

**Gregory P. Nowell**  
**Milne 119 Office hours**  
**Tuesdays 12-1:30 uptown**  
**Wednesdays 1-3 downtown**  
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**POS 570 Fall 2011 (3969)**  
**Husted 012, Thursdays, 5:45 to 8:35**  
**Bookstore for this class: Mary Jane Books, Quail and Western**  
**(MJB in front of a book means the book has been ordered at MJB)**  
**Final exam Thursday 15 December 5:45**

### **Field Seminar in International Relations**

The field seminar is designed to provide a broad ranging introduction to general concepts in past and present studies of international relations. The material in this course is primarily based on standard international relations texts and themes. Nonetheless, international relations is a very diverse field

The general center of an international relations course is the theory of Realism and its repercussions. Most of the other traditions deal with “realist phenomena” in some way.

“Theories of international relations” as scholarly constructs are not necessarily the same as the *praxis* of international relations. In the *praxis* of international relations lie many important theoretical concepts: liberalism as practiced by Woodrow Wilson, or warfare as analyzed and practiced by Mao Tse Tung. While there is certainly an inherent appeal in analyzing the underlying theory of much “praxis,” this course focuses principally but not exclusively on the output of American academics.

In most years the other international relations faculty drops in on the field seminar and runs it for one week. This year two such faculty are on leave, and the only guest will be Prof. Brian Early.

Another mission of this course is to provide a “consolidated content” for major and minor field exams. Typically your major or minor field exam will include the syllabus for this and other courses to be discussed with your advisor.

Another point, which is easy for some students and difficult for others, is that mastery of a full professional scholarly citation apparatus must be evident in your papers, and it is recommended that this practice govern your entire graduate school and professional output “from this day forward.” The required format in this course is Diana Hacker’s *Writer’s Reference*, any edition.

### **Course Format**

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*Reading.* The general idea is that a graduate student should be reading about 200 pages per week per course. You should be learning to skim and absorb arguments: reading in part for introduction and conclusion, in part for specifics that help nail down the ideas. Guest professors may assign specific pages.

*Required work.*

- A. Five five-to-eight page comparative summary and analysis papers, in full scholarly citation format of the course's assigned authors. These subjects will be assigned in class. These papers are due **IN THE WEEK THEY ARE ASSIGNED**.
- B. Fifteen minute oral presentations on various readings, to be assigned in class. These will correspond to the written papers. The number varies with enrollment. No grade will be recorded for these presentations but they are **REQUIRED** to pass and a good job always helps make a good impression. The ability to sum up an argument in fifteen minutes is standard professional format at conferences and is also vital for the job market. This is to help students get experience with this format. Use of Power Point or the chalk board/white board is encouraged. *Reading from a pre-written paper is a no-no*. Power point and other presentation formats are OK.
- C. A final in class exam for all first-year students or, at their option, a final paper for second year students.

Grading: Requirement A. 60%. Requirement C. 40%. Requirement B is handled as subjective factors which can impact the grade nominally 10% but possibly a good deal more.

Plagiarism: SUNY Albany standards on plagiarism will be enforced. The operating definition of plagiarism for this course is based on these pages from Diana Hacker's *Writer's Reference*:

<http://tinyurl.com/hacker-defines-plagiarism>

### **Course Learning Objectives**

Upon completion of this course, you should be able to:

1. Categorize basic theories of international relations
2. Evaluate theoretical strengths and weakness in the literature
3. Compare and contrast the major theories in international politics in a manner suitable for
4. Evaluate the empirical strengths and weakness of the theories
5. Construct research proposals to test the theories

### **Week by week Syllabus**

Doyle's *Ways of War and Peace* is a general reference text for this course.

**Week 1. Thursday September 1 – “Classical Realism,” First Day of Class, Organizational Requirements, and a “touch of realism”**

Required:

\$E.H. Carr, *Twenty Year’s Crisis*  
Diana Hacker, *Writer’s Reference*, pages on plagiarism

Recommended:

Morgenthau *Politics Among Nations*  
Dante: *On World Government*; Machiavelli’s *Prince*;

**Week 2. Thursday 8 September - “Neo-Realism”**

Required (one of):

Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (in MJB: Keohane, Robert O. (1986) *Neorealism and its Critics*. NY: Columbia University Press.

\$Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*

Recommended:

Lebow, Richard Ned (1994) “The Long Peace, the End of the Cold War, and the Failure of Realism,” *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2. (Spring, 1994), pp. 249-277.

Rousseau, David L. 2002. “Motivations for Choice: The Salience of Relative Gains in International Relations.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/3 (June), 394-426.

