

University of Warwick Department of Politics and International Studies

THEORIES AND ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Module PO926 2012-13

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Introduction

This module provides an introduction to International Relations (IR) theory; to the key ideas and approaches that scholars working in the discipline use to understand and make sense of the practices of international politics. The module aims to familiarise students with the key theoretical approaches in IR and to make theory accessible and understandable. This is done via both an analysis of the key theoretical approaches to IR and by examining their insights and limitations through the study of key issues and themes in international relations, and by considering relevant case studies.

International Relations theorising draws from a wide diversity of intellectual sources and its scope is <u>not</u> limited by the narrow confines of the empirics of interstate behaviour. Firstly, IR theories draw from disciplines other than Politics, including philosophy, sociology and economics. Secondly, some of the theoretical literature is explicitly critical about the adequacy of particular theoretical approaches, and seeks to deconstruct the role of theory and the theorist in IR, rather than just elaborate and apply existing theories. Finally, IR theory is not confined to academia. Policy-makers and practitioners of world politics are also informed by and reproduce particular theoretical understandings of the way the world works even if they do not specifically recognise or present them as such.

Module Aims

- 1. *Introduce* and explore the key theoretical approaches in International Relations.
- 2. Examine how different schools of thought in International Relations theorise some of the key issues.
- 3. Encourage students to develop critical analytical and evaluative skills.

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- 1. Describe the key assumptions which distinguish contemporary theories of international relations from each other and from other sorts of theory;
- 2. Analyse the purpose, coherence, and contradictions of contemporary theories of international relations; and
- 3. Evaluate the contribution of different theories of international relations to our understanding and explanation of international relations.

Learning Objectives and Outcomes

The objective of the module is to promote critical engagement with a wide range of theoretical and empirical literature in IR. Students will learn to display this engagement through both analytical essay writing and the presentation of complex arguments in seminar discussion. By the end of the module, students should have acquired a sound knowledge and understanding of key debates concerning IR and should be able to operationalise such understandings in the context of key issues in IR like, for instance, debates surrounding security or development. Moreover, while all work should be situated in the context of the existing IR literature, students are encouraged to develop their own ideas and arguments on topics. The ability to develop and sustain an original argument is one of the key markers of excellence in IR.

Learning Methods

Seminars will run weekly throughout the first two terms of the academic year. This is a seminar-based module, typically entailing a short introduction by the lecturer, student presentations (dependent on lecturer), and structured student interaction (in the form of open and group discussion, for example). Students are expected to complete the core reading for each week and to actively contribute to the discussion.

Students are further expected to engage in independent study, employing the reading lists <u>and</u> other sources to deepen their knowledge of the subject. The reading list provided here should be read as an indicative entry point into the IR literature and students are expected to develop their own reading according to their interests and the kinds of work they find convincing. Students should read widely and be able to dip into cognate journals such as *Review of International Studies* and the *European Journal of International Relations*, amongst many others. Furthermore, students are also encouraged to pursue their thinking and reading about IR outside of established academic avenues via critical journalism, film, and art, for instance.

Module Assessment

There are two paths of assessment: one for students who take this as their core module and one for students who take it as their optional module.

Please consult the MA handbook for guidelines, due dates for essaywriting and title submission etc

A list of pre-approved titles for your assessed research essays will be made available on the module webpage within the first few weeks of the module commencing. You are free to choose to write your essays based on any of these titles. However, the titles are only indicative and you may also *negotiate* a separate title with your tutor. Whether you choose a title from the preapproved list, or negotiate a title with your tutor, please remember that you must ask your module tutor to sign a submission title form and submit it to the Graduate Office by the deadline listed in the MA Handbook.

For information on referencing, plagiarism and penalties regarding late submission of assessed work please see the MA Handbook.

Reading

For each seminar, the reading is divided into core, recommended and supplementary reading. Core reading represents the <u>absolute minimum</u> you will need to undertake in order to participate in seminars. You should <u>also</u> read two or three additional chapters and/or articles each week from the recommended/supplementary lists. The supplementary reading list is simply a guide to the sort of issues and themes that you need to be thinking about. It is not intended to be comprehensive and there will be many other good pieces that you could read instead (or indeed, as well). Texts marked with an * are deemed to be particularly useful when thinking about Key Questions. Use one of the search engines like ebscohost or ingentaconnnect to identify relevant material for weekly reading as well as for your essays.

Key Texts

It is advisable that you buy at least one of the following (though they are all available in the library if always the most recent edition):

- Burchill, S.et al. (2009) *Theories of International Relations,* Fourth Edition(Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Baylis, J., Smith, S. and Owens, P.(2007) (Eds) The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations – fourth edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Brown, C.and Ainley, K. (2009) Understanding International Relations fourth edition(Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Dunne, T. Smith, S. and Kurki, M.(Eds) (2010) International Relations
 Theories: Discipline and Diversity, Second Edition (Oxford University Press).
- Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M.(2008) *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge).

Other Recommended Background Reading (Advanced):

- Booth, K. and Smith, S. (1995) (Eds.), International Relations Theory Today, (Cambridge: Polity).
- Brincat, S., Lima L., and Nunes J. (2012) (Eds.) *Critical Theory in International Relations and Security Studies* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (2009) (Eds.) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Hollis, M. and Smith, S. (1990) (Eds.), Explaining and Understanding International Relations, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- George, J. (1994) Discourses of Global Politics, (Boulder, Col.: Lynne Reiner).
- Hutchings, K. (1999) *International Political Theory: Rethinking Ethics in a Global Era*, (London: Sage).

- Groom, A.J.R. and Light, M. (1994) (Eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*, (London: Pinter).
- Kegley, C. W. (1995) (Ed.), Controversies in International Relations
 Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge, (New York: St Martin's
 Press).
- Knutsen, T. (1997), A History of International Relations Theory, (Manchester: MUP)
- Neumann, I. and Waever, O. (1997) (Eds.), *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making?* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, S., Booth, K. and Zalewski, M. (1996) (Eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Steans, J. (1998) Gender And International Relations: An Introduction, (Oxford: Polity).
- Viotti, P. and Kauppi, M. (1999) (Eds.), *International Relations Theory*, 3rd Edition, (New York: Macmillan).
- Weber, C. (2001)*International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*, (London and New York: Routledge)

Journals:

First, you should become familiar with the various resources of the Warwick library, including the on-line journal indexes and full-text resources.

Key journals for this module include (but are not limited to): Alternatives; European Journal of International Relations; Global Society; Global Governance; International Affairs; International Organization; International Politics; International Political Sociology; International Relations; International Studies Quarterly; Millennium; Review of International Political Economy; Review of International Studies; Security Dialogue; Third World Quarterly.

Note: For those of you who do not do so already, you are strongly advised to make a daily habit of reading a newspaper such as The New York Times (www.nytimes.com); The Guardian (www.guardian.co.uk); The Financial Times (www.ft.com/home/europe) as well as a periodical with strong international coverage, such as The Economist (www.economist.com).

Seminar Programme

Introduction

- 1) What Is IR Theory Anyway and Why Should We Care?
- 2) Contemporary Context: From Cold War to 9-11

Theoretical Approaches I: The 'Mainstream'

- 3) Realism and Neo-Realism: States, Power and the National Interest
- 4) Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and the English School: Peace and Democracy
- 5) Constructivism: A Via Media?
- 6) READING WEEK (no seminars or office hours)

Theoretical Approaches II: 'Critical' Approaches

- 7) Marxism, Critical Theory, and World Systems Theory
- 8) Poststructuralism: The Politics of Reality
- 9) Feminism and Gender: Theory or Issue in International Relations?
- 10) Postcolonial Politics: Is International Relations a Western Construct?

Issues, Questions and Case Studies

- 11) Sovereignty, the State and Globalisation
- 12) Transnational NGOs and Global Civil Society
- 13) Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention
- 14) The Changing Nature of Warfare in the International System
- 15) 9/11 and International Terrorism
- 16) READING WEEK (no seminars or office hours)
- 17) Neoliberalism, Development and Human Security
- 18) Global Financial Crisis
- 19) Cosmopolitanism, Global Ethics, and Political Activism
- 20) Conclusions: Where Do We Go From Here?

Introduction

The first two weeks of this module are intended to provide students with a general introduction to the key ideas and themes that will be addressed in the course. This is the time to get used to reading in advance of seminars and also being prepared to talk and discuss issues in class.

Week 1 What Is IR Theory Anyway and Why Should We Care?

Key Questions

- What is IR theory, who is it for, and what purpose does it serve?
- How has the discipline of IR developed?
- What simplifying devices are used to study international politics?

Core Reading

- Smith, S. and Baylis, J. (2007) 'Introduction' in Baylis, J. Smith, S. and Owens, P., *The Globalisation of World Politics*.
- Burchill, S. (2009) 'Introduction' in Burchill, S.et al. Theories of International Relations.
- Pin-Fat, V. (2008) 'How do we begin to think about the world?' in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. *Global Politics: A New Introduction*.

Recommended Reading

- Smith, S. 'Diversity and Disciplinarity in International Relations Theory', in Dunne, Smith, and Kurki (Eds), *International Relations theories, Discipline and Diversity*.
- Kurki, M. and C. Wight, International Relations and Social Science, in Dunne, Smith, and Kurki (Eds), *International Relations theories, Discipline and Diversity.*

- Brown, C. (2001) *Understanding International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) ch.2.
- Booth, K. (1995) 'Dare not to know: International Relations theory versus the future' in Booth & Smith (Eds) *International relations theory today* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Hollis, M. and Smith, S. (1991) *Explaining and Understanding international Relations*, (Oxford: Clarendon), ch.3.
- Jackson, R. (1996) 'Is there a classical international theory?' in Smith, Booth and Zalewski (Eds) *International theory: positivism and beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kahler, M. (1997) 'Inventing International Relations: International Relations
 Theory After 1945', in M. Doyle & G. John Ikenberry (Eds.), *New Thinking in International Relations Theory*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press).
- Neufeld, M. (1995) *The restructuring of International Relations theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), chapters two and three Nicholson, M. (2000) 'What's the use of International Relations?" *Review of*

- International Studies 26(2), pp. 183-198.
- Smith, S. (1987) 'The Development of International Relations as a Social Science', *Millennium*, 16(2), pp. 189-206.
- Smith, S. (1995) 'The self-image of a discipline: a genealogy of International Relations theory' in Steve Smith and Ken Booth (Eds) *International Political Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Smith, S. (2000) 'The discipline of International Relations: still an American social science?', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 374-402.
- Wallace, W. (1996) 'Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats: Theory and Practice in International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 22(3), pp.301-21.
- See replies by K. Booth 'Discussion: A Reply to Wallace', *Review of International Studies*, 23(3) (1997), and S. Smith, 'Power and Truth: A Reply to William Wallace', *Review of International Studies*, 23(4) (1997).
- Walt, S. (1998) 'International relations: one world, many theories', *Foreign Policy*, Issue 100, pp.29-47
- Woods, N. (1996) 'The uses of theory in the study of International Relations' in Ngaire Woods (ed.) *Explaining International Relations since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Week 2 Contemporary Context: From Cold War to 9/11

Key Questions

- How did the Cold War shape international politics?
- Did the end of the Cold War fundamentally change international politics?
- In what ways is globalization significant for international politics?
- To what extent did 9/11 herald a new era?

