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Room 4.06

**PO2640  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
SENIOR FRESHMAN COURSE**

**SYLLABUS  
2011-12**

**Lectures:**

**3pm Monday all year ARTS 2037 (Emmet Theatre)  
10am Wednesday split over the year:  
MT Joly Theatre, Hamilton Building  
HT ARTS 2037 (Emmet Theatre)**

**Course Teaching Assistants:**

**Caroline McEvoy (Head TA)**  
[mcevoyc1@tcd.ie](mailto:mcevoyc1@tcd.ie)

**Patrick Theiner**  
[theinerp@tcd.ie](mailto:theinerp@tcd.ie)

**Carolin Huebner**  
[huebnerd@tcd.ie](mailto:huebnerd@tcd.ie)

*NEW STUDENTS JOINING COURSE IN JANUARY:*

See section below on 'international students' (including returning TCD students) and contact the head TA, Caroline McEvoy, ASAP, [mcevoyc1@tcd.ie](mailto:mcevoyc1@tcd.ie), to be allocated to a tutorial group at the start of term. Note that attendance and writing response papers for tutorials can affect a students overall module grade.

This course is an introduction to the study of international relations. Why do states make war? What are the conditions for the growth of cross-border trade and finance? What is the impact of international organizations on relations between states? This course considers these questions by looking at differing theoretical approaches to international relations and a selection of topics in historical and contemporary politics, including the United Nations, the World Trade Organisation, the European Union, and international environmental and human rights regimes, and the foreign policies of particular countries.

The readings and lectures will provide an introduction to both particular international phenomena and the theoretical approaches to international relations that have been applied to them. There is an emphasis on international collective action problems, where states have incentives to free-ride on making contributions to international outcomes from which they might benefit.

This course is a positivist course in international relations, with a focus on explaining the way that states and non-state actors behave in anarchy. There will be little or no discussion of the morality or ethics of states behaviour, often referred to as a normative approach, and little or no discussion of policy advice that might be given to state decision-makers.

(This creates a certain tension in some of the readings. Many of the authors in the course readings will mix their discussion of how states do behave with their views on how states should behave. Explanations of why the US invaded Iraq are mixed up with denunciation of the decision to invade, descriptions of the political causes of protectionisms are mixed together with harsh criticism of the practice and so on. For the purposes of this course, however, we are interested – even if the author is not – above all in how these readings contribute to positive, generalisable explanations of state behaviour.)

This course considers portable and generalisable explanations of international relations, the sort of explanations that place little emphasis on peculiarities of individuals and states. You will want to try to think less about De Gaulle's foreign policy, or even French politics, and more about, say, the politics of states with advanced industrialized economies, centralized and democratic political systems, and uncompetitive agricultural sectors.

Book recommended for purchase

Robert O. Keohane After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. (Princeton, 1984).

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy (Princeton UP, 2008)

Both should be available at Hodges Figgis.

Various sections of these books are assigned for various weeks of the course, but for the summer examination students are expected to have read both books in their entirety.

## Readings

Many readings are available electronically, through the TCD database/journal arrangements or otherwise on the web. Where possible a linkable URL as been provided in this syllabus, but the URLs of electronic journal articles etc are subject to change, so if the provided URL does not work, please follow the TCD library catalogue 'periodicals' search to find the journal in question and follow the link from there.

## Learning Outcomes for PO2640 International Relations

By the end of this course, students will be familiar with major themes and debates in international relations scholarship and their application to a variety of issue-areas in international politics and international institutions. They will also have been introduced to both rationalist and non-rationalist explanations of outcomes in international politics.

**Course Materials:** Note that if you are writing an essay or answering an exam question in PO2640, you are expected to respond in relation to the readings and other materials (including lectures) for this course (including of course the recommended readings and any additional materials identified in class or handouts).

## Requirements

**Lectures:** Students are expected to attend lectures, given twice weekly throughout Michaelmas and Hilary Terms.

**Classes/Tutorials/Response Papers:** A fifty-minute seminar for students will be held every other week. These help develop analytical skills and provide the opportunity for discussion of the readings. Tutorials begin in the second week of Michaelmas term. Sample questions for discussion in tutorials are included at the back of this syllabus.

**Attendance in tutorials:** Students are required to attend all the tutorials, and one point will be subtracted from the overall course grade for students for every class missed after the first one (i.e. one 'free absence'): if a student attends only six classes over the year out of a possible ten, three points will be deducted from the overall course grade at the end of the year. It is your responsibility to find the room etc where your class is being held and to attend on time.

**Response papers:** Students are expected to bring 1-2 page typed papers outlining their response to the readings to every tutorial over the year. The number of response papers submitted has a significant impact on the final grade: submitting six response papers over the year will lead to no impact on the final grade. For every response paper submitted more or less than six, the final grade will be adjusted by one point, so submitting only five response papers will result in a one point deduction, submitting nine papers will result in a three point increase in the final grade. Response papers demonstrate knowledge of some or all of the readings but are not summaries: they contain criticism or questions about the

readings under discussion, or discussion of contradictions between different readings or between this week's readings and readings earlier in the course. Response papers should be at least 20 lines long. Response papers are not graded, but can be rejected if not a genuine attempt to respond to the readings, or too short, or otherwise inadequate. Papers should be physically brought to tutorials, and TAs may refuse to accept papers outside tutorials or late submissions. Get your act together to print your papers in good time to bring them to tutorial. If a tutorial is cancelled, for example due to a Bank Holiday, response papers can be submitted by email to the tutor by the time of the week that the tutorial would have been held.

**Excused absences from tutorials:** Students who for medical or similar reasons wish to request that absence from a tutorial be excused must ask their college tutor to contact by email *both* their individual TA and the head TA (Caroline McEvoy [mcevoyc1@tcd.ie](mailto:mcevoyc1@tcd.ie)) to request for an excused absence. Only requests from college tutors will be considered – requests from students direct will not be considered. Requests must be made within *one week* of the tutorial for which the excuse is requested. It is student's responsibility to ensure that their college tutors are informed of the proper means to request an excused absence from tutorials. (Requests for extensions for MT or HT essays or special exam consideration on medical etc grounds should be made by college tutors directly (again, not by students) to the course lecturer, Dr Phelan or Dr Pegram, in the normal manner). Obviously, where tutorials would fall on days where the College is closed e.g. Bank Holidays, attendance is not required.

Note that non-attendance at tutorials and non-submission of response papers can have an important impact on your final grade, and therefore your ability to pass the module. You will be given a chance to correct attendance and response paper records at the end of each term. Suggested corrections to attendance and response paper records will not be considered after the deadlines set.

### **Reporting as Non-Satisfactory**

Per the College Calendar, students who fail to satisfy course requirements for attendance (attending at least three tutorials per term) and course work (submitting an essay for each term) can be reported as non-satisfactory and refused permission to take annual examinations.

### **Tutorial Times and Locations:**

Monday 10am	2-3 College Green, Room 4	Caroline McEvoy
Monday 11am	2-3 College Green, Room 2	Caroline McEvoy
Tuesday 1pm	2-3 College Green, Room 2	Patrick Theiner
Tuesday 3pm	2-3 College Green, Room 2	Carolin Huebner
Tuesday 4pm	ARTS room 3070	Carolin Huebner
Wednesday 12 noon	2-3 College Green, Room 3	Patrick Theiner

Your course schedule will allocate you to a particular tutorial time and week schedule (again, students attend only once every two weeks). Queries about tutorial times and scheduling should be made to your TA or the head TA, Caroline McEvoy ([mcevoyc1@tcd.ie](mailto:mcevoyc1@tcd.ie)). We regret that it is not possible to move students between tutorials.