Brzezinski (1998) *Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*

**Week 3. Thursday 15 September**

**Peloponnesian War as an Historical Archetype**

\$Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*  
Cornford: *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (Google books)

Recommended:

Bonner, Robert J. (1923). “The Commercial Policy of Imperial Athens,”  
Forde, Steven (1986) “Thucydides on the Causes of Athenian Imperialism,”  
Smith , Stanley Barney (1940). “The Economic Motive in Thucydides,”

**Week 4. Thursday 22 September Levels of Analysis: “Man, the State, and War.”**

\$Waltz: *Man, the State, and War*

Related Readings:

Moul, William (1973); Singer, J. David (1961)

Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* , 167-214.

**Week 5. Thursday 29 September HOLIDAY**

**Week 6. Thursday 6 October – Liberal Theory Kant's Perpetual Peace and Universal History**

MJB Kant – Perpetual Peace and Universal History (Hackett edition)

MJB Russett and Oneal's Triangulating Peace, Chapters 1-5 and 8. Skim over chapters 6-7 and the methodological appendices.

Related Readings:

Henderson, Errol (2002); Rousseau, David (2005);

**Week 7. Thursday 13 October - Mercantile Theory**

Required (one of):

\$Krasner – Defending the National Interest (1978)

\$Trubowitz, Peter – Defining the National Interest (1998)

Recommended:

Beard and Smith– *The Idea of the National Interest*

Gilpin – *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation*

Viner – “Power vs. Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” *World Politics* v. 1 no. 1 pp. 1-29

Mahon – *Influence of Sea Power*

**Week 8. Thursday 20 October (presentation by Bryan Early) part I. Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Decision Making**

*Required:* Allison, Graham T. and Philip Zelikow. 1999. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Second Edition. New York: Pearson.

Matt Fuhrmann and Bryan R. Early. 2008. "Following START: Risk Acceptance and the 1991–1992 Presidential Nuclear Initiatives." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 4(1): 21-43. Available here: <http://tinyurl.com/bryan-early-following-start>

Recommended:

Posen, Barry R. 1984; Steinbrener, John. 1974; Sagan, Scott D. 1993; Rhodes, Edward. 1994; Allison, Graham T. (1969); Krasner, Stephen D. (1972); Art, Robert J (1973); Katzenbach, Edward L. 1988; Janis (1982); Halperin (1974); Levy (1986)

**Week 9. Thursday 27 October - presentation by Bryan Early. Decision Making at the Individual level**

**Required:** \$McDermott, Rose. 2004. *Political Psychology in International Relations*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Recommended:

Levy, Jack (1997); Larson (1985); Kaufman, Chaim D. (1994); George, Alexander (1979). Falkowski (1979, pp. 95-124); Khong 1991 (pp. 302-349); Jervis (1968); McDermott (2001); Reiter (1996); Khong (1992); Jervis (1976); Lebow (1981); Jervis, Lebow, and Stein (1985); Achen and Snidal (1989), and responses by Jervis, Lebow, Stein, and Downs; George (1981); Schuman and Rieger (1992); Nisbett and Ross (1980); Kahneman, Slovic and Tversky (1982); Levy, Jack (1994); Levy, Jack (1983); Snyder (1984).

**Week 10. Thursday 3 November - The Classic Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Theories of Imperialism (Nowell)**

\$Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*

Recommended:

Nowell (2002), "Imperialism and the Era of Falling Prices,"  
Maclachlan, Fiona (2002), "J.A. Hobson and the Economists,"  
Schwartz, Herman (2002), "Hobson's voice: American Internationalism, Asian development, and global macroeconomic imbalances,"  
Wolfe, Patrick (1997). "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Post colonialism,"  
Gallagher, John A. and Ronald J. Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, v. 6 no. 1, pp. 1-15.

**Week 11. Thursday 10 November – World Systems Theory (Nowell)**

\$Wallerstein *Modern World System* v. 2

**Recommended:**

Korzeniewicz, Roberto Patricio and Timothy Patrick Moran (1997). "World-Economic Trends in the Distribution of Income, 1965-1992,"  
McCormick, Thomas J. (1990). "World Systems,"  
Gunaratne, Shelton A. (2002). "An Evolving Triadic World: A Theoretical Framework for Global Communications Research"

**Week 12. 17 November – Constructivism (with some thoughts about post-WWII neofunctionalism)**

**Required readings** (160 pp.):

Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization*, Vol. 41 (Summer 1987), pp. 335-370.

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425.

John Gerard Ruggie, What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge. *International Organization* 52 (1998) (4), 855-85.

Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 319-363 (1997).

