

University of Western Ontario: Department of Political Science

POLITICAL SCIENCE 9511B

Tuesdays 12:30-2:30

SSC 4103

International Relations

Winter 2018

Course Director: Dr. Adam Harmes

Office Hours: Mondays 1:30-2:30 p.m., Tuesdays 11:00-12:00 4155 SSC

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Course Description:

This course provides students with an advanced introduction to theoretical approaches and contemporary issues within the study of International Relations. The first part of the course examines explanatory theories of IR and their application to foreign policy decisions as well as to the emergence and effectiveness of international agreements, norms and institutions. The second part of the course examines the ideological component of IR theories and how they serve as a guide to foreign policy. It also examines a variety of current foreign policy issues.

Course Structure:

The course meets weekly on Tuesday afternoons from 12:30-2:30 and will consist of 13 sessions of approximately 2 hours each. Seminars will be comprised of group and class discussions focused around the readings assigned for each week.

Required Readings:

Articles for this course are available from the course instructor.

Course Evaluation:

MA Students

Weekly Reading Analyses	30%	
Attendance and Participation	10%	
Research Essay	40%	Due 13 February
Foreign Policy Analysis Paper	20%	Due 27 March

PhD Students

Weekly Reading Analyses	30%	
Attendance and Participation	10%	
Theory Application Paper #1	15%	Due 30 January
Theory Application Paper #2	15%	Due 13 February
Theory Application Paper #3	15%	Due 27 February
Theory Application Paper #4	15%	Due 20 March

Weekly Reading Analyses

For every class, each student must prepare a hand-in with two points of analysis for each reading. The hand-in must be typed, single-spaced, in sentence format with your name at the top. You should have one short paragraph for each point of analysis. Points of analysis should address either: the main argument of the reading, key concepts/theories in the reading, or how the reading addresses the week's initial question for discussion (these are listed week-by-week in the course schedule below). Points of analysis should be detailed and make specific reference to the readings through the use of quotes, page references, etc. More detail and thoughtfulness equals a higher grade.

Reading Analyses are due at the start of class with no exceptions. You must have separate notes to use for the class discussion. You must also save your weekly points of analysis and then, in the final week of the course, submit them electronically as a single document to turnitin.com through the course OWL site. Reading Analyses will be graded in 3 groups of 4 as follows:

Analyses 1-4	10%
Analyses 5-8	10%
Analyses 9-12	10%

Attendance and Participation

Attendance will be taken each week. Students may miss one class without special permission (reading analyses must be emailed to me on the day of the class). After that, students must obtain accommodation from academic counseling. Participation will be assessed by the instructor and through a peer review in the last class. Students will start with a default grade of 8/10 and will maintain it with perfect attendance and average participation. The grade will go up based on above average participation and down based on below average participation and/or missed classes.

Research Essay (MAs)

Each MA student will complete one research essay, with 10-12 typed double-spaced pages of text plus a title page and bibliography. The essay will be a standard, thesis-based research paper where students will construct an argument around their chosen topic. The introduction must include a one sentence thesis statement. Students may choose any topic that falls within the area of IR and which does not overlap with their foreign policy analysis paper. The intent is to get students working towards their MRPs and topics should ideally be directed towards these. All topics must be approved by the course instructor. Grading will be based on research, organization and presentation of the argument as well as on strong analysis and creativity of thought. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day including weekends and papers longer than 12 pages will be penalized. Extensions will only be given for documented illnesses, emergencies, etc and will not be given for workload. All essays must also be submitted to turnitin.com through the course website as outlined in class.

Foreign Policy Analysis Paper (MAs)

MA students will complete one 8-10 page, typed, double-spaced paper that analyses the debate over a current foreign policy issue. Students should select a current foreign policy issue, in Canada or the United States, where there exists a strong left-right debate. Students must choose a topic that does

not overlap with their research essay. The paper should provide:

- some empirical background on the issue based on academic sources
- an outline of two approaches to foreign policy (e.g. realism, liberal internationalism, neoconservatism, populism, socialism) based on academic sources including the course readings
- an outline of each approach's actual position on the issue as demonstrated through the views of key politicians, think tanks, NGOs and media using academic sources, think tank and NGO reports and media reports
- you must frame the paper as an argument in favour of one of the approaches
- the paper should be organized as follows: introduction with a clear thesis statement; outline of the approach you disagree with and its actual position on the issue; outline of the approach you are arguing for, its actual position on the issue and why this position is superior; conclusion

Late papers will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day including weekends and papers longer than 10 pages will be penalized. Extensions will only be given for documented illnesses, emergencies, etc and will not be given for workload. All papers must also be submitted to turnitin.com through the course website as outlined in class.