**Private study:** The most important part of the course is reading – and thinking about – the materials in the attached syllabus. A passing grade will not be possible without demonstrating a knowledge of the materials in the course, both reading and lectures.

**Assessment:** Two essays will be required on topics provided at the beginning of term. Both essays together will make up 25% of the total course grade. An annual examination will take place in the summer, which will consist of three essays and a section containing short ‘identification’ questions (advice: allocate your time carefully and do not spend too long on the ‘ID’ questions). The annual examination counts for 75% of the total course grade. (Remember that the course grade is also affected by attendance at tutorials and response papers).

The first essay is due not later than 10am on the Monday of week 10, November 28, of Michaelmas term. The second essay is due not later than 10am on the Tuesday of week 10, March 20, of Hilary term (note that Monday of that week is a public holiday. You may want to submit a paper before the weekend.). All submission deadlines are Irish time, of course. All late work, unless excused in advance by the course lecturer, or justified by a medical certificate or similar, will be penalized as a rate of 5 marks per day (up to a maximum of 30 marks). Where any essay is submitted after the deadline to turnitin.com for any reason, the student must also email the Head TA to inform them it has been submitted.

All coursework needs to be submitted via the plagiarism detector *Turnitin*; see [www.turnitin.com](http://www.turnitin.com). To be sure that you are not inadvertently plagiarising, see the department’s undergraduate handbook at:

[http://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/about/UndHandbook.html](http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/about/UndHandbook.html)

This also gives guidelines about how to plan and write an essay, what the markers are looking for, what qualities a good essay possesses, and what factors can result in low marks.)

Under no circumstances will work be accepted after the set work has been marked and returned to other students, or after the end of Hilary lecture term. Requests for special consideration advanced at a later stage will not be accepted. Essays may, of course, be handed in earlier than the due date. All essays will be marked by the tutors. **Turnitin essays should be clearly marked with the student’s name.**

Some of the topics under discussion in a course on international relations necessarily touch on topics covered in other courses or in the media (such as Irish politics, on

American politics, on the European Union). Both the essays and the annual examination should be written in response to the lectures and the material provided for this course.

**Plagiarism:** Students are reminded that plagiarism is unacceptable in any circumstances and both the Department and College takes all plagiarism cases very seriously. Offenders will be referred to tutors and plagiarized essays will be given a zero mark.

**Students taking the course for a second time:** Students taking PO2640 for the second time may not submit essays that replicate part or all of essays submitted as work for this course in previous years. Students in this position must contact the instructor to request an essay question suitable for their situation.

## **ESSAY QUESTIONS**

A good paper will draw on course materials from the course to date, and consider alternative answers to the question as suggested by different topics in international politics and different approaches to IR theory. The Hilary Term essay should not be answered only or predominantly by reference to material covered in Michaelmas term: it must cover material from Hilary term.

The essays are *short*, so do not attempt to cover everything which could possibly be relevant -- prioritise. Make sure you show knowledge of alternative theories and answers to the question, and a variety of course materials. The essay must demonstrate knowledge and engagement with the course readings contained in the syllabus. The ability to be concise is part of the job of writing a good essay. Graders may stop reading after 1700 words. One point may be subtracted from the overall grade for every 100 words over 1700 i.e. two points will be deducted for an essay of 1900 words long.

All essays must be submitted through turnitin.com.

Please ensure your name is on the essay paper submitted.

### **Michaelmas Term**

Hans Morgenthau wrote: "From that iron law of international politics, that legal obligations must yield to the national interest, no nation has ever yet been completely immune". In an essay of no more than 1700 words, discuss the circumstances under which states comply with treaty obligations, in light of the three alternative theoretical approaches to international relations (realism, institutionalism, state-society approaches).

### **MT Turnitin details:**

Class ID: 4369104

Password: global

### **Hilary Term**

Answer one of the following two questions in an essay of no more than 1700 words:

1. Considering the case of **EITHER** the United States **OR** China, and drawing on materials throughout the course, assess the strengths and weaknesses of alternative theoretical approaches to analysing the nature of power in the international system.
2. With specific reference to Donnelly and Moravcsik, and drawing on the course materials more broadly, what are the principal political and structural impediments to the international human rights regime fulfilling its role as a guarantor of universal human rights?

### **HT Turnitin details:**

Class ID: 4392351

Password: power12

Please upload your papers in Microsoft Word.

If you haven't used [turnitin.com](http://turnitin.com) before, select new users on the homepage, follow the instructions for setting up a student profile, login with your new personal password, and you will get to the page for uploading a paper for the class. Make sure you figure out how to do this in good time for the deadline.

### **Back Up Hard Copy Essay Submissions**

If you are concerned for whatever reason that your turnitin.com paper is not properly submitted by the deadline, there will be a drop-box outside the in the Political Science Department where an identical copies of the essay may be placed. The drop is only used to confirm on-time delivery – every essay must be submitted through turnitin.com to receive a grade.

### **Essay writing**

For many students this course is among the first where essay writing is an important part of the course. It is important that you give preparing your essays sufficient attention. There are various facilities which may help you. Remember that you need to start in good time.

The Student Learning section of the Student Counseling Service can offers advice and feedback on essay writing. They offer both workshops on topics relevant to studies, frequently including essay writing, and individual consultations.

Their website, with workshop times etc, is here:

[http://www.tcd.ie/Student\\_Counselling/student-learning/index.php](http://www.tcd.ie/Student_Counselling/student-learning/index.php)

Student Learning's handout on Essay Writing Strategies is available here:

[http://www.tcd.ie/Student\\_Counselling/documents/Essay\\_Writing\\_Strategies.pdf](http://www.tcd.ie/Student_Counselling/documents/Essay_Writing_Strategies.pdf)

Comments on essays in previous years have frequently included the following:

- Introductory paragraphs should set out, briefly, the overall argument of the essay.
- A competent essay is written in awareness of the overall argument, rather than reaching a sudden conclusion in the final paragraph.
- A competent essay does not just summarise material but reaches a conclusion about the material under discussion.
- A competent essay reaches a forthright conclusion, but is modest on account of the limits to the material discussed.
- A competent essay reflects reading and discussion throughout the semester; it is difficult to write a satisfactory essay based on materials which the writer is considering for the first time.
- A competent essay considers alternative theoretical approaches to international relations.
- A competent essay avoids an informal style or reference to the first person ('I').
- A competent essay does not neglect proper citation of sources or a satisfactory bibliography. Please see below on citations and references.

### **Citations and References**

While the Department of Political Science does not impose a rigid style regarding the format of referencing, it is worth following the suggestions below.

You will find it easiest to use 'Harvard-style' referencing - that is to say, do not use footnotes to give citations but rather embed the reference in the text like this (Sorauf, 2003, p. 734) or (Bailey, 1999, pp. 13-14).

Then at the end of the essay you need to supply a list, in alphabetical order of author, of all the works that you have cited. Don't list works that you haven't referred to (the marker will not be impressed by a long list of works that you clearly haven't consulted). This list of references needs to supply full details of the work in question.

For more advice on formatting, you may wish to see TCD Political Science Handbook: [http://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/about/UndHandbook.html](http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/about/UndHandbook.html)

It is acceptable to cite material, particularly passages of scholarly work, contained in handouts provided for lectures in your essay, and even arguments or claims made in lectures. However, a satisfactory essay must demonstrate a knowledge of the required course readings. (Also, students should not cite or refer to arguments made in tutorials).

### **Recordings**

Class lectures may not be recorded in any form.

