

HST 10: International Relations in Historical Perspective Spring, 2012

This course is a general introduction to the theory and practice of International Relations, as viewed from the discipline of History. As such, it fulfills IR Core Requirement 4 (the Historical Dimension) in the IR Curriculum. For the History major it satisfies the transregional area requirement.

Course requirements include attendance at two weekly lectures and participation in one weekly discussion section. There will be a mid-term exam and a final exam. The mid-term will count toward 30% of your course grade; the final, 60%; and participation in recitation sessions, 10%. Students may choose to write an optional term paper (of ca 15 pp) on a course-relevant topic approved by the instructor. In this case, the mid-term would count 25% of your final grade; the paper, 25%; the final exam, 40% and participation 10%.

Most readings will be available at Tisch Reserve and in the Tisch journal collection (paper and on-line). Some shorter pieces (chapters, excerpts, and articles) will also be posted on Trunk. Full text readings (available at the Bookstore) will include: Adam Watson, The Evolution of International Society (2009 edn.); E. H. Carr, What is History? (1961); and Paul Kennedy, The Parliament of Man (2006).

Introduction:

Jan. 23 The Course
 25 The Historiography of International Relations
 [Recitation] Discuss: Carr and Craig

Required: Carr, What is History?, Chs. 1-3; Craig, "The Historian and the Study of International Relations."

Recommended: Craig, "On the Nature of Diplomatic History;" George, "Knowledge for Statecraft;" Haber, Kennedy, and Krasner, "Brothers Under the Skin;" Jensen, "History and the Political Scientist;" Levy, "Explaining Events and Developing Theories;" Schroeder, "History and International Relations Theory."

For a post-modernist critique of Carr's What is History?, see Jenkins, On "What is History", 43-63. For an historian who is sharply dismissive of political science methodology, see Ingram, "The Wonderland of the Political Scientist." For a recent example of the genre of (mostly Western) "diplomatic history" see Black, A History of Diplomacy.

I. The Discipline

Jan. 30 IR from WWI to the early Cold War
Feb. 1 Late Cold War Neo-realism and its Critics
 Discuss: historicizing the discipline

Required: Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations;" Ferguson and Mansbach, The Elusive Quest, Ch. 9; Philpott, Revolutions in

Sovereignty, Ch. 1; Walker, “History and Structure in the Theory of International Relations;” May, Rosecrance and Steiner, History and Neorealism, Ch. 1.

Recommended: Burchill and Linklater, “Introduction,” and Donnelly, “Realism,” in Theories of International Relations; Condren, “Political Theory and the Problem of Anachronism;” Ferguson and Mansbach, The Elusive Quest, Chs. 4 and 6; Goldstein and Keohane, Ideas and Foreign Policy, Introduction; Thomas W. Smith, History and International Relations, Chs. 1-2, 5, 8; Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics, Preface, and “The New Great Debate;” Waltz, Man, the State, and War, Conclusion, and Theory of International Politics, Ch. 1; Wight, Systems of States, Intro. [by Bull], and “Why Is There No International Theory?” For his early criticism of both classical realism and systems theory see Hoffmann, “International Relations: The Long Road to Theory;” for a diplomatic historian’s critique of the “misfit” of neo-realism and history, see Schroeder, “History and International Relations Theory” and “Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory;” and for a root-and-branch attack on neo-realism from a left-philosophical point of view, see Ashley’s “The poverty of neorealism.” For Lebow’s anti-realist exploration of a “spirit-based paradigm,” see his Cultural Theory of International Relations, Chs. 1 and 2. For a sympathetic exploration of the “English School,” see Dunne, Inventing International Society; for an analysis of what is wrong with neorealist systems theory from an English School and historical sociological perspective see Buzan and Little, “International systems in world history.”

6 Power, the State, and Historical Sociology

8 International Economics and Cognitive Psychology

Discuss: The role of social science disciplines beyond Political Science in advancing (and problematizing?) basic assumptions of IR theory. Where does History fit in?

Required: Mann, The Sources of Social Power, Vol. I, Ch. 1; Hobden, “Historical sociology: back to the future of international relations?;” Gilpin, The Political Economy of International Relations, Introduction and Ch. 3.

Recommended: Hobden, International Relations and Historical Sociology, Chs. 1-2; Hobson, “The historical sociology of the state and the state of historical sociology in international relations;” Lebow, “Social Science and History;” Weber, “Structures of Power.”

For economics and IR see, for instance, Baldwin, Economic Statecraft; Brennan, “Rational Choice Political Theory;” Keohane, After Hegemony; Maclean, “Marxism and International Relations;” and Strange, “International Economics and International Relations.”