Theory Application Papers (PhDs)

PhD students will complete four theory application papers based on the topics listed below. Each paper will be 8-10 typed, double-spaced, pages in length (not including citations) with a title page and bibliography. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day including weekends and papers longer than 10 pages will be penalized. Extensions will only be given for documented illnesses, emergencies, etc and will not be given for workload. All papers must also be submitted to turnitin.com through the course website as outlined in class.

Theory Application Paper #1

This paper will focus on how different explanatory theories of IR explain national preferences and foreign policy behaviour. The paper should be framed as an argument for which theory the student thinks best explains national preferences and foreign policy behaviour overall. In addition to the course readings on national preferences, the student must find articles that apply realism/neorealism, liberal-pluralism, class analysis and constructivism to the explanation of an individual state's foreign policy decision. Ideally, the student would find articles on one or two foreign policy decisions that would allow for comparison between some of the theories. Individual articles can apply one or more theories. The student should find two examples of each theory being applied.

Theory Application Paper #2

This paper will focus on how different explanatory theories of IR explain the emergence and effectiveness of specific international agreements and/or institutions. The paper should be framed as an argument for which theory the student thinks best explains international agreements and institutions overall. In addition to the course readings, the student must find articles that apply realism/neorealism, liberal-pluralism, class analysis and constructivism/ norms to explain the emergence and effectiveness of specific international agreements and/or institutions. Ideally, the

student would find articles on one or two agreements/institutions that would allow for comparison between some of the theories. Individual articles can apply one or more theories. The student should find two examples of each theory being applied.

Theory Application Paper #3

This paper will focus on the different philosophies of science/epistemologies that inform IR theories. The paper should outline the key components of, and epistemological and methodological differences between:

- rationalist/positivist approaches such as behaviouralism and rational choice
- interpretive approaches such as poststructuralism/postmodernism
- scientific realist approaches such as constructivism, Gramscian theory

The paper should also discuss which approach informs your own work and why. Use the readings listed below and, if desired, any from the course and IR comp reading list.

Furlong, Paul, and David Marsh. 2010. "Chapter 9: A skin not a sweater: Ontology and epistemology in political science" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science, Third Edition*, pp. 184-211.

Sanders, David. 2010. "Chapter 1: Behavioural Analysis" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science, Third Edition*, pp. 23-41.

Hindmoor, Andrew. 2010. "Chapter 2: Rational Choice" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science, Third Edition*, pp. 42-59.

Parson, Craig. 2010. "Chapter 4: Constructivism and Interpretive Theory" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science, Third Edition*, pp. 80-98.

Wight, Colin. 2007. "A manifesto for scientific realism in IR: Assuming the can-opener won't work!". *Millennium*. 35(2): 379-398.

Lupovici, Amir. 2009. "Constructivist methods: a plea and manifesto for pluralism". *Review of International Studies*. 35(1): 195-218.

Theory Application Paper #4

This paper will focus on the application of different ideological approaches to foreign policy. The paper should be framed as an argument for which approach the student thinks offers the best guide to foreign policy. In addition to the course readings, the student must find articles that apply the realist, liberal internationalist, neoconservative, populist and socialist approaches to one or more specific foreign policy issues. Ideally, the student would find articles on one or two foreign policy issues that would allow for comparison between some of the theories. Individual articles can apply one or more theories. The student should find two examples of each theory being applied.

Graduate Health and Wellness:

As part of a successful graduate student experience at Western, we encourage students to make their health and wellness a priority. Western provides several on campus health-related services to help you achieve optimum health and engage in healthy living while pursuing your graduate degree. Information regarding health- and wellness-related services available to students may be found at <http://www.health.uwo.ca/>. Students seeking help regarding mental health concerns are advised to speak to someone they feel comfortable confiding in, such as their faculty supervisor, their program

director (graduate chair), or other relevant administrators in their unit. Campus mental health resources may be found at http://www.health.uwo.ca/mental_health/resources.html.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Jan. 9 Introduction: Mapping IR Theories

The first half of this class will be used to introduce the general subject matter of the course and to outline the course structure, readings and requirements. The second half of the class will include a discussion of the differences between theory and ideology and on how to categorize different IR theories. **Please bring a laptop computer.**

Jan. 16 Explaining Foreign Policy: Realism, Liberalism, Class Theory

This seminar examines realism, liberalism and class theory as explanatory theories and, in particular, how they explain national policy preferences and foreign policy decisions.

