University of Western Ontario: Department of Political Science

POLITICAL SCIENCE 9511A Tuesdays 12:30-2:30, SSC 4112

International Relations

Fall 2019

Course Director: Dr. Adam Harmes Office Hours: Mondays 1:30-2:30 p.m., Tuesdays 11:00-12:00 4155 SSC Email: aharmes@uwo.ca

Course Description:

This course provides students with an advanced introduction to the politics of international relations and foreign policy with an emphasis on contemporary issues and cases. The first part of the course examines different approaches to foreign policy and international relations including realism, liberalism, neoconservatism, conservative populism, and progressivism. The second part of the course examines the debate between these approaches across different issues and cases. The course also examines the institutions, history and politics of Canadian foreign policy. For PhD students, the course assignments focus on the explanatory theories of IR - such as neorealism, liberalism, constructivism, and critical theory - that will form the basis for their comprehensive exam.

Course Structure and Readings::

Seminars will be comprised of student presentations as well as class discussions focused around the readings assigned for each week. Articles for this course are available from the course instructor.

Course Evaluation:

MA Students		
Presentation	10%	Due in scheduled class
Reading Analyses and Participation	20%	Due start of class each week
Essay Proposal Form		Due 15 October
Take Home Assignment #1	15%	Due 22 October
Primary Research Essay	40%	Due Friday 22 November
Take Home Assignment #2	15%	Due 3 December
PhD Students		
Reading Analyses and Participation	20%	Due start of class each week
PhD Exam Prep Paper #1	20%	Due 15 October
Take Home Assignment #1	10%	Due 22 October
PhD Exam Prep Paper #2	20%	Due 12 November
PhD Exam Prep Paper #3	20%	Due 26 November
PhD Exam Prep Paper #3 Take Home Assignment #2	20% 10%	Due 26 November Due 3 December

Presentation (MAs)

In the assigned weeks, two MA students will each present one side of a current foreign policy debate and then take questions. Each student will present for 10 minutes (max), using PPT, to make their case. There will be no cross examination or debate between the presenters. After each has presented, they will take questions and defend their positions to the class.

Each presentation must include:

- the use of PowerPoint following the format discussed in class
- a 1 page, typed, single-spaced outline of the presentation for the instructor only
- a printout of the Power Point presentation in the "handout, 6 slides per page" format for the instructor only
- <u>students must bring their cell phones</u> your presentation will be videoed with your phone to allow for self-critique

Student presentations will be graded based on effort, oral presentation and PPT skills, and defense of the argument. A sign-up sheet for the presentations will be posted on the instructor's office door immediately following our first class. Students must sign-up for a presentation before our second class starts.

Essay Proposal Form (MAs)

MA students will complete and submit the very short Essay Proposal Form on the due date. The purpose of the form is to have MA students select their essay format/topic prior to our in-class workshop on researching primary documents. This will allow them to conduct actual research for their essay during the workshop. The form will be graded as part of the overall essay grade.

Primary Document Research Essay (MAs)

Each MA student will complete one primary document research essay, with 12-15 typed double-spaced pages of text plus a title page and bibliography. An e-copy of the paper must be submitted to turnitin.com through the course OWL site before midnight on the Friday due date. A hard copy of the paper must then be brought to the class on Tuesday. Papers will not be marked until a hard copy is received. Extensions will only be given for <u>documented</u> illnesses, emergencies, etc. and will not be given for workload. <u>Late assignments will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day</u> including weekends to a maximum of 10%. Late essays will be counted as received on the date they are uploaded to OWL. A hard copy of the late essay must also be submitted under the instructor's office door. Students will choose one of the following essay formats:

1. Research the Debate Between Two Approaches Over a Foreign Policy Issue

Pick a Canadian or US foreign policy issue/country not covered in class. Pick two of the approaches to foreign policy (i.e. realism, liberal internationalism, neoconservatism, conservative populism, and progressivism) or to economics (i.e. free market or interventionist) that disagree on the issue. Research the views of key actors from the two approaches using primary documents and media reports and argue in favour of one side.

