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Fall 9-1-2012

### PSCI 530.01: Graduate Seminar in International Relations

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PSC 530  
Fall 2012  
W 2:10-4:30  
LA 344

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## Graduate Seminar in International Relations

### Course Description and Objectives

This course will introduce you to the major literatures in international relations and provide you with theoretical, methodological, and empirical tools to evaluate and advance arguments about the contemporary international system.

In the first part of the class, you will write and participate in seminar discussions about the structure, character, and future of the international system, as well as about the causes and consequences of recent and ongoing wars. In the second part of the class, you will write and present a professional-length paper analyzing an international issue of interest to you. The presentations and associated readings will help you develop expertise in four issue areas: security studies, international political economy, human rights, and the environment.

### Prerequisite

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

### Required Texts

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

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

Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (A&J), *International Politics*, 11<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Pearson, 2013).  
*The New York Times* (Monday - Friday): <http://www.nyt.com>

You can either subscribe for 99 cents for the first 4 weeks and \$7.50 every four weeks thereafter, or read it for free on the Mansfield Library website

Online readings, denoted by a plus sign (+). These readings are available on the course's UM Online website.

### Course Requirements and Grading

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

Grades will be calculated as follows:

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

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

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

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

### **Academic Honesty**

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

### **Make-Up Policy**

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

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

The 15<sup>th</sup> instructional day (September 14) is the last day to drop this class without my signature on an override form. If you wish to drop after that, you must provide documentation of an emergency or other serious situation that has made it impossible for you to complete the course. For UM's policy on incompletes, see <http://www.umt.edu/catalog/acad/acadpolicy/default.html>

### **Preparing for Class**

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

*Reading the assigned books and articles is necessary, but insufficient, to prepare for seminar meetings. You must also analyze and synthesize the material and reflect on the questions it has raised for you. Before each seminar, record your answers to these questions. Bring both your notes and the readings to class.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Reading Reviews**

Three times during the semester, each student will write a 3-5 page paper discussing his/her answers to the questions raised by one week's readings. These papers must be in essay form. They must have an introduction with a thesis statement that summarizes the argument you are making (the question you raise and your answer to it), an overarching argument developed over several paragraphs with reference to specific authors and passages, and a conclusion.

Please note that these papers must address the bulk of the week's readings. It is fine to for the primary focus to be on one or two of the week's readings, but at some point in the paper those one or two readings must be compared to all or most of the others assigned that week. The purpose of the papers is to show that you have done and thought about *all* of the readings from the week, and to codify your analysis, synthesis, and reflection in essay form.

In writing these papers, I suggest you:

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

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

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

My grading rubric for these papers is as follows:

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

The schedule for reading reviews is as follows:

Week III	Realism	All students (Group A and B)
Week V	Liberalism	All students (Groups A and B)
Week VI	Marxism	Group A
Week VII	Constructivism, Postmodernism, & Feminism	Group B

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

## **Seminar Format and Participation**

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

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

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

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

### **Research Paper**

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

### **Presentation of Research Paper**

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

## **Course Outline and Schedule**

Readings marked (+) are online and accessible via your UM Online account. All other readings are either in the book by Jennifer Sterling-Folker (JSF) or the book by Art and Jervis (A&J). If a link is broken, please let me know. To access journal articles with broken links, go to the UM library homepage (<http://www.lib.umt.edu/>), click on "Journals," type in the name of the newspaper or journal, select the index that contains the issue in which the article appeared, and search for the article using the title and/or author's name.

### **I. Introduction** (8/29 and 9/5; 129 pp.)

**Note:** *Class will not meet on 9/5. Do the readings listed below and email me your Intellectual Autobiography (instructions below) by 2:00 pm on Wednesday, 9/5. Then do the readings listed below for Week II (9/12).*

#### Course Overview:

Syllabus for PSCI 530 (14 pp.)

#### Overview of IR Theories

- +Stephen M. Walt, "International relations: one world, many theories," *Foreign Policy*, 110 (Spring 1998), pp. 29+, available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1149275?origin=JSTOR-pdf> (17 pp).
- +Jennifer Sterling-Folker in JSF, Chapter 1, pp. 1-17; Chapter 11, pp. 327-331; and Appendix, pp. 333-342 (29 pp).  
*These pages will be posted on UM Online in case you have not yet purchased the book.*

#### Realism and Idealism

Thucydides, "The Melian Dialogue," in A&J (7 pp).