Required Readings:

- Long, David. 1995. "The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory: A Case For Closure". *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 24: 489-505.
- Dyck, Rand . 2011. *Canadian Politics; Critical Approaches, Sixth Edition*. Chapter 1, read only the 'Approaches to the Study of Politics' section, pp. 10-24.
- Waltz, Kenneth . 1996. "International politics is not foreign policy". *Security Studies*. 6(1): 54-57.
- Elman, Colin. 1996. "Cause, effect, and consistency: A response to Kenneth Waltz". *Security Studies*. 6 (1): 58-61.
- Telhami, Shibley. 2003. "An Essay on Neorealism and Foreign Policy". In A. Hanami (ed.), *Perspectives on Structural Realism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 105-118.
- Mayer, Frederick W. 1998. *Interpreting NAFTA: The Art and Science of Political Analysis*. "Interpreting the Decision to Negotiate: the Uses and Limits of International Relations Theory", pp. 51-66.

Discussion Question

What factors - such as interest groups, political party ideology, electoral considerations and national interests - most affect the foreign policy decisions of governments?

Jan. 23 Constructivism and Institutionalism

This seminar examines constructivism and institutionalism as explanatory theories and how they can combine with realism, liberalism and class theory to form the various strands of these approaches.

Required Readings:

- Blyth, Mark. 2002. *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*. "Preface" pp. vii-ix and Chapter 2 "A Theory of Institutional Change" pp. 17-46.
- Reus-Smit, Christian. 2001. "Constructivism", in S. Burchill et al (eds.), *Theories of International Relations, 3rd Edition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 188-212.

- Schmidt, Vivien . 2009. "Comparative Institutional Analysis" in T. Landman and N. Robinson (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 125-143.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity". *International Organization*. 54(4): 845-877.
- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. 2010. "Making global markets: Historical institutionalism in international political economy". *Review of International Political Economy*. 17(4): 609-638.

Discussion Question

What is the 'constitutive' role of ideas and institutions; that is, what are the different ways that ideas and institutions can influence the policy preferences of individuals and groups?

Jan. 30 Explaining International Agreements, Norms and Institutions

This seminar examines how different IR theories explain the emergence and effectiveness of international agreements, norms, and institutions.

Required Readings:

- Martin, Lisa . 1999. "The Political Economy of International Cooperation" in I. Kaul et al (eds.), *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 51-64.
- Keohane, Robert. 1988. "International Institutions: Two Approaches". *International Studies Quarterly*. 32: 379-396.
- Tannenwald, Nina. 2005. "Stigmatizing the bomb: Origins of the nuclear taboo" in Scott P. Handler (ed.), *International Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings* pp. 117-122 (full version from *International Security*. 29(4): 5-49).
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International norm dynamics and political change". *International Organization*. 52(4): 887-917.
- Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "Hard Law and Soft Law in International Governance". *International Organization*. 54(3): 421-456.

Discussion Question

What is the 'regulative' role of norms and institutions; that is, how and to what extent can norms and institutions influence and constrain state behaviour?

Feb. 6 Gender, Race and Poststructuralism

This seminar examines gender and race as key units of analysis and how they can combine with constructivist, institutionalist and poststructuralist approaches.

Required Readings:

- Carpenter, R. Charli. 2002. "Gender theory in world politics: Contributions of a nonfeminist standpoint?". *International Studies Review*. 4(3): 153-165.
- Chowdhry, Geeta. 2006. "Post-Colonial Readings of Child Labour in a Globalized Economy" in R. Stubbs and G. Underhill (eds.), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order, Third Edition*, pp. 233-244.
- Lakoff, George. 2006. *Thinking Points: Communicating Our American Values and Vision*. Chapter 4 "The Nation as Family", pp. 49-66.
- Jackson, Richard. 2007. "Constructing enemies: 'Islamic terrorism' in political and academic

discourse”. *Government and Opposition*. 42(3): 394-426.

Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and S. Smith. 2007. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. David Campbell. Chapter 11 “Poststructuralism”, pp. 203-227.

Discussion Question

How do ideas, language, categories and images related to gender and race influence individual policy preferences and state behaviour?

Feb. 13 IPE Theories and the Free Trade Debate

The seminar examines the debate over economic policy and free trade between the free market approach (liberalism/neoliberal economics) and the interventionist approach (Keynesian-welfare economics).

Required Readings:

Howlett, M., Netherton, A. and M. Ramesh. 1999. *The Political Economy of Canada: An Introduction* Chapter 2 “Liberal Political Economy”, pp. 17-35.

Harmes, Adam. 2012. “The Rise of Neoliberal Nationalism”. *Review of International Political Economy*. 19(1): 59-86.