2. Compare the Foreign Policy Positions of Canadian Political Parties

Research the foreign policy positions taken by the three main political parties in the current election

and the previous two elections using primary documents and media reports.

3. Conduct a Primary Source Literature Review of an International Issue

Pick an international issue such as climate change, human rights, cyber security, gender rights, the future of NATO, terrorism, poverty and inequality, corruption, etc., etc. Find reports on the issue (minimum 20) from as many relevant IOs and NGOs as possible as well as from the Canadian and US Governments where possible. Pick a specific IO, NGO or the Canadian or US government for whom you will be writing the literature review as a way to frame the essay. Write a literature review on the issue using quotes and data from the primary documents and make policy recommendations to the organization for whom you are writing the review.

Reading Analyses and Participation (MA and PhD)

For every class, students must submit a 1 page, typed, single-spaced analysis of that week's readings. The analysis must be in sentence format with your name typed at the top. The analysis should summarize and comment on the key approaches, issues and/or arguments outlined in that week's readings and should include a few quotes and page citations from the readings.

Hard copies of the analyses are due at the start of class with no exceptions. Each late reading analysis will receive a 2% penalty off the grade for that batch of analyses. Electronic copies of the first 5 reading analyses must be submitted to turnitin, as a single document, on the day the 5th analysis is due. Electronic copies of the last 4 reading analyses must be submitted to turnitin, as a single document, on the day the last analysis is due.

Students will receive an overall grade for their first 5 reading analyses and their participation in the first half of the course worth 10 percent. They will then receive a second grade for their last 4 reading analyses and participation in the second half of the course, worth another 10 percent. Participation grading will be based on class attendance, participation in class discussions and peer assessment.

Take Home Assignment #1 (MA and PhD)

Students will write a take home assignment based on the material covered in the first half of the course. The assignment will consist of long-answer questions on the different approaches to foreign policy, and their application to the Canadian context, as outlined in the readings and in points made by the instructor in class. Students will use the readings and notes made during class to answer the questions. No extra readings or research are required. The assignment will be posted on the course OWL site at noon on the Sunday before class. A typed hard copy of each student's answers are then due in class on the due date. There are no other readings, presentations or assignments due in this week.

Take Home Assignment #2 (MA and PhD)

Students will write a second take home assignment based on the material covered in the second half of the course. The assignment will consist of questions on the application of the different approaches to foreign policy to the cases discussed in class. Students will use the readings and notes made during class to answer the questions. No extra readings or research are required. The assignment will be posted on the course OWL site at noon on the Sunday before class. A typed hard

copy of each student's answers are then due in class on the due date. There are no other readings, presentations or assignments due in this week.

PhD Exam Prep Paper

PhD students will complete three PhD exam prep papers (below) as outlined in the PhD Exam Prep Paper Instructions available on the OWL site.

PhD Exam Prep Paper #1: Epistemology, Theory and IR's Four Great Debates

PhD Exam Prep Paper #2: Explaining International Treaties, Norms and Institutions

PhD Exam Prep Paper #3: Explaining Foreign Policy Decisions: The Case of the Iraq War Students will use the readings listed in the instructions and which are available on the OWL site. No other research is required for the papers. Each paper should address the questions listed in the instructions and this should include a minimum of 1 page, typed, double-spaced summary per reading to a maximum of 15 pages. The paper should have a title page, bibliography and in-text citations and should use quotes and citations from the readings.

Hard copies of the papers are due at the start of class on the due date. Students must also email an electronic copy to the course instructor on the due date. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day including weekends to a maximum of 10%. Extensions will only be given for documented illnesses, emergencies, etc and will not be given for workload. Late papers will be counted as received on the date they are emailed to the course instructor. A hard copy of the late paper must also be submitted under the instructor's office door.

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

Sept. 10 Course Introduction and the Institutions of Canadian Foreign Policy

The first half of this seminar 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 seminar will include a presentation on the institutions of Canadian foreign policy and the debate over whether Canada should create a foreign intelligence service. We will then discuss this debate as well as tips on how to give a PowerPoint presentation. Please bring a laptop computer.