For the application of psychology generally to IR see McDermott, Political Psychology in International Relations, Chs. 1 and 7; for cognitive psychology, see Holsti, “Foreign Policy Viewed Cognitively.” On game theory in IR, see, for instance, Snidal, “The Game Theory of International Politics.”

13 Radical Critiques: Feminism, Constructivism, and “Critical Theory”

15 War and Diplomacy: events, personalities, beliefs and causes

Discuss: radical criticism of mainstream IR; the role of ideas.

Required: Tickner, “A Feminist Critique of Political Realism;” Goldstein and Keohane, “Ideas and Foreign Policy;” the rest of Carr.

Recommended: On feminism and IR theory, see Sylvester, Feminist Theory and International Relations, Introduction (1-19) and Peterson, Gendered States, Introduction (1-30); for constructivism, see Barnett, “Historical sociology and constructivism;” Ruggie, “What Makes the World Hang Together?” and Wendt, “Anarchy Is What States Make of It;” for critical theory, see Hoffman, “Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate;” Ayers, Gramsci, Political Economy, and International Relations Theory, Introduction (1-20); and Linklater, “The Question of the Next Stage in International Relations Theory.”

22 Other Cultures, Other Systems?

23 The European System Globalized—and Decolonized?

Discuss: the relation of the West to the Rest in the theory and practice of IR

Required: Watson, Chs. 7-8, 11, 19, 22; B. G. Jones, Decolonizing International Relations, Introduction; Buzan and Little, “The Idea of ‘International System’.”

Recommended: Watson, “European International Society and Its Expansion;” Saurin, “International Relations as the Imperial Illusion;” Halperin, “International Relations Theory and the Hegemony of Western Conceptions of Modernity;” Jackson, “The Weight of Ideas in Decolonization.” On the Middle East, see Harik, “The Origins of the Arab State System;” Khoury and Kostiner, Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East, Introduction (1-19); and Barnett, “Sovereignty, nationalism, and regional order in the Arab states system;” for ancient India, see Brenner, “The Forests and the Beasts;” for China see Hui, “The Triumph of Domination in the Ancient Chinese System;” Kang, “Stability and Hierarchy in East Asian International Relations;” and Zhang, “System, empire and state in Chinese international relations;” for Africa see Warner, “The rise of the state system in Africa.”

II. The History of Inter-State Relations

Feb. 27 The Ancient world

29 Medieval Europe—Church, Empire and trade

Mar. 1, 2 Recitation sessions: **In-Class Exam**

Required: Watson, Chs. 1-6, 9-10, 12-13; Thucydides, “The Melian Debate.”

Recommended: Ferguson and Mansbach, The Elusive Quest, Ch. 3; Deudney, “‘A Republic for Expansion’;” Mann, Sources of Social Power, Vol. 1, Chs. 12-13; Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan, Ch. 2; Teschke, The Myth of 1648, Ch. 2.

For the ancient Greek political system, see Eckstein, “Intra-Greek Balancing,” and Kokaz, “Between anarchy and tyranny.” On Thucydides, see Finley, The Greek Historians and “Myth, Memory and History;” Lebow, “Thucydides the Constructivist;” Crane, Thucydides and the Ancient Simplicity, Introduction; Orwin, The Humanity of Thucydides, Introduction; Garst, “Thucydides and Neorealism;” and Forde, “Varieties of Realism.”

For ancient Rome, see, for instance, Baldus, "Vestigia Pacis;" Boucher, The Limits of Ethics in International Relations, Ch. 1 ("Classical Natural Law and the Law of Nations: The Greeks and the Romans"); Deudney, "A Republic for Expansion;" Eckstein, "Intra-Greek Balancing, the Mediterranean Crisis of c.201-200 BCE, and the Rise of Rome." For Byzantium, see Luttwak, The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire, Preface and Ch. 3.

Mar. 5 The Renaissance and the Italian city-state
7 Early Modern Europe: before and after Westphalia
Discuss: the key concepts of sovereignty, *raison d'état*, and balance of power in their historical contexts

Required: Watson, Chs. 14-17; Machiavelli, The Prince, excerpts; Grotius, The Law of War and Peace, excerpts; Hobbes, The Leviathan, Part I, Ch. 13 excerpt.

Recommended: Black, A History of Diplomacy, Chs. 1 and 2; Kaiser, Politics and War, Introduction and Ch. 1; Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan, Ch. 1; Craig and George, Force and Statecraft, Ch. 1; Wilson, The Thirty Years' War, Introduction and Ch. 21. For Machiavelli, see Brenner, Machiavelli's Ethics, Introduction and Conclusions; Fleischer, "A Passion for Politics;" Grafton, "Introduction" to The Prince; Pitkin, Fortune is a Woman, Ch. 1; Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment, Ch. 6. For Grotius, see Bull, "The Grotian Conception of International Society." Keene, Beyond the Anarchical Society, Preface, Introduction, and Conclusion, contests Bull's analysis and puts Grotius into the context of expanding European colonialism. For vigorous dismissal of the idea of Westphalia as turning-point, see Kasner, "Westphalia and All That," and Croxton, "The Peace of Westphalia of 1648."