Trebilcock Michael and Robert Howse. 1995. *The Regulation of International Trade, Second Edition*. New York Routledge, Chapter 1 “The evolution of international trade theory and policy”, pp. 1-24.

Schumer, Charles and Paul Craig Roberts. 2004. “Second Thoughts on Free Trade”. *The New York Times*. 6 January 2004, pp. 1-2.

Tapp, Stephen, Van Assche, Ari and Robert Wolfe. 2017. “A Road Map for More Inclusive Canadian Trade Policy” in S. Tapp, A. Van Assche, and R. Wolfe (eds.), *The Art of the State Vol VI: Redesigning Canadian Trade Policies for New Global Realities*. Ottawa: IRRP, pp. 593-633.

Discussion Question

What is the difference between classical liberals and neoliberals on free trade?

Feb. 20 Winter Reading Week - No Class

Feb. 27 Realist, Neoconservative and Populist Approaches to Foreign Policy

This seminar examines the normative (advocacy) aspects of realism, neoconservatism and populism as guides to foreign policy.

Required Readings:

Mearsheimer, John and Stephen M. Walt. 2016. “The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior US Grand Strategy”. *Foreign Affairs*. 95(3): 70-83.

Williams, Michael . 2005. “What is the National Interest?: The Neoconservative Challenge in IR Theory”. *European Journal of International Relations*. 11: 307-337.

Skocpol, Theda and Vanessa Williamson. 2012. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2 “What They Believe: Ideas and Passions”, pp. 45-82.

Schmidt, Brian and Michael Williams. 2008. "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives Versus Realists". *Security Studies*. 17(2): 191-220.

Zakaria, Fareed. 2016. "Populism on the March: Why the West is in Trouble". *Foreign Affairs*. 95: 9-15.

Selected media articles on the Steve Bannon and Donald Trump populist worldview.

Discussion Question

What are the key differences between the foreign policy approaches of realists, neoconservatives and Trump-style populists?

Mar. 6 Regional Integration Theory and the Case of Brexit

This seminar examines IR and comparative theories of regional integration and applies them to the European case. It also examines competing explanations of British Euroscepticism and applies them to the case of Brexit.

Required Readings:

Pollack, Mark. 2001. "International relations theory and European integration". *JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies*. 39(2): 221-244.

Van Esch, F.A.W.J. 2002. "Why States Want EMU: Developing a Theory of National Preferences" in Amy Verdun (ed.), *The Euro: European Integration Theory and Economic and Monetary Union*. New York. Roman & Littlefield Publishers, pp.51-65.

Tournier Sol, Karine. 2015. "Reworking the Eurosceptic and Conservative Traditions into a Populist Narrative: UKIP's Winning Formula?". *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 53(1): 140-156.

Baker, David, Andrew Gamble, and David Seawright. 2002. "Sovereign nations and global markets: Modern British conservatism and hyperglobalism". *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 4(3): 399-428.

Worth, Owen. 2017. "Reviving Hayek's dream". *Globalizations*. 14(1): 104-109.

Discussion Question

How do different IR and comparative theories explain the changes in British policy towards the EU and which do you find most persuasive?

Mar. 13 Liberal and Socialist Approaches to Foreign Policy

This seminar examines the normative (advocacy) aspects of liberalism and critical theory as guides to foreign policy and global governance including key concepts such as human security, global public goods and soft power.

Required Readings:

Paris, Roland. 2014. "Are Canadians still liberal internationalists? Foreign policy and public opinion in the Harper era". *International Journal*. 69(3): 274-307.

McGrew, Anthony . 2002. "Liberal Internationalism: Between Realism and Cosmopolitanism" in D. Held and A. McGrew (eds.), *Governing Globalization* Blackwell, pp. 267-289.

Mutimer, David. 1999. "Beyond Strategy: Critical Thinking and the New Security Studies" in C. Snyder (ed.), *Contemporary Security and Strategy*. Macmillan, pp. 77-99.

Engler, Yves. 2013. "The NDP's Harper-Like Foreign Policy". *Canadian Dimension Magazine*. 10 October, 2013: <https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/the-ndps-harper-like-foreign->

policy, pp. 1-5.

Prosper, Bernard . 2006. "Canada and Human Security: From the Axworthy Doctrine to Middle Power Internationalism". *The American Review of Canadian Studies*. Summer, 2006, pp. 233-261.

Nossal, Kim Richard . 1998. "Foreign Policy For Wimps". *Ottawa Citizen*. 23 April, 1998, p. A19.

Discussion Question

What are the key elements of liberal internationalism as an approach to foreign policy and how does it contrast with realism and neoconservatism?