Sept. 17 The Rise and Fall of Great Powers and Economic Orders

This seminar examines cyclical and linear views of international history and what they tell us about the contemporary world order. This includes: realist theories of the rise and fall of great powers and hegemonic stability theory; political economy theories of the rise and fall of economic orders (such as Polanyi's double movement); and liberal theories of the more linear progress of history.

Required Readings:

- Puchala, Donald. 2003. "International Theory and Cyclical History". *Theory and History in International Relations*. pp. 51-72.
- Puchala, Donald. 2003. ""Liberal Theory and Linear History". *Theory and History in International Relations*. pp. 189-213.
- Snyder, Jack. 2019. "The Broken Bargain: How Nationalism Came Back". *Foreign Affairs*. 98(2): 54-60.
- Walt, Stephen. 2011. "The End of the American Era". *The National Interest*. November/December, pp. 6-16.
- Layne, Christopher. 2009. "The Waning of US Hegemony Myth or Reality?: A Review Essay". *International Security*. 34(1): 147-172.
- Zakaria, Fareed. 2008. "The Rise of the Rest". Newsweek. 12 May, 2008, pp. 1-10.

Sept. 24 Conservative Approaches to Foreign Policy and Economics

This seminar examines different factions of the conservative movement and their approaches to foreign policy and economics. This includes: neoconservative security hawks; libertarian free market proponents (a.k.a. economic neoliberals); and populist conservatives.

Required Readings:

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

Buchanan, Patrick. 2004. "No End to War". The American Conservative. Pp 1-8.

Trump, Donald. 2015/2017. "Presidential Campaign Announcement" and "Inaugural Address", pp. 1-5.

- Schweller, Randall. 2018. "Three Cheers for Trump's Foreign Policy: What the Establishment Misses". *Foreign Affairs*. 97(5):133-143.
- Harmes, Adam. 2019. "The Neoliberal Approach to Multilevel Governance". *The Politics of Fiscal Federalism: Neoliberalism versus Social Democracy in Multilevel Governance*. McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 30-56.
- Paul, Rand. 2018. "It's Time for a New American Foreign Policy". *The National Interest*. 12 March, 2019, pp. 1-9.

Media articles on Trump's foreign policy, pp. 1-5.

Oct. 1 The Realist Approach to Foreign Policy and Economics

This seminar examines the realist approach to foreign policy and economics which tends to occupy the centre of the political spectrum in U.S. foreign policy. This seminar will also be used to discuss the requirements for the MA primary research essay.

Required Readings:

Schmidt, Brian and Michael Williams. 2008. "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War:

- Neoconservatives Versus Realists". Security Studies. 17(2): 191-220.
- Mearsheimer, John and Stephen M. Walt. 2016. "The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior US Grand Strategy". *Foreign Affairs*. 95(3): 70-83.
- Brands, Hal, Peter Feaver, John J. Mearsheimer, and Stephen M. Walt. 2016. "Should America Retrench: The Battle over Offshore Balancing". *Foreign Affairs*. 95: 164-169.
- Lind, Michael. 2018. "John Mearsheimer on International Relations, Great Power Politics, and the Age of Trump". *The National Interest*. 15 December, 2018, pp. 1-15.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1987. "The Nationalist Perspective". *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton University Press, pp. 31-34.
- Mearsheimer, John. 1994. "The False Promise of International Institutions". *International Security*. 19(3), pp.5-49.

Oct. 8 Liberal and Progressive Approaches to Foreign Policy and Economics

This seminar examines left-of-centre approaches to foreign policy and economics including liberal internationalism, the emerging progressive approach to foreign policy, and the social democratic approach to economics.