## **International Students**

There are three varieties of international or visiting students attending this class and the requirements for the class vary with the time attending the class. NB where for international students separate grades are required for Assessment, Exam and Final, grade adjustments for tutorial attendance and response papers will be applied pro-rata to each element.

### **Michaelmas Term only**

MT only visiting students will write two essays, the normal MT essay as described in the syllabus, and an additional essay of similar length, also due during MT on 10am Monday of the last week of MT i.e. 12 December. Students attending for MT only and writing both essays will be entitled to 5 ECTS credits. The overall course grade will be the average of the two essay grades, adjusted for tutorial attendance and response papers. The additional essay assignment is:

“Based on the full set of readings on Institutionalism (week 6, including the Recommended Readings), discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the World Trade Organisation as a form of international organization” in no more than 1700 words. The essay is due on Turnitin.com by 10am on Monday of Week 12 of MT, the last week of lectures. The essay must demonstrate knowledge of a full range of readings for the week, or it may receive a failing grade.

### **Hilary Term only, including returning TCD students**

HT only visiting students will write the normal HT essay as described in the syllabus, and write an additional essay of similar length, also due during HT on 10am Monday of the last week of MT i.e. 2 April 2010. Students attending for HT only and writing both essays will be entitled to 5 ECTS credits. The overall course grade will be the average of the two essay grades, adjusted for tutorial attendance and response papers. The additional essay assignment is:

“Drawing on Keck and Sikkink's (1998) idea of the 'boomerang effect', how are transnational advocacy networks shaping human rights discourse by powerful states within the international system and, more broadly, challenging international relations theory?”

Note that of necessity, HT only students have missed important readings on international relations taught in the first part of the year and it will be necessary for those writing these essays (including the normal end of HT essays) to make themselves informed on basic concepts in international relations theory, including realism, institutionalism, and state-society approaches. That includes at minimum the readings identified on page 36 of this syllabus as basic readings.

### **Full-Year Visiting Students – Michaelmas and Hilary Terms**

Full year visiting students are required to write essays in both MT and HT like full year Trinity students, and take the summer examination. There is no option to take essays in place of the summer examination. The grade will be calculated as per normal for full year Trinity students. Full year visiting students will be entitled to 10 ECTS credits.

### **Teaching Assistants**

If you have questions about availability of readings, location and timing etc of tutorials, handing in essays and so on, your point of contact is your TA – Caroline, Patrick or Carolin - or Caroline as the Head TA. They will make available times and locations of office hours for you to meet, or you may contact them by email. Note that tutorials may be videotaped sometime during MT, to allow the TAs to get feedback on their tutorials.

<i>Michaelmas Term</i>	<i>Week Begins Monday</i>	<i>Content</i>
1	26 September	Introduction
2	3 October	Realism
3	10 October	Realism and International Institutions
4	17 October	Neo-Realism
5	24 October	Realism and World Order
6	31 October (Monday 31 <sup>st</sup> is Public Holiday)	Institutionalism (Functional Regime Theory)
7	7 November	<i>READING WEEK</i>
8	14 November	State-Society Approaches to IR: Interest Groups and Trade
9	21 November	State-Society Approaches to IR: War
10	28 November	State-Society Approaches to IR: Developed and Developing Countries
11	5 December	The European Union
12	12 December	Art, Archaeology, Fish
<i>Hilary Term</i>	<i>2010</i>	
1	16 January	Power and International Relations
2	23 January	American Hegemony after the Cold War
3	30 January	The Global “War on Terror”
4	6 February	The New Rising Powers
5	13 February	China
6	20 February	The Constructivist Approach to International Relations
7	27 February	<i>READING WEEK</i>
8	5 March	International Human Rights Politics 1
9	12 March	International Human Rights Politics 2
10	19 March (Monday 19 <sup>th</sup> is Public Holiday)	Global Civil Society
11	26 March	International Environmental Politics
12	2 April	The Future of International Relations

Examples of 'Identification' Terms for Final Examination. The final examination may contain questions asking you to define and comment on the significance for the study of international relations of a series of terms and concepts used in the course. This list may help you in your studies for the examination. The list is not exhaustive, and the examination may contain terms not included on this list, and the examination itself will contain the definitive instructions. In addition, students will be asked to write three essays from a choice provided.

Note that the IDs part of the exam will be graded in the following way: up to five points will be given for each ID, giving a total out of 40, which will then be multiplied by two. So the IDs part of the exam will give a grade between 10 and 90, counting as a whole for one quarter of the total examination for students who also write three essays. eading references for IDs

A list of possible IDs, and references to these concepts on the course readings is contained in the following page.

Note that these references may not be sufficient to ensure full marks in a test, since the purpose of the ID questions is for the concept to be situated within the course materials as a whole, including lectures and broad theoretical approaches to international relations.

Adjustment Costs	e.g Moravcsik (Preferences), 529
Anarchy	Waltz 1979
American Exceptionalism	Moravcsik ('US and HR'), Lieven
Baptist-Bootlegger Coalitions	Yandle
Bipolarity	Waltz 1967
Boomerang Effect	Keck and Sikkink 1998, p12-13
Bounded Rationality	Keohane 110-116
Coase Theorem	Keohane 85ff
Coordination Game	Martin 775-777
Constructivism	March and Olsen, Schimmelfennig
Democratic Peace	Doyle, Kant, Moravcsik (Preferences)
Egoism	Keohane 27 and throughout
Epistemic Communities	Haas 55
Ethnic Group Capture	Smith
Supremacy and Direct Effect of European Law	Handout in EU week, Weiler
Governance without Government	Rosenau 1995, p. 14
Hedging	Goh 2006, p. viii
Hegemonic Stability	Mandelbaum, Olson (page 49-50), Olson/Zeckhauser, Kindleberger
Imperialism	Mearsheimer 2010, p2
Institutionalism	Keohane, Moravcsik (Preferences)
Interest Group Capture	Bastiat, Moravcsik
International Regimes	Keohane 57, Donnelly 1986 p602
Interdependence	Baldwin 1980
Neo-Realism or Structural Realism	Waltz, Mearsheimer
Public Goods	Olson 9-16, also eg. Mandelbaum, Keohane 75-78
Prisoners' Dilemma	Axelrod, Keohane, Martin
Realism	Carr, Thucydides
State-Society Approach to IR	Moravcsik (Preferences)
Security Dilemma	Jervis
Selective Defection (Selective Exit)	Weiler 1985
Self-Contained Regime	Weiler 1991 2422
Soft Balancing	Pape 2005, p. 10; Layne 2006, p. 8; Wohlforth 2005; Lieb and Alexander 2005
Soft Power	Nye 2004
Specific Reciprocity	Martin, e.g. 771
Rationality	Keohane, 27 and throughout
Relative Universality (of Human Rights)	Donnelly 2007, 282.
Transgovernmentalism	Slaughter 'Real New World Order' 1997 p. 184
Transnational Advocacy Networks	Keck and Sikkink 1998, p.1
Transnational Civil Society	Price 2003, p. 580
Unipolarity	Pape 2005, p. 11
WTO	Devereaux, Steinberg

Michaelmas Week 1

INTRODUCTION:

THE STATE, RATIONALITY, EGOISM, PUBLIC GOODS, SOCIAL SCIENCE

*Required:*

Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, edited by Richard Tuck (CUP, 1996). pp. 117-121.

H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (OUP, 1946) pp. 77-78 *on the state's monopoly of legitimate means of violence.*

Robert Keohane, After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy, (Princeton, 1984) pp. 27 (*on rationality and egoism*)

Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups pp. 9-16.

