

**Oxford University Foreign Service Programme
International Politics
Michaelmas Term**

**Convenor: Jean-Francois Drolet
Tutor: Jeffrey A. Wright**

Course Description

This course is designed to provide a strong survey of the theoretical and empirical literature in international politics with wide-ranging topical applications to some of the main sub-disciplines of international politics. Major theoretical schools of international relations developed in the course include classical and structural realism, liberalism, Marxism, Critical Theory, Social Constructivism and English School. Topically, the course focuses on three major sub-disciplines of International Relations – international security, global liberal governance and international ethics – and generates excursions into some of the most debated issues of the day including human rights, humanitarian intervention, globalization, democracy promotion and collective security.

Requirements

Attendance at lecture is mandatory. Every student is expected to have performed a critical reading of assigned materials before each class and demonstrate familiarity with assigned materials in weekly tutorial sessions.

Readings

The reading list is divided into the seminar topics. Under each topic are questions. These questions will guide our discussions in class. The readings for each week are divided into essential readings and further readings. In order to participate in class discussion you will need to read at least the essential readings – ideally you will read more than that.

Some of the reading lists for particular topics are quite long. This is to give you the opportunity to explore the debates and argument. You are encouraged to look beyond the reading list and follow up references, arguments and information yourself. Graduate study is essentially self-guided.

All journal articles can be accessed electronically. If you have not done so already you must familiarise yourself with electronic access to journals.

There is no single textbook assigned for this course. However, I would recommend that you purchase at least one. These are all very useful as background and supplementary material for essays and seminar discussions. My own personal favourites are these two:

- Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) There are now several editions of this volume.
- Scott Burchill *et al*, *Theories of International Relations* (London: Palgrave). There are now several editions of this volume.

- Another very useful one is Jennifer Sterling-Folker (ed.), *Making Sense of International Relations Theory* (Boulder C.O.: Lynne Rienner, 2005), which uses the wars in the Balkans during the 1990s to illustrate the analytical framework of all the theories studied in this course. We will also be using this one at various occasions during the first term.

Course Outline

Michaelmas Term

1. The Tragic Vision of Politics: Classical Realism
2. Anarchy and the Security Dilemma: Structural Realism
3. Liberalism Then and Now
4. Case Studies
5. Ideas, Norms and Identity: English School and Constructivism
6. Capitalism and Empire: Marxism and Critical Theory
7. Case Studies
8. Summary discussion

Hilary Term

- 1-2. The Cold War and the establishment of US Hegemony
- 3-4. Collective Security and the Criminalisation of Violence in World Politics
5. Intrastate Conflicts
6. Genocide
- 7-8. Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention

Trinity Term

1. Transnational Terrorism
2. Democratic Peace?
3. The Privatisation of Security
4. Nuclear Proliferation and the Arms Industry
5. Energy Security

Week 1. The Tragic Vision of Politics: Classical Realism

Questions

- Why do realists believe that conflict and power are so determinant in human affairs?
- What is the ethics of realism?

Essential Reading

Morgenthau, Hans, 'A Realist Theory of International Politics', in his *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948).
Bell, D., 'Political Realism and the Limits of Ethics', in Bell (ed.), *Ethics and World Politics* (Oxford: OUP, 2010).

John Mearsheimer, 'Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault', *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014. (For a contrasting position see Marie Elise Sarrote, 'A Broken Promise?', *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014).