Required Readings:

- Ikenberry, John. 2009. "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order". *Perspectives on Politics*. 7(1): 71-87.
- Harmes, Adam. 2019. "The Social Democratic Approach to Multilevel Governance". *The Politics of Fiscal Federalism: Neoliberalism versus Social Democracy in Multilevel Governance*. McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 57-86.
- Beauchamp, Zack. 2017. "Why Democrats have No Foreign Policy Ideas". *Vox.com*. 5 December 2017, pp. 1-12.
- Beinart, Peter. 2018. "America Needs an Entirely New Foreign Policy for the Trump Age". *The Atlantic*. 16 September 2018, pp. 1-13.
- Jackson. 2018. "Wagering on a Progressive versus Liberal Theory of National Security". *Texas National Security Review*. 2(1): 175-180.
- Robertson, Derek. 2018. "Bernie Sanders Is Quietly Remaking the Democrats' Foreign Policy in His Own Image". *Politico.com*. October 17, 2018, pp. 1-7.
- Warren, Elizabeth. 2019. "A Foreign Policy for All". Foreign Affairs. 29 November 2018, pp. 1-7.

Oct. 15 Approaches to Canadian Foreign Policy

This seminar examines the basic history of Canadian foreign policy as well as the different approaches to foreign policy in the Canadian context.

Required Readings:

- Simpson, Erika. 1999. "The Principles of Liberal Internationalism According to Lester Pearson". *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 34(1): 75-92.
- Bernard, Prosper. 2006. "Canada and Human Security: From the Axworthy Doctrine to Middle Power Internationalism". *The American Review of Canadian Studies*. Summer, 2006, pp. 233-261.
- Narine, Shaun. 2017. "Stephen Harper and the radicalization of Canadian Foreign Policy" in Patrick J. Lewis and Joanna Everitt (eds.), *The Blueprint: Conservative Parties and Their Impact*

- on Canadian Politics. University of Toronto Press, pp. 314-334.
- 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.
- Burney, Derek. 2018. "Where does Canada fit in a world ruled by the 'law of the jungle'?". *Globe and Mail*. 26 December 2018, pp. 1-2.

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

- **MA Essay Proposal Form Due**
- **PhD Exam Prep Essay #1 Due**
- **MA and PhD submit first five reading analyses to turnitin**

Oct. 22 Workshop on Researching Primary Documents

This seminar will be used to conduct a workshop on researching different types of primary documents. Students must bring their laptops. In participating in the workshop, students will be able to conduct initial research for their essays. There are no required readings or reading analyses this week as the first take home assignment is due.

Take Home Assignment # 1 Due

Oct. 29 Approaches to Ethnic Conflict: The Israel-Palestine Conflict

This seminar examines different approaches to resolving ethnic conflict in general and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular. It also examines what the different approaches to foreign policy advocate in terms of US and Canadian foreign policy towards 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.
- Snow, Donald. 2016. "The Israeli-Palestinian Impasse". Cases in International Relations, Sixth Edition, pp. 64-84.
- Ben-Porat, Guy. 2006. "Markets and fences: Illusions of peace". *The Middle East Journal*. 60(2): 311-328.
- Gries, Peter. 2015. "How Ideology Divides American Liberals and Conservatives over Israel. *Political Science Quarterly*. 130(1): 51-78.

Media articles on foreign policy towards Israel/Palestine.

Nov. 5 Fall Reading Week - No Class

Nov. 12 Approaches to Rogue States: Iran and North Korea

This seminar examines different approaches to dealing with rogue states and nuclear proliferation in the cases of both Iran and North Korea.