*Compare political science approaches to approaches emphasizing individuals:*

C.V. Wedgwood "William the Silent : William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, 1533-1584" (London, Cape, 1967) pp. 251-253

Or similarly:

Robert Caro "Introduction: Ends and Means" in The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Means of Ascent (Knopf, NY, 1990). pp. xiii-xxxiv.

*Michaelmas Week 2*

REALISM

*Required:*

Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War (Rex Warner, trans.) (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1954). pp 24-5 on 'the real reason for the war'.

and

the 'Melian dialogue' available at:

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/melian.htm>

Norman Stone World War One: A Short History, (London, Allen Lane, 2007) Chapter 'Outbreak' pp. 1-26

Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapters 15, 17, 18.

*Recommended:*

Theodore Draper A Struggle for Power (London, Abacus, 1997) pp. 3-25.

Paul Kennedy The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000 (London, Unwin Hyman 1988), pp. xv-xxv 'Introduction'

Brian Downing The military revolution and political change : origins of democracy and autocracy in early modern Europe (Princeton, 1992), 239-242 (summary, read first), 84-112 (Brandenburg-Prussia) and pp 140-156 (Poland).

*(with particular reference to end of Soviet threat)*

Stephen Walt, "The Ties that Fray". National Interest 54, Winter 1998/1999

Available at:

<http://www.comw.org/pda/swalt.pdf>

*Michaelmas Week 3*

REALISM AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS  
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

*Required:*

Haile Selassie, “Appeal to the League of Nations” (10 pp.)  
Available at: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/selassie.htm>

E.H. Carr, The Twenty Years Crisis. (London, Macmillan, 1946) pp. 1-22, 170-207

John Bolton, Surrender is not an Option: Defending America at the United Nations and Abroad (Threshold, 2007) pp. 278-281

*Recommended:*

Sands, P. Lawless World, “Kicking Ass in Iraq” pp. 174-204 (New York, Viking, 2005).

Woodrow Wilson, Speeches: “Peace Without Victory” (22 January 1917); “War Message to Congress” (2 April 1917); “Fourteen Points,” (8 January 1918).

Available at:

[http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/1917\\_Documents](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/1917_Documents)

Scroll down for both *Peace without Victory* and *War Message to Congress*

and

[http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President\\_Wilson's\\_Fourteen\\_Points](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson's_Fourteen_Points)

For Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” speech.

*Michaelmas Week 4*

NEO-REALISM

*Required:*

John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Summer 1990), pp. 5-56.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2538981>

John J. Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds., International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 71-88

*Recommended:*

Kenneth Waltz A Theory of International Politics (Addison-Wesley, 1979) pp. 88-99, 102-114.

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," World Politics, 30:2 (Jan. 1978), pp. 167-214), excerpted in Betts, Conflict After the Cold War (Longman, 2002 Second Edition), pp. 400-415.  
World Politics version at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009958>

Kenneth Waltz "International Structure, National Force, and the Balance of World Power"  
Journal of International Affairs 1967.  
ON RESERVE IN LIBRARY

*Michaelmas Week 5*

REALISM AND WORLD ORDER:  
PAX BRITANNICA, PAX AMERICANA

*Required:*

Michael Mandelbaum The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World's Government in the Twentieth Century (Public Affairs, 2005), pp. 6-11, 31-52.

Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups, (Harvard UP, 1965), p. 49-50 on the privileged group

Charles Kindleberger, The World in Depression, 1929-1939 (Allen Lane, 1973) pp. 291-308 "An Explanation of the 1929 Depression".

*Recommended:*

Arthur Stein, "A Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, The United States, and International Economic Order", International Organization, vol. 38., no 2. (1984), pp. 355-386.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706445>

Olson, M. and R. Zeckhauser (1966). "An Economic Theory of Alliances." Review of Economics and Statistics 48(3): 266-279.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1927082>

O'Rourke and Findlay Power and Plenty: Trade, War and the World Economy in the Second Millennium (Princeton, 2007) pp. 101-108 on *Pax Mongolica*.

Robert O. Keohane After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. (Princeton, 1984). pp. 32-39 and index references to 'hegemonic stability'.

Norrlöf (2010). America's global advantage : US hegemony and international cooperation Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

*Michaelmas Week 6*

INSTITUTIONALISM

(‘FUNCTIONAL REGIME THEORY’, ‘NEOLIBERAL INSTITUTIONALISM’)  
THE GATT AND THE WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION

*Required:*

Axelrod, R. M. (1984). The Evolution of Cooperation. New York, Basic Books. Chapter 4 on the *Live and Let Live System in World War One*. pp. 73-87

Robert Keohane, After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. pp. 65-109. (*Rational Choice Explanations* and *A Functional Theory of Regimes*)

“Standing up for Steel: The US Government Response to Steel Industry and Union Efforts to Win Protection from Imports (1998-2001)”.

C. Devereaux. Case Studies in US Trade Negotiation: Vol. 2: Resolving Disputes

*Recommended:*

Lisa Martin, “Interests, Power and Multilateralism” International Organization 46:4 1992  
765-792

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706874>

Joseph M. Grieco “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation” in International Organization 42:3, pp. 485-507.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706787>

Downs, G. W., D. M. Roake, et al. (1996). "Is the good news about compliance good news about cooperation?" International Organization 50(3): 379-406.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2704030>

Gerald Wilkinson “Reciprocal food sharing in the vampire bat” in Nature 1984, 308:8  
March, pp. 181-184.

ON HAMILTON LIBRARY OPEN SHELVES

OR ON BERKELEY RESERVE

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy (Princeton UP, 2008), pp. 148-170

“Institutionalism and the Constraint of Reputation”.

RZ Lawrence, Crimes and Punishments? Retaliation under the WTO (Institute for International Economics, Washington, D.C 2003), particularly particularly Ch 5 “Options for Change”, pp 79-89.

*Week 7 is READING WEEK*

*Michaelmas week 8*

STATE-SOCIETY ('LIBERAL') APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTEREST GROUPS AND TRADE POLITICS

*Required:*

Fédéric Bastiat "A Petition from the Manufacturers of Candles..."

Available at:

<http://bastiat.org/en/petition.html>

Also in Bastiat, F. (1965 [1845-1848]). Economic Sophisms. Princeton, N.J., Van Nostrand, pp. 56-60.

Peter Alexis Gourevitch "International Trade, Domestic Coalitions, and Liberty: Comparative Responses to the Crisis of 1873-1896" Journal of Interdisciplinary History, Vol. 8, No. 2. (Autumn, 1977), pp. 281-313

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/202790>

J.M. Grieco and G.J. Ikenberry State Power and World Markets: The International Political Economy, (Norton, 2003). pp. 29-36 on *Comparative Advantage*.

Mancur Olson, The Rise and Decline of Nations, pp. 41-53 on 'small groups' and 'encompassing groups'.

*Recommended:*

G. Clark A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World (Princeton UP, 2007) pp 1-18 "Introduction: The Sixteen-Page Economic History of the World".

Page and Bouton The Foreign Policy Disconnect: What Americans Want From Our Leaders But Don't Get (Chicago, 2006). pp. 174-200.

*Michaelmas week 9*

STATE-SOCIETY ('LIBERAL') APPROACHES TO WAR:  
THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE

*Required:*

Norman Angell, The Great Illusion (1933 Edition), selections, pp. 77-81, 137-143

Immanuel Kant, pp72-85 in Toward Perpetual Peace and other Writings, edited by  
Kleingeld, translated Colclasure, Yale UP, 2006.