Further Reading

- Aron, Raymond, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (New York: Transaction, 2003 [1966]).
- Burchill, S. & Linklater, A. et al *Theories of International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 2001) chapter 2.
- *Carr, E. H., 'The Realist Critique', in his *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1954).
- Craig, Campbell, *Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism is Niebuhr, Morgenthau and Waltz* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003)
- *Craig, Campbell, 'American Realism versus American Imperialism', *World Politics*, vol. 57, 2004, pp. 143-171.
- Der Derian, James, 'A Reinterpretation of Realism: Genealogy, Semiology, Dromology', in Der Derian (ed.) *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (New York: New York University Press, 1995).
- Donnelly, J. *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Doyle, Michael, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism* (New York: Norton, 1997).
- Frankel, Benjamin (ed.), *The Roots of Realism* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1996).
- Gellman, P. 'Hans J. Morgenthau and the Legacy of Political Realism,' *Review of International Studies* vol.14, no. 4, 1988.
- Gilpin, Robert G., 'A Realist Perspective on Global Governance', in Held, D. & McGrew, A. (eds.) *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Governance* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).
- Guzzini, S., 'The Different Worlds of Realism in International Relations', *Millennium*, vol. 30, 2000.
- Guzzini, S., 'The Enduring Dilemmas of Realism in International Relations', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 10, no. 4, 2004.
- Haslam, Jonathan, No *Virtue Like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations since Machiavelli* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002).
- Kennan, George, 'Morality and Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 64, no. 2, 1985.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, *The Tragic Vision of Politics: Ethics, Interest and Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2003).
- *Lebow, Richard Ned, 'Classical Realism', in Dunne, T. et al (eds.) *International Relations Theories: Discipline & Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Mearsheimer, J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001).
- Molloy, Seán, *The Hidden History of Realism: a Genealogy of Power Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2006).
- Morgenthau, H. *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).
- Morgenthau, H. *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).
- Morgenthau, H. *Truth and Power: Essays of a Decade, 1960-70* (New York: Praeger, 1970).
- Murray, A. J. H., 'The Moral Politics of Hans Morgenthau', *The Review of Politics*, vol. 58, no. 1, 1996, pp. 81-107.

- Murray, Alastair. J. H., *Reconstructing Realism: Between Power Politics and Cosmopolitan Ethics* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997).
- Niebuhr, R., *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (Charles Scribner's Sons: 1932).
- Rengger, N. J., *International Relations, Political Theory and the Problem of Order* (2000), Introduction and chapter 1.
- *Recchia, Stefano, 'Retraining Imperial Hubris: The Ethical Bases of Realist International Relations Theory', *Constellations*, vol.14, no.4, 2007.
- Rose, Gideon, 'Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy', *World Politics*, vol. 51, no. 1, 1998.
- Scheuerman, William E. 'The (classical) Realist vision of global reform', *International Theory*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp 246-282.
- Scheuerman, William E., 'Realism and the Left: The Case of Hans J. Morgenthau', *Review of International Studies*, 2007
- Scheuerman, William E., 'Was Morgenthau a Realist? Revisiting *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*', *Constellations*, vol.14, no.4 (2007).
- Scheuerman, William E., *The Realist Case for Global Reforms* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).
- Weber, Max, 'Politics as a Vocation' in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946).
- Williams, Michael C., *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Williams, Michael C. (ed.) *Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Williams, Michael C. 'What is the National Interest? The Neoconservative Challenge in IR Theory', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol.11, no. 3, 2005, pp.307-337.
- Williams, Michael C. 'Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization*, vol. 58, no. 4, 2004, pp. 633-665.

Week 2. Anarchy and the Security Dilemma: Structural Realism

Questions

- Why does Waltz say that classical realism and liberalism are 'reductionist' theories?
- What is the role of structures in explaining international behaviour?

Essential Reading

Waltz, K., *Theory of International Politics* (McGraw-Hill, 1979), chapters 2, 5-6.

Further Reading

- Ashley, R. K. 'The Poverty of Neorealism', *International Organization*, vol. 38, 1984, pp. 225-86.
- Baldwin, D. (ed.) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- Brown, C., 'Structural Realism, Classical Realism and Human Nature', *International Relations*, vol. 23, 2009.
- Buzan, B., et al, *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