- +Woodrow Wilson, "The World Must Be Made Safe for Democracy" (Address to Congress Asking for Declaration of War, April 2, 1917) and Woodrow Wilson, "Fourteen Points" (Address to Congress, January 8, 1918) available at the World War I Document Archive, <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/> (select year, then scroll down to dates) (9 pp).
- +Hans Morgenthau, "A Realist Theory of International Relations," *Politics among Nations*, Ch. 1, pp. 3-15 (12 pp).
- Hans Morgenthau, "The Future of Diplomacy" in A&J (11 pp).

#### Levels of Analysis

- +Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Ch. 1 (16 pp).
- +J. David Singer, "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Phil Williams, *et al.*, eds, *Classic*

*Readings of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Wadsworth, 1999), pp. 105-119 (14 pp).

Additional Readings Required This Week

+*International Security* Style Sheet,

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

Begin daily reading related to international relations in NYT World, US, Business, & Opinion sections.

**\*\*\*Assignment for Intellectual Autobiography (email to me by Weds. 9/5 at 2:00 pm):** After doing this week's readings, make notes for yourself in which you answer the analytic, synthetic, and reflective questions above. Then write an intellectual autobiography in which you explain what you have experienced, studied, and learned about international relations, as well as what you would like to know. In particular, discuss three issues upon which you may be interested in writing your research paper, and describe your goals for graduate study and beyond. In addition, explain which (if any) of the families of IR theory -- realist, liberal, or critical (Marxist/radical, constructivist, feminist, etc) -- as well as which levels of analysis you are familiar with and tend to favor, and why. Your autobiography should be in essay form. It should have an introduction with a thesis statement that summarizes your answers to these questions, an overarching argument developed over 3-5 pages (double-spaced, with 10 or 12 point font), a conclusion, and proper footnote or endnote citations consistent with the *International Security* Style Sheet.

**II. Classical and Structural Realism: Theory and Testing** (9/12; 241+ pp.)

Review and follow the instructions above about preparing for class. Bring your notes and the readings so we can have a detailed discussion.

Overview

+Research Paper Proposal Assignment

+Research Paper Assignment

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

Classical Realism

Review Morgenthau readings from last week.

Structural Realism

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

+Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), Chapters 6-9 (108 pp).

James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," in A&J \*(10? pp).

Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches to Theory Testing

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

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

**III. Applications of Structural and (Neo)-Classical Realism** (9/19; 145 pp.)

**\*\*\*Reading Reviews due today from all students (Groups A and B).** See reading review instructions above (page 3). Note: this reading review should cover readings in both Week II and Week III

Classical and Structural Realism

Review the readings, your reading notes, and your class notes from last week.

### Applications of Realism

- +Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 18:2 (Fall 1993), pp. 44-79 (35 pp).
- +William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24:1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5-41 (36 pp).
- Karen Ruth Adams, "Structural Realism: The Consequences of Great Power Politics," in JSF, Ch. 2.2, pp. 18-37 (19 pp).
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Neoclassical Realism: The Psychology of Great Power Intervention," in JSF, Ch. 2.3, pp. 38-53 (15 pp).
- +Henry Kissinger, "Foreign Policy in the Age of Terrorism," in Marc A. Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004), pp. 116-121 (5 pp).
- +Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Continuity of International Politics," in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne, eds., *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 348-353 (5 pp).
- +Karen Ruth Adams, "Structural Realism: The Imperialism of Great Power," forthcoming in JSF 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (30 pp).