Core Reading

- Cox, M. (2007) 'From the cold war to the war on Terror' in Baylis, Smith & Owens, *The Globalisation of World Politics.*
- McGrew, A. (2007) 'Globalization and Global Politics' in Baylis, Smith & Owens, The Globalisation of World Politics.

Recommended Reading

 Booth, K. and Dunne, T. (2002) (Eds) Worlds in Collision (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Supplementary Reading

Chollet, Derek H., and James M. Goldgeier. (2008) America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11: The Misunderstood Years Between the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror. 1st ed. (New York: BBS Public Affairs).

- Cox, M., Booth, K. and Dunne, T. (1999) 'Introduction: the Interregnum controversies in world politics, 1989-99', *Review of International Studies*, vol.25, no.5, pp. 3-19.
- Cox, M., Dunne, T. and Booth, K. (2001) 'Empires, systems and states: great transformations in international politics', *Review of International Studies*, vol.27, no 5, pp. 1-15.
- Devetak, R. and Higgott, R. (1999) 'Justice Unbound? Globalisation, States and the Transformation of the Social Bond', *International Affairs*, vol.75, no.3, pp.493–598.
- Hogan, M. (1992) (Ed) *The End of the Cold War: Its Meanings and Implications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mearscheimer, J. (1990) 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', *International Security*, 15(1).
- Murphy, C. (2000) Global Governance: Poorly Done, Poorly Understood. *International Affairs* 76(4): 789-804.
- Ruggie, J. (1998) 'Territoriality at Millennium's End', in *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London: Routledge).
- Scholte, J. (2005) *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Strange, S. (1996) *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Theoretical Approaches I: The 'mainstream'

Having introduced the question of IR theory against the backdrop of contemporary historical events the module now introduces the dominant theoretical. It starts with a focus on Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism – the approaches that are sometimes referred to as 'mainstream' IR theory in both positive and negative terms. However, as will be stressed throughout this course, a label is far less interesting/important than what is done under its name. Each theory introduces key actors and themes to IR such as the idea of the state as a/the main actor in world politics, the (contested) concept of power, and the question of how ideas and materiality combine to 'constitute' reality in certain ways.

Week 3 Realism and Neorealism: States, Power and the National Interest

Key Questions

- What are the key tenets of classical realism?
- Is human nature the most important factor in international politics?
- Why do neo/structural realists give so much attention to the logic of anarchy?
- Has our understanding of international politics progressed at all beyond that of Thucydides, or is the wisdom of realism timeless?

Core Reading

- Burchill, S. 'Realism and Neo-Realism' in Burchill et al. Theories of International Relations
- Ned Lebow, R. 'Classical Realism', in Dunne, Smith, & Kurki (Eds), International Relations theories, Discipline and Diversity
- Mearsheimer, J. 'Structural Realism', in Dunne, Smith, & Kurki (Eds), International Relations theories, Discipline and Diversity

Recommended Reading

- Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War (The Melian Dialogue)
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948) Politics Among Nations (New York: Alfred Knopf) Ch. 1
- Waltz, K. (1979) Theory of International Politics (McGraw Hill).
 Especially: Ch1 'Laws and Theories', Ch4 'Reductionist and Systemic Theories' and Ch5 'Political Structures'.

- *Booth, K. (Ed) *Realism and World Politics,* 2010, (London and New York: Routledge).
- *Buzan, B. (1996) 'The timeless wisdom of realism?' in Smith, Booth and Zalewski (Eds) *International theory: positivism and beyond*.
- Carr, E. H. (1964) *The Twenty Years Crisis:* 1919-1939 (London: Harper Perennial).
- Donnelly, J. (2000) *Realism and International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Ch.1 'The Realist Tradition'
- *Ellman, Collin and Jensen, Michael (2012) "Realisms" in Paul D. Williams Security Studies: An Introduction. 2nd Ed. (London and New York: Routledge).
- Gilpin, R. (1986) 'The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism', in Keohane (Ed.), *Neo-Realism and its Critics*
- Gilpin, R. (1991) War and Change in World Politics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Gorst, D. (1989) 'Thucydides and Neo-Realism', *International Studies Quarterly*, 33(1), pp. 3-28.
- Herz, John H. (1981) 'Political realism revisited', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 182-97.

- Jackson, R. and G. Sorensen (1999), *Introduction to International Relations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Ch3 'Realism'
- James, A. (1989) 'The realism of Realism: the state and the study of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, vol.15, no 3, pp.215-29.
- *Milner, H. (1991) 'The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory', *Review of International Studies*, 17, pp. 67-85.
- Palan, R. and B. Blair (1993), 'On the Idealist Origins of the Realist Theory of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 19, pp. 385-399.
- Spegele, R. (1996) *Political Realism in International Theory*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- *Williams, M. C. (2005) The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- *Welch, D. (2003) 'Why IR Theorists Should Stop Reading Thucydidies' Review of International Studies 29(3)

Classical Realism

- Gellman, P. (1998) 'Hans J. Morgenthau and the Legacy of Political Realism', Review of International Studies, 14, pp. 247-304.
- Hobbes, T. (1955) The Leviathan, Chs.11, 13-15, 17-22, and 24.
- Lebow, R. N. (2003) 'The wisdom of classical realism', in *The Tragic Vision of Politics*.
- Machiavelli, N. The Prince
- Navari, C. (1982) 'Hobbes and the Hobbesian tradition in international relations', *Millennium, The Journal of International Affairs* 11(3): 202-22.
- Morgenthau, H. (1948) *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace* (New York: Knopf)
- Vincent, R. J. (1981) 'The Hobbesian Tradition in Twentieth Century International Thought', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10(2).
- Waltz, K. (1954) Man, The State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis, Chs 4 and 7
- *Williams, M. C. (2004) 'Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization* 58(4), pp. 633-665
- *Williams, M. C. (2006) 'The Hobbesian Theory of International Relations: Three Traditions', in Jahn. B. (Ed) *Classical Theory and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Neo/Structural Realism

- Grieco, J. M. 'Realist International Theory and the Study of World Politics' in Doyle and Ikenberry Eds., *International Relations Theory*.
- Keohane, R. 'Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond', in Viotti and Kauppi, pp.186-223 and in Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power*.
- Mearsheimer, J. (1990) 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', International Security, (Vol. 15, No.1), pp.5-56. See also Responses to Mearsheimer by Hoffmann, Keohane et al.

- Mearsheimer, J. (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton)
- *Waltz, K. (1979) Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw-Hill).
- Waltz, K. (2000) 'Structural Realism After the Cold War' *International Security*, 25(1), pp. 5–41.
- Waltz, K. (1990) 'Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory', *Journal of International Affairs*, 44(1), (1990), pp. 21-37. Reprinted in C.W. Kegley (Ed.), *Controversies in International Relations Theory*, Chp. 3.
- Waltz, K. (1998) 'Interview' in *Review of International Studies*, (Vol. 24, No. 3, 1998).
- Waltz, K. (1986) 'Reflections on Theory of International Politics: A Response to My Critics', in R. Keohane, (Ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Waltz, K. 'Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory', in Charles Kegley ed., Controversies in International Relations Theory.

Critiques

- *Ashley, R. K. (1984) 'The Poverty of Neo-Realism'. *International Organization*, vol.38, no.2, pp.225–286.
- Booth, 'Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice', in Linklater ed., *International Relations* 322-340.
- George, J. 'The Backward Discipline Revisited: The Closed World of Neo-Realism' in George, *Discourses of Global Politics*, Ch5.
- Keohane, R. (1986) (Ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press), esp. 'Introduction' and chs by Ruggie and Ashley.
- Kratochwil, F. (1993) 'The Embarrassment of Changes: Neo-realism as the Science of Realpolitik Without Politics', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.19, No.1), pp. 63-80.
- Linklater, A. (1995) 'Neo-realism in Theory and Practice', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Rosenberg, J. (1994) The Empire Of Civil Society: A Critique Of The Realist Theory Of International Relations, (London: Verso).
- Rosenberg, J. (1990) 'What's the Matter With Realism', *Review of International Studies*, 16(4), pp. 285-304. Also published in Rosenberg, *The Empire of Civil Society*, Ch1.
- Sisson Runyan, A. and V. Spike Peterson 'The Radical Future of Realism: Feminist Subversions of IR Theory, in Reprinted in Linklater ed., *International Relations*, pp.1693-1730.
- Tickner, J. A. 'Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation', in Runyan volume above, pp. 1679-1692.
- *Walker, R.B.J. (1987) 'Realism, Change, and International Political Theory', International Studies Quarterly, 31

Web resources

Interview with K. Waltz: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9eV5gPIPZg Interview with John J. Mearsheimer:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AKFamUu6dGw

Week 4

Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and the English School: Peace and Democracy

Key Questions

- What are the key assumptions of Liberalism in IR?
- How convincing is Democratic Peace Theory, and why is it relevant to the study of IR?
- What are the key tenets of the English School and why are they distinct from liberalism and realism?