- Guzzini, S., 'Structural Power: The Limits of Neorealist Power Analysis', *International Organization*, vol. 47, no. 3, 1993.
- Harrison, E., 'Waltz, Kant and Systemic Approaches to International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2002.
- Keohane, R. (ed.), *Neo-Realism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
- Kratochwil, F. 'The Embarrassment of Changes: Neo-Realism as the Science of Realpolitik Without Politics', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 19, no.1, 1993.
- Mearsheimer, J., 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1990.
- Mearsheimer, J. 'The False Promise of International Institutions', *International Security*, vol. 19, 1994/5, pp. 5-49.
- *Mearsheimer, John, 'Structural Realism' in Dunne, T. et al (eds.) *International Relations Theories: Discipline & Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Linklater, A., 'Neo Realism in Theory and Practice' in K. Booth & S. Smith (eds.) *International Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
- Rosenberg, J. 'What's the Matter with Realism?', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1990), pp. 285-303.
- Schroeder, P., 'Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory', *International Security*, vol. 19, 1994, pp. 108-48.
- Waltz, K. 'Reductionist and Systemic Theories,' in R. Keohane (ed.) *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
- Waltz, K., 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* vol. 18, no. 4, 1988.
- Waltz, K., 'Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 44, (1990). Also available directly online at <http://www.irchina.org/waltz/waltz1990.pdf>.
- Waltz, K., 'The Emerging Structure of International Politics', *International Security*, vol. 18, (1993).
- Waltz, K., 'Evaluating Theories', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 91, no. 4, 1997.

Week 3. Liberal Internationalism Then and Now

Questions

- What are the main elements of a liberal approach to world politics?
- How do liberal and neoliberal scholars account for cooperation under conditions of anarchy?

Essential Reading

- Doyle, M., 'Liberalism and World Politics', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 80, no. 4, 1986.
- R. Axelrod and R. Keohane, 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions', *World Politics*, vol. 37, 1984.
- Ikenberry, J., 'Liberal Internationalism 3.0' *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1) March 2009 <http://www.princeton.edu/~gji3/LiberalInternationalism.pdf>

Further Reading

- Baldwin, D.A. (ed.) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- *Deudney, D. and G.J. Ikenberry, 'The Nature and Sources of the Liberal International Order', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 25 1999.
- Grieco, J., 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism', *International Organization*, 1988.
- Haggard, S. and Simmons, B. 'Theories of International Regimes,' *International Organization*, vol. 41, no. 3, 1987. *International Organization* 'Special Issue: International Organization at Fifty', vol. 52, 1998.
- Ikenberry, G. J., 'American Power and the Empire of Capitalist Democracy', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 27, 2001/02.
- Ikenberry, G. John, *Liberal order and imperial ambition: essays on American power and world politics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006).
- Ikenberry, J., and A.M. Slaughter, *Forging a World of Liberty under Law*, Final Report of the PPNS 2006 <http://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf>.
- *Ikenberry, J., 'Liberal Internationalism 3.0' *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1) March 2009 <http://www.princeton.edu/~gji3/LiberalInternationalism.pdf>.
- Jervis, R. 'Realism, Neoliberalism and Co-operation: Understanding the Debate' *International Security*, vol. 24, 1999, pp. 42-63.
- Keohane, R. and Nye, J. (eds.) *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972)
- Milner, H., 'International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses', *World Politics*, 1992.
- Moravcsik, A., 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' *International Organization*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1997.
- Powell, R., 'Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory', *American Political Science Review*, 1991.
- Powell, R., 'Anarchy in International Relations: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate', *International Organization*, 1994.

Week 4. Case Studies: The Breakup of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia

This week we summarise the material that we have seen so far, and look at different ways in which IR theories are being applied to explain specific empirical developments. I want you to read the three short texts below and be prepared to discuss them in class.

- Adams, Karen Ruth, 'Structural Realism: The Consequences of Great Power Politics', in Sterling Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*.
- Taliaferro, Jeffrey W., 'Neoclassical Realism: The Psychology of Great Power Intervention', in Sterling Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*.
- Boyer, Mark A. and Michael J. Butler, 'Public Good Liberalism: The Problems of Collective Action', in Sterling Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*.

Week 5. Ideas, Norms and Identity: English School and Constructivism

Questions

- How does the concept of an 'international society' differ from the idea of a 'system of states'?
- How important should the role of identity be in our interpretations and explanations of international politics?

Essential Reading

Bull, H., *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2002) part 1.

Wendt, A., 'Anarchy is What States Make of It', *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 2, (1992).

