Susan Strange, The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy, (Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Helen V. Milner, Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- Alexander Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics, (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

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### Week 7: Domestic Politics and International Relations – The view of the “Harvard School” (October 22)

#### *Required Readings:*

- Peter Gourevitch, “The Second Image Reversed,” International Organization, Vol. 32, No. 4, Autumn 1978. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- Andrew Moravcsik, “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,” International Organization, 51/4, (1997), pp. 513-553. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- Robert D. Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,” International Organization, 42 (1988), pp. 427-60. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)

#### *Additional Reading:*

- Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner, eds., Internationalization and Domestic Politics, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1996). Chapter 1, 2, 3 and 10.
- Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam, eds., Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
- Matthew Evangelista, “Domestic Structure and International Change,” in Michael W. Doyle and G. John Ikenberry, eds., New Thinking in International Relations, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 202-28.

- Beth A. Simmons, Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy During the Interwar Years, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

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**Week 8: Liberalism and the Problem of Cooperation and Peace (October 29)**

**Required Readings:**

- **Commercial liberalism:** Helen V. Milner, Resisting Protectionism: Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade, (Princeton University Press, 1988), *Chaps. 1 and 2*, pp. 3-44. (Available from the instructor or from the library)
- **“Republican liberalism”:** Michael Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” in American Political Science Review, (1986), Vol. 80, Issue 4, pp. 1151-1169. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- Christopher Layne, “Kant or Cant. The Myth of the Democratic Peace,” International Security, 19, 2, (Fall 1994), pp. 5-49. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)

**Additional Reading:**

- D. Deudney and G. Ikenbury, “The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order,” Review of International Studies, 25/2, pp. 179-196.
- Ronald Rogowski, Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).
- David Spiro, “The Insignificance of the Liberal Peace,” International Security, 19, 2, (Fall 1994), pp. 50-86.
- M. Brown, S. Lynn-Jones and S. Miller, Debating the Democratic Peace, (MIT Press, 1996).

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**Week 9: Liberalism and International Norms, Ideas, Ethics and Values – Ideational Governance - the Rise of *Constructivism* (November 5)**

**Background Reading:**

- K. M. Fierke, “Constructivism” in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, *Chapter 9*.

**Required Readings:**

- Jeffrey Checkel, “The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory,” World Politics, 50.2 (1998), pp. 324-348. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)
- Robert Jackson, Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World, (Cambridge University Press, 1990). *Chaps. Intro and 1*, (pp. 1-31). (Available from the instructor)
- Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” International Organization, 46-2 (Spring, 1992), pp. 391-425 (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)

**Additional Reading:**

- Thomas Risse-Kappen, Bringing Transnational Relations Back In, (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

- Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Democratic Peace - Warlike Democracies? A Social Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Argument,” in European Journal of International Relations, Pp. 489-515.
- Michael Barnett, “Social Constructivism,” in Baylis and Smith, The Globalization of World Politics, pp. 251-270.

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### UNIT III – “Rejecting the Realist-Liberal Discourse – Critical insights”

#### *Classical Readings:*

- R. B. J. Walker, Inside/Outside, (Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Jim George, Discourses of Global Politics. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994).
- Robert W. Cox, Approaches to World Order, (Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Immanuel Wallerstein, The Capitalist World Economy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- Stephen Gill, American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission, (Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Stephen Gill, ed., Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations, (Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Maria Miess, Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour, (London: Zed Books, 1986).
- Cynthia Enloe, Bananas, Beaches and Bases. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).

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#### Week 10: Poststructuralism and Postmodernism (November 12)

#### *Background Reading:*

- David Campbell, “Poststructuralism” in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, **Chapter 11**.

#### *Required Readings:*

- Richard Ashley, “The Poverty of Neo-Realism,” in Robert Keohane ed. Neorealism and Its Critics, (Columbia University Press, 1986), **Chapter Nine**, pp. 255-300. (Available from the instructor)
- R. B. J. Walker, Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory, (Cambridge University Press, 1993.), **Chap. 8**, “Sovereign Identities and the Politics of Forgetting,” pp. 159-183. (Available from the instructor)

#### *Additional Reading:*

- Samuel P. Huntington, “The Coming Clash of Civilizations, or the West Against the Rest,” in Kegley and Witkopf eds., The Global Agenda, (1995), pp. 179-182.
- John Gerard Ruggie, “What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge,” International Organization, 52-4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 855-85.

- Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," International Security, 23, 1, (Summer 1998), pp. 171-200.
- Yosef Lapid, "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era," International Studies Quarterly, 33, 1989, pp. 235-251.
- Darryl Jarvis ed., International Relations and the "Third Debate" – Postmodernism and its critics, (Praeger, 2002).

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**Week 11: The Legacy of Marxism and Critical Political Economy (November 19)**

***Background Reading:***

- Mark Rupert, "Marxism," in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, **Chapter 8**.