Core Reading

- Dunne, T. (2008) 'Liberalism', in J. Baylis, S. Smith, and P. Owens (Eds), *The Globalization of World Politics* pp. 108-123
- 'Liberalism', in S. Burchill and A. Linklater et al (Eds), *Theories of International Relations* (2009)
- 'The English School' in S. Burchill and A. Linklater et al (Eds), *Theories of International Relations* (2009)

Recommended Reading

- Doyle, M. (1999) 'Liberalism and World Politics Revisited', in P. Viotti and M. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory* (Allyn and Bacon), pp.233-245. Reprinted in C. Kegley ed., *Controversies in International Relations Theory*, Ch3.
- Moravcsik, A. (1999) 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' in P. Viotti and M. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory* (Allyn and Bacon), pp.246-256.
- Kant, I. (1991) 'Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch' in Kant, Political Writings ed. H. Reiss (Cambridge: CUP). Reprinted in Brown et al, International Relations in Political Thought.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin.
- Viotti, P. and M. Kauppi (1999) 'Pluralism: Decision Making, Transnationalism, and Interdependence' in *International Relations Theory* (Allyn and Bacon), Ch3.

- Deudney, D. and Ikenberry, G. (1999) 'The nature and sources of liberal international order', *Review of International Studies*, vol.25, no2, pp.179-96.
- Doyle, M. (1986) 'Liberalism and world politics', *American Political Science Review*, vol.80, no.4, pp. 1151-69.
- Haggard, S. and Simmons, B. (1987) 'Theories of international regimes', *International Organisation*, vol.41, no.3, pp. 491-517.
- *Hurrell, A. (1990) 'Kant and the Kantian Paradigm in International Relations Theory', *Review of International Studies* 16(3): 183-206.
- Jahn, B. (2005) 'Kant, Mill, and Illiberal Legacies in International Affairs', *International Organization* 59(1).

- Keohane, R. (1988) 'International institutions: two approaches', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.32, no.4, pp. 379-96.
- Keohane, R. (2001) 'Governance in a partially globalised world', *American Political Science Review*, vol.95, no.1, pp. 1-13.
- Keohane, R. and Nye, J. (eds) (1971) *Transnational relations and world politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
- *Keohane, R. and Nye, J. (1977) *Power and interdependence: world politics in transition* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co).
- Krasner, S. (ed.) (1983) *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Kratochwil, F. and Ruggie, J. (1986) 'International organisation: A state of the art on an art of the state', *International Organisation*, vol.40, no.4, pp. 753-75.
- *Mearsheimer, J. (1994/95) 'The false promise of international institutions', *International Security*, vol.19, no.3, pp. 5-49.
- Moravcsik, A. (1997) 'Taking preferences seriously: a liberal theory of international politics', *International Organisation*, vol.51, no.4, pp. 513-54.
- *Nye, J. (1988) 'Neorealism and neoliberalism', *World Politics*, vol. XL, no.2, pp. 235-51.
- Ruggie, J. (1998) Constructing the world polity: essays on international institutionalization (London: Routledge).
- Smith, T. (2012) *America's Mission* (Princeton University Press) Chapter 12 Walter, A. (1996) 'Adam Smith and the Liberal Tradition in International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 21(1).

On the 'Democratic Peace Thesis'

- Barkawi, T. and Laffey, M. (2001) *Democracy, Liberalism, and War: Re-Thinking the Democratic Peace*.
- Cavallar, G. (2001) 'Kantian Perspectives on Democratic Peace: Alternatives to Doyle', *Review of International Studies* 27: 229-48.
- Doyle, M. 'Kant, liberal legacies and foreign affairs', in Linklater ed., International Relations, pp. 870-895. See other essays on the democratic peace in the same collection, especially C. Layne, Z. Maoz and B. Russett, Raymond Cohen, John Macmillan and Mansfield & Snyder.
- MacMillan, J. (2004) 'Liberalism and the Democratic Peace', *Review of International Studies* 30(2): 179-200.
- Russett, B. (1983) *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press).
- Onuf, N. and T. J. Johnson (1995), 'Peace in The Liberal World: Does Democracy Matter?', in Charles W. Kegley (ed.), *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (New York: St. Martins Press), pp. 179-197.
- Special Issue of European Journal of International Relations (Vol. 1, No. 4, 1995). See esp. T. Risse-Kappen, 'Democratic Peace Warlike Democracies? A Constructivist Interpretation of The Liberal Argument'

On neoliberal Institutionalism

- Simmons, B. and L. Martin, 'International Organizations and Institutions' in Carlsnaes et al, *Handbook*, p.192-212. See also T. Risse, 'Transnational Actors and World Politics', in the same volume, pp.255-274.
- Baldwin, D. (1993) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press). See esp. introductory chapter by Baldwin and: Stein, 'Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World' Ch2.
- Grieco, J. M. (1988), 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism', *International Organization* (Vol. 42, No. 3, 1988), pp. 485-507. Reprinted in C. Kegley ed., *Controversies in International Relations Theory.* Also reprinted in Linklater ed., *International Relations*, pp. 805-829.
- *Keohane, R. and Nye, J. S. (1977) Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition
- Keohane, R. (1988) 'International Institutions: Two Approaches' *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol 32), pp. 379-396. Reprinted in Der Derian ed., *Critical Investigations*, and Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power*.
- See the classic debate on theory and institutions in *International Security*. R. Keohane & L. Martin, 'The Promise of Institutionalist Theory', *International Security* (Vol. 20, No. 1, 1995), pp.39-41.
- Long, D. (1995) 'The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory: A Case for Closure', *Millennium* (Vol.24, No. 3), pp. 489-505.
- McGrew, A. (2002) 'Liberal Internationalism: Between Realism and Cosmopolitanism', in D. Held and A. McGrew (Eds) *Governing Globalisation: Power, Authority, and Governance*.
- Mearsheimer, J. (1995) 'The False Promise of International Institutions', *International Security* (Vol.19, No. 3), pp. 5-49.

On the English School and 'international society'

- *Bull, H. (1977) The Anarchical Society (London: Macmillan, 1stedn). See also copies of 2nd and 3rd Edns, esp Andrew Hurrell's introduction to the 3rd Edn.
- Buzan, B. (1992), 'From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory meet the English School'. *International Organization* (Vol.47, No. 3), pp. 327-352.
- Cutler, A. C. (1991) 'The Grotian Tradition in International Relations', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.17, No. 1), pp. 53-58.
- Dunne, T. (1998)*Inventing International Society: A History of the English School* (London: Macmillan, 1998), Ch1, Ch7 and Ch8.
- *Dunne, T. (1995) 'The Social Construction of International Society', European Journal of International Relations (Vol.1, No. 3).
- Jackson, R. (1990) 'Martin Wight, International Theory and the Good Life', Millennium, (Vol. 19, No. 2), pp. 261-272. See also Jackson, 'International Society', in Jackson and Sorensen, *Introduction to IR*, Ch5.
- Jackson, R. (1995) 'The Political Theory of International Society' in K. Booth

and S. Smith, eds., *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Wheeler, N. J. and T. Dunne (1996), 'Hedley Bull's Pluralism of the Intellect and Solidarism of the Will', *International Affairs* (Vol. 72, No. 1), pp. 91-107.

Web resources

Interview with Joseph S. Nye:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PeaFWKUzxbl&feature=relmfu Interview with Robert O. Keohane:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5foxGFXNI-s&feature=relmfu

Week 5 Social Constructivism: A Via Media?

Key Questions

- What are the key assumptions of Social Constructivism?
- Why are there so many strands of Social Constructivist thinking?
- Can Social Constructivism provide a bridge between traditional and critical approaches to IR?

Core Reading

- Adler, Emanuel (2005) 'Constructivism and International Relations.' In Handbook of International Relations, pp.95-118. Edited by W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. A. Simmons. (London: Sage).
- Barnett, M. 'Social Constructivism' in Baylis, Smith and Owens, The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations.
- Wendt, A. (1992) 'Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics', *International Organisation*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 391-425.

Recommended

- Checkel, J. (1998) 'The constructivist turn in International Relations theory', World Politics, vol.50, no.2, pp. 324-48.
- Fierke, K. 'Constructivism', in *International Relations Theories, Discipline and Diversity, T.* Dunne, S. Smith, M. Kurki (eds.).
- Reus-Smit, C. 'Constructivism' in Burchill and Linklater eds., *International Relations Theory.*
- Zehfuss, M. (2001) 'Constructivism and identity: a dangerous liaison', European Journal of International Relations, vol., no.3, pp.315-48.

Supplementary Reading

*Adler, E. (1997) 'Seizing the middle ground: constructivism in world politics', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol,3, no.3, pp. 319-63.

- Barkin, S. (2003) 'Realist constructivism', *International Studies Review*, vol.5, no.3, pp. 325-42.
- Biersteker, T. and Weber, C. (Eds) (1996) State sovereignty as a social construct (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Copeland, D. (2000) 'The constructivist challenge to structural realism', *International Security*, vol.25, no.2, pp. 187-212.
- Dessler, David (1999) 'Constructivism within a positivist social science', Review ofInternational Studies, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 123-37.
- Finnemore, M. (1996) *National Interests and International Society*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- Jacobsen, J. (2003) 'Duelling constructivisms: a post-mortem on the ideas debate in mainstream IR/IPE', *Review of International Studies*, vol.29, no.1,pp.39-60.
- Kratochwil, F. (1989) Rules, Norms and Decisions: On the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- *Kratochwil, F. (1993) 'The Embarrassment of Changes: Neo-Realism as the Science of Realpolitik Without Politics', *Review of International Studies* 19(1).
- Hopf, T. (1998) 'The promise of constructivism in International Relations theory', *International Security*, vol.21, no.1, pp. 171-200.
- Onuf, N. (1989) World of our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press).
- Price, R. and C. Reus-Smit(1998) 'Dangerous Liasions: Critical International Theory and Constructivism', *European Journal of International Relations* 4(3)
- Reus-Smit, C. (2001) 'Human Rights and the Social Construction of Sovereignty', *Review of International Studies* 27: 519-38.
- Ruggie, J. (1998a) 'What makes the world hang together? Neo-utilitarianism and the social constructivist challenge', International Organisation, vol.52, no.4, pp.855-85.
- *Weldes, J. (1996) 'Constructing National Interests', *European Journal of International Relations* 2: 275-318.
- Weldes, J. et al (1999) (Eds) *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Wendt, A. (1987) 'The agent-structure problem in International Relationstheory', *International Organisation*, vol.41, no.3, pp.391-426
- Wendt, Alexander (1994) 'Collective identity formation and the international state', *American Political Science Review*, vol.88, no.2, pp.384-95.
- Wendt, A. (1995) 'Constructing International Politics' *International Security* 20(1).
- *Wendt, Alexander (1999) Social theory of international politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- *Zehfuss, Maja (2002) Constructivism in International Relations: the politics of reality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Week Six Reading Week *No seminars or office hours*

Theoretical Approaches II: 'Critical' Approaches

The second group of theoretical approaches to IR can be termed as 'critical'. By way of introduction it would be unfair and inaccurate to suggest that 'mainstream' approaches are 'un-critical'. However, by way of fiat, critical is a term that has stuck with these approaches – Marxist/post-Marxist, Poststructural/Critical Theory and Feminist Theory. Each of these critical approaches can be typified as asking deeper historical questions about theory itself, about how we came to see the world the way it is (in this sense they share something with constructivism), and also how it might be in a process of changing and (for some) how it might be in a process of changing for the better. As an overview chapter for the next few weeks it would really help for students to read:

 Smith, S. and Owens. P. (2007) 'Alternative Approaches to international theory' relations' inBaylis, Smith & Owens, The Globalisation of World Politics.