Further Reading on the English School

*Alderson, K. and A. Hurrell, *Hedley Bull on International Society* (London: Palgrave, 2000), Introduction.

Armstrong, D., 'Law, Justice and the Idea of a World Society', *International Affairs*, vol. 75, 1999.

Brown, C., 'World Society and the English School', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2001.

Butterfield, H. and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966).

Bull, H., 'Society and Anarchy in International Relations', in K. Alderson and A. Hurrell, *Hedley Bull on International Society*.

*Brown, C., 'International Theory and International Society: The Viability of the Middle Way?', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 21, 1995.

Buzan, B., 'From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School', *International Organization*, vol. 47, no. 3, 1993.

Dunne, T., *Inventing International Society* (London: Palgrave, 1998).

*Dunne, Tim, 'The English School', in Dunne et al., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Griffith, M., 'Order and International Society: The Real Realism', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 18, 1992.

Hurd, I., 'Legitimacy and Authority in International Relations', *International Organization* vol. 52, 1999.

Linklater, A., and H. Suganami, *The English School of International Relations: A Contemporary Reassessment* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).

Mayall, John, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993) *Millennium*, vol. 21, 1992, special issue on 'Beyond International Society'.

Watson, A., *The Evolution of International Society* (London: Routledge, 1992).

Wheeler, N., *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: OUP, 2002)

Wight, M. *Power Politics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979).

Wight, M. *International Theory: The Three Traditions* (London: Continuum, 2002).

Further Reading on Constructivism

Adler, E., 'Seizing the Middle Ground', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1997.

Barnett, M. and Finnemore, M. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Christiansen, T. et al (eds.) *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage, 2001).

Crawford, Neta C., *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Fearon, J. and Wendt, A., 'Rationalism vs Constructivism,' in Carlsneas, W. et al (eds.) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2005).

Finnemore, Martha, 'Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention' in Peter J. Katzenstein (ed.) *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp.153-85.

Fierke, K.M., 'Constructivism', in Dunne, T. et al (eds.) *International Relations Theories: Discipline & Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Hopf, T. 'The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations,' *International Security*, vol. 23, no.1 (1998).

Kratochwill, F. *Rules, Norms & Decisions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Kratochwil, F. 'Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt's "Social Theory of International Relations" & the Constructivist Challenge,' *Millennium*, Vol. 29, no.1 (2000).

Mercer, J., 'Anarchy and Identity', *International Organization*, vol. 49, no. 2, 1995.

Onuf, N. *World of Our Making: Rules & Rule in Social Theory & International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

Price, R. & Reus-Smit, J. 'Dangerous Liasons: Critical International Theory & Constructivism,' *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 4, no.3, 1998.

Reus-Smit, C., 'Imagining Society: Constructivism & the English School,' *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2002.

Reus-Smit, Christian, 'Constructivism' in Burchill, S. & Linklater, A. et al *Theories of International Relations* 3rd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005).

Risse, T. 'Let's Argue!: Communicative Action in World Politics,' *International Organization*, vol. 54, no.1, 2000.

Weldes, Jutta, *Constructing National Interests: the United States and the Cuban missile crisis* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

Weldes, Jutta et. al (eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity: states, communities, and the production of danger* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

Weldes, Jutta, 'Constructing National Interests', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 2, 1996, pp. 275-318.

Wendt, A. 'Collective Identity Formation & the International State,' *American Political Science Review*, vol. 88, no.2, 1994.

Wendt, A. 'Constructing International Politics,' *International Security*, vol. 20, no.1, 1995.

Wendt, A. *Social Theory of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Wendt, Alexander, 'Why a World State is Inevitable' *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 9, no.4, (2003) pp.491-542.

Week 6. Capitalism and Empire: Marxism and Critical Theory

Questions

- In what ways, if any, can the Gramscian concept of 'hegemony' help us understand international politics?
- 'All theories are for someone and for some purpose' (Robert Cox). Do you agree?