12 War, Diplomacy and the European State System from Louis XIV to 1789
14 Revolution, war, nationalism and Vienna, 1815
Discuss: European Great Power relations before and after the French Revolution and Napoleon.

Required: Watson, Chs. 18-20; Craig and George, Force and Statecraft, Ch. 2; Hume, "Of the Balance of Power."

Recommended: Black, European International Relations, Chs. 1-5, and A History of Diplomacy, Chs. 3 and 4; Kaiser, Politics and War, Introduction and Chs. 2-3. For the English School's view of the doctrine of the balance of power, see Butterfield, "The Balance of Power," and Wight, "The Balance of Power." For a recent discussion of the notion of sovereignty from Rousseau to Kant and Hegel, see Prokhovnik, Sovereignty, Chs. 3 and 4.

26 The Congress system from Metternich to Bismarck
28 Nationalism, Imperialism and Diplomacy
Discuss: the European system and the nation

Required: Watson, Chs. 21-22; von Clausewitz, On War, excerpts; Howard, "The Military Factor in European Expansion."

Recommended: Black, A History of Diplomacy, Ch. 5; Craig and George, Force and Statecraft, Ch. 3; Kissinger, Diplomacy, Chs. 4-8; Paul Schroeder, “The Nineteenth Century System.” For some implications of the emergent nation-state, see Giddens, The Nation-State and Violence, Introduction, Chs. 1, 8, and 10.

Apr. 2 The Failure of the European System, Versailles
4 Idealism, the League and the “Twenty Years’ Crisis”
Discuss: consequences of the war for international relations

Required: Watson, Ch. 23; Wilson, “Address to Congress, 2 April 1917,” excerpt; Carr, The Twenty Years’ Crisis, Chs. 1-2; Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society, Chs. 1 and 4; Kennedy, The Parliament of Man, Ch. 1.

Recommended: Black, A History of Diplomacy, Ch. 6 (pp. 180-204); Kaiser, Politics and War, Ch. 4; Craig and George, Force and Statecraft, Chs. 4-7; Kissinger, Diplomacy, Chs. 9-12; Macmillan, Paris 1919; Schweller, “The Twenty Years’ Crisis;” Steiner, Lights That Failed.

For recent evaluations of the League’s work beyond “collective security,” see Pederson, “Back to the League of Nations,” and Watenpugh, “The League of Nation’s Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors.” For critical appraisals of Carr’s IR scholarship, see Charles Jones, E. H. Carr and International Relations; Dunne, Inventing International Society, Ch. 2; Evans, “E. H. Carr and International Relations;” and Fox, “E. H. Carr and Political Realism.” On realism and the coming of the Second World War, see Ferguson, “Realism and risk in 1938,” and Steiner, “British decisions for peace and war 1938-1939.”

9 WWII and the end of European hegemony
11 Cold War
Discuss: Realism and the Cold War

Required: Watson, Ch. 24; Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, Parts One, Two [I-II], and Seven [XX].

Recommended: Black, A History of Diplomacy, Chs. 7 (pp. 204-23) and 8; Craig and George, Force and Statecraft, Chs. 9-10; Kissinger, Diplomacy, Chs. 16-18, 29; Gaddis, “In Defense of Particular Generalization;” Lebow, “Social Science and History;” Wohlforth, “Postscripts: Historical Science and Cold War Scholarship.”

18 Post-Cold War IR: the “end of history,” the “clash of civilizations,” and neo-liberalism
Discuss: Fukuyama and Huntington

Required: Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?,” and Fukuyama, “The End of History?”

Recommended: Kissinger, Diplomacy, Chs. 1, 30, 31; Burchill, “Liberalism;” Booth, “Security in Anarchy?”; Slaughter, “International Law in a World of Liberal States.”

On the impact of the end of the Cold War on the discipline generally, see Gaddis, We Now Know; Kennedy-Pipe, “International History and International

Relations theory;" Mueller, Quiet Cataclysm; Hogan, The End of the Cold War; and Katzenstein, The Culture of National Security, preface and introduction.