Week 7 Marxism, Critical Theory, and World Systems Theory

Key Questions

- Can traditional Marxism be considered to have an IR theory?
- How do Marxists and Neo-Gramscians differ in their conceptions of power, politics and resistance?
- Are world system(s) approaches redundant in the contemporary world?
- How do neo-Gramscians conceive of hegemony?
- Are Marxism and post-Marxist approaches best conceived of as modes of academic analyses or guides to political action?

Core Reading

- Cox, R. (1981) 'Social Forces, States and World Orders', *Millennium*, 10, 2,pp. 126-155.
- Linklater, A. (2001) 'Marxism' in Scott Burchill et al, *Theories of International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Rupert, M. 'Marxism and Critical Theory', in *International Relations Theories, Discipline and Diversity, T.* Dunne, S. Smith, M. Kurki (eds.).

Recommended Reading

• Brincat S., Lima L., and Nunes J. (2012) (Eds) *Critical Theory in International Relations and Security Studies*, (London and New York: Routledge), particularly the interviews with Cox and Linklater.

- Callinicos, A. (2004) 'Marxism and the International', in *British Journal* of *Politics and International Relations*, vo.6, no.3, pp. 426-33.
- Cox, R. (1983) 'Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations: An Essay in Method', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12(2): 62-75.
- Kurki, M. (2009) 'Karl Marx' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) Critical Theorists and International Relations (London and New York: Routledge).

- Bieler, A. and Morton, A. (2003) 'Globalisation, the state and class struggle: a 'Critical Economy' engagement with Open Marxism', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol.5, no.4, pp.467-499.
- Berki, R.N. (1971) 'On Marxian Thought and the Problem of International Relations', *World Politics*, vol.24 no.1, pp.80-105.
- Burnham, P. (1998) 'The Communist Manifesto as International Relations Theory', in M. Cowling (Ed) *The Communist Manifesto: New Interpretations*.
- Brewer, A. (1990) Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey.
- Chirot, D. and Hall, T. (1982) 'World System Theory', *Annual Review of Sociology* 8: 81-106.
- Cox, M. (1998) 'Rebels Without a Cause? Radical Theorists and the World System After the Cold War', *New Political Economy*, vol.3, no3, pp.445-460
- Crawford, N. (2009) 'Jurgen Habermas' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Deudney, D. (2000) 'Geopolitics as theory: historical security materialism', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol.6, no.1, pp. 77-107.
- Galtung, J. (1980) 'A Structural Theory of Imperialism: Ten Years Later', *Millennium: Journal of International Relations* 9(3).
- Halliday, F. (1994) *Rethinking International Relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), ch.3.
- Hobden, S. and Wyn Jones, R. 'Marxist theories of international relations' in Baylis, Smith &Owens, *The Globalisation of World Politics*.
- Hoffman, M. (1991) 'Restructuring, Reconstruction, Reinscription and Reconstitution' *Millennium* (Vol. 20, No. 2), pp. 169-185. See also his Mark Hoffman, 'Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate' *Millennium* (Vol. 16, No. 2, 1987), pp. 231-250.
- Lenin, V.(1917) *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, various editions.
- Linklater, A. (1990) Beyond Realism and Marxism: critical theory and international relations (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
- *Linklater, A. (1996) 'The achievements of critical theory' in Smith, Both & Zalewski (eds) *International theory: positivism and beyond*
- *Linklater, A. (1986) 'Realism, Marxism and critical international theory', Review of International Studies, vol.12, no.4, pp.301-12.
- Luxemburg, R. [1913] The Accumulation of Capital
- *Maclean, J. (1988) 'Marxism and International Relations: a strange case of Mutual neglect', *Millennium*, vol.17, no.2, pp. 295-319.

- Marx, K. [1848] The Communist Manifesto
- Marx, K. Capital: A Critique of Political Economy Vol. 1
- Marx, K. The First International and After
- Peoples, C. L. (2009) 'Theodor Adorno' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Peoples, C. L. (2010) *Justifying Ballistic Missile Defence: Technology, Security and Culture*, (Cambridge University Press)
- *Rosenberg, J. (1994) The Empire of Civil Society: A Critique of the Realist Theory of International Relations.
- Rupert, M. and Smith, H. (2002) (Eds) *Historical Materialism and Globalization*
- Rupert, M. (2009) 'Antonio Gramsci' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- *Sinclair, T. 'Beyond international relations theory: Robert W. Cox and approaches to world order' in Robert Cox with Timothy J. Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Skocpol, T. (1977) 'Wallerstein's world capitalist system: a theoretical and historical critique,' *American Journal of Sociology*, vol.82, no.5, pp.1075-1090.
- Smith, Tony (1981) 'The underdevelopment of development literature: the case of dependency theory', *World Politics*, vol.31, no.2, pp. 253-81
- Wallerstein, I. (1980) *The Modern World System II.*, (New York: Academic Press).
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1993) 'The world-system after the Cold War', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol.30, no.1, pp. 1-6.

Web resources

The Marx-Engels Internet Archive: http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/ Institute for Research on World Systems: http://www.irows.ucr.edu

Week 8 Poststructuralism: The Politics of Reality

Key Questions

- What is the relationship between power and knowledge?
- Why are interpretation, discourse, and representation central to poststructuralists?
- How does poststructuralism impact the study of international politics?

Core Reading

- Campbell, D. 'Poststructuralism', in *International Relations Theories, Discipline and Diversity, T.* Dunne, S. Smith, M. Kurki (Eds.).
- Devetak, R. 'Postmodernism' in Burchill et al, *Theories ofInternational Relations*

 Ashley, R. (1996) 'The achievements of post-structuralism' in Smith, Booth & Zalewski (Eds) International theory: positivism and Beyond.

Recommended Reading

- Edkins, J. (1999) *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back.* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).
- Neal, A. (2009) 'Michel Foucault' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) Critical Theorists and International Relations (London and New York: Routledge).
- Zehfuss, M. (2009) 'Jacques Derrida' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) Critical Theorists and International Relations (London and New York: Routledge).

- Ashley, R. (1987) 'The geopolitics of geopolitical space: toward a critical Social theory of international politics', *Alternatives*, vol. 12 no. 4, pp. 403-34.
- Ashley, R. (1989) 'Living on Border Lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War', In James Der Derian and Michael J. Shapiro (Eds)

 International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics.(Lexington: Lexington Books), pp.259-321.
- *Ashley, R. and Walker, R.B.J. (1990) (Eds) 'Speaking the Language of Exile: Dissidence in International Relations' Special Issue of *International Studies Quarterly*.
- Bleiker, R. (2000)*Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, C. (1994) 'Turtles All the Way Down: Anti-Foundationalism, Critical Theory, and International Relations' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23(2).
- Bulley, D. (2009) Ethics as Foreign Policy: Britain, the EU, and the Other (Abingdon and New York: Routledge)
- *Campbell, D. (1998) 'MetaBosnia: Narratives of the Bosnian War', *Review of International Studies*, 24, 2, pp. 261-281.
- *Campbell, D. (1999) 'Contra Wight: The Errors of a Premature Writing', Review of International Studies, 25, 1.
- Campbell, D. (1992), *Writing Security,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)
- Campbell, D. (1998) *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity and Justice in Bosnia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Debrix, F. (2009) 'Jean Baudrillard' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Der Derian, J and M Shapiro (1989) (Eds.), *International/Intertextual Relations* (Lexington: Lexington Books).
- Der Derian, J. (1990) 'The (S)pace of International Relations: Simulation, Surveillance, and Speed', *International Studies Quarterly* 34(3): 295-310.
- Der Derian, J. (2001) 'Global Events, National Security, and Virtual Theory' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 30(3): 669-90.
- Der Derian, J. (2009) 'Paul Virilio' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N.