## **IV. Classical Liberalism** (9/26; 148 pp.)

### Overview of Liberal Theories

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

### Economic Liberalism (27 pp)

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

### Political Liberalism (20 pp)

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

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

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

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

- +Richard Rosecrance, "A New Concert of Powers," *Foreign Affairs* 71 (Spring 1992), pp. 64-82 (18 pp).
- +Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, "'War is Never Civilised': Civil Society, the Construction of the Post-Cold War Order and Western Intervention in Kosovo, 1999," paper presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 14-18, 2000, (13 pp).
- Thomas P.M. Barnett, "The Pentagon's New Map," *Esquire*, March 2003, pp. 174-179, reprinted in Thomas J. Badey, ed., *Annual Editions: Violence and Terrorism 04/05* (Guilford, CT: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2004), pp. 24-31 (7 pp).
- Karen Armstrong, "Ghosts of Our Past," *AARP Modern Maturity*, Jan/Feb 2002, pp. 44-47, in Thomas J. Badey, ed., *Annual Editions: Violence and Terrorism 04/05* (Guilford, CT: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2004), 18-21 (3 pp).
- +Bruce Stokes, "Bloodied and Baffled," *National Journal* 33:39 (9/29/2001), p. 2974+ (8 pp).
- +Francis Fukuyama, "The west has won: Radical Islam can't beat democracy and capitalism, We're still at the end of history," *Guardian* (London), October 11, 2001 (2 pp).
- Benjamin Barber, "Beyond Jihad vs. McWorld," *The Nation* 274:2 (1/21/2002), pp. 11-18 (7 pp).

## V. Neoliberalism and the English School (10/3; 239 pp.)

\*\*\**Reading Reviews due today from all students (Groups A and B).* See reading review instructions above (page 3). Note: this reading review should cover readings in both Week IV and Week IV. At a minimum, it should compare and evaluate the overall schools of Classical Liberalism and Neoliberalism, with reference to several articles you find especially interesting. You may also wish to discuss the English School, but that is not necessary.

### Neoliberal Interdependence Theory (35 pp.)

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

### Neoliberal Institutional Theory (62 pp)

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

### Applications of Neoliberalism (68 pp)

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

### The English School (74 pp.)

- Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "The English School," in JSF, Ch. 10.1, pp. 303-310 (7 pp).
- +Hugo Grotius, "On the Law of War and Peace," in Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation*, pp. 133-138, (5 pp).
- +Hedley Bull, "The Anarchical Society," in Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation*, pp. 141-154 (13 pp).
- +Barry Buzan, "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School," *International Organization* 47:3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 327-352 (25 pp).
- Tonny Brems Knudsen, "The English School: Sovereignty and International Law," in JSF, Ch. 10.2, 311-26 (15 pp).
- +Barry Buzan, "Who May We Bomb?," in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne, eds., *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 85-94 (9 pp).



**VI. Marxism and Other Materialist Theories: Marxism, Leninism, Dependency Theory, World Systems Theory, Historical Materialism** (10/10; 194 pp.)

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

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

Theories (122 pages)

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Historical Materialism and World System Theory Approaches," in JSF, Ch. 7.1, pp. 199-208 (9 pp).

+Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in Marc A. Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004), pp. 201-210 (9 pp).

+Vladimir Lenin, "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism," in Genest, ed., *Conflict and Cooperation*, pp. 210-213 (3 pp).

+Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," in John A. Vasquez, ed., *Classics of International Relations* (Prentice Hall, 1996), pp. 265-273 (8 pp.).

+Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16:4 (Sep., 1974), pp. 387-415 (28 pp).

+Immanuel Wallerstein, "The inter-state structure of the modern world-system," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 87-107 (20 pp.).

+Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Snyder, *Essential Readings in World Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 2004), pp. 86-93 (7 pp).

+Robert Cox, "Social forces, states, and world orders: beyond international relations theory," in Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair, eds., *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 85-123 (38 pp).

Applications (72 pp.)

+Immanuel Wallerstein, "The World-System after the Cold War," *Journal of Peace Research* 30:1 (Feb., 1993), pp. 1-6 (5 pp).

+Robert Cox, "Production and security," in Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair, eds., *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 276-295 (19 pp).

Alan W. Cafruny, "Historical Materialism: Imperialist Rivalry and the Global Capitalist Order," in JSF, Ch. 7.2, pp.209-224 (15 pp).

Annette Freyberg-Inan, "World System Theory: A Bird's Eye View of the World Capitalist Order," in JSF, Ch. 7.3, pp.225-241 (16 pp).

+John Bellamy Foster, "The New Age of Imperialism," *Monthly Review* 55:3 (July-August 2003), available at <http://www.monthlyreview.org/0703jbf.htm> (17 pp).

## **VII. Constructivism, Postmodernism, and Feminism** (10/17; 327 pp.)

**\*\*\*Reading Reviews due today from students in Group B.** At a minimum, these reviews must consider the relationship among these three schools of thought, then evaluate several readings from one of the three schools or compare and evaluate one or two readings from two of the three schools.