Widmaier, Wesley (2003) "The Keynesian Bases of a Constructivist Theory of the International Political Economy," *Millennium Journal of International Studies* February 2003 32: 87-107

**Recommended:**

Samuel Barkin, "Realist Constructivism," *International Studies Review* 5 (3), 325–342(2003).

Kratochwil (1989); Onuf (1989); Katzenstein (1996); Onuf (1998, pp. 58-78); Wendt (1999).

Deutsch (1957) Political Community and the North Atlantic Area

Haas, Ernst (1964) Beyond the Nation State

Haas, Peter M and James Speth (2006) Global Environmental Governance

**Week 13. 24 November Thanksgiving – No Class**

**Week 14. 1 December LAST DAY OF CLASS - International Relations Theory and the Problem of Change**

**Required readings (191 pp):**

Walker, R.B.J. "Realism, Change, and International Political Theory, *International Studies Quarterly* 31 (March 1987): 65-86.

Koslowski, Rey and Friedrich Kratochwil, "Understanding Change in International Politics: The Soviet Empire's Demise and the International System" *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 215-47.

Keene, Edward (2007). "A Case Study of the Construction of International Hierarchy: British Treaty-Making against the Slave Trade in the Early Nineteenth Century" *International Organization*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (Spring), pp. 311-339

John Gerard Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond," *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 139-174.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 887-917.

Ian Clark, "Beyond the Great Divide: Globalization and the Theory of International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 24 (1998), 479-498.

James H Mittelman (2002) "Globalization: An Ascendant Paradigm?" *International Studies Perspectives* 3 (1), 1-14.

Robert O. Keohane, The Globalization of Informal Violence, Theories of World Politics, and the "Liberalism of Fear," *Dialogue IO* Vol. 1 Issue 1, January 2002, pp 29-43.

**Suggested reading:**

Richard Ned Lebow and Thomas Risse-Kappen (eds.), 1995; Ruggie (1998); Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton (1999).

**Course Bibliography**

**DON'T BUY OR READ EVERYTHING HERE**

**This is just a "useful list for your information"  
See week to week syllabus for required readings  
Some material will be available in pdf format**

Achen, Christopher H. and Ducan Snidal. 1989. "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies." *World Politics* 41/2 (January), 143-69. Responses by Jervis, Lebow, Stein, and Downs.

Adler, Emmanuel (1997). "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 319-363 (1997).

Allison, Graham T. and Philip Zelikow. 1999. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Second Edition. New York: Pearson.

Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, 53 (1969), 689-718.

Art, Robert J. "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique," *Policy Sciences*, 4 (1973), 467-490.

Ashley, Richard (1984) "The Poverty of Neo-Realism," *International Organization*, v. 38 no. 2, pp. 225-286.

Samuel Barkin, "Realist Constructivism," *International Studies Review* 5 (3), 325–342(2003).

Beard, Charles A., and G.H.E. Smith (1934). *The Idea of the National Interest: an Analytical Study in American Foreign Policy*, NY: Macmillan.

Beck, Nathaniel (1988) "The Illusion of Cycles in International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, v. 35 no. 4, pp. 455-71.

Beyond the Great Divide: Globalization and the Theory of International Relations, *Review of International Studies* 24 (1998), 479-498.

Bonner, Robert J. (1923). "The Commercial Policy of Imperial Athens," *Classical Philology*, Vol. 18, No. 3. (Jul.), pp. 193-201.

Boulakia, Jean David (1971). "Ibn Khaldun: A 14<sup>th</sup> Century Economist," *Journal of Political Economy*. Vol. 79, No. 5. (Sep. - Oct.), pp. 1105-1118.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew (1998) *Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, NY: Basic Books.

Carr, E.H. (2001:1939). *The Twenty Year's Crisis*. NY: Palgrave.

Chase-Dunn, Christopher, and Peter Grimes (1995). "World-Systems Analysis," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 21. (1995), pp. 387-417.

Chase-Dunn, Christopher (1998). *Global Formation: Structures of the World Economy*

NY: Rowman and Littlefield.

Clausewitz, Carl von, (1984; 1833) *On War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cornford, Francis M. (2004;1907) *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing Company.

Deutsch, Karl W.; et al. (1957). *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Doyle, Michael W. (1997) *Ways of War and Peace*. NY: W.W. Norton. Isbn 0393969479 (paper).

Enloe, Cynthia (2001;1990) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Falkowski, Lawrence S. ed. (1979) *Psychological Models in International Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. p.95-124.

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 887–917.

Fuhrmann, Matt, and Bryan R. Early. "Following START: Risk Acceptance and the 1991–1992 Presidential Nuclear Initiatives." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 4(1): 21-43. Available here: <http://tinyurl.com/bryan-early-following-start>

Forde, Steven (1986) "Thucydides on the Causes of Athenian Imperialism," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 80, No. 2. (Jun., 1986), pp. 433-448.