- (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Derrida, J., (1992) 'Force of Law: The 'Mystical Foundation of Authority', in D. Cornell, M.Rosenfeld and D. Gray Carlson (eds.), *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice*, (London: Routledge), pp.3-67.
- Dauphinee, E. (2009) 'Emmanuel Levinas' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Fagan, Madeleine (2009), 'The Inseparability of Ethics and Politics: Rethinking the Third in Emmanuel Levinas', *Contemporary Political Theory* 8, 5-22
- Foucault, M. (1995) *Discipline and Punish*. Vintage [Especially chapter on Panopticism]
- Foucault, M. (1982) 'The Subject and Power'. *Critical Inquiry*, vol.8, no.4), pp. 777-795.
- George, J. (1994) Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re) Introduction to International Relations (Boulder: Lynne Reiner).
- George, J. and Campbell, D. (1990) 'Patterns of dissent and the celebration Of difference: critical social theory and International Relations', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.34, no.3, pp. 269-93.
- Hansen, L. (2006) Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War (London and New York: Routledge).
- Kiersey, N. and Stokes, D. (2010) (Eds) Foucault and International Relations:

 New Critical Engagements (London and New York: Routledge).
- Jabri, V. (1998) 'Restyling the Subject of Responsibility in International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol.27, no.3, pp. 591-611.
- Lundborg, T. and N. Vaughan-Williams, 'The Limits of International Relations: R.B.J. Walker's *Inside/outside: International Relations as Political Theory'*, in C. Sylvest and P. Wilson (Eds) *Classics of International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge, forthcoming 2013). See module website.
- Selby, J. (2007) 'Engaging Foucault: Discourse, Liberal Governance, and the Limits of Foucauldian IR'. *International Relations* 21(3): 324-45.
- Vaughan-Williams, N. (2005) 'International Relations and the 'Problem of History', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 34(1), pp. 115-136.
- Vaughan-Williams, N. (2007) 'Beyond a Cosmopolitan Ideal: the Politics of Singularity', *International Politics*, vol.44, no.1, pp.107-124.
- Vaughan-Williams, N. (2009, 2012) Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)
- Vaughan-Williams (2009) 'Giorgio Agamben' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- *Walker, R.B.J. (1993) *Inside/outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- *Walker, R.B.J. (2010) *Before the Globe, After the World* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge)
- *Wight, C. (1999) 'MetaCampbell: The Epistemological Problematics of Perspectivism', *Review of International Studies*, 25, 1.
- Zehfuss, Maja (2002) Constructivism in International Relations: the politics of

reality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Web resources

Noam Chomsky vs Michel Foucault:

http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-1634494870703391080 Histories of Violence Website, http://www.historiesofviolence.com/ InfoTechWarPeace Project,

http://www.watsoninstitute.org/infopeace/index2.cfm

Week 9 Feminism and Gender: Theory or Issue in International Relations?

Key Questions

- How do feminists understand power and the state?
- What is the difference between feminism and gender?
- Does feminism provide a distinctive approach to the study of IR....
- or suggest that gender issues should be 'mainstreamed' in other IR theories?

Core Reading

- Ann Tickner, J. (2008) 'Gender in World Politics', in Baylis, Smith, and Owens (Eds) Globalization of World Politics, Ch. 15, pp. 262-277.
- True, J. (2009) 'Feminism', in Burchill and Linklater (Eds) *Theories of International Relations*.
- Enloe, C. (1989) Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics (London) Ch.1.

Recommended Reading

- Pettman, J. 'Gender Issues' in Baylis, Smith &Owens, The Globalisation of World Politics.
- J. Steans, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction* (Oxford: Polity, 1998).

- Basham, V. and N. Vaughan-Williams, 'Gender, Race, and Border Security Practices: A Profane Reading of 'Muscular Liberalism', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, (forthcoming, 2013). Available on early-view.
- Butler, J. (2006) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge).
- Bethke Elshtain, J. (1997) 'Feminist Inquiry and International Relations', in M. Doyle and J.G. Ikenberry (eds.), *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, Col.: Westview., 1997), pp. 77-90.
- Carver, T., M. Cochrane, and J. Squires (1998) 'Gendering Jones: Feminisms, IRs, Masculinities', *Review of International Studies*, 24, 2, pp. 283-297.

- Enloe, C. (1989) Bananas, bases and beaches: making feminist sense of International Relations (London: Pandora Books)
- Enloe, C. (2004) "Gender' is not enough: the need for a feminist consciousness', *International Affairs*, vol.80, no.1, pp.95-7.
- Halliday, F. (1994) 'Hidden from International Relations: women and the international arena', in Fred Halliday, *Rethinking International Relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan),ch.7.
- Hutchings, K. (2001) 'Towards a feminist international ethics' in Booth, Dunne & Cox (eds) *How might we live? Global ethics in the newcentury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hutchings, K. (2009) 'Simone de Beauvoir', in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Jabri, V. (2009) 'Julia Kristeva' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) Critical Theorists and International Relations (London and New York: Routledge).
- *Jones, A. (1996) 'Does Gender Make the World go Round: Feminist Critiques of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 22, 4, pp. 405-429.
- Henry, N. (2010) War and Rape (London and New York: Routledge).
- *Jones, A. (1998) 'Engendering Jones', *Review of International Studies*, 24, 2, pp. 299-303.
- *Keohane, R. (1989) 'International relations theory: contributions of a feminist standpoint', *Millennium*, vol.18, no.2, pp.245-53.
- Marchand, M.. (2004) 'Challenging globalisation: toward a feminist understanding of resistance', *Review of International Studies*, vol.29, special issue, pp. 145-60.
- Masters, C. (2009) 'Judith Butler' in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (Eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Murphy, C. (1996) 'Seeing women, recognising gender, recasting international relations', *International Organisation*, vol.50, no.3, pp.513-38.
- Peterson, V. Spike (1990) 'Whose rights? A critique of the 'givens' in human Rights discourse', *Alternatives*, vol.15, no.3 pp.303-44.
- Peterson, V. Spike (1992) (ed.) *Gendered states: feminist (re)visions of International Relations theory* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).
- *Pratt, N. and S. Richter-Devroe (2011) (Eds) Special Issue on 'Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security', International Feminist Journal of Politics 13(4).
- Runyan, A. and Peterson, V. Spike (1991) 'The radical future of realism: feminist subversions of IR theory', *Alternatives*, vol.16, no.1, pp. 67-106.
- Shepherd, L. (2006) 'Loud Voices Behind the Wall: Gender Violence and the Violent Reproduction of the International', *Millennium: Journal of International Relations* 25(2): 377-401.
- Sylvester, C. (1993) 'Feminists write International Relations', *Alternatives*,vol.18, no.1, pp. 1-14.
- Sylvester, C. (2001) Feminist International Relations: an unfinished journey Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Tickner, J. Ann (1988) 'Hans Morgenthau's principles of political realism: a Feminist reformulation', *Millennium*, vol.17, no.3, pp.429-40.
- Tickner, J. Ann (1992) *Gender in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- *Weber, C. (1994) 'Good girls, little girls and bad girls: male paranoia and Robert Keohane's critique of feminist international relations', *Millennium*, vol.23, no.2, pp. 337-49.
- Whitworth, S. (1989) 'Gender in the Inter-Paradigm Debate' *Millennium* (Vol. 18, No. 2), pp. 265-272.
- Zalewski, M. (1995) 'Well, what is the feminist perspective on Bosnia?', *International Affairs*, vol.71, no.2, pp.339-56.
- Zalewski, M. and C. Enloe (1995), 'Questions about Identity in International Relations', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 279-305.
- Zalewski, M. and J. Parpart (Eds.) (1998), *The "Man Question" In International Relations, (Oxford: Westview Press).*

Week 10 Postcolonial Politics: Is International Relations a Western Construct?

Questions for Consideration

- Why is 'postcolonialism' as a phenomenon difficult to define and pinpoint as a single theoretical tradition?
- What are some of the goals and agendas of postcolonialism?
- What is the postcolonial objection to 'human rights' as a 'universal value'?
- Is international politics colonial or postcolonial?

Essential Reading

- Abrahamsen, R. (2003) 'African Studies and the Postcolonial Challenge', African Affairs, 102 (407), pp.189-210.
- Manzo, K. (2009) 'Do colonialism and slavery belong to the past?' in J. Edkins and M. Zehfuss (Eds) Global Politics: A New Introduction (London and New York: Routledge).
- Siba N. Grovogui, 'Postcolonialism', in *International Relations Theories, Discipline and Diversity, T.* Dunne, S. Smith, M. Kurki (eds.).

Recommended Reading

- Ayoob, M. (1997) 'Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective', in K. Krause and M. Williams (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts* and Cases (London: UCL Press), pp. 121-146.
- Barkawi, T. and M. Laffey (2006) 'The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies', Review of International Studies, 32: 329-352.

Supplementary Reading

*Ayoob, M. (2002) 'Inequality and Theorising in International Relations: The

- Case for Subaltern Realism', *International Studies Review* 4(3): 27-48. Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture.*
- Biswas, S. (2001), "Nuclear apartheid" as political position: race as a postcolonial resource?', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 26/4 pp. 485(38).
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Web resources

Edward Said – The Last Interview: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-MYvriB41Tg&feature=related

Issues and Case Studies

Having developed a working knowledge of the key theories of IR, we now move to animate our theoretical understandings via a thematic and issue based approach. Our aim is to test the efficacy of different theories by exposing them to key issues and case studies. We ask if theories are changing and/or need to be refined in the light of the changing nature of economic relations and security challenges. Throughout these weeks students should remain aware of and try to develop their theoretical purchase on the themes and issues we address.

Week 11 Sovereignty, the State and Globalisation

Key Questions

- What is sovereignty?
- Is it time to abandon the Westphalian system as a starting point in IR theory?
- Does globalisation undermine state sovereignty?

Core Reading

- Shapiro, M. (2008) 'How does the nation-state work?', in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) Global Politics: A New Introduction (London and New York: Routledge).
- Osiander, A. (2001 'Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth' in *International Organisation*, vol.51, no.2, pp.251-287.

Plus at least one of:

Strange, S. (1994) States and Markets (London: Pinter), Chapter 8

- Strange, S. (1994) 'Wake up, Krasner! The World Has Changed', Review of International Political Economy, vol.1, no.2, pp.209-19
- Strange, S. (1999) 'The Westfailure System', *Review of International Studies*, vol.25, no.3, pp. 345-54.

Recommended Reading

- Ashley, R. (1988) 'Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', *Millennium: Journal of International* Studies, 17: 227-262.
- Jackson, R. (1999) 'Sovereignty at the Millennium', Special Issue of *Political Studies* 47(3).
- Krasner, S. (2001) 'Rethinking the Sovereign State Model' in Review of International Studies, vol. 27, no.5, pp. 17-42.
- Walker, R.B.J. (1990), 'Security, Sovereignty, and the challenge of world politics' *Alternatives* 15(1), pp.3-28.