Essential Reading

- Teschke, Benno, 'Marxism', in C. Reus Smit and D. Snidal, *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: OUP, 2010).
- Cox, R., 'States, Social Forces and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol.10, 1981.
- Cox, R., 'Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, col. 12, no. 2, 1983.

Further Reading

- Anievas, A. (ed.) (2009) *Marxism and World Politics: Contesting Global Capitalism* (London: Routledge).
- Berki, R.N., 'On Marxian Thought and the Problem of International Relations', *World Politics*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1971.
- *Boucher, D., 'Marx and the Capitalist World System', in his *Political Theories of International Relations* (Oxford: OUP, 2001).
- Callinicos, A., 'Does Capitalism Need the State System?', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 20, no. 4, 2007.
- Callinicos, A., and Justin Rosenberg 'Uneven and Combined Development: the Social-Relational Substratum of "the International"?'', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 21, no.1, 2008.
- Gilbert, A. (1980) 'Marx on Internationalism and War,' in M Cohen et al. (eds.) *Marx, Justice and History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press),
- Harvey, David, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- International Organization*, 'Special Issue on Dependence and Dependency in the Global System', vol. 32, no. 1, 1978.
- Lenin, V. I., *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (London: Pluto, 1996)
- Linklater, Andrew, 'Marxism' in Burchill, S. and Linklater, A. et al *Theories of International Relations* 3rd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005.)
- Luxemburg, Rosa, *The Accumulation of Capital* (London: Routledge, 2003)
- K. Marx, *Communist Manifesto* (various editions)
- K. Marx, *Early Political Writings* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994).
- K. Marx, *Late Political Writings* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994).
- Neumann, S. and Mark von Hagen, 'Engels and Marx on Revolution, War, and the Army in Society' in Peter Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 262-80.
- Pijl, Kees van der, *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class* (London: Verso, 1984).
- Pijl, Kees van der, *Transnational Classes and International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1998)
- Pijl, Kees van der, *Nomads, Empires, States: Modes of Foreign Relations and Political Economy, Volume 1* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

- *Rosenberg, J., 'The Empire of Civil Society', *The Empire of Civil Society: a Critique of the Realist theory of International Relations* (London: Verso, 1994), pp.123-158.
- Rosenberg, Justin, 'Globalization Theory: A Post-Mortem,' *International Politics*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2005, pp.2-74
- Rosenberg, Justin (2009) 'Problems in the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development, Part I: Introduction', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* vol. 22, no.1, 2009.
- Rosenberg, Justin, 'Problems in the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development, Part II: Unevenness and Multiplicity', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2009.
- Rupert, Mark, 'Marxism, Imperialism, and International Relations' in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (eds.) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Rupert, Mark and Hazel Smith (eds.), *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Teschke, Benno (2003) *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations* (London: Verso).
- Teschke, B., 'Theorising the Westphalian System of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 8, no.1, 2002, pp. 5-48.
- Teschke, B., 'Debating "The Myth of 1648": State Formation, the Interstate System and the Emergence of Capitalism - A Rejoinder', *International Politics*, vol. 43, 2006.
- Teschke and H. Lacher, 'The Changing Logics of Capitalist Competition', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 20, no. 4, 2007.
- Wallerstein, I., *The Capitalist World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)
- *Wallerstein, I., 'The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16 (4) 1974. Online at <http://www.eci.ox.ac.uk/~dliverma/articles/Wallerstein%20on%20Capitalist%20System.pdf>
- *Wallerstein, I., 'The Inter-State Structure of the Modern World System', in S. Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 87-107.
- Meiksins, *Empire of Capital* (London: Verso, 2003).

Week 7. Case Studies

As in week 4, we look at different ways in which IR theories are being applied to explain specific empirical developments.

Essential Reading

- Hoffmann, Matthew J., 'Social (De)Construction: The Failure of a Multinational State', in Sterling Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*.
- Cafruny, Alan W., 'Historical Materialism: Imperialist Rivalry and the Global Capitalist Order', in Sterling Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*.
- Freyberg-Inan, Annette, 'World System Theory: A Bird's-Eye View of the World Capitalist Order', in Sterling Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*.