Mar. 20 Foreign Policy Issues: Iran and North Korea

This seminar examines various foreign policy tools for managing rogue states as well as how different foreign policy approaches would deal with Russia and Iran.

Required Readings:

Dueck, Colin . 2006. "Strategies for Managing Rogue States". *Orbis*. Spring, 2006: 223-241.

Fishman, Edward. 2017. "Even Smarter Sanctions: How to Fight in the Era of Economic Warfare". *Foreign Affairs*. 96: 102-110.

Waltz, Kenneth. 2012. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability". *Foreign Affairs*. 91(4): 2-5.

Cohen, Eliot, Edelman, Eric and Ray Takeyh. 2016. "Time to Get Tough on Tehran: Iran Policy after the Deal". *Foreign Affairs*. 95(1): 1-6.

Media articles on the military options for North Korea, pp. 1-13.

Stanton, Joshua, Sung-Yoon Lee, and Bruce Klingner. 2017. "Getting Tough on North Korea: How to Hit Pyongyang Where It Hurts". *Foreign Affairs*. 96(May/June) : 65-75.

Discussion Question

What are the similarities and differences between the realist, liberal internationalist and neoconservative approaches to Iran and North Korea and which do you think is the most effective?

Mar. 27 Foreign Policy Issues: Climate Change

This seminar examines the economic of climate change as well as some of the political strategies used by those seeking to address it.

Required Readings:

TD Bank Financial Group. 2010. "Market-Based Solutions to Protect the Environment". *TD Economics Special Report*. 7 March, 2010, pp. 1-18.

Hahn, Robert W., Anne Layne-Farrar, and Peter Passel. 2003. "Federalism and regulation". *Regulation*. 26: 46-50.

Newell, Peter, and Matthew Paterson. 2010. *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3 "Climate for business: From threat to opportunity", pp. 36-59.

Gunningham, Neil. 2017. "Building Norms from The Grassroots Up: Divestment, Expressive Politics and Climate Change". *Law & Policy*. 39(4): 372-392.

Dolšák, Nives and Aseem Prakash. 2016. "We Feel Your Pain: Environmentalists, Coal Miners, and 'Embedded Environmentalism'". *Solutions*. 7(1): 32-37.

Discussion Question

Is the attempt to stigmatize fossil fuels an effective part of an overall strategy for climate action?

Apl. 3 Ethnic Conflicts Across the Middle East

This seminar examines key concepts, background and issues related to ethnic conflict in the contexts of Iraq/Syria; Saudi Arabia/Iran and the Israel/Palestine.

Required Readings:

- Kaufmann, Chaim . 2005. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars" in Robert Art and Robert Jervis (eds.) *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary issues, Seventh Edition*. New York: Pearson-Longman, pp. 496-517.
- Ben-Porat, Guy. 2006. "Markets and fences: Illusions of peace". *The Middle East Journal*. 60(2): 311-328.
- Gause, Gregory F. 2014. "Beyond sectarianism: The new Middle East cold war". Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper. 11: 1-27.
- Brands, Hal, and Peter Feaver. 2017. "Trump and Terrorism: US Strategy after ISIS". *Foreign Affairs*. 96(March/April): 28-36.
- Freedman, Robert O. 2017. "The Obama Legacy in the Middle East and the Trump Challenge". *India Quarterly*. 73(2): 241-250.

Discussion Question

Who are the key actors and issues in each of these conflicts and what do the realist, liberal and neoconservative approaches advocate towards them?

Apl. 10 Foreign Policy Issues: Russia, Information Operations and Hybrid War

This seminar examines the recent foreign policy behaviour of Russia, including the use of information operations and hybrid war, and how the West might respond.

Required Readings:

- Daalder, Ivo H. 2017. "Responding to Russia's Resurgence: Not Quiet on the Eastern Front". *Foreign Affairs*. 96 (November/December): 30-38.
- Thornton, Rod. 2015. "The Changing Nature of Modern Warfare: Responding to Russian Information Warfare". *The RUSI Journal*. 160(4): 40-48.
- Mearsheimer, John. 2014. "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin". *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2014, pp. 1-12.
- Stout, Mark. 2017. "Covert Action in the Age of Social Media". *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. 18(2): 94-103.
- Starr, S. Frederick and Svante E. Cornell. 2014. "Tactics and instruments in Putin's grand strategy" in *Putin's Grand Strategy: The Eurasian Union and its Discontents*, pp. 59-82.
- Ashford, Emma . 2016. "Not-So-Smart Sanctions: The Failure of Western Restrictions Against Russia". *Foreign Affairs*. 95: 114-123.

Discussion Question

What are the main characteristics of hybrid war and information operations?