Michael W. Doyle, 1986. "Liberalism in World Politics", American Political Science  
Review 80 (December): 1151-69.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1960861>

R. Keohane and J. Nye, Power and Interdependence, pp. 1-19.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International  
Politics", in International Organization, vol. 51, no. 4. (1997), pp. 513-533, 541-547  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2703498>

F. Stern's Five Germanys I have known, (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007) pp. 36-37,  
together with the  
Manifesto of the Ninety-Three German Intellectuals to the Civilised World.  
Available at: <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/1914/93intell.html>

*Recommended:*

Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric  
Conflict," World Politics, 27, 2 (January 1975), pp. 175-200  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009880>

A. Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value", Journal of Democracy 10.3 (1999) 3-17  
[Connection between lack of democracy and famine].  
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jod/v010/10.3sen.html>

Arno Mayer The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War (London,  
Croom Helm, 1981). pp. 3-15 introduction, 305-313 foreign conflict for domestic  
objectives.

*Michaelmas Week 10*

STATE-SOCIETY APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:  
DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES  
IMPERIALISM, INVESTMENT, COMMODITY CARTELS

*Required:*

H. Wright, ed., The 'New Imperialism' (Boston, Heath, 1961):

John A. Hobson, "Imperialism: A Study" pp. 5-34, 36-39.

Elkins, Guzman, Simmons 2006. "Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties 1960-2000". International Organization 60, no. 4 (October 2006): 811-846

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=531016&jid=INO&volumeId=60&issueId=04&aid=531008>

Cooley and Spruyt Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers in International Relations (Princeton UP, 2009) pp. 28-30 on the 'hold-up' problem

*Recommended:*

Douglas Little. 2002. American Orientalism: the United States and the Middle East Since 1945. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), pages 43-75 "Opening the Door: Business, Diplomacy and America's stake in Middle East Oil"

T. Lairson and D. Skidmore International Political Economy pp. 255-264. "Collective Strategies of Development". (Harcourt Brace, 1997 Second Edition).

Robert Tucker, "Oil: The Issue of American Intervention", in Commentary, vol. 59 (1975), January pp. 21-31. and Stanley Hoffmann, "The Response to Tucker", in Commentary, vol. 59 (1975), April pp. 4-

ON RESERVE

Jack Snyder, Myths of Empire (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP) 1991. pp 1-20 "The Myth of Security Through Expansion"

*Michaelmas Week 11*

THE EUROPEAN UNION – A ‘Self-Contained’ Regime

*Introductory (not sufficient for written work for this class):*

Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair Representative Government in Modern Europe (McGraw-Hill, 2000) Chapter 5 “The European Union and Representative Government” pp.115-153

*Required:*

Christopher Booker and Richard North, *The Great Deception: The Secret History of the European Union*, (Continuum, 2003) Chapter 15, pp. 291-306.

T. R. Reid, *The United States of Europe*, (Penguin 2005) Ch. 4 (“Welch’s Waterloo”), pp. 88-110.

“To Cross to the Other Side, Just Cross A Dutch Frontier”. New York Times, July 5, 2005. By Mark Landler. Page 4.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/05/international/europe/05crematorium.html?scp=1&sq=To%20Cross%20to%20the%20Other%20Side,%20Just%20Cross%20A%20Dutch%20Frontier&st=cse>

William Phelan, Unpublished Paper. “What is *Sui Generis* about the European Union? Costly International Cooperation in a Self-Contained Regime”.

Joseph H. H. Weiler, 'The Transformation of Europe' (1991) 100 *Yale Law Journal* 2403-2483 ONLY PAGES 2412-2415 (on Supremacy and Direct Effect), and 2422 (on the EU as a Self-Contained Regime)

William Phelan “Note on the recognition of the Supremacy and Direct Effect of European Law by the EU member states”.  
[To be distributed in class or email]

*Recommended:*

Karen Alter, 'The European Court's Political Power' (1996) 19 (3) *West European Politics* 458-487

Weiler, J. H. H. (1985). "Alternatives to withdrawal from an International Organization: The case of the European Economic Community." Israel Law Review 20(2-3): 282-298. [See particularly the concept of ‘selective exit’ from treaty obligations].  
<http://goo.gl/QTfk3> (you may need to press Login on the right) or via HeinOnline in the TCD library database page.

*Michaelmas Week 12*

ART, ARCHAEOLOGY, FISH

*Required:*

James Cuno Who Owns Antiquity? (Princeton UP, 2008) pp 1-20 “The Crux of the Matter”.

Aslaug Asgeirsdottir Who Gets What?: Domestic Influences on International Negotiations Allocating Shared Resources (SUNY, 2008) pp 1-30.

Jackson et al. “Historical Overfishing and the Recent Collapse of Coastal Ecosystems” in Science New Series, Vol. 293, No. 5530 (Jul. 27, 2001), pp. 629-638  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3084305>

*Recommended:*

Sharon Waxman Loot (Old St, 2010) pp53-61.

Richard Ellis The Empty Ocean (Island Press, 2003) “The Codfish” pp. 58-73.

## **Hilary Week 1: Power and International Relations**

### **Required**

Baldwin, David, 'Interdependence and Power: A Conceptual Analysis', International Organization, vol. 34, no. 4, Autumn 1980, pp. 471-506:  
<http://www.jstor.org/pss/2706510>

Schmidt, Brian C., 'Competing Realist Conceptions of Power', Millennium, vol. 33, no. 3, June 2005, pp. 523-49 (Special issue of journal on 'Facets of Power in International Relations'):  
<http://mil.sagepub.com/content/33/3/523.short?patientinform-links=yes&legid=spmil;33/3/523>

Nye, Joseph, Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics, (Public Affairs, 2004), Chapter 1

### **Recommended**

Hurd, Ian, 'Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics', International Organization, vol. 53, no. 2, 1999, pp. 379-408:  
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=172949>

Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duvall, 'Power in International Politics', International Organization, vol. 59, no. 1, Winter 2005, pp. 39-75:  
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=278382>

Walt, Stephen M., 'Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power', International Security, vol. 9, no. 4, Spring 1985, pp. 3-43: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/2538540>

Stephen D. Krasner, 'Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier', World Politics, vol. 43, no. 3, April 1991, 336-66:  
<http://www.jstor.org/pss/2010398>

## **Hilary Week 2: American Hegemony after the Cold War**

### **Required**

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy (Princeton UP, 2008), Chapter 2

John Bolton et al., Global Structures Convocation, 1994, 'Human Rights, Global Governance and Strengthening the United Nations', ON RESERVE/On WebCT

Lieven, Anatol, American Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1-47

Smith, Tony, Foreign Attachments: the Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy (Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 94-110

### **Recommended**

Mann, Michael, 'The First Failed Empire of the 21st Century', Review of International Studies, vol. 30, no. 4, October 2004, pp. 631-653:  
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=251277>

Alesina, Glaeser and Sacerdote, 'Why doesn't the US have a European style welfare state?' Harvard Institute of Economic Research discussion paper 1933, available at:  
[http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/423\\_\\_0332-Alesina11.pdf](http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/423__0332-Alesina11.pdf)

Snyder, Shapiro and Bloch-Elkon, 'Free Hand Abroad, Divide and Rule at Home', World Politics, vol. 61, no. 1, 2009, pp. 155-87:  
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/wp/summary/v061/61.1.snyder.html>

## **Hilary Week 3: The Global “War on Terror”**

### **Required**

Boyle, Michael J., ‘The war on terror in American grand strategy’, International Affairs, vol. 84, no. 2, February 2008, pp. 191-209:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2008.00699.x/abstract>

Mearsheimer, John, J., ‘Imperial by Design’, The National Interest, 16 December 2010.