Required Readings:

- Snow, Donald. 2014. "Proliferation: The Case of North Korea". *Cases in International Relations, Sixth Edition*, pp. 106-124.
- Snow, Donald. 2014. "Pivotal States: Confronting and Accommodating Iran". Cases in

- *International Relations, Sixth Edition*, pp. 125-144.
- Friedman, Thomas. 2015. "Obama Makes His Case on Iran Nuclear Deal". *The New York Times*. 14 July, 2015, pp.1-6.
- Waltz, Kenneth. 2012. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability". *Foreign Affairs*. 91(4): 2-5.
- Winnefeld, James and Michael Morell. 2017. "Realism and North Korea". *The Cipher*. 2 July 2017, pp. 1-4.
- Bolton, John. 2015. "To Stop Iran's Bomb, Bomb Iran". *The New York Times*. 26 March 2015, pp. 1-2.
- Stanton Joshua, Sung-Yoon Lee and Bruce Klingner. 2017. "Getting Tough on North Korea: How to Hit Pyongyang Where It Hurts". *Foreign Affairs*. 96(3): 65-75.
- Friedman, Uri. 2017. "Lindsey Graham Reveals the Dark Calculus of Striking North Korea". *The Atlantic*. 1 August 2017, pp. 1-3.
- **PhD Exam Prep Essay #2 Due**

Nov. 19 Approaches to Great Powers I: Russia

This seminar examines the history of US-Russian relations during the Cold War and contemporary periods and what the different approaches advocate in terms of dealing with Russia in the context of current issues.

Required Readings:

- Crockatt, Richard. 2001. "The End of the Cold War" in J. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations, Second Edition*, pp. 92-108.
- Lukyanov, Fyodor. 2016. "Putin's Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia's Rightful Place". *Foreign Affairs*. 95(3): 30-37.
- 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.
- Mearsheimer, John. 2014. "Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin". *Foreign Affairs*. 93(5): 1-12.
- McFaul, Michael. 2018. "Russia As It Is". Foreign Affairs. 97(4): 82-92.
- Thiessen, Marc. 2018. "Will Democrats still be Russia hawks when Trump is gone?". *The Washington Post*. 25 July 2018, pp. 1-2.
- Vogel, Kenneth. 2019. "Republicans Break Ranks Over Move to Lift Sanctions on Russian Oligarch's Firms. *The New York Times*. 15 January 2019, pp 1-3.
- Oprysko, Caitlin and Nahal Toosi. 2019. "NATO chief calls for confronting Russia in speech to Congress". *Politico*. 04/03/2019, pp. 1-5.
- **MA Primary Research Essay due to turnitin Friday after this class**

Nov. 26 Approaches to Great Powers II: China

This seminar examines current issues in US-China and Canada-China relations and what the different approaches advocate in terms of dealing with China.

Required Readings:

Mearsheimer, John J. 2010. "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia". The

- Chinese Journal of International Politics. 3(4): 381-396.
- Shirk, Susan. 2017. "Trump and China: Getting to yes with Beijing". Foreign Affairs. 96(2): 1-7.
- Mastro, Oriana Skylar and Jeane Kirkpatrick. 2019. "The Stealth Superpower: How China Hid Its Global Ambitions". *Foreign Affairs*. 98(1): 1-9.
- Lim, Jolson. 2019. "Scheer calls for 'total reset' in Canada's ties with China; support for alliances". *iPolitics.ca*. May 7, 2019, pp. 1-3.
- Grauer, Perrin. 2019. "Why experts say Canada should follow Australia's lead on China in wake of Huawei crisis". thestar.com, 13 February 2019, pp. 1-5.
- McCullough, J.J. 2019. "Canada's leaders must reevaluate ties to China". *The Washington Post*. 16 May 2019, pp. 1-3.
- Bannon, Steve. 2019. "Steve Bannon: We're in an economic war with China. It's futile to compromise". *The Washington Post*. 6 May 2019, pp. 1-3.
- Manthorpe, Jonathan. 2019. "Canada must reassess its approach to China if not, we may get steamrolled by the world's new juggernaut". *The Globe and Mail*. 30 January, 2019, pp. 1-4.
- **PhD Exam Prep Essay #3 Due**
- **MA and PhD submit last four reading analyses to turnitin**

Dec. 3 Foreign Policy Issue Discussion

This seminar will be used for student presentations and class discussion on a current foreign policy issue. There are no required readings or reading analyses this week as the second take home assignment is due. If time permits, we may also discuss the role of geography and categories in IR. **Take Home Assignment #2 Due