- Agnew, J. (2009) *Globalization and Sovereignty* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield).
- Ashley, R. (1995) 'The Powers of Anarchy: Theory, Sovereignty, and the Domestication of Global Life' in James Der Derian (Ed) *International Theory. Critical Investigations* (London: Macmillan).
- Barkin, S. and Cronin, B. (1994) 'The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations', *International Organization*, vol.48, no.1, pp.107-130
- Bartelson, J. (1995) A Genealogy of Sovereignty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- *Bartelson, J. (2001) *The Critique of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Biersteker, T. and Weber, C. (1996) (Eds) *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, Chs 1,3,5 and 9.
- Bisley, N. (2007) Rethinking Globalization (Basingstoke: Palgrave) chapter 3.
- *Camilleri, J., Jarvis, A., and Paolini, A. (1995) (Eds) *The State in Transition:* Reimagining Political Space (Boulder: Lynne Rienner)
- Clark, I. (1999) *Globalisation and International Relations Theory,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Connolly, W. (1991) 'Democracy and Territoriality', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20(3).
- *Doty, R. L. (2008) 'Why is people's movement restricted?', in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Edkins, J. et al (1996) Sovereignty and Subjectivity (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).
- *Edkins, J. et al (2004) Sovereign Lives: Power in Global Politics (Routledge).
- *Edkins, J. (2008) 'Why do we obey?' in J. Edkins and M. Zehfuss (Eds)

 Global Politics: A New Introduction (London and New York: Routledge)
- *Elden, S. (2008) 'Why is the world divided territorially?' in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Elden, S. *Terror and Territory: The Spatial Extent of Sovereignty.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; 2009.

- Held, D. (2000) (Ed) The Global Transformations Reader, 2ndEdn
- Held, D and McGrew, A. (2002) Governing Globalization (Cambridge: Polity).
- Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. (1999) Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance (Cambridge: Polity Press), ch.1.
- Hobson, J. (2000) *The State and International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- James, A. (1996) 'A Sovereign Statehood: The Basis of International Society', *Political Studies*, vol.47, no.3, pp.457-473.
- Krasner, S. (1999) *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Krasner, S. (2008) Power, States, and Sovereignty Revisited (2008)
- Mendlowitz, S. and Walker, R.B.J. (1990) (Eds) *Contending Sovereignties:* Redefining Political Community (Boulder: Lynne Rienner)
- Mittelman, J. (2004) 'What Is Critical Globalization Studies?', *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 5, no 3, pp. 219-230
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- Philpott, D. (2001) 'Usurping the sovereignty of sovereignty', *World Politics*, vol. 53, no.2, pp.297-324.
- Robertson, R. (1992) *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992) chapter 1.
- Rosenberg, J. (2001) The Follies of Globalization Theory (London: Verso)
- Scholte, J. (2005) *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Schmitt, C. Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty *Suganami, H. (2007) 'Understanding Sovereignty through Kelsen/Schmitt', Review of International Studies 33(3): 511-530.
- Teschke, B. (2003) The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics, and the Making of Modern International Relations
- Vaughan-Williams, N. (2009, 2012) *Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- *Walker, R.B.J. (1990) 'Reading Dissidence/Writing the Discipline: Crisis and the Question of Sovereignty in International Studies' (with Richard K. Ashley), *International Studies Quarterly*, 34(3): 367-416.
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- Walker, R.B.J. (2005) 'The Double Outside of the Modern International', *Ephemera*, 6(1).
- Weber, C. (1998), 'Performative states', Millennium 27
- Weiss, L. (1998) The Myth of the Powerless State (Cornell University Press).

Web resources

Try at least one of these papers from the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation here at Warwick –

http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/workingpapers/

- Jan Aart Scholte, 'What Is Globalization? The Definitional Issue Again'
- ➤ Richard Higgott & Simon Reich, 'Globalisation and Sites of Conflict: Towards Definition and Taxonomy'
- Richard Devetak and Richard Higgott, 'Justice Unbound? Globalisation, States and the Transformation of the Social Bond'

R.B.J. Walker, 'Liberty, security, exception': http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dmzyn9TzwjM

Week 12: Transnational NGOs and Global Civil Society

Key Questions

- Do NGOs challenge the sovereign power of the state?
- What is the relationship between NGOs and Civil Society?
- How can non-state actors organise and influence beyond national borders?
- Are some policy areas more amenable to non-state participation than others?

Core Reading

- Amoore, L. and Langly, P. (2004) 'Ambiguities of Global Civil Society', *Review of International Studies* 30(1): 89–110.
- Collingwood, V. (2006) 'Non-governmental Organisations, Power and Legitimacy in International Society', Review of International Studies, vol.32, no.3, pp.439–454.
- Sending, S. and Neumann, I. (2006) 'Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power', in *International Studies* Quarterly, vol.50, no.3, pp.651-672.

- Baker, Gideon (2002) 'Problems in the Theorisation of Global Civil Society', *Political Studies* 50(5): 928–43.
- Bartelson, Jens (2006) 'Making Sense of Global Civil Society', *European Journal of International Relations* 12(3): 371–95.
- Birchfield, Vicki and Annette Freyberg-Inan (2005) 'Organic Intellectuals and Counter-hegemonic Politics in the Age of Globalisation', in C. Eschle and B. Maiguashca (eds) *Critical Theories, World Politics and the Anti-globalisation Movement: The Politics of Global Resistance*, pp. 154–73. London: Routledge.
- Bleiker, Roland (2000) *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brassett, J. (2009) A Pragmatic Approach to the Tobin Tax Campaign: The Politics of Sentimental Education', *European Journal of International Relations*, 2009, 15(3): 447-476.
- Chandler, D and Barker, G (2005) (eds.) *Global Civil Society: Contested Futures* (London: Routledge).

- Cox, R. (1999) 'Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order', *Review of International Studies*, vol.25, no.1, pp.3-28.
- Florini, A. (2004) 'Is Global Civil Society a Good Thing?' *New Perspectives Quarterly* vol.21, no.22, pp.72-76
- Gordenker, L. and Weiss, T. (1996) 'NGO Participation in the International Policy Process', in Weiss and Gordenker (eds), *NGOs, the UN and Global Governance* (Boulder/London: Westview Press) ch.11.
- He, B. and Murphy, H. (2007) 'Global social justice at the WTO? The role of NGOs in constructing global social contracts', *International Affairs*, vol.83, no.4, pp.707-727.
- Keck, M.. and Sikkink, K. (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press).
- Keen, J. (2003) *Global Civil Society* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), ch.1.
- Price, R. (2003) 'Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics' (Review Article), *World Politics*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (July).
- Risse-Kappen, T. (1995) (ed) *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), ch.9
- Rosenau, J. N. (1995), 'Governance in the Twenty-First Century', *Global Governance*, 1(1), pp. 13-43.
- Rutherford, K. (2000) The Evolving Arms Control Agenda: Implications of the Role of NGOs in Banning Antipersonnel Landmines, *World Politics*, vol.53, no.1, pp.74-114.
- Scholte, J. (2004) 'Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance', *Government and Opposition* vol.39, no.2, pp.211-233
- Starr, A. (2001) Naming the Enemy: Anti-Corporate Social Movements Confront Globalization (London Zed Books).

Week 13 Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention

Key Questions

- What is humanitarian intervention?
- Why do we feel the need to intervene?
- What challenges does humanitarian intervention pose to IR theory?
- Are human rights a western construct? Does this matter?

Core Reading

- Wheeler, N. and Bellamy A. (2007) 'Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics' in Baylis, Smith & Owens, *The Globalisation of World Politics*.
- Donnelly, J., 1993. 'Human Rights, Humanitarian Crisis, and Humanitarian Intervention', *International Journal*, 48(4): 607-640.
- Orford, Anne, Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chapter 3

Recommended Reading

- Ayoob, M. (2002) 'Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty', *International Journal of Human Rights* 6(1): 81-102.
- Edkins, J. (2003) 'Humanitarianism, humanity, human' *Journal of Human Rights* 2(2), pp. 253-258.
- Inayatullah, N. (2008) 'Why do some people think they know what is good for others?' in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) Global Politics: A New Introduction (London and New York: Routledge).
- Orford, A. (2008) 'What can we do to stop people harming others?' in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) Global Politics: A New Introduction (London and New York: Routledge).

- Barber, B. (1997) 'Feeding Refugees, or War? The Dilemmas of Humanitarian Intervention' *Foreign Affairs* 76 (4)
- Bellamy, A. (2003) 'Humanitarian Responsibilities and Interventionist Claims in International Society', *Review of International Studies*, 29(3) (July) pp. 321-340.
- Bellamy, A. (2003) 'Pragmatic Solidarism and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Intervention', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 31(3).
- Bellamy, A. (2004) Ethics and intervention: The 'humanitarian exception' and the problem of abuse in the case of Iraq. *Journal of Peace Research:*An interdisciplinary and international quarterly of scholarly work in peace, vol.41, no. 2, pp.131-147.
- Best, G. (1990) 'Justice, International Relations, and Human Rights', *International Affairs*.
- Brown, C. (2003) 'Selective Humanitarianism: in defense of inconsistency' in Chatterjee, D. K. & Scheid, D. E. (eds.) *Ethics and Foreign Intervention* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 31-50.
- Brown, C. (2001) A qualified defence of the use of force for 'humanitarian' reasons. *International journal of human rights*, vol.4 ,no.1/2, pp.282-288.
- Brown, C. (2005) Roundtable on humanitarian intervention after 9/11: What, exactly, is the problem to which the 'five-part test' is the solution?, *International Relations*, vol.19, no.2, pp. 225-229.
- Campbell, D. (1998), 'Why Fight: Humanitarianism, principles and post-structuralism', *Millennium* 27(3), pp. 497-523.
- Dillon, M. (1999), 'The Sovereign and the Stranger' in Jenny Edkins, Nalini Persram and Veronique Pin-Fat (eds), *Sovereignty and Subjectivity* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner)
- Donnelly, J. (2007) 'The Relative Universality of Human Rights', in *Human Rights Quarterly*, 29(2)
- Doyle, M. (2001) 'The new interventionism', *Metaphilosophy*, vol.32, nos. 1-2, pp.212-35.
- Duffield, M. (1997) "Ethnic War and International Humanitarian Intervention: a broad perspective", in David Turton ed. *War and Ethnicity: Global Connections and Local Violence*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press).
- Dunne, T. and Wheeler, N. (1999) (Eds) *Human Rights in Global Politics* Edkins, J. (1996) 'Legality with a Vengeance: Famines and Humanitarian