Fordham, Benjamin and Thomas Walker (2005) "Kantian Liberalism, Regime Type, and Military Resource Allocation: Do Democracies Spend Less?" *International Studies Quarterly* 49:141-157.

Geogre, Alexander L. 1981. *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

George, Alexander L. 1979. "The Causal Nexus Between Cognitive Beliefs and Decisionmaking Behavior: The 'Operational Code' Belief System," in Lawrence S.

Gilpin, Robert (1975). *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation: The Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment*, NY: Basic Books.

Goldstein, Joshua S. (1988) *Long cycles: Prosperity and War in the Modern Age*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Goodman, Lenn Evan (1972) "Ibn Khaldun and Thucydides," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 92, No. 2. (Apr. - Jun.), pp. 250-270.

Grunberg, Isabelle (1990) "Exploring the 'Myth' of Hegemonic Stability," *International Organization*, Vol. 44, No. 4. (Autumn), pp. 431-477.

Gunaratne, Shelton A. (2002). "An Evolving Triadic World: A Theoretical Framework for Global Communications Research," *Journal of World Systems Research*, v.8 no. 3 (Fall), pp. 330-365.

Haas, Ernest (1964). *Beyond the Nation State*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press.

Haas, Peter M and James G. Speth (2006) *Global Environmental Governance: Foundations of Contemporary Environmental Studies*, NY: Island Press, ISBN 9781597260800.

Halperin, Morton H. 1974. *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Held, David, (1999) Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt & Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations. Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1999).

Henderson, Errol (2002) *Democracy and War: The End of an Illusion?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Hobson, J.A. (1965;1902) *Imperialism: A Study*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Janis, Irving. *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign Policy*, 2nd Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982.

Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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Jervis, Robert, Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein. 1985. *Psychology and Deterrence*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kahneman, Daniel, Paul Slovic and Amos Tversky. 1982. *Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kant, Immanuel (1957). *Perpetual Peace*. NY: Macmillan.

Katzenbach, Edward L. "The Horse Cavalry in the Twentieth Century," in Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz (eds) *The Use of Force*. 3d. Ed. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988. pp. 152-171.

Katzenstein, Peter J. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Kaufmann, Chaim D. 1994. "Out of the Lab into the Archives: A Method For Testing Psychological Explanations of Political Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 38/4 (December), 557-587.

Keene, Edward (2007). "A Case Study of the Construction of International Hierarchy: British Treaty-Making against the Slave Trade in the Early Nineteenth Century," *International Organization* Vol. 61, No. 2 (Spring), pp. 311-339

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Koslowski, Rey and Friedrich Kratochwil, "Understanding Change in International Politics: The Soviet Empire's Demise and the International System" *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 215-47.

Khong, Yuen Foong. 1992. *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Khong, Yuen Foong. 1991. "The Lessons of Korea and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965." In George W. Breslauer et al. *Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy*. Boulder, CO, USA: Westview Press. (pp. 302-349).

Korzeniewicz, Roberto Patricio and Timothy Patrick Moran (1997). "World-Economic Trends in the Distribution of Income, 1965-1992," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 102, No. 4. (Jan.), pp. 1000-1039.

Krasner, Stephen (1978) *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investment and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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Lebow, Richard Ned, and Thomas Risse-Kappen (eds.), (1995) *International Relations Theory and the Transformation of the International System* (Columbia University Press, 1995).

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Levy, Jack S. 1986. "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War." *International Studies Quarterly* 30/, 193-222.

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Long, David (1995). *Towards a New Liberal Internationalism: The International Theory of J. A. Hobson*, NY: Cambridge University Press.

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Maclachlan, Fiona (2002), "J.A. Hobson and the Economists," *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, v. 25 no. 2, (Winter), pp. 297-308.

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Moul, William (1973) "The Levels of Analysis Problem Revisited" *Canadian Journal of Political Science*.

Nisbett, Richard and Lee Ross. 1980. *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment*. Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

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Posen, Barry R. 1984. *Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

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Rhodes, Edward. 1994. "Do Bureaucratic Politics Matter? Some Disconfirming Findings From The Case Of The U.S. Navy." *World Politics* 47/1 (October), 1-42.

Ruggie, John Gerard (1998) "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization*, v. 52 no. 4, pp. 855-885.

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Schwartz, Herman (2002), "Hobson's voice: American Internationalism, Asian development, and global macroeconomic imbalances," *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, v. 25 no. 2, (Winter), pp. 331-351.

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Wendt, Alexander, Steve Smith and Thomas Biersteker, eds. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*, NY: Cambridge University Press.

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