**Note:** there is a lot of reading here. Unless you wish to write about them, I suggest you skim Ashley and Sylvester.

### Constructivism (93 pp)

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Constructivist Approaches," in JSF, Ch. 5.1, pp.115-122 (7 pp).

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics," *International Organization* 46:2 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425, excerpted in A&J (7 pp).

+Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State is Inevitable: Teleology and the Logic of Anarchy," *European Journal of International Relations* 9:4 (December 2003), pp. 491-542 (51 pp).

Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy in International Politics," in A&J (10? pp).

Matthew J. Hoffman, "Social (De)Construction: The Failure of a Multinational State," in JSF, Ch. 5.2, pp.123-138 (15 pp).

+Daniel McCarthy, "Images of Terror: What We Can and Can't Know about Terrorism, by Philip Jenkins," *Independent Review* 9:2 (Fall 2004), pp. 289-292 (3 pp).

### Postmodernism (114 pp.)

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

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

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

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

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

### Feminism (130 pp.)

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

J. Ann Tickner, "A Critique of Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism," in A&J (12 pp).

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

+Marysia Zalewski, "Old Wine in New Bottles?" (review of Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*), *International Studies Review* 4:1 (Spring 2002), pp. 161-165 (4 pp.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **VIII. Case Study: The Situation in Kosovo** (10/24)

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

- +William Finnegan, "Letter from Kosovo: The Countdown," *New Yorker*, October 15, 2007, [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/10/15/071015fa\\_fact\\_finnegan](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/10/15/071015fa_fact_finnegan)
- +Bilefsky, Dan. "Kosovo's New Constitution Takes Effect." *New York Times*. June 16, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/16/world/europe/16kosovo.html?scp=5&sq=kosovo&st=cse>
- +Cooper, Helene, C.J. Chivers, and Clifford J. Levy. "U.S. Watched as a Squabble Turned Into a Showdown." *New York Times*. August 17, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/18/washington/18diplo.html?scp=10&sq=georgia%20russia%20august&st=cse>
- +Read recent articles on the Serbia and Kosovo in the *New York Times* and *Guardian*; access from the NYT's Serbia page, <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/serbia/index.html> and the Guardian's Kosovo page, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/kosovo>

### **IX. International Security** (10/31; 241 pp.)

**Paper proposals will be returned and discussed today.**

**Remember: the first half of your research paper is due next week.**

#### The Functions of Force (66 pp.)

- Robert J. Art, "The Four Functions of Force," in A&J (7 pp).
- Thomas C. Schelling, "The Diplomacy of Violence," in A&J, (13 pp).
- Robert J. Art, "The Fungibility of Force," in A&J (15 pp).
- +Samuel P. Huntington, "Patterns of Violence in World Politics," (1962) in Richard K. Betts, *Conflict after the Cold War*, 3rd edition (New York: Longman, 2007), pp. 486-510 (24 pp).
- Bruce Hoffman, "What is Terrorism?," in A&J (7 pp).

#### Nuclear Weapons and the Security Dilemma (105 pp.)

- Robert Jervis, "Offense, Defense, and the Security Dilemma," in A&J (20 pp).
- +Karen Ruth Adams, "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance," *International Security* 28:3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 45-83 (38 pp).
- Henry Sokolski and Patrick Clawson, "Getting Ready for a Nuclear-Armed Iran," in A&J (5 pp).
- Barry R. Posen, "Dealing with a Nuclear-Armed Iran," in A&J (15 pp).
- +Seymour Hersh, "Iran and the Bomb," *The New Yorker*, 6 June 2011, available at [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/06/06/110606fa\\_fact\\_hersh](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/06/06/110606fa_fact_hersh) (7 pp).
- +Kenneth N. Waltz, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012 and correspondence between Colin Kahl and Ken Waltz, September/October 2012 (20? pp).