Available at: <http://nationalinterest.org/article/imperial-by-design-4576>

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt, ‘Keeping Saddam in a Box’, The New York Times (2 February, 2003), Section 4: 15:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/02/opinion/keeping-saddam-hussein-in-a-box.html>

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt, ‘An Unnecessary War’, Foreign Policy, no. 134 (January/February, 2003), pp. 51-59:

<http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0032.pdf>

Fukuyama, Francis, After The Neocons: America at the Crossroads (Profile Books, 2006), Chapter 1

### **Recommended**

Fukuyama, Francis, After The Neocons: America at the Crossroads (Profile Books, 2006), Chapters 2

Saurette, Paul, ‘You dissin me? Humiliation and post 9/11 global politics’, Review of International Studies, vol. 32, no. 3, 2006, pp. 495-522:

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=461171>

## **Hilary Week 4: The New Rising Powers**

### **Required**

Special Issue on 'Perspectives on the Changing Global Distribution of Power', Politics, vol. 30, Supplement 1, December 2010, pp. 2-14; 43-62; and 71-81:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ponl.2010.30.issue-s1/issuetoc>

(Including: Young, Alasdair R., 'Perspectives on the Changing Global Distribution of Power'; Tsygankov, Andrei P., 'Russia's Power and Alliances in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', Breslin, Shaun, 'China's Emerging Global Role: Dissatisfied Responsible Great Power'; and Sotero, Paul, 'Brazil's Rising Ambition in a Shifting Global Balance of Power'.

Special Issue on 'Balancing Acts', International Security, vol. 30, no. 1, Summer 2005, pp. 7-45; 109-139: <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/toc/isec/30/1>

(Including: Pape, Robert A., 'Soft Balancing against the United States'; and Lieber, Kier A. and Gerard Alexander, 'Waiting for Balancing: Why the World Is Not Pushing Back'.)

### **Recommended**

Zakaria, Fareed, The Post-American World (Norton, 2008), pp. 1-86

Layne, Christopher, 'The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment', International Security, vol. 31, no. 2, 2006, pp. 7-41:

[http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/is3102\\_pp007-041\\_layne.pdf](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/is3102_pp007-041_layne.pdf)

Ferdinand, Peter, 'China and Russia: Converging Responses to Globalization', International Affairs, vol. 83, no. 4, July 2007, pp. 655-80:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2007.00646.x/abstract>

Morris, Ian, Why the West Rules – for Now (Profile Books, 2011), especially Part III

## **Hilary Week 5: China and the Nature of Power in the International System**

### **Introductory**

Shambaugh, David, Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics (University of California Press, 2005), especially Introduction and Chapters 10 and 16

### **Required**

Johnston, Alastair I., 'Is China a Status Quo Power?' International Security, vol. 27, no.4, Spring 2003, pp. 5-56:

<http://www.gwu.edu/~power/literature/dbase/alistair1.pdf>

Mearsheimer, John, 'The Rise of China will not be Peaceful at All':

<http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/P0014.pdf>

Bijian, Zheng, 'China's "Peaceful Rise" to Great-Power Status', Foreign Affairs, Sept/Oct (2005): <http://www.jstor.org/pss/20031702>

Art, Robert J., 'The United States and the Rise of China: Implication for the Long Haul', Political Science Quarterly, vol. 125, no. 3, Fall 2010, pp. 359-91:

[http://www.psqonline.org/99\\_article.php3?byear=2010&bmonth=fall&a=01free](http://www.psqonline.org/99_article.php3?byear=2010&bmonth=fall&a=01free)

### **Recommended**

Goldstein, Avery, 'Power Transitions, Institutions, and China's Rise in East Asia: Theoretical Expectations and Evidence', Journal of Strategic Studies, vol. 30, no. 4-5, Aug.-Oct. 2007, pp. 639-82:

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/routledg/jss/2007/00000030/F0020004/art00004>

Foot, Rosemary, 'Chinese Strategies in a US-Hegemonic Global Order: accommodating and hedging', International Affairs, vol. 82, no. 1, January 2006, pp. 77-94:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2006.00516.x/abstract>

*Definition of hedging:*

Goh, Evelyn, Meeting the China Challenge: The U.S. in Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies, Policy Studies 16, (East-West Center Washington, 2005), p. viii

Breslin, Shaun, 'Power and Production: Rethinking China's Global Economic Role', Review of International Studies, vol. 31, no. 4, October 2005, pp. 735-53:

<http://www.jstor.org/pss/40072118>

## Hilary Week 6: The Constructivist Approach to IR

### Required

Schimmelfennig, Frank, 'The community trap: Liberal norms, rhetorical action, and the eastern enlargement of the European Union', International Organization, vol. 55, no. 1, 2001, pp. 47-80:

<http://www.jstor.org/pss/3078597>

March and Olsen, 'The Logic of Appropriateness', ARENA working paper, 04/09/1998:

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/46428630/Olsen-the-Logic-of-Appropriateness>

Brooks, Stephen and William Wohlforth, World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy (Princeton UP, 2008) 'Constructivism and the Constraint of Legitimacy', pp 171-207

### Recommended

*This is not a constructivist paper but can be compared with Schimmelfennig:*

Moravcsik, Andrew and Milada A. Vachudova, 'National Interest, State Power and EU enlargement', East European Politics and Societies, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 42-57

Also available at:

<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/eeps.pdf>

(Another paper offering a useful contrast to Schimmelfennig is Mearsheimer, Back to the Future, from MT week on neo-realism)

Tannenwald, Nina, 'Stigmatizing the Bomb: The Origins of the Nuclear Taboo', International Security, vol. 29, no. 4, Summer 2005, pp.5-49:

[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/international\\_security/v029/29.4tannenwald.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/international_security/v029/29.4tannenwald.html)

Keohane, Robert O., After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy (Princeton UP, 1984), pp. 110-132. 'Bounded Rationality and Self-Interest'.

Mueller, John, 'The Obsolescence of Major War' in Richard Betts (ed.), Conflict after the Cold War, Second Edition, (Longman, 2001), pp. 128-139.

*A realist responds to a constructivist work:*

Schweller, Randall L., 'Fantasy Theory', Review of International Studies, vol. 25, no. 1, 1999, pp. 147-150:

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=33675>

## Hilary Week 7: Reading Week – NO CLASSES

## Hilary Week 8: International Human Rights Politics I

### Required

Donnelly, Jack, 'International Human Rights: A Regime Analysis', International Organization, vol. 40, no. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 599-642:  
<http://journals.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/action/displayFulltext?type=1&pdfType=1&fid=4309916&jid=INO&volumeId=40&issueId=&aid=4309908>

Andrew Moravcsik, 'The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Post-War Europe', International Organization, vol. 54, no. 2, 2000, pp. 217-252  
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=164775>

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. and James Ron, 'Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact through Qualitative and Quantitative Eyes', World Politics, vol. 61, no. 2, 2009, pp. 360-401:  
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/wp/summary/v061/61.2.hafner-burton.html>

Roth, Kenneth, 'Empty Promises? Obama's Hesitant Embrace of Human Rights', Human Rights Watch: <http://www.hrw.org/news/2010/02/24/empty-promises>

### Recommended

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, (selections); 'Preface' and 'Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics' and 'Human Rights Networks', in Activists Beyond Borders, pp. vi-x; 8-34; 79-110; 116-120

Neumayer, Eric, 'Is Respect for Human Rights Rewarded? An Analysis of Total Bilateral and Multilateral Aid Flows', Human Rights Quarterly, vol.25, no. 2, May 2003, pp. 510-27:  
[http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/611/1/HumanRightsQuarterly\\_25%282%29.pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/611/1/HumanRightsQuarterly_25%282%29.pdf)