Week 8. Summary Revision

Hilary Term

Weeks 1-2. The Cold War and the Establishment of US Hegemony

Questions

- What are the main structural characteristics of the hegemonic order forged by the United States during the second half of the twentieth century?
- What factors led to the end of the Cold War?
- Do the rise of China and the resurgence of Russia mark the end of American hegemony?

Essential Reading

- Ian Clark, *Globalization and Fragmentation: International Relations in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), Chapters 6-7.
- Walter Lafeber, 'The Tension Between Democracy and Capitalism During the American Century', *Diplomatic History*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2002. Online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-7709.00166/pdf>.
- Jeremy Suri, 'Explaining the End of the Cold War: A New Historical Consensus', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4, Fall 2002.
- Ikenberry, G. John (2014), 'The Illusion of Geopolitics: The Enduring Power of the Liberal Order', *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 93 No. 3: 80-90.
- Mead, Walter Russell (2014), 'The Return of Geopolitics: The Revenge of the Revisionist Powers', *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 93 No. 3: 69-79.

Further Reading on the Cold War

- Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938* (London: Penguin, 1997), Chapter 5.
- Robert Cox, *Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), Chapter 7.
- Jeffrey Frieden, *Global Capitalism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), Chapters 11-12.
- John Lewis Gaddis, *We Know Now: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (Oxford University Press, 2000).
- William Hitchcock, 'The Marshall Plan and the Creation of the West', in O.A. Westad (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010).
- Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1994), Chapter 8 (Cold War).
- Robert Latham, *The Liberal Moment: Modernity, Security and the Making of Postwar International Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
- Michael J. Hogan (ed.), *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the "American Century"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- John Ikenberry, *After victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the rebuilding of Order after major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapter 6.
- George Kennan, 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct', *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947, Also reprinted in his *American Diplomacy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986).

- William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World: An International History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Chapters 8-11.
- William R. Keylor, *A World of Nations: The International Order Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Chapters 1-3.
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York and London: Simon & Schuster, 1994).
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Weeks 3-4. Collective Security and the Criminalisation of Violence in World Politics

Questions

- Is the UN collective security system still relevant to the management of global order in the twenty-first century?
- What explain the rise of the 'police power' paradigm in global politics during the twentieth century?
- What are the main problems and dilemmas associated with the criminalisation of political violence in global politics?

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Week 5. Intrastate Conflicts

Questions

- What, if anything, is the element of novelty in what Mary Kaldor calls 'new wars'? Is her thesis compelling?
- How can we understand the international dimension of these intrastate conflicts?

Essential Reading

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Week 6. Genocide

Questions

- Is genocide an atavistic remnant of pre-modern times or is there something distinctively 'modern' about this particular type of organised killing?
- Is there a distinctive relationship between warfare and genocide?

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- Weitz, Eric D., *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003)

Weeks 7-8. Human Rights and Humanitarian Interventions

Questions

- Can human rights exist without particular political systems to implement and defend them?
- What are the main political difficulties and ethical dilemmas associated with the practice of humanitarian intervention in contemporary world politics?
- 'The Responsibility to Protect': is this a viable and compelling international project?

Essential Reading

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Trinity Term

1. Terrorism and the Global War on Terror

Questions

- What distinguishes terrorism from conventional forms of warfare and political violence?
- What challenges does terrorism and the international response to terrorism present to the international order?

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2. The Democratic Peace

Questions

- 'Democracies do not fight one another'. How compelling is this quintessential liberal thesis?
- 'The Democratic peace is an ideology of the status quo'. Do you agree?

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3. The Privatisation of Global Security

Questions

- What explains the shift towards privatization in the provision of domestic and international security?
- In what ways does the use of private security contractors help or hinder efforts to provide security?

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4. Weapons Proliferation and the Arms Industry

Questions

- Can nuclear weapons really be a instrument to achieve international stability?
- Does the international arms trade fuel conflicts around the world or is it simply responding to an already existing demand?

Essential Reading

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5. Energy Security

Question

- How, if at all, does the need for resources create interstate insecurity, competition and conflict?

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