***Required Readings:***

- Stephen Gill and David Law, "Marxism and the World System," **Chapter Three**, in The Global Political Economy, (John Hopkins University Press, 1988), pp. 54-70. (Available from the instructor)
- Robert W. Cox, "Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order," Review of International Studies, 25 (1999), pp. 3-28. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)

***Additional Reading:***

- Jill Hills, "Dependency Theory and its Relevance Today," Review of International Studies, 20, (1994), pp. 169-86.
- Joseph L. Love, "The Origins of Dependency Analysis," Journal of Latin American Studies, 22 (February, 1990), pp. 143-68.
- Peter Evans, Dependent Development, (Princeton Univ. Press, 1979).
- Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America, (Univ. of California Press, 1979).
- Christopher Chase-Dunn and Peter Grimes, "World-Systems Analysis," Annual Review of Sociology, 21, (1995), pp. 387-417.
- Robert W. Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method," Millennium, 12-2, (1983), pp. 162-175.
- Michael Dunford, "Globalization and Theories of Regulation," in Ronen Palan, ed., Global Political Economy: Contemporary Theories, (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 143-167.

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**Week 12: Feminism and Gender Theory (November 26)**

***Background Reading:***

- J. Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, "Feminism", in Dunne, Kurki and Smith, **Chapter 10**.

***Required Readings:***

- Jill Steans, "The Private is Global: Feminist Politics and Global Political Economy," New Political Economy, 4-1 (1999), pp. 113-28. (Available from the instructor or through e-journals)

- Sylvester, Christine. Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era. (Cambridge University Press, 1994), **Chap. Five, "Feminist homesteadings of security and cooperation,"** (pp. 169-208). (Available from the instructor)
- Cynthia Enloe, "All the Men Are in the Militias, All the Women Are Victims - The Politics of Masculinity in Nationalist Wars," In Cynthia Enloe, The Curious Feminist, (University of California Press, 2004). Pp. 99-118. (Available from the instructor)

***Additional Reading:***

- Elisabeth Prügl, "Gender in International Organization and Global Governance: A Critical Review of the Literature," International Studies Notes, 21-1 (Winter 1996), pp. 15-24.
- Elisabeth Prügl and Brigit Locher, "Feminism and Constructivism: Worlds Apart or Sharing the Middle Ground," International Studies Quarterly, (2001), 45, pp. 111-129.
- Craig N. Murphy, "Seeing Women, Recognizing Gender, Recasting International Relations," International Organization, 50-3 (Summer, 1996), pp. 513-38.
- V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), Chaps. 1, 2, and 6.
- Fiona Robinson, "Feminist IR/IPE Theory: Fulfilling Its Radical Potential?," Review of International Political Economy, 4-4 (Winter 1997), pp. 773-81.
- Sandra Whitworth, Feminism and International Relations: Towards a Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Institutions, (Macmillan, 1994).
- Jan J. Pettman, Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics, (London: Routledge, 1996).
- J. Ann Tickner, "States and Markets: An Ecofeminist Perspective on International Political Economy," International Political Science Review, 14-1 (1993), pp. 59-69.
- Diane Elson, ed., Male Bias In The Development Process, (Manchester University Press, 1991).

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**Final Exam**

## Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism means offering the words or ideas of another person as one's own. The material copied or paraphrased may consist of a few phrases or sentences, or an entire passage or paper. Whatever its form and extent, plagiarism constitutes two kinds of failure: 1) Failure to perform the basic tasks expected in any paper -- original mental effort and expression; 2) Potentially, the moral failure of academic dishonesty. Plagiarism may be deliberate (as in the submission of a paper written in whole or part by another student, purchased from an essay bank, or cut and pasted from web sites) or the result of carelessness through failure to provide proper documentation.

All directly copied or quoted material must be enclosed in quotation marks and the source must be clearly identified in a footnote. The source of any paraphrased material or ideas must also be properly documented. Failure to do so is plagiarism.

The procedure for handling cases of suspected plagiarism at Memorial University is set out in the University Calendar. All cases of suspected plagiarism must be reported to the Department Head in accordance with Section 4.11 of the University Calendar General Regulations. Depending on the circumstances and the degree of plagiarism involved, the Department of Political Science normally handles first offenders in accordance with the Procedures for Informal Resolution (Section 4.11.5). The penalty in such cases is normally a grade of 0 for the work concerned. The Department maintains a list of students who have been found guilty of plagiarism, and in the case of a second offence or in particularly serious cases of plagiarism, the Procedures for Formal Resolution (Section 4.11.6) will be followed. The penalty in these cases may be probation, suspension or expulsion in addition to the grade of 0 for the work concerned.

If in any doubt about what plagiarism consists of, consult with your instructor or refer to any standard work on writing essays and research papers. The Faculty of Arts Writing Centre (SN2053) can also provide relevant information. The notes on proper documentation below may be of assistance.