#### Insurgency, Terrorism, and Intervention (70 pp.)

- +Pankaj Mishra, "Exit Wounds: The Legacy of Indian Partition," *New Yorker*, August 13, 2007, pp. 80-84, [http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo\\_books\\_mishra](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo_books_mishra) (5 pp).
- +Ted Galen Carpenter, "The Unintended Consequences of Afghanistan," *World Policy Journal* 11:1 (Spring 1994), pp. 76-87 (10 pp).
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," in A&J (18 pp).
- Audrey Cronin, "Ending Terrorism," in A&J (13 pp).
- +Steve Coll, "The Back Channel: India and Pakistan's secret Kashmir talks," *The New Yorker*, March 2, 2009 (14 pp).
- The World Bank, "The Shape of Violence Today," in A&J (10? pp).

## **X. Presentation of Research Papers on Security Topics** (11/7)

\*\*\**Part I of Research Paper due (first half, 8-12 pp):* See paper assignment handout.

*Students writing on security topics:* Come ready to make a formal, 10-minute presentation of the research plan discussed in your paper. Also bring questions you grappled with during your research and writing process to discuss with the group.

*All Students:* Review readings from last week, and come to class ready to ask informed questions of and provide constructive feedback to the presenters.

## **XI. International Political Economy** (11/14; 215 pp.)

*Students writing on IPE topics:* Come ready to make a formal, 10-minute presentation of your research plan (as discussed in the paper you submitted three weeks ago and as modified since then) and your findings to date. Also bring questions you are grappling with to discuss with the group.

*All Students:* Do the following readings, and come to class ready to ask informed questions of and provide constructive feedback to the presenters.

### Perspectives on Political Economy (46 pp.)

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

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

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

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

### Globalization and Its Critics (58 pp.)

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

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

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

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

John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, "Why the Globalization Backlash is Stupid," in A&J (8 pp.).

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Globalization and Governance," in A&J (11 pp).

### New Actors and New Forces (45 pp.)

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

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

Herbert Lin, "Cyber Conflict and National Security," in A&J (13 pp).

Marc Lynch, "After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State," in A&J (10? pp).

### The International Financial Crisis (66 pp.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

+Immanuel Wallerstein, recent commentaries on the Euro crisis at <http://www.iwallerstein.com/commentaries/>

+Timothy Garton Ash, "The Crisis of Europe," *Foreign Affairs* 91:5 (Sep/Oct 2012) (14 pp).

+Fred C. Bergsten, "Why the Euro Will Survive," *Foreign Affairs* 91:5 (Sep/Oct 2012) (7 pp.).

+Martin Wolf, "A bitter fallout from a hasty union," *Financial Times*, 20 June 2012 (1 p).

+Nicholas Sambanis, "Has 'Europe' Failed?," *New York Times*, 26 August 2012 (1 p).

**Note: No class 11/21 due to Thanksgiving holiday**

Please let me know if you can help at the Montana Model conference on 11/21 and 11/22.

**XII. Human Rights, the Environment, and Other Global Issues** (11/28; 159 pp)

*Students writing on these topics:* Come ready to make a formal, 10-minute presentation of your research plan (as discussed in the paper you submitted three weeks ago and as modified since then) and your findings to date. Also bring questions you are grappling with to discuss with the group.

*All Students:* Do the following readings, and come to class ready to ask informed questions of and provide constructive feedback to the presenters.

**Human Rights, Justice, and International Law** (98 pp)

- +Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?," *International Security* 26:2 (Fall 2001), pp. 87-102 (15 pp).
- +Hans Peter Schmitz and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Human Rights," in Walter Carlsnaes, et al., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 517-533 (16 pp).
- +Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in Richard K. Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Longman, 2002), pp. 191-206 (15 pp).
- Stanley Hoffman, "The Uses and Limits of International Law," in A&J (6 pp).
- Rhoda E. Howard and Jack Donnelly, "Human Rights in World Politics," in A&J (12 pp).
- Kofi Annan, "Reflections on Intervention," in A&J (7 pp)
- Michael N. Barnett and Jack Snyder, "The Grand Strategies of Humanitarianism," in A&J (10? pp).
- Alexander B. Downes, "To the Shores of Tripoli, in A&J (10? pp).
- Steven R. Ratner, "International Law: The Trial of Global Norms," in A&J (7 pp).
- +Recent articles on Syria indexed at the Council on Foreign Relations, [http://www.cfr.org/syria/issue-guide-syrias-escalating-crisis/p28654?cid=rss-fullfeed-issue\\_guide\\_syria\\_s\\_escalatin-082712](http://www.cfr.org/syria/issue-guide-syrias-escalating-crisis/p28654?cid=rss-fullfeed-issue_guide_syria_s_escalatin-082712)