## **Hilary Week 9: International Human Rights Politics II**

### **Required**

Donnelly, Jack, 'The Relative Universality of Human Rights', Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 29, no. 2, May 2007, pp. 281-306:

[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/human\\_rights\\_quarterly/v029/29.2donnelly.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/human_rights_quarterly/v029/29.2donnelly.html)

Goodhart, Michael, 'Neither relative nor universal. A response to Donnelly', Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 30, no. 1, February 2008, pp. 183-93:

[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/human\\_rights\\_quarterly/v030/30.1goodhart.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/human_rights_quarterly/v030/30.1goodhart.html)

Donnelly, Jack, 'Both universal and relative. A reply to Goodhart', Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 30, no. 1, February 2008, pp. 194-204:

[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/human\\_rights\\_quarterly/v030/30.1donnelly.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/human_rights_quarterly/v030/30.1donnelly.pdf)

Bass, Gary J., 'Human Rights Last', Foreign Policy, March/April 2011:

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/22/human\\_rights\\_last](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/22/human_rights_last)

### **Recommended**

Dittmer, Lowell, 'Chinese Human Rights and American Foreign Policy: A Realist Approach', The Review of Politics, vol. 63, no. 3, Summer 2001, pp. 433-459:

<http://www.jstor.org/pss/1408878>

'US Human Rights Report Raps China, Iran, Belarus', Voice of America, April 8, 2011:

<http://www.voanews.com/english/news/US-Human-Rights-Report-Raps-China-Iran-Belarus-119487999.html>

AND

'China Hits back with Report on U.S. Human Rights', Xinhua, April 11, 2011:

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-04/10/c\\_13822287.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-04/10/c_13822287.htm)

## **Hilary Week 10: Global Civil Society & Governance without Government**

### **Required**

Rosenau, James N., 'Governance in the Twenty-First Century', Global Governance, vol. 1, no. 1, 1995, pp. 13-43:

<http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?collection=journals&handle=hein.journals/glog01&div=9&id=&page=>

Scholte, Jan A., 'Civil Society and the Legitimation of Global Governance', CSGR Working Paper No. 223/07, March 2007: [http://www.world-](http://www.world-governance.org/IMG/pdf_Scholte_Jan_Aart_-_Civil_Society_and_the_Legitimation_of_Global_Governance.pdf)

[governance.org/IMG/pdf\\_Scholte\\_Jan\\_Aart\\_-\\_Civil\\_Society\\_and\\_the\\_Legitimation\\_of\\_Global\\_Governance.pdf](http://www.world-governance.org/IMG/pdf_Scholte_Jan_Aart_-_Civil_Society_and_the_Legitimation_of_Global_Governance.pdf)

Kerwer, Dieter, 'Holding Global Regulators Accountable: The Case of Credit Rating Agencies', Governance, vol. 18, no. 3, July 2005, pp. 453-475:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2005.00284.x/abstract>

### **Recommended**

Mattli, Walter, and Ngaire Woods, 'In Whose Benefit? Explaining Regulatory Change in Global Politics', in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods (eds.), The Politics of Global Regulation (Princeton UP, 2009), Chapter 1

Price, Richard, 'Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics' (Review Article), World Politics, vol. 55, no. 4, July 2003, pp. 579-606:

[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/world\\_politics/v055/55.4price.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/world_politics/v055/55.4price.pdf)

Kaldor, Mary, 'The Idea of Global Civil Society', International Affairs, vol. 79, no.3, 2003, pp. 583-593: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/3569364>

## Hilary Week 11: International Environmental Politics

### Required

Falkner, Robert, 'American Hegemony and the Global Environment', International Studies Review, vol. 7, no. 4, November 2005, pp. 585-99:  
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2005.00534.x/abstract>

Chasek, Pamela, et al., Global Environmental Politics, fourth edition (Westview, 2006), pp. 97-128 on transboundary air pollution, ozone depletion, and climate change, pp. 151-158 on trade in endangered species.

"Let them eat pollution" [Larry Summers memo] The Economist (2/8/1992), p. 1  
<http://www.whirledbank.org/ourwords/summers.html>

Chris Mooney, The Republican War on Science (New York, Basic Books, 2005) pp. 78-101. 'The Greatest Hoax'.

Cass Sunstein, 'A Tale of Two Protocols', in Worst-Case Scenarios (Harvard University Press, 2007), 71-117.

### Recommended

Sebenius, James K., 'Designing Negotiations Toward a New Regime: The Case of Global Warming', International Security, vol. 15, no. 4, Spring, 1991, pp. 110-148:  
<http://www.jstor.org/pss/2539013>

Allen, Jeremiah, 'Anti-Sealing as an Industry', Journal of Political Economy, vol. 87, no. 2, April 1979, pp. 423-28: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1832100>

Yandle, Bruce, 'Baptists and Bootleggers in Retrospect', Regulation, vol. 22, no. 3, 1999  
<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/regv22n3/bootleggers.pdf>

*Definition of an Epistemic Community:*

Haas, Peter M., Saving the Mediterranean: The Politics of International Environmental Cooperation (Columbia, 1990), p. 55

Sprinz, Detlef and Tapani Vaahtoranta, 'The Interest-Based Explanation of International Environmental Policy', International Organization, vol. 48, no. 1, Winter 1994, pp. 77-105:  
<http://www.jstor.org/pss/2706915>

## **Hilary Week 12: The Future of International Relations**

### **Required**

Mearsheimer, John, 'E. H. Carr vs. Idealism: The Battle Rages On', International Relations, vol. 19, no. 2, June 2005, pp. 139-52:  
<http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0035.pdf>

Jervis, Robert, 'Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace', American Political Science Review, vol. 96, no. 1, 2002, pp. 1-14:  
<http://www.apsanet.org/media/PDFs/PresidentialAddresses/2001AddrJERVIS.pdf>

Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 'The Real New World Order', Foreign Affairs, (Sept-Oct 1997), pp. 183-197. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/20048208>

### **Recommended**

Maliniak, Daniel et al. 'The International Relations Discipline, 1980-2006', paper presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Chicago, September 2007  
Available at:  
<http://irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip/TRIP.pdf>

Posen, Barry R., 'Emerging Multipolarity: Why Should We Care?' Current History, November 2009, pp. 347-352:  
<http://acme.highpoint.edu/~msetzler/IntlSec/NewReadings2add/multipolarismHowItWillWork.CH1109.6.pdf>

Other groupings of readings: use to prepare for examination/essay questions.

### Basic Readings in four main theoretical approaches to IR

#### *Realism:*

EH Carr (classical realism)

Mearsheimer (neo-realism)

#### *Institutionalism:*

Theory: Keohane, *After Hegemony*

Example: WTO (Devereaux etc)

#### *State-Society Approaches to IR*

Theory: Moravcsik, *Taking Preferences Seriously*

Example: Gourevitch on 19<sup>th</sup> Trade Policies

#### *Constructivism:*

Theory: March and Olsen, Keohane, *After Hegemony*, p.110-132

Example: Schimmelfennig

### Readings on US and International Relations

There are readings on the US and international relations in many weeks of the course.

### Readings on Theory of International Organisations

Compare Keohane *After Hegemony* with:

Joseph M. Grieco “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation” in International Organization 42:3, pp. 485-507.