- Relief in Complex Emergencies' Millennium 25 (3)
- Hoffman, S. (2006) 'Intervention: Should it go on, can it go on?', in Chatterjee and Scheid (eds), *Ethics and Foreign Intervention*.
- Holzgrefe, J. L. and Robert O. Keohane (eds) (2003) *Humanitarian intervention: ethical, legal and political dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001) *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre).
- Krisch, N. (2002) 'Legality, morality and the dilemma of humanitarian intervention after Kosovo', *European Journal of International Law*, vol.13, no.1, pp. 323-35.
- *Orford, A., 2004. Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Orford, A. (2010), 'The Passions of Protection: Sovereign Authority and Humanitarian War' in Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi (Eds), Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Intervention (New York: Zone Books).
- Rengger, N. (2005) 'The Judgment of War: On the Idea of Legitimate Force in World Politics', *Review of International Studies*, Volume 31, Supplement, (December), pp. 143-161.
- Reus-Smit, C. (2001) 'Human Rights and the Social Construction of Sovereignty', *Review of International Studies*, 27(4) (October), pp. 519-538.
- Roberts, A. (1993) "Humanitarian war: military intervention and human rights", *International Affairs*, 69 (3), 429-449
- Smith, W. (2007) 'Anticipating a Cosmopolitan Future: The Case of Humanitarian Military Intervention', *International Politics*, vol.44, no.1, pp.72-89.
- Taylor, P. (1999) 'The United Nations in the 1990s: proactive cosmopolitanism and the issue of sovereignty', *Political Studies*, vol.47, no.3, pp 538-65.
- Welsh, J. (2004) (Ed) Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations.
- *Wheeler, Nicholas J. (2000) Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Web resources

Human Rights Watch: http://www.hrw.org
Amnesty International: http://www.amnesty.org

UN Declaration on Human Rights: http://www.un.org/rights

Week 14 The Changing Nature of War in the International System

Key questions

- What are the causes of war?
- How have technological developments impacted on warfare in the Twenty-First century?
- What are the core features of the so-called 'Revolution in Military Affairs' (RMA)?
- To what extent has warfare become 'virtual'?
- What is 'new' about 'new' security challenges and to what extent is IR theory equipped to think about these issues?

Core Reading

- Suganami, H. (2002) 'Explaining War: Some Critical Observations', International Relations 16(3): 307-326.
- Kaldor, M. (1999) New Wars and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era Ch.1.
- Mello, P. (2010) 'In Search of New Wars: The Debate About a Transformation of War', European Journal of International Relations, 16(2): 297-309.
- Williams, P. 'War', in P. Williams (Ed) Security Studies: An Introduction, (Routledge, 2008), pp.151-170

Recommended Reading

- Bleiker, R. (2008) 'Can we move beyond conflict?', in J. Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) Global Politics: A New Introduction (London and New York: Routledge).
- Waltz, K. (1959). Man the State and War(Columbia, Columbia University Press).
- Der Derian, J. (2009) Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network (London: Routledge)
- Peoples, C. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (2010) Critical Security Studies: An Introduction (London and New York: Routledge), Ch10.

Supplementary Reading

Amoore, L. (2006) 'Algorithmic War: Everyday Geographies of the War on Terror', *Antipode*, 41(1), pp. 49-69.

Barkawi, T. (2004) 'The Pedagogy of Small Wars', International Affairs 80(1).

Baylis, J, 'International and Global Security in the Post-Cold War Era'. Chp 13 In Baylis and Smith.

Butler, J. (2004) *Precarious Life: the Powers of Mourning and Violence*, (London and New York: Verso).

Cashman, G. (1993) What Causes War? An Introduction to the Theories of International Conflict, esp. Chs 2,5,7,8.

Cohn, C. (1987) 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals', Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 12(4) pp. 687-718.

Coker, Chrstopher (2001) *Humane warfare: the new ethics of postmodern war.* (London and New York: Routledge).

- *Dillon, M. and Reid, J. (2008) *The Liberal Way of War: Killing to Make Life Live* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Duffield, M. (2001) Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security. (London: Zed Books). (Chapter 7)
- Elshtain, J. B. (2006) 'Reflections on War and Political Discourse', Chp 4.5 in Little, R. and M. Smith (Eds) *Perspectives on World Politics*. London, Routledge.
- *Gray, C. (1997) *Postmodern War: The New Politics of Conflict* (London: Routledge).
- Jervis, R. (2006) 'The Spiral of International Insecurity', Chp 1.6 in Little, R. and M. Smith (Eds) *Perspectives on World Politics*. (London, Routledge)
- Levy, J. and Thompson, W. (2010) Causes of War
- Mandel, R. (2004) Security, Strategy, and the Quest for Bloodless War (Boulder: Lynne Rienner)
- *McInnes, C. (2001) Spectator Sport Warfare (Lynne Reinner).
- Mingst, K. (1999). Essentials of International Relations. London, Norton. Chp 7. 'War and Strife'
- Nicholson, M. (2002). *International Relations: A Concise Introduction* London, Palgrave. Chp.8.
- Pettman, R. (2005) 'Human Security as Global Security: Reconceptualising Strategic Studies', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 18(1) pp,137-150.
- Robinson, P. (1999) "The CNN Effect: Can News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" *Review of International Studies* 25(2), pp. 301-309.
- Robinson, P. (2001) "Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics" *European Journal of Communication* 16(4), pp. 523-544.
- Rosen, S. P. (2004). *War and Human Nature*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- *Shaw, M. (2005) The New Western Way of War: Risk-Transfer War (Cambridge: Polity)
- *Suganami, H. (1997) 'Stories of War Origins: A Narrativist Theory of the Causes of War', *Review of International Studies* 23: 408-418.
- *Suganami, H. (1996) *On the Causes of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Waltz, K. (1998) 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18:3.

Week 15 9/11 and International Terrorism

Key Questions

- How, by whom and with what consequences has 9-11 become produced as important moment in international security?
- Does 9-11 and the war on terrorism reaffirm or challenge the IR theories covered in Part One of this module?
- What is more threatening to citizens of liberal democratic societies: international terrorism or responses to it?

Core Reading

- Rengger, N. and Kennedy-Pipe, C. (2006) 'Apocalypse Now?
 Continuities and Disjunctions in World Politics After 9/11'; International Affairs; vol.82, no.3, pp.539-553.
- Beeson, M. and Bellamy, A. (2003) 'Globalisation, Security and International Order After 11 September', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* vol.49, no.3, pp. 339-354.
- Zehfuss, M. (2003) 'Forget September 11', *Third World Quarterly: Journal of Emerging Areas* 24(3), pp. 513-528.

Recommended Reading

- Booth, K. and T. Dunne (2002) (Eds.), Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2002).
- Booth, K. and T. Dunne (2011), *Terror in Our Time: 9/11 Plus Ten*, (London and New York: Routledge).
- Closs Stephens, A. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (2008, 2011) *Terrorism and the Politics of Response* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Peoples, C. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (2010) *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge), Ch7

- Amoore, L. (2006) 'Biometric Borders: Governing Mobilities in the War on Terror', *Political* Geography, 25(3): 336-351.
- Bellamy A. J. (2006) (Ed) Security and the War on Terror (London: Routledge).
- *Bigo, D., Carrera, S., Guild, E., & Walker, R.B.J. 'The Changing Landscape of European Liberty and Security: Mid-Term Report on the Results of the CHALLENGE Project', available at http://www.libertysecurity.org
- *Brassett, J. (2008) 'Cosmopolitanism vs. Terrorism? Discourses of Ethical Possibility Before and After 7/7' in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol.36, no.2, pp.121-147.
- Buzan, B. (2002) 'Who may we bomb?' in Booth and Dunne (eds) Worlds in collision: Terror and the future of global order (Palgrave Macmillan)
- Calhoun, C. P. Price & A. Timmer (2002) (Eds) *Understanding September 11* (New York: New Press)
- Chomsky, N. (2001) 9-11 (New York: Seven Stories Press).
- Chomsky, N. (2004) *Power and Terror: Post-9/11 Interviews and Talks* (New York: Seven Stories).
- *Croft, S. (2006) *Culture, Crisis and America's War on Terror* (Cambridge: Cambridge: University Press).
- Dauphinee, E. and C. Masters (2006) (eds.) *Living, Dying, Surviving: The logics of biopower and the war on terror*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Etzioni, A. (2002) 'Implications of the American Anti-Terrorism Coalition for Global Architectures', *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol.1, no.1, pp.9-30.
- George, L. (2002) 'The Pharmacotic War on Terrorism: Cure or Poison for the US Body Politic?' *Theory, Culture & Society* 19 (4): pp. 161-186.
- *Jackson, R. (2005) Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

- Jackson, R. (2007) 'The core commitments of critical terrorism studies', *European Political Science*, Volume 6, pp. 241-255.
- Pape, Robert A. (2003), 'The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism', *American Political Science Review*, 97(3) (August).
- Vaughan-Williams, N. (2007) 'The Shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes: New Border Politics?' *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 32(2): pp.177-195
- Wheeler, N. (2002) Dying for 'Enduring Freedom': Accepting Responsibility for Civilian Casualties in the War against Terrorism, *International Relations*, vol.16, no.2, pp. 205-225.

Web resources

'The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States', (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company); The Website of the US Department for Homeland Security http://www.dhs.gov/index.shtm.

US Department for Homeland Security

http://www.dhs.gov

US National Strategy for Homeland Security

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/nat strat hls.pdf

The UK Home Office

http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/

See also essays available on the web-pages of the EU funded CHALLENGE project: http://www.libertysecurity.org

Week 16
READING WEEK
No Seminars or Office Hours

Week 17 Neoliberalism, Development And North-South Relations

Key Questions

- What is the difference between development and economic growth?
- Why has neoliberalism become such an influential development discourse?
- Do dominant global development discourses provide a means for the North imposing its preferences on the South?
- Who (or what) should take responsibility for promoting development?

Core Reading

- Pasha, M. (2008) 'How can we end poverty?' in J. Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) Global Politics: A New Introduction (London and New York: Routledge).
- Cornwall, C. and Brock, K. (2005) 'What do buzzwords do for Development Policy? a Critical look at "Participation", "Empowerment" and "Poverty Reduction", *Third World Quarterly*, vol.26, no.7, pp.1043-1060
- Shambaugh, G. (2004) 'The Power of Money: Global Capital and Policy Choices in Developing Countries', *American Journal of Political Science*, vol.48, no.2,pp.281-295

Recommended Reading

- Cammack, P. (2008) 'Why are some people better off than others?' in J. Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Duffield, M (2005). 'Getting savages to fight barbarians: development, security and the colonial present' *Conflict, Security and Development*, 5(2), pp.141-159.
- Stern, M. and J. Ojendal (2010), 'Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?,' *Security Dialogue*, 41(1), pp. 5-29.