**Environment** (61 pp)

- +Jessica Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1989, pp. 162+ (8 pp).
- Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in A&J (7 pp)
- \*Ronald B. Mitchell, "International Environment," in Walter Carlsnaes, et al., eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 500-516 (16 pp).
- David G. Victor, "International Cooperation on Climate Change: Numbers, Interests, and Institutions" in A&J (8 pp)
- Ian Dupont, "The Strategic Implications of Climate Change," in A&J (10 pp).
- +Carter F. Bales and Richard D. Duke, "Containing Climate Change: An Opportunity for U.S. Leadership," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2008 (12 pp).

**XIII. Predicting the Future International System and Reflecting on the Field** (12/5; 183 pp. review; 195 pages new)

\*\*\***Research Papers due today.** For format, see paper assignment handout.

*All students:* come to class ready to discuss your findings, as well as questions that arose for you in your research and writing. We will also discuss the following readings.

**The Future International System**

Review the following readings from earlier in the semester:

- +Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 18:2 (Fall 1993), pp. 44-79 (35 pp).
- +William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24:1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5-41 (36 pp).
- +Richard Rosecrance, "A New Concert of Powers," *Foreign Affairs* 71 (Spring 1992), pp. 64-82 (18 pp).
- +Robert O. Keohane, "Governance in a Partially Globalized World," *American Political Science Review* 95:1 (March 2001), pp. 1-13 (12 pp).
- +G. John Ikenberry, "Getting Hegemony Right," *The National Interest*, Spring 2001, pp. 17-24 (7 pp).
- +Immanuel Wallerstein, "The World-System after the Cold War," *Journal of Peace Research* 30:1 (Feb., 1993), pp. 1-6 (5 pp).
- +Robert Cox, "Production and security," in Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair, eds., *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 276-295 (19 pp).
- +Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State is Inevitable: Teleology and the Logic of Anarchy," *European Journal of International Relations* 9:4 (December 2003), pp. 491-542 (51 pp).
- +Kenneth N. Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *International Security* 25.1 (Summer 2000), pp.5-41 (37 pp).
- +Robert O. Keohane and Kenneth N. Waltz, "Correspondence," *International Security* 25.3 (Winter 2000), p. 204 (1 p).
- Robert Jervis, "The Era of Leading Power Peace," in A&J (16 pp).
- Robert J. Art, "The US and the Rise of China," in A&J (9 pp).
- David C. Kang, "Hierarchy and Hegemony in International Politics," in A&J (10 pp).
- Arvind Subramanian's "Why China's Dominance Is a Sure Thing," in A&J (10? pp).
- G. John Ikenberry, "The Future of the Liberal World Order," in A&J (7? pp).
- Moses Naim, "What Globalization Is and Is Not," in A&J, (10? pp)
- Adam Roberts, "The United Nations and International Security," in A&J (10 pp).
- US National Intelligence Council, "Global Trends 2025," in A&J, (8 pp)
- Barry Posen, "Emerging Multipolarity: Why Should We Care?," in A&J, (5 pp)
- Neil Howe and Richard Jackson, "Global Aging and the Crisis of the 2020s," in A&J, (9 pp).

**Reflections on the Field**

- +Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," in Robert M. A. Crawford and Darryl S.L. Jarvis, eds., *International Relations: Still an American Social Science?* (New York: SUNY Press, 2001), pp. 27-51 (24 pp).
- +Kalevi J. Holsti, "Along the Road of International Theory in the Next Millennium: Four Travelogues," in Robert M. A. Crawford and Darryl S.L. Jarvis, eds., *International Relations: Still an American Social Science?* (New York: SUNY Press, 2001), pp. 73-99 (26 pp).
- +Marysia Zalewski, "'All these theories yet the bodies keep piling up': theory, theorists, theorizing," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 340-353 (13 pp).

**Note for students in the PSC Masters' program:** The Comprehensive Exam in International Relations will be a take-home essay exam. The question will be posted on UM Online at noon on Saturday, December 8. Your essay is due in my email inbox AND under my door (LA 353) by noon on Tuesday, December 11.