### Readings on Europe and Eastern Europe after the Cold War

Schimmelfennig

Moravcsik and Vachudova

Mearsheimer *Back to the Future*

You are also advised to keep the following distinct:

International Court of Justice; International Criminal Court; Universal Declaration of Human Rights; United Nations Human Rights Council (formerly United Nations Commission on Human Rights); European Court of Justice (Part of the European Union institutions) European Court of Human Rights (Not part of the EU institutions)

## Michaelmas Term Tutorial Questions

Weeks 2 and 3 (based on weeks 1-3 of readings):

1. What is the main goal of the state according Hobbes?
2. Explain the logic of collective action as posited by Olson using the concepts of public goods (non-excludable and non-rival), free-riding, and externalities.
3. It has been said that the Athenian statement in the Melian dialogs that *"you know as well as we do that right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must"* neatly summarizes the Realist perspective on relations between states. Briefly discuss this statement.
4. What are the causes of the First World War according to Stone? Could an international treaty have prevented war?
5. Does Carr's analysis apply to all treaties? Does he describe any circumstances where treaties would be effective?

Weeks 4 and 5:

1. In which sense, both conceptually and methodologically, is neo-realism "new"? Is the logic compelling?
2. What do you make of Mearsheimer's predictions for the politics of Post Cold War Europe?
3. Does the US provide any international public goods? If yes, in which way? If not, why?
4. What sort of international public goods can – and cannot – be produced by a hegemon?

Weeks 6 and 8:

1. Why did soldiers from differing armies 'cooperate' in World War One? What were the theoretical conditions that would make this outcome possible and how common are they?
2. Do states, in Keohane's analysis, cooperate on the same logic as Axelrod's cooperation between opposing armies?
3. What is the consequence of non-cooperation (or 'defection') by states in the WTO? Why do states fail to fulfil their obligations, according to the Devereaux account? How could you redesign the WTO in order to prevent non-compliance?
4. Could the WTO do without 'trade sanctions' as punishment for non-compliance?
5. What sort of international problems can be solved – and what sort not solved – by Axelrod-Keohane forms of international cooperation?

Weeks 9 and 10:

1. Explain the relationship between trade policy and domestic coalitions, as posited by Gourevitch (1977).
2. Do you agree that small specific lobbies can put big costs on the rest of the society? If yes, explain by which mechanism this occurs.

3. Summarize the different mechanisms that explain the democratic peace theory.
4. Do state-society approaches to international relations expect greater or lesser international cooperation than Axelrod-Keohane institutionalist approaches?
5. Is Hobson's account of 19<sup>th</sup> century imperialism convincing? Why or why not?
6. Is the 'hold up' problem solvable with an international organisation?

Weeks 11 and 12:

1. Why can interstate reciprocity and retaliation mechanisms be used to identify what is distinctive about the European Union? Are you convinced by the paper?
2. Is there a form of international organisation which can 'return' antiquities from developed countries to developing countries? What approach to international relations would this be based on?
3. Why is 'partage' no longer possible as a form of international cooperation? Could it become possible again?
4. Are the problems of international fishing cooperation more or less difficult than other forms of international cooperation?

### **Hilary Term Tutorial Questions**

#### **Weeks 2 and 3 (based on readings for weeks 1-3)**

1. Referring to the practice and experiences of US hegemony to illustrate your argument, is power in the international system today 'hard', 'soft', or something else?
2. Is it essential to understand American 'society' to understand American foreign policy?
3. Is Bolton's discussion of the United Nations the sort of speech that officials of any great power would make? Is it 'wrong', as a form of analysis?
4. Does IR theory provide explanations for U.S. military action in response to the attacks?
5. Upon what grounds do Mearsheimer and Walt (2003: 59) claim that 'a compelling strategic rationale is absent' in the US case for war against Iraq?

#### **Weeks 4 and 5:**

1. What are the prospects for peace as power shifts between states? Is peace more or less likely in a 'multipolar' as opposed to a 'unipolar' world?
2. How successfully have emerging powers (Brazil, China and Russia) resisted US power? What form has this resistance taken?

3. What are the implications of the 'rise of China' for the international system? Under what circumstances will it be peaceful?
4. What does Foot mean by China's use of 'accommodating' and 'hedging' strategies towards US hegemony? What is their effect on the relationship between China and the US?

#### **Weeks 6 and 8:**

1. Explain the rhetorical action mechanism described by Schimmelfennig (2001)? Is it a convincing mechanism?
2. How could a 'logic of appropriateness' affect state behaviour?
3. According to Hafner-Burton, what are the relative merits of different methodological approaches towards evaluating the impact of human rights? Do you agree?
4. What role does 'legitimacy' play in Roth's critique of US foreign policy when it comes to human rights? To what extent have claims to legitimacy informed US foreign policy on human rights under the Obama administration?

#### **Weeks 9 and 10:**

1. What does Donnelly mean by the 'relative universality' of human rights? How can human rights advocates avoid being called 'cultural imperialists'?
2. How is China using human rights critiques against the US and vice versa? What changes are observed over time?
3. According to Rosenau, is governance possible without government? Can the 'accountability gaps' of prominent international non-state actors be overcome? If so, how?
4. What role does civil society have in global governance? What are some of the arguments for and against greater engagement?

#### **Weeks 11 and 12:**

1. In relation to the attitude of US conservatives toward environmental policy, discuss the sentence of Senator James Inhofe (2003): 'With all of the hysteria, all of the fear, all of the phony science, could it be that man-made global warming is the greatest hoax ever perpetrated on the American people? It sure sounds like it.'

2. Under what circumstances, according to Week 11's readings, are international agreements demanding significant changes in environmental policy likely to be agreed and implemented?
3. With reference to Mearsheimer (2005) and Jervis (2002), how have contemporary developments in international politics challenged and/or reinforced the central tenets of realism?
4. Discuss the following sentence (Slaughter, 1997: 183): 'While lacking the drama of high politics, [...] bankers, lawyers, activists, and criminals [...] may hold the answer to many of the most pressing international challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.'

## FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIP EXAMINATION

This page provides basic information about taking the Schol examination. Note that there will be an informational meeting later in Hillary Term in relation to all Schol papers set by the Political Science department, and that if readings additional to those on this syllabus are recommended, all PO2640 students will be updated of that by email.

The Scholarship exam requirements or choices are set by your degree programme (BESS, European Studies, Law and Political Science, etc). The format for the examinations involving international politics is expected to be the same as last year, where the Dept will set two separate examinations involving International Relations (but again, which ones you must or may take will depend on your degree programme). Last year's papers will be available in due course on the Exams Office webpage

[http://www.tcd.ie/Local/Exam\\_Papers/index.html](http://www.tcd.ie/Local/Exam_Papers/index.html).

Note that if you are answering a paper or question on international relations in Schol, you are expected to respond in relation to the readings and other materials (including lectures) for this course (including of course the recommended readings and any additional readings of which you are informed between now and the examination).

If the requirements are the same as last year, for one of the papers you will need to write two long essays on a topic in Political Science, which may include International Relations. To prepare yourself to write an essay on International Relations for this examination, you should think about broad themes in the materials covered in PO2640, such as the role of rationality in IR theory, the role of democracy in IR theory, reasons for the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of treaty regimes, comparisons between regimes, changes in international relations theory over time, etc.

Second, there will be an examination paper with a variety of essay questions drawn from Comparative Politics, Political Theory, and International Relations, where students will be expected to answer several questions (perhaps 3, but again, look for more formal advise and of course follow the exam requirements as set). To prepare yourself for this examination, you should look at the essay questions in last year's examination paper. One important aspect for preparation for the schol examination is to note that essay questions may refer more to particular authors or events/topics discussed in the readings and so you will need to be prepared to answer questions which require a thorough knowledge of particular readings in detail. (Those questions may appear in the PO2640 exam as well, but you definitely need to be prepared for them for Schol exams).

See the Examinations Office website and/or your degree programme office for more information.

Good luck!