For scholarly work on the democratic peace, see Cederman, "Back to Kant;" Doyle, "Kant and Liberal Internationalism" and "Liberalism and World Politics;" Maoz and Abdolali, "Regime Types and International Conflict;" Maoz and Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace;" Modelski, "Is world politics evolutionary learning?;" Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace;" and Weart, Never at War, Ch. 1. For sceptical responses to the idea of the democratic peace, see Weltman, World Politics and the Evolution of War, Preface and Ch. 1 (ix-xii and 1-19), and articles by Layne and Spiro in a special issue of INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (19, 2 [Fall, 1994]). On how the democratic peace may be a learned European rather than global phenomenon, see Sheehan, The Monopoly of Violence, Part III.

For some critical responses to the "end of history" as the "end of Marxism," see Marsden (ed.), After the End of History; and for Fukuyama's response to criticisms of his thesis, "A Reply to My Critics." For critical responses to Huntington's thesis, see Huntington, et al., The Clash of Civilizations? The Debate.

For a defensive response by a realist see Wohlforth, "Realism and the End of the Cold War;" and for the "offensive realist" position, see Mearsheimer's articles, "Back to the Future" and "The False Promise of International Institutions," and his book The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. For two historians' sceptical responses to Mearsheimer, see Haslem, "John Mearsheimer's 'elementary geometry of power'," and Schroeder, "Not even for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," as well as Fukuyama's dismissal in his The End of History and the Last Man, Ch. 23 ("The Unreality of Realism").

III. Interrogating Sovereignty

23 Beyond and within the State: the limits of sovereignty

25 The U.N. and NGOs

Discuss: International Relations and supra-national, sub-national actors

Required: Sheehan, "The Problem of Sovereignty in European History;" Kennedy, The Parliament of Man, Part II, Chs. 5-7; The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

Recommended: Craig and George, Force and Statecraft, Ch. 8; Peterson, "Transnational Activity, International Society, and World Politics;" Keohane and Nye (eds.), Transnational Relations and World Politics, Introduction and Conclusion; Lipschutz, "Reconstructing World Politics."

For burgeoning work on the concept and practice of sovereignty see Ashley, "Untying the Sovereign State;" Bartleson, The Genealogy of Sovereignty; Biersteker and Weber, State Sovereignty as Social Construct; Edkins, Pin-Fat, and Shapiro (eds.), Sovereign Lives; Elshstain, Sovereignty; Hinsley, Sovereignty; Krasner, Sovereignty and Problematic Sovereignty; Lake, "The New Sovereignty in International Relations;" Prokhovnik, Sovereignty; Walker (ed.), Sovereignty in Transition. Also see Oksenberg, "The Issue of Sovereignty in the Asian Historical Context;" Reus-Smit, "Human Rights and the social construction of sovereignty;" and Wells and Wells, "Shared sovereignty in the European Union." For a defense of the

concept of the sovereign state see Bickerton, Cunliffe, and Gourevitch (eds.), Politics without Sovereignty, and Loughlin, “Ten Tenets about Sovereignty.”

For “human rights” in international relations, see Burgers, “The Road to San Francisco;” Donnelly, “The Social Construction of International Human Rights” and Universal Human rights in Theory and Practice, esp. Ch. 5 on non-Western conceptions; Dunne and Wheeler (eds.), Human Rights in Global Politics; Forsythe (ed.), Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy, Introduction and “An Overview” [by Donnelly]; Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, Introduction and Conclusion; Lauren, The Evolution of International Human Rights; Moyné, The Last Utopia; Scholte, “From power politics to social change;” Shaw, “Globality and historical sociology;” Sieghart, The Lawful Rights of Mankind; and Sikkink, “The Power of Principled Ideas.” For the role of Grotius in the 20th century, see Bull, “The Grotian Conception of International Society.” For an extended investigation of the evolution of the interconnected concepts of natural law, natural rights, and human rights, see Boucher, The Limits of Ethics in International Relations, Introduction and Conclusion; also,.

For one analysis of the international economic regime and the post-war state, see Ruggie, “International Regimes.” For Ruggie’s views on the postmodernity of the European Community, see his “Territoriality and beyond.” For the implications of nuclear weapons for the idea of sovereign “billiard balls” see Deudney, “Nuclear Weapons and the Waning of the Real-State.”

For ways in which NGOs may relate to the discipline, see Boli and Thomas (eds.), Constructing World Culture, Introduction; Keck and Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, Chs. 1 and 6; Risse-Kappen (ed.), Bringing Transnational Relations Back In, Preface and Introduction. For the impact of green thought on IR theory, see Humphreys, “The International Relations of Global Environmental Change.” Of the large literature on NGOs by their advocates, see for example, Korten, Getting to the 21st Century.

30 Description, prediction, policy. Does history matter?

Required: Watson, Conclusion.

Recommended: Howe, “The Utopian Realism of E. H. Carr.”

May. ? Final Exam