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- Cammack, P. (2001) 'Making the Poor Work for Globalisation', *New Political Economy*,vol.6, no.3, pp.397-408.
- Hurrell, A. and Woods, N. (1999) (eds.), *Inequality, Globalisation and World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Munck, R. (1999) 'Deconstructing Development Discourses: Of Impasses, Alternatives and Politics', in Ronaldo Munck and Denis O'Hearn (eds) *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm*(London: Zed), pp.196-210.
- Murphy, C. and Tooze, R.(1996) 'The Epistemology of Poverty and the Poverty of Epistemology', *Millennium*, vol.25, no.3, pp.681-707.

- Oyeyinka, B. and Barclay, L. (2004) 'Human Capital and Systems of Innovation in African Development', *African Development Review*, vol.16, no.1, pp.115-138.
- Payne, A. (2005) *The Global Politics of Unequal Development*(London: Palgrave).
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen, 1998, 'My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development', *Development and Change*, vol.29, no.2, pp.343-373.
- Porter, D. and Craig, D. (2004) 'The third way and the third world: poverty reduction and social inclusion in the rise of "inclusive" liberalism', *Review of International Political Economy*, vol.11, no.2, pp.387-423
- Sen, A. (1999) Development as Freedom(Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Thomas, C. (2001) 'Global Governance, Development and Human Security: Exploring the Links', *Third World Quarterly*, vol.22, no.2, pp.159-175.
- Wade, R.., 2003, 'What strategies are viable for developing countries today? The World Trade Organization and the shrinking of 'development space', *Review of International Political Economy*, vol.10, no.4, pp.621-644
- Weber, Heloise. 2004. 'Reconstituting the 'Third World'? Poverty Reduction and Territoriality in the Global Politics of Development', *Third World Quarterly*, vol.25, no.1, pp.187-206.

Week 18 Global Financial Crisis

Key Questions

- What is the global financial crisis? When/Where did it start?
- Is the financial crisis an economic or a political issue? Or both?
- What can theories of IR tell us about the causes, consequences and responses to the financial crisis?
- Does the current round of austerity signal an end or a beginning to the hyper militarization of world affairs?

Core Reading

- Brassett, J. Rethel, L. and Watson, M. (2010) 'The Political Economy of the Sub-Prime Crisis: The Economics, Politics and Ethics of Response' in New Political Economy 15(1).
- Helleiner, E. (2011) "Understanding the 2007-8 Global Financial Crisis: Lessons for Scholars of International Political Economy?" <u>Annual Review of Political Science</u>, Volume 14, pp. 67-87.
- Knafo, S. (2009) "Liberalisation and the Political Economy of Financial Bubbles," Competition & Change, 13(2), pp. 128-144.

Supplementary Reading

Best, J. (2010) "The Limits of Financial Risk Management: Or What we Didn't Learn from the Asian Crisis," New Political Economy, Volume 15(1), pp. 29-49.

- Brassett J. and Vaughan Williams, N. (2012) Crisis Is Governance: Sub-Prime, the Traumatic Event, and Bare Life', in *Global* Society 26(1) (January), pp. 19-42.
- Davidson, P. (2008) "Is the current financial distress caused by the subprime mortgage crisis a Minsky moment? Or is it the result of attempting to securitize illiquid noncommercial mortgage loans? <u>Journal of Post-Keynesian Economics</u>, Volume 30, Number 4, 2008, pp. 669-676.
- Deuchars, R. (2010) "Towards the Global Social: Sociological Reflections on Governance and Risk in the Context of the Current Financial Crisis,"

 <u>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</u>, Volume 23, Number 1,

 March 2010, pp. 107-125.
- Gamble, A. The Spectre at the Feast: Capitalist Crisis and the Politics of Recession.
- Gowan, P. (2009) "Crisis in the Heartland," New Left Review 55, pp. 5-29.
- Higgott, R. (1998) "The Asian Economic Crisis: A Study in the Politics of Resentment," New Political Economy, Volume 3, Number 3, November 1998.
- Langley P. (2010) 'The Performance of Liquidity in the Subprime Mortgage Crisis, in *New Political Economy*, 15(1) pp. 71-89.
- Murphy, C. (2010) Lessons of a 'Good' Crisis: Learning in, and From the Third World in *Globalizations* 7(1-2): 203-215.
- Palan, R 2008 A Very North Atlantic Credit Crunch: Geopolitical Implications of the Global Liquidity Crisis, Journal of International Affairs (With Anastasia Nesvetailova). 62:1, 165-185
- Sinclair, T. (2010) 'Round Up the Usual Suspects: Blame and the Subprime Crisis' in *New Political Economy*, 15(1): 91-107.
- Watson, M. (2009) "Headlong into the Polanyian Dilemma: The Impact of Middle-Class Moral Panic on the British Government's Response to the Sub-prime Crisis," The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, Volume 11, 2009, pp. 422-437.
- Schwartz, H. (2009) <u>Subprime Nation: American Power, Global Capital, and</u> the Housing Bubble.
- Seabrooke, L. (2010) 'What do I get? The everyday politics of expectations and the subprime crisis' in *New Political Economy*, 15(1): 51-70.

Week 19 Global Ethics and Cosmopolitanism

Key Questions

- How does cosmopolitanism conceive of power and the state?
- Does cosmopolitanism require an entirely new world order or the reform of the current system?
- Is Linklater right in arguing that the sphere of moral obligation is becoming more cosmopolitan?

Core Reading

- Buzan, B., Held, D. and McGrew, A. (1998) 'Realism vs cosmopolitanism: a debate', *Review of International Studies*, vol.24, no.3, pp.387-98.
- Dallmayr, F. (2003) Cosmopolitanism: Moral and Political. *Political Theory* vol.31, no.3, pp.421-442.
- Linklater, A. (2007) *Critical Theory and World Politics: Citizenship, Sovereignty and Humanity*, chapter 8 'Citizenship, humanity and cosmopolitan harm conventions'.

Recommended Reading

- Smith, S. (1992) 'The forty years' detour: the resurgence of normative theory in International Relations', *Millennium*, vol.21, no.3, pp. 489-506.
- Linklater, A. (2007) *Critical Theory and World Politics: Citizenship, Sovereignty and Humanity*, chapter 7 'Cosmopolitan citizenship'.
- Linklater, A. (2012) 'Citizenship, Humanity and Harm in World Politics' in Brincat, Lima and Nunes (Eds) Critical Theory in International Relations and Security Studies, (London and New York: Routledge).

- Amoore, L. and Langley, P. (2004) 'Ambiguities of Global civil Society', *Review of International Studies*, vol.30, no.1, pp.89-110.
- Archibugi, D., Held, D. and Köhler, M.(1998) (eds)*Re-imagining Political Community* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Archibugi, D. and Held, D. (1995) (eds) Cosmopolitan Democracy: an Agenda for a New World Order (Cambridge: Polity).
- Beitz, C. (1979) 'Bounded morality: justice and state in world politics', *International Organisation*, vol.33, no.3, pp.405-24.
- Beitz, C. (1999) 'Social and cosmopolitan liberalism', *International Affairs*, vol.75, no.3, pp.515-29.
- Bohman, J. and Lutz-Bachmann, M. (1997) (eds) *Perpetual peace: essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal* (Cambridge, MASS: The MIT Press).
- Booth, K., Dunne, T. and Cox, M. (2001) (eds) *How might we live? Global Ethics in the New Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Brassett, J. (2008) 'Cosmopolitanism vs. Terrorism? Discourses of Ethical Possibility Before and After 7/7' in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 2008, 36(2): 121-147.
- Caney, S. (2005) *Justice Beyond Borders: A Global Political Theory*(Oxford: Oxford University Press).

- Cochran, Molly (2002) 'A Democratic Critique of Cosmopolitan Democracy: Pragmatism from the Bottom-Up', *European Journal of International Relations* 8(4): 517–48.
- Fine, Robert (2003) 'Taking the 'ism' out of cosmopolitanism: an essay inreconstruction', *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol.6, no.4, pp.451-70.
- Hall, R. and Biersteker, T. (2002) *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Held, D. (1997) 'Cosmopolitan democracy and the global order: a new agenda', in Bohman and Lutz-Bachmann, Perpetual peace.
- Hutchings, Kimberly (1999) International Political Theory (London: Sage).
- Richter, L et al (2006) (eds) *Building a Transnational Civil Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Smith, W. And Brassett, J. 'Deliberation and Global Governance: Liberal, Cosmopolitan and Critical Perspectives' in *Ethics and International Affairs*, 2008, 22:1, pp. 69-92.
- Vaughan-Williams, N. (2007) 'Beyond a Cosmopolitan Ideal: the Politics of Singularity', *International Politics*, 44(1) (January), pp.107-124
- Walzer, M. (1980) 'The moral standing of states: a response to four critics', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol.9, no.3, pp. 209-29.

Week 20 Conclusions: Where Do We Go From Here?

This concluding week involves an exercise in thinking about the efficacy of (a) individual international relations theories and (b) theory as a whole.

As we have examined the insights and limitations of various theoretical traditions in a number of issue areas and across case studies this term, the main emphasis has been on analysing their explanatory value. In this session we recap our thinking by asking which theory (or combination of theories) works best for you. But we also move the debate by thinking of whether theories have predictive value as well – can we tell where the world is going? Do theories need to be amended to take into account changing circumstances? Or does the rise of new powers with different perspectives on the nature of international relations and world order mean we should be moving towards an era of theorising?

Most of the reading for this week has already been done through the rest of the year. But it might help to look at two pieces by leading academics that reflect on the nature of theory in the twenty-first century. The first is Robert Keohane's presidential address to the American Political Science Association in 2000. The second is Steve Smith's presidential address to the International Studies Association in February 2003.

- Keohane, Robert O. (2001) 'Governance in a partially globalised world

 Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 2000',
 American Political Science Review, vol. 95, no.1, pp. 1-13
- Smith, Steve (2003) 'Singing our world into existence: International Relations theory and September 11', International Studies Association Presidential Address, 27 February 2003

See also M. Zehfuss (2008) 'What can we do to change the world?' in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (Eds) *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge).