

POLITICAL SCIENCE 244
International Politics: State Behaviour

Fall 2015

McGill University

MW(F) 3:35-4:25PM Leacock Building room 132

Professor Daniel Douek, PhD
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Office hours and phone # TBA

Course Description

International Relations (IR), the foundational subfield of Political Science, is predicated upon the study of state behaviour. Through analyzing the state, IR has sought to explain the major processes and outcomes of human history, including war, alliance formation, cooperation, and peacemaking. Like the field of IR itself, this course will place an emphasis on studying states' preoccupation with security in the context of the anarchic world system. We will examine and compare the various schools of thought in IR, including realism, neo-realism, liberalism, institutionalism, game theory, and constructivism. These paradigms will come to life through the lens of events such as World War I, World War II, the Cold War, the end of the Cold War, the 9/11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and the Allied invasion of Iraq. We will also explore critical streams of IR theory such as Marxism, feminism, and developing area studies.

Readings

The course readings are available in the course-pack available at the University bookstore. Copies of the course-pack will also be placed on 3-hour reserve at the library; also, many of the readings are journal articles that you can access digitally or in hard copy via the University library. *Recommended readings are **not mandatory***; they are intended to give you further perspective, and to serve as suggested sources for your research essay.

There are no prerequisites for this course.

Requirements

- **Come to class prepared:** Do all the assigned readings before class. This is important in order for you to be able to follow the lectures, which will build on (rather than just review) the readings, and for participation in your conferences.
- **Attend class and take notes:** The lectures will not be recorded, and they will go far beyond the material in the textbook, so you will need to absorb and retain the lecture contents in order to succeed.
- **Check the course website regularly:** I will post assignments, announcements, and other key features of the course on our website. I will remind you about this in class, but it is your responsibility to keep up with any and all online aspects of the course.
- **Keep up with the news:** One of the most useful things about political science is

that it helps us to understand current events. You'll get more out of this class if you read the news regularly. Good news sources include CBC, Globe and Mail, New York Times, BBC World, the Nation, the Financial Times, Al-Jazeera, the Washington Post, the Economist, Foreign Policy, and The Week, among others.

Assessments and Grading

- **CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (10%):** This portion of your grade is based on attendance and participation in your weekly conference sections. Attendance is mandatory and will be recorded at every conference. You should show up to the conferences having done the readings and prepared to discuss and analyze them. Your TA is also your first point of contact for the course, and will hold office hours to help you understand the course material and assignments.
- **CONFERENCE PRESENTATION (10%):** You will sign up at the beginning of the semester to do a 15-minute group presentation in your conference section based on the assigned readings for that week.
- **IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM (20%):** The exam will take place in class on **Wednesday 7 October**.
- **RESEARCH ESSAY (30%):** The research essay will be 10-12 double-spaced pages in length. It will give you the opportunity to develop your analytical skills, and to explore an aspect of the course material in more depth. I will post suggested topics and guidelines online on **Friday 16 October**; the essay is due at the beginning of class on **Monday 30 November**.
- **FINAL EXAM (30%):** The final exam is to be scheduled by the University during the final exam period after the end of classes. The exam will be cumulative.

PLEASE NOTE: Late work submitted without a doctor's note will be accepted with a penalty of 10% per day late. Excuses without a doctor's note will not be accepted.

Make-up assignments *will be offered only if a student misses an exam for a valid medical reason backed up by a doctor's note.* If you are unhappy with your grade and wish to be granted special permission to complete a supplementary assignment for extra credit, or to have future work count for a greater percentage of your final grade, ***the answer is NO.*** This would be very unfair to the rest of the class.

Students with disabilities: Students with disabilities should register with the Office for Students with Disabilities and follow its procedures for obtaining assistance. If you need any assistance or modifications relating to disabilities, please come see me as early as possible in the semester and I will work with you and the Office for Students with Disabilities to accommodate your needs appropriately and fairly.

Fair Warnings: Lateness is disruptive. Please do not arrive to class late. You may take notes on a laptop computer, but be sure to **switch off your ringer** and put away all cell phones and other electronics before the start of class. **Texting and using social media in the classroom is incredibly disruptive** for student and teacher alike; I ask you all to refrain from electronically distracting yourselves, and in return, I pledge to make our class as riveting as I possibly can.

Plagiarism: Adhere to standards of academic honesty. Plagiarism is the presentation of other people's work (published as books or articles, in printed or electronic form, or not published, as is the case with your colleagues' work done for this class or another) as one's own. It includes the verbatim quotation of others' work without acknowledging the fact that it is a quotation and/or without providing a reference to the original source. It also includes paraphrasing others' substantive arguments without acknowledging the source. You will be given a handout related to this issue early in the semester. Everybody taking this course will therefore be informed about what constitutes plagiarism – and be prepared to avoid it. At all times: feel free to consult with your TA if you are unsure about what is and what is not proper conduct. It is absolutely fine to be unsure. On the other hand, it is absolutely not acceptable to engage in plagiarism, either by 'mistake' or knowingly. Please ask! Please read the statement below:

"McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/ for more information). (approved by Senate on 29 January 2003)

Language: In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. *Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).*

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Course Schedule

Friday 4 September: Course Introduction

Monday 7 September: *Labour Day - No Class*****

Wednesday 9 September: The Roots of Realism

Niccolo Machiavelli (1515) *The Prince* Chapter 5, 15, 17, 18 and 21 (these are brief chapters) <http://www.constitution.org/mac/prince00.htm>

Thomas Hobbes (1651) *Leviathan*, Chapter 13
<http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hobbes/thomas/h68l/chapter13.htm>

Hans J. Morgenthau (1966) *Politics Among Nations* 4th Ed., (New York: Knopf), Chapters 1-4 (pp. 3-55)

Recommended:

Thucydides --“The Melian Dialogue”

Edward H. Carr (1939) *The Twenty Years' Crisis. 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (London: Macmillan) Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-40), and Chapters 5-7 and 9 (63-169)

Friday 11 September: Balance-of-Power Theory

John Mearsheimer (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton), Chapter 5

Recommended:

Kenneth Waltz (1979) *Theory of International Politics* (MA: Addison-Wesley)

“Conversations with History: Kenneth Waltz”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9eV5gPIPZg>

John J. Mearsheimer (2001) “Structural Realism”

<http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/StructuralRealism.pdf>

Monday 14 September: Realism, Neo-Realism, and War

Gideon Rose (1998) “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy,” *World Politics*, Vol 51, No. 1 (October)

Kenneth Waltz (1988), “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory” (excerpts in Betts, *Conflict After the Cold War* (4th ed., 2013), pp. 100-106).

Stephen Walt (1987), *The Origins of Alliances* (excerpts in Art & Jervis, *International Politics* (12th ed., 2015), pp. 110-117)

Recommended:

Shing Tang (2009) “Taking Stock of Neoclassical Realism,” *International Studies Review*, 11/4 (December), pp. 798-803

Stephen M. Walt (1997) “The Progressive Power of Realism,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (December), pp. 931-935

Wednesday 16 September: IR Theory and WWI

Snyder and Christensen (1990) “Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity,” *International Organization*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring)

Recommended:

Keir Lieber (2007) “The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory,” *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2

Friday 18 September: IR Theory and WWII

Jeffrey Hughes (1988) “The Origins of World War II in Europe: British Deterrence Failure and German Expansionism,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring)

Recommended:

Mark Haas (2003) “Ideology and Alliances: British and French External Balancing Decisions in the 1930s,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 4

Week of Monday 21 September: *Conferences Begin*****

Monday 21 September: Nuclear Weapons and the Prospect of War

Robert Art (1980), “To What Ends Military Power?” (excerpts in Art & Jervis, *International Politics* (12 2015), pp. 145-151).

Scott Sagan, (1997) “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb,” *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter)

Recommended:

Kenneth Waltz (2012), “More May Be Better.”

Scott Sagan (2012), “More Will Be Worse.”

Wednesday 23 September: Case Study- Iran as an Emerging Nuclear Power

Eric Edelman, Andrew Krepinevich, and Evan Montgomery (2011) “The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran: The Limits of Containment,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 1 (2011)

Kenneth Waltz (2012) “Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 4

Recommended:

Jacques Hymans (2012) “Botching the Bomb: Why Nuclear Weapons Programs Often Fail on Their Own – and Why Iran’s Might, Too,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 3

Monday 28 September: Liberalism

Andrew Moravcsik (1997), “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,” *International Organization* 51:4, pp. 513-553.

Recommended:

Michael W. Doyle (1986) “Liberalism and World Politics” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 80

Wednesday 30 September: The Liberal Critique of Realism

Andrew Moravcsik and Jeffrey Legro (1999) “Is Anybody Still a Realist?” *International Security* Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall), pp. 5–55

Recommended:

John G. Ikenberry (1998) “Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of Great Power Order.” *International Security* (Winter) Vol. 23(3), pp. 43-78

Monday 5 October: The Second Image- The Impact of Domestic Politics

Robert Putnam (1988), "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42:3, pp. 427-460.

Recommended:

Ed Mansfield and Jack Snyder (2002) “Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Spring)

Wednesday 7 October: Midterm Exam In Class

Monday 12 October: *Thanksgiving - No Class*****

Wednesday 14 October: The Democratic Peace Theory

Maoz, Zeev, and Bruce Russett (1993) “Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 87, No. 3 (September) pp. 624-638

Christopher Layne (1994), "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19:2, pp. 5- 49

Recommended:

Henderson, Errol. 2008. “Disturbing the Peace: African Warfare, Political Inversion, and the Universality of the Democratic Peace Thesis,” *British Journal of Political Science*, (39) pp.25-58

Friday 16 October: *Essay topics and guidelines posted online*****

Monday 19 October: Strategic Problems and Institutional Solutions

Arthur Stein (1982), “Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World,” *International Organization* 36:2, pp. 299-324.

Kenneth Oye (1985), “Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies,” *World Politics* 38:1, pp. 1-24.

Recommended:

Robert Jervis (1986), “From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation,” Oye (ed.), *Cooperation under Anarchy*, pp. 58-79.

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (1998) "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age." *Foreign Affairs*. September/October

Wednesday 21 October: Do Institutions Change Anything?

John Mearsheimer (1995), “The False Promise of International Institutions,” *International Security* 19:3, pp. 5-49

Recommended:

Robert Keohane (1993), “Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge After the Cold War,” Baldwin (ed.), *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, Chapter 11

Monday 26 October: Game Theory

Dixit et al - Chapters 2 & 3

Recommended:

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1985) “Symposium on Methodological Foundations of the Study of International Conflict,” *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 29

Stephen Walt (1999) “Rigor or Rigor Mortis: Rational Choice and Security Studies”. *International Security* vol. 23, no. 4 (Spring) pp. 5-48

Wednesday 28 October: Cognitive Psychology and Decision-Making

Robert Jervis (1968) “Hypotheses on Misperception,” *World Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (April)

Recommended:

Graham Allison (1969) “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (September)

Monday 2 November: IR Theory and the End of the Cold War

William Wohlforth (1994) “Realism and the End of the Cold War,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3

Recommended:

Richard Ned Lebow (1994) “The Long Peace, the End of the Cold War, and the Failure of Realism” *International Organization* 48, 2, (Spring) pp. 249-277

Wednesday 4 November: Constructivism

Alexander Wendt (1992) “Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” *International Organization* 46:2, pp. 391-425.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (2001) "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics" *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 4, pp. 391-416

Recommended:

Alexander Wendt (1995), "Constructing International Politics," *International Security* 20:1, pp. 71-81

Ted Hopf (1998) "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security*, Vol. 23, Issue 1 (Summer) pp. 171-200

Dale Copeland (2000), "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay," *International Security* 25:2, pp. 187-212

Monday 9 November: Constructivism Part II

Alexander Wendt (1994), "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *American Political Science Review* 88:2, pp. 384-396.

John Mearsheimer (1995), "A Realist Reply," *International Security* 20:1, pp. 82-93.

Recommended:

Thomas Risse-Kappen (1994) "Ideas do not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War," *International Organization* 48:2, pp. 185-214

Michael C. Williams (2003) "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 47 pp. 511-531

Wednesday 11 November: Visions of the Post-Cold War Order

Francis Fukuyama (1989), "The End of History?" (excerpts in Betts, *Conflict After the Cold War* (4th ed., 2013), pp. 6-18).

Samuel Huntington (1993), "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72:3, pp. 22-49.

Recommended:

John Mearsheimer (1990), "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War," (excerpts in Betts, *Conflict After the Cold War* (4th ed., 2013), pp. 18-35)

Monday 16 November: Anarchy, Hierarchy and Hegemony

David Kang (2010), *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (excerpts in Art & Jervis, *International Politics* (12th ed., 2015), pp. 117- 120).

Alexander Wendt & Daniel Friedheim (1995), "Hierarchy under Anarchy: Informal Empire and the East German State," *International Organization* 49:4, pp. 689-721.

Recommended:

G. John Ikenberry & Charles Kupchan (1990), "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," *International Organization* 44:3, pp. 283-315.

Wednesday 18 November: Critical and Marxist IR Perspectives

Andrew Linklater (1986) 'Realism, Marxism and Critical International Theory', *Review of International Studies* Vol. 12, 1986: 301-312.

Robert Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method." *International Relations: Critical Concepts in Political Science* Vol. III. 1207-1222

Recommended:

Steve Smith (2001) "Alternative and Critical Perspectives," in Frank Harvey and Michael Brecher (eds.) *Critical Perspectives in International Studies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press) pp. 27-44

Stephen Hobden and Richard Wyn Jones, "Marxist Theories of International Relations," *The Globalization of World Politics*, pp. 130-147.

Monday 23 November: Feminist IR Perspectives

Carol Cohn (1987) "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12, pp.687-718.

Robert O. Keohane (1989) "International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint," *Millennium* 18 (Summer): 245-53.

Cynthia Weber (1994) "Good Girls, Little Girls, and Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's Critique of Feminist International Relations." *Millennium* 23/2, pp. 337-49.

Recommended:

J. Ann Tickner, "Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama." *International Studies Review* 1, 3 (Fall 1999), 3-12.

V. Spike Peterson (2004) "Feminist Theories Within, Invisible To, and Beyond IR." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* (Winter/Spring) Volume X, Issue 2
<http://www.watsoninstitute.org/bjwa/archive/10.2/Feminist%20Theory/Peterson.pdf>

Tickner, J. Ann (1997) "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists" *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 41 No. 4, pp. 611-632

Wednesday 25 November: Does IR Theory Describe the Whole World?

Steven R. David (1991) "Explaining Third World Alignment," *World Politics* 43, pp. 233-256

William Brown (2006) "Africa and International Relations: A Comment on IR Theory, Anarchy, and Statehood" *Review of International Studies* 32, pp.119-143

Recommended:

Jeffrey R. Herbst (1990) "War and the State in Africa", *International Security* 14:4 pp.117-139

Idean Salehyan (2010) "Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 54, No.3, pp.493-515

Monday 30 November: *ESSAYS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS*****

The US and the Rise of China

Zbigniew Brzezinski and John Mearsheimer, "Clash of the Titans," *Foreign Policy* Jan/Feb (2005), pp. 46-50.

G. John Ikenberry. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* Jan/Feb (2008), pp. 23-37.

Recommended:

Christopher Chase-Dunn. "Adam Smith in Beijing: A World-Systems Perspective," *Historical Materialism* 18 (2010), pp. 39-51

Wednesday 2 December: Case Study- IR Theory and the Allied Invasion of Iraq

Brian C. Schmidt and Michael C. Williams (2008) “The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives versus Realists.” (June) *Security Studies* 17:2, 191-220

Ron Krebs and Jennifer Lobasz, (2007) “Fixing the Meaning of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion, and the Road to War in Iraq,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (July-September)

Recommended:

Kaufmann, Chaim (2004) “Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War” *International Security* Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer) pp. 5-48

Robert Jervis (2006) “Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1

Monday 7 December: IR Theory post-9/11/2001

J. Ann Tickner (2002) "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11" *International Studies Perspectives* 3, 4 (November), 333-50

Ivan Arreguin-Toft (2001) “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict” *International Security* Vol.26 No.1 (Summer) pp.93-128

Joseph Nye (2002) “The New Rome Meets the New Barbarians: How America Should Wield Its Power.” *The Economist* (23 March 2002) available at:
http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1172/new_rome_meets_the_new_barbarians.html

Jon Barnett and W. Neil Adger (2007) “Climate Change, Human Security, and Violent Conflict” *Political Geography* Vol. 26, No. 6 (Aug 2007), pp. 639-655

Recommended:

Stephen Walt (2012) “What if Realists Were in Charge of U.S. Foreign Policy” *Foreign Policy* (April 30)

Robert Keohane (2001) “The Globalization of Informal Violence, Theories of World Politics, and ‘The Liberalism of Fear’ --<http://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/keohane2.htm>

Oli Brown, Anne Hammill and Robert McLeman (2007) “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat: Implications for Africa” *International Affairs* 83 (6) pp. 1141-1154

*****Final exam to be scheduled by the University*****