

**International Relations I**  
**The Foundations of International Society**

**2010-2011**

**Part I: Paper 5 in the Politics, Psychology and Sociology Tripos**

**Lecturer and paper organiser:**

Professor Christopher Hill (POLIS):

Room F4, 17 Mill Lane.

Email: [cjh68@cam.ac.uk](mailto:cjh68@cam.ac.uk)

**Potential supervisors** (\* means PhD student)

Duncan Bell

Ana-Maria Blanaru

Katrin Buchmann\*

Devon Curtis

Geoffrey Edwards

Salvatore Finamore\*

Mark Fliegau\*

Alastair Fraser

Andrew Gamble

Jan Gaspers\*

Jonathan Haslam

Christopher Hill

Sebastian Herbstreuth\*

Nicole Janz\*

Hubertus Juergenliemk\*

Tomas Larsson

Oliver Lewis\*

James Mayall

Glen Rangwala

Brendan Simms

Sharath Srinivasan

Helen Thompson

Marc Weller

Pieter Van Houten

## Classes

Revision classes will be given for two weeks in the Easter term as a way of pulling together the main ideas and themes examined in the course.

## Aims and Objectives

The course aims to introduce students to the subject of International Relations, whose main focus is the nature of politics at the international level. Students should acquire the empirical and conceptual foundations needed to make sense of a complex world which is neither pure anarchy nor close to any form of global government. The starting point is the notion of the 'international society' of states, which refers to the set of institutions and common procedures generated over the last three and a half centuries in various attempts to manage co-existence, but which has evolved to include many non-state actors and a number of different levels of interaction. By the end of the course students should be able to place the politics of the state into its international context, and to progress to more specialised work in Part II of the Tripos.

## Paper Content

As the subject is characterised by great historical, geographical and inter-disciplinary range, it is necessary to focus on certain main themes. These are four-fold: (1) *History* – the way the international system has evolved from a world in which the interaction between continents was limited, through the export of the European states system and balance of power, to the current post-imperial and multi-level structure, which has 192 states as members of the United Nations; (2) *War*, as a major part of the human experience – what it represents, why it happens, and what are its effects. How far is it possible to say that war is an institution in decline? (3) *Order*: what are the foundations and institutions of such order as exists in international life? What are the respective roles of states, intergovernmental organisations, law and civil society in creating/sustaining order? (4) *Ethics*: what is it reasonable to expect of states, and of individuals, in terms of ethical behaviour in international relations? How can competing ethical systems, and competing individual values, be reconciled in a world where both unifying and fragmentary forces are at work? What are the major global challenges of our age?

## Modes of teaching

The paper is taught by means of 24 lectures, six hours of supervision, and two concluding classes in the Easter term. The lectures will usually be accompanied by an outline, on PowerPoint or paper, which will subsequently be made available on CamTools. The outline is **not** a substitute for attendance at the lectures, which are in turn insufficient without serious reading – some of a general nature, but most on more specialised topics to be agreed with your supervisor. There will be two lectures a week in the Michaelmas term and one a week in the Lent term.

## Mode of Assessment

There will be a three hour unseen examination paper in the Easter term in which students have to answer three questions from a choice of twelve. These will focus more on the broad themes of the course than on specific lectures. The attached list of questions for supervisions, and sample examination paper, provide guidance, although there can, of course, be no advance commitment to any particular topic being represented in the final examination.

## READING

### General

Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainsley, *Understanding International Relations*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) (ebook 3<sup>rd</sup> ed: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442299](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442299))

Hanhimaki, Jussi, Joseph A. Maiolo, Kirsten Schulze, and Anthony Best, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, *An International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2008)

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1994)

Mayall, James, *World Politics: Progress and its Limits* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000)

Watson, Adam, *The Evolution of International Society* (London: Routledge, 1992). (eBook 2009 reissue: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456486](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456486))

## LECTURES

### MICHAELMAS 2010

**\*\* = Recommended reading**

#### 1. *The politics of the world*

*How is the modern world organised, to the extent that it is? The creation of a single global system; what kind of politics takes place across and beyond national frontiers? The difference between 'international relations' and 'world politics'?*

\*\*Baylis, John and Smith, Steve (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction*, 5th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010), Chapters 1 and 2.

Manning, Charles, *The Nature of International Society* (London: G. Bell, 1962), Chapters 1 and 2.

Stern, Geoffrey, *Structure of International Society*, 2nd edition (London: Continuum, 2000).

\*\*Waltz, Kenneth, 'The continuity of international politics', in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds.), *Worlds in Collision: terror and the future of global order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

## 2. *The subject of International Relations*

*International Relations (IR) as an academic subject – history, purposes, scope; relations with other social sciences and with the humanities; special subjects within IR; different national and cultural traditions in its study.*

\*\*Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainsley, *Understanding International Relations*, 4th edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Chapters 1, 2, 3. (eBook 3<sup>rd</sup> ed: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442299](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442299))

\*\*Jackson, Robert and Georg Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: theories and approaches*, 4th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chapters 1-2.

\*\*Schmidt, Brian C. 'On the history and historiography of International Relations', in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmonds (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002).

Smith, Steve, 'The discipline of International Relations: still an American social science?', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 2, 3 (2000), pp. 374-402.

Waever, Ole, 'The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations', *International Organisation*, 52, 4 (October 1998), pp. 687-727.

Waever, Ole, 'The rise and fall of the inter-paradigm debate', in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 149-185.

## SECTION I: The evolution of the international system

### 3. *From the classical origins to Westphalia*

*Relations between the Greek city-states; the Roman empire and its successors in Europe; other systems of diplomacy, in Asia, Africa and the western hemisphere; the emergence of 'Renaissance diplomacy', the European nation-state and global empires; the significance of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.*

Bull, Hedley and Adam Watson, (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), Chapter 1.

\*\*Buzan, Barry and Richard Little, *International Systems in World History: Remaking the study of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), especially pp. 239-275.

Berridge, Geoffrey et. al. (eds.), *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

Mattingly, Garrett, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London: Penguin, 1955), Chapters 27-28.

\*\*Watson, Adam, *The Evolution of International Society: a comparative historical analysis* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1-197. (eBook 2009 reissue: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456486](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456486))

#### **4. The European balance of power and the Concert of Europe**

*The sovereignty principle, and its relation to power; the classical 18<sup>th</sup> century balance of power system; the upheaval of the French revolution; the beginnings of institutionalised discussion about international order – the Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe.*

\*\*Hinsley, F.H., *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), Chapters 8-11.

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), Chapters 4-7.

\*\*Lauren, Paul, Gordon Craig and Alexander Craig, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic challenges of our time* (4th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007), Chapters 1 and 2.

McKay, D. and H.M. Scott, *The Rise of the Great Powers, 1648-1815* (London: Longman, 1983).

Osiander, Andreas, *The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the conditions of international stability* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Schroeder, Paul, *Systems, Stability and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6.

Sked, Alan, *The Decline and Fall of the Hapsburg Empire, 1815-1918*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Harlow: Longman, 2001).

\*\*Watson, Adam, *The Evolution of International Society: a comparative historical analysis* (Routledge, 1992), pp. 198-276. (eBook 2009 reissue: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=456486](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=456486))

Wright, Peter Moorehead (ed.), *Theory and Practice of the Balance of Power, 1486-1914* (London: Dent, 1975).

### **5. Industrialism, imperialism and the breakdown of order**

*The impact of economics – industrialisation, mercantilism and free trade; the British lead and the consequences for imperial expansion – nationalism, rivalries over territory, and the naval arms race; small wars and the preservation of order; the final collapse of the European states system.*

Bartlett, C.J., *The Global Conflict, 1860-1990* (London: Longman, 1984).

\*\*Joll, James, *Europe since 1870: an International History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (London: Penguin, 1990), Chapters 1, 4-7.

Joll, James, *The Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992)

\*\*Kennedy, Paul, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500-2000* (London: Unwyn Hyman, 1988), Chapters 4-5.

\*\*Polanyi, Karl, *The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), Chapters 1-2.

Roberts, J.M., *Europe, 1880-1945*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (London : Longman, 2000), Chapters 2-4.

### **6. The hopes and failures of the League of Nations**

*The political impact of the Great War; the attempt to build peace through law; the strengths and weaknesses of the League of Nations; reasons for failure; the impact of economic depression and nationalist reactions; the realist critique.*

Armstrong, David, Lorna Lloyd and John Redmond, *International Organisation in World Politics* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), Chapter 2.

Best, Anthony, Jussi Hanhimaki, Joseph Maiolo and Kirsten Schulze , *International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), Chapters, 2 and 7.

\*\*Carr, E.H., *The Twenty years Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1946).

Dunbabin, John, 'The League of Nations' place in the international system', *History*, 78, 254 (1993) pp. 421-442.

Henig, Ruth (ed.), *The League of Nations* (London: Haus Publishing, 2010).

\*\*Keylor, William, *The Twentieth Century World: An International History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Chapters. 2-4

Keynes, J.M. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (London: Macmillan, 1919). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=455805](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=455805))

\*\*Lauren, Paul, Gordon Craig and Alexander George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic challenges of our time*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007), Chapter 3.

Northedge, F.S. *The League of Nations: its life and times* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986).

\*\*Steiner, Zara, *The Lights that Failed : European international history, 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), Chapter 7. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456498](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456498))

## **7. Bipolarity, globalisation and the 'triumph of the West'.**

*Why was international organisation deemed so important in 1945 after the collapse of the League of Nations? The emergence of a bipolar balance of power; the impact of nuclear weapons; the attempt to ensure economic stability; the impact of economic growth, and of decolonization; the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet bloc; unipolarity or multipolarity? The meaning of 'globalisation'.*

Buzan, Barry, *The United States and the Great Powers* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), Chapters 1 and 3.

Calvocoressi, Peter, *World Politics since 1945*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2009), Chapter 1.

\*\*Clark, Ian, *Globalisation and Fragmentation; International Relations in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), Chapters 6-8.

Clark, Ian, *The Post-Cold War Order: the spoils of peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001).

Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993).

\*\*Halliday, Fred, *The Making of the Second Cold War* (London: Verso, 1983), Chapters 1-2.

Jervis, Robert, 'Unipolarity: A Structural Perspective', *World Politics* 61, 1 (January 2009), pp. 188-213.

Keohane, Robert and Joseph Nye, 'Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And so What?)', *Foreign Policy* 118 (Spring 2000), pp. 104-119.

\*\*Lauren, Paul Gordon Craig and Alexander Craig, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic challenges of our time*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007), Chapters 4-6.

Reynolds, David, *One World Divisible: A Global History since 1945* (London: Penguin Press, 2001), especially Chapters 1, 4, 6, 10.

## SECTION II: The elements of international politics

### 8. *Concepts of international system and society*

*The differences between the concepts of 'system', 'society', and 'community' as applied to international relations; Martin Wight's three perspectives: realism, rationalism and revolutionism; 'world society.'*

\*\*Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Chapters 1-3.

Dunne, Tim, 'The English School' in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories; Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

\*\*Jackson, Robert, *The Global Covenant: Human conduct in a world of states* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapter 5. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=455400](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=455400))

Kaplan, Morton, *System and Process in International Politics* (Essex: European Consortium for Political Research Press, 2005).

Mayall, James, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapters 1 and 2.

\*\*Mayall, James, *World Politics; progress and its limits* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), Part I.

Mitchell, C. R. , 'World Society as Cobweb: States, actors and systemic processes', in Michael Banks (ed.), *Conflict in World Society: A new perspective on International Relations* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf, 1984).

Northedge, F.S., *The International Political System* (London: Faber, 1976), Chapters 1-3.

Wight, Martin, *Systems of States* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977).

## 9. *Statehood*

*The definition of a state; states, nations and governments; relations between the internal and external faces of statehood; legal personality and membership of the international states system; the variety of states; the decline of the state?*

\*\* Navari, Cornelia, 'States and state systems: democratic, Westphalian or both?' *Review of International Studies*, 33 (2007), pp. 577-595.

D'Entrèves, A.P., *The Notion of the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

\*\* Halliday, Fred, *Rethinking International Relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), Chapter 4.

Hinsley, F.H., *Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986).

Hobson, J.M., *The State and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

\*\* Jackson, Robert, *Sovereignty: the evolution of an idea* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

James, Alan, 'The practice of sovereign statehood in contemporary international society', *Political Studies*, 47, 3 (1999), pp. 457-473.

Krasner, Steven, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton University Press, 1999), Chapter 1.

Navari, Cornelia (ed.), 'Introduction: the state as an essentially contested concept' in Cornelia Navari (ed.), *The Condition of States* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991).

Sorensen, Georg, *The Transformation of the State: beyond the myth of retreat* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), Chapter 6.

## 10. *War: (i) systemic causes*

*Levels of analysis: human nature, the state and international anarchy; technological change and arms races; territorial expansion and the role of imperialism; religion and the 'clash of civilisations'; inequality; international terrorism.*

Blainey, Geoffrey, *The Causes of War* (New York: Free Press, 1988).

Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Chapter 8.

\*\*Freedman, Lawrence (ed.), *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Section B.

Gilpin, Robert, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Howard, Michael, *The Causes of Wars* (London: Temple Smith, 1983)

Huntington, Samuel et al. *The Clash of Civilisations? The Debate* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).

\*\*Mearsheimer, John, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), Chapters 1-2.

Suganami, Hidemi, *On the Causes of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

\*\*Waltz, Kenneth, *Man, the State and War: A theoretical analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Chapters 2-3, 6-7.

### **11. War: (ii) domestic causes**

*The state itself; the possibility that certain types of state/regime are more or less war-prone than others; nationalism and revolutions; interventions, and the tendency towards crusading; competing explanations of the two world wars.*

\*See many of the references in the previous section, including in particular Blainey, Howard and Suganami, but also:

Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey (eds.) , *Democracy, Liberalism and war: rethinking the democratic peace debate* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001).

\*\*Ceadel, Martin, *Thinking about Peace and War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Dixon, Jeffrey, 'What Causes Civil Wars? Integrating Quantitative Research Findings', *International Studies Review* 11 (2009), pp. 707-735

Doyle, Michael, 'Liberalism and world politics', *American Political Science Review*, 80, 4 (1986), pp. 1151-1169.

\*\*Doyle, Michael, *Ways of War and Peace: realism, liberalism and socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), Parts II and III.

Freedman, Lawrence, 'The age of liberal wars', *Review of International Studies*, Special Issue, 31, 1 (2005), pp. 93-107.

\*\*Waltz, Kenneth, *Man, the State and War: A theoretical analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Chapters 4-5.

## 12. War: (iii) systemic consequences

*War as major agent of change: peace settlements, the redistribution of power and new international orders; empires – collapses and creations; state-formation; ethnic cleansing and migration; technological and economic change; 'new wars'?*

\*\*Barkawi, Tarak, *Globalisation and War* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

Clark, Ian, *The Hierarchy of States: reform and resistance in the international order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially Chapter 5.

Freedman, Lawrence (ed.), *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Section G.

Gilpin, Robert, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

\*\*Hurrell, Andrew, *On Global Order: Power, Values and the constitution of international society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapter 7. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442306](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442306))

Ikenberry, G. John, *After Victory: institutions, strategic restraint and the building of order after major wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

McNeill, W. H., *The Pursuit of Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), Chapters 7-9.

Williams, Andrew, *Liberalism and war: the victors and the vanquished* (London: Routledge, 2006).

## 13. War: (iv) domestic consequences

*Regime change; revolution, nationalism, militarisation; destruction, death, and genocide – the demographic impact; economic change – ruin and/or stimulus; social change, as in the franchise, the role of women, artistic expression.*

Bell, Duncan (ed.), *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: reflections on the relationship between past and present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), Chapters 1, 3, 11. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442296](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442296))

Evans, Martin and Ken Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), Chapters 8, 9, 15.

Hill, Christopher, '“Where are we going?” International Relations and the voice from below', *Review of International Studies*, 25 (1999), pp. 107-122.

\*\*Maier, Charles, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: stabilization in France, Germany and Italy in the decade after World War I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Parts I & II; and see Chapter 7 by Maier in Marwick et. al. (eds.), 2001 below.

\*\*Marwick, Arthur, Clive Emsley and Wendy Simpson (eds.), *Total War and Historical Change: Europe 1914-1955*. (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001).

Marwick, Arthur, *War and Social Change in the twentieth Century; A comparative study of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States* (London: Macmillan, 1974).

Winter, J.M., *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

#### **14. Foreign policy and diplomacy**

*Why foreign policy still matters; the changing character of diplomacy; the key aspects of decision-making; the changing roles of foreign ministries, and of diplomats; the principal instruments of foreign policy – military, political, economic and cultural – and their limitations.*

\*\*Berridge, G.R., *Diplomacy: theory and practice*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Hamilton, Keith, and Richard Langhorne, *The Practice of Diplomacy: its evolution, theory and administration* (London: Routledge, 1995), Chapters 4-7.

Hill, Christopher, 'Foreign Policy' in Joel Krieger (Ed.), *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, second revised edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) (brief discussion of definitions; overlaps with Chapter 1 of Hill, *Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, below).

Hill, Christopher, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), Chapters 1, 2, 6 and 11.

\*\*Hill, Christopher, 'What is to be Done? Foreign Policy as a Site for Political Action', *International Affairs* 79, 2 (March 2003), pp. 233-255.

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 1994), Chapters 9 and 28 (on Woodrow Wilson and Richard Nixon, respectively).

\*\*Lauren, Paul, Gordon Craig and Alexander Craig, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic challenges of our time* (4<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007), Chapters 10, 11 and Conclusion.

Mintz, Alex and Karl DeRouen Jr., *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Chapters, 1-3.

Nicolson, Harold, *Diplomacy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

\*\*Ross, Carne, *Independent Diplomat: dispatches from an unaccountable elite* (London: Hurst, 2007), Chapter 1.

Smith, Steve, Amelia Hadfield Tim Dunne (eds.), *Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Chapters 1 and 12.

Webber, Mark and Michael Smith, (eds.), *Foreign Policy in a Transformed World*, (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2002), Chapters 1-4, 11.

### **15. International order: law, rules and norms**

*The problem of order at the international level; tensions between order, sovereignty and justice; the distinctive character of international law; its relationship to informal rules, norms and regimes; the proliferation of international organisations.*

\*\*Armstrong, David, Theo Farrell and Hélène Lambert, *International Law and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), especially Chapters 1-3.

Armstrong, David, Lorna Lloyd and John Redmond, *International Organisation in World Politics* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), Chapters 1 and 13.

\*\*Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Chapter 6.

Byers, Michael, *Custom, Power and the Power of Rules: international relations and customary international law*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Chapters 1-3, and 9.

Byers, Michael (ed.), *The role of law in international politics : essays in international relations and international law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), especially Chapters 1, 3, 10 and Conclusion.

Henkin, Louis, *How Nations Behave: Law and Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), Parts I and IV.

Hurrell, Andrew, 'Norms and Ethics in International Relations', in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmonds (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002).

\*\*Jackson, Robert, *The Global Covenant: Human Conduct in a World of States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapter 1. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=455400](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=455400))

Kratochwil, Friedrich, *Rules, Norms and Decisions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Chapters 1-3.

### **16. International organisation: (i) The UN Security Council**

*The aims behind the UNSC; its powers, functioning and record; demands for reform – and possible new models; the limitations of its role as the agent of international society; changing definitions of security, and new challenges.*

\*\*Armstrong, David, Lorna Lloyd and John Redmond, *International Organisation in World Politics* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), Chapter 7.

\*\*Berdal, Mats, 'The United Nations Security Council: ineffective but indispensable', *Survival*, 45,2 (June 2003), pp. 7-30.

Hannay, David, *New World Disorder: The UN after the Cold War – an insider's view* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 1-27.

Kennedy, Paul, *The Parliament of Man: the past present and future of the United Nations* (New York: Random House, 2006), Chapters 1-3.

Lowe, Vaughan, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh and Dominik Zaum (eds.), *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice Since 1945* (Oxford University Press, 2010)

Malone, David, (ed.), *The United Nations Security Council: from the Cold war to the Twenty-first Century* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2004).

Melvern, Linda, 'The Security Council: behind the scenes', *International Affairs*, 77,1 (January 2001), pp. 101-112.

\*\*Roberts, Adam, and Dominik Zaum, *Selective Security: War and the United Nations Security Council since 1945* (Abingdon: Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008).

Roberts, Adam, and Benedict Kingsbury (eds.), *United Nations, Divided World: the UN's roles in international relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

## LENT TERM

### 17. *International organisation: (ii) managing the international economy*

*The rise and fall of the Bretton Woods system; the key role of the United States, and the emergence of challenges to its hegemony; the key issues for state coordination – trade, currencies, energy, growth, development, and the environment; states, markets and privatisation – who takes responsibility, and for what?*

Copelovitch, Mark, *The International Monetary Fund in the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), especially Ch1.

\*\*Economides, Spyros and Peter Wilson, *The Economic Factor in International Relations: a brief introduction* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456483](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456483))

Gill, Stephen, 'Two concepts of international political economy', *Review of International Studies*, 16, 4 (1990), pp. 369-381.

Gilpin, Robert, *Global Political Economy: understanding the international economic order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), especially Chapters 7-10.

Narlikar, Amrita, *The World Trade Organisation: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

\*\*Strange, Susan, 'Wake up Krasner, the world has changed!' *Review of International Political Economy*, 1, 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 209-219.

Walter, Andrew, and Gautam Sen, *Analyzing the Global Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

\*\*Woods, Ngaire, 'Making the IMF and the World Bank more accountable', *International Affairs*, 77, 1 (January 2001), pp. 83-100.

### 18. *International organisation: (iii) The EU and other forms of regionalism*

*The regional v. the universal; origins of European integration; federalism and functionalism; the uniqueness of the European experiment; its record after 53 years; the diverse experiences of the OAS, NAFTA, OAU/AU, ASEAN et. al.*

Acharya, Amitav, *Constructing a Security Community in South East Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

Archer, Clive, *International Organisations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (London: Routledge, 2001). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=445282](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=445282))

\*\*Armstrong, David, Lorna Lloyd and John Redmond, *International Organisation in World Politics* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), Chapters 8-12.

\*\*Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, *Debates on European Integration: a reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 17-36; 89-104. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442301](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=442301))

Ginsberg, Roy, H., *Demystifying the European Union: the enduring logic of regional integration* (Lenham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

Hill, Christopher and Michael Smith, *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005 – second edition January 2011), Chapters 1-3.

\*\*Hoffmann, Stanley, *The European Sisyphus: Essays on Europe, 1964-1994* (London: Westview Press, 1995), especially Chapters 3, 7, 12, 13.

### 19. *Non-state actors and the concept of global civil society*

*The illusion that non-state actors (NSAs) are a modern phenomenon; their variety – churches, business, pressure-groups, media, political parties, trades unions, revolutionary cells, sports organisations; social movements and the idea of a global civil society; a challenge to the state?*

\*\*Archibugi, Daniele, *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Towards cosmopolitan democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), Chapters 1-5. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456489](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfacoz&bib=456489))

\*\*Armstrong, David, Lorna Lloyd and John Redmond, *International Organisation in World Politics* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), Chapter 14.

Bartelson, Jens, 'Making sense of global civil society', *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (2006), pp. 371-395.

\*\*Brown, Chris, 'Cosmopolitanism, world citizenship and global civil society', in Jones, Peter, and Simon Caney (eds.), *Human Rights and Global Diversity* (London: Frank Cass, 2001).

Ferguson, Yale and Richard Mansbach, *A World of Politics: Essays on global politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), Chapter 9.

Josselin, Daphne, and William Wallace (eds.), *Non-State Actors in World Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

Kaldor, Mary, *Global Civil Society: An answer to war* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003).

Keane, John, *Global Civil Society?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=445286](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=445286))

Keohane, Robert, and Joseph Nye (eds.), *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973) – a reprint from *International Organization* XXV, 3 (Summer 1971).

Klein, Naomi, *No Logo: no space, no choice, no jobs*, 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary edition (London: Fourth Estate, 2010).

Scholte, Jan Art, *Globalization: a critical introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

### SECTION III: Normative dilemmas

#### 20. *Order v. Justice*

*The different connotations of 'justice' in the international context; its relationship to the principle of equality – of states, peoples and individuals; what costs might be acceptable in the pursuit of justice? Justifications for war – the jus ad bellum; historical injustices – how far back should they be traced? Where do obligations fall – states, international organisations, voters?*

Brown, Chris, *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002)

Bull, Hedley, 'Justice in International Relations', in Kai Alderson and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Hedley Bull on International Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 2000).

\*\*Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Chapters 4 and 12.

Dunne, Tim and Nicholas Wheeler, 'Hedley Bull's pluralism of the intellect and solidarism of the will', *International Affairs*, 72, 1 (1996), pp. 91-107.

\*\*Foot, Rosemary, John Lewis Gaddis and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially pp. 1-48. (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455401](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455401))

Nardin, Terry, *Law, Morality and the Relations of States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

\*\*Vincent, R. J., *Nonintervention and International Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 327-389.

### **21. Saving strangers: an obligation to intervene?**

*European imperialism and la mission civilisatrice; the growth of a consciousness about human rights and wrongs; reactions against imperialism, and the Holocaust; political v. economic rights; should vicinity make a difference? The 'responsibility to protect' campaign; the costs of intervention.*

Brown, Chris, *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), Chapter 5.

\*\*Doyle, Michael, 'International intervention', Chapter 11 in Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: realism, liberalism and socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).

Economides, Spyros and Mats Berdal (eds.), *United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Foot, Rosemary, *Rights beyond Borders: the global community and the struggle over human rights in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Part II.

Hoffmann, Stanley et. al., *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), especially Chapter 2.

Miller, David, *National Responsibility and Global Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455403](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455403))

Pattison, James, 'Legitimacy and humanitarian intervention: who should intervene?', *International Journal of Human Rights*, 12 (2008), pp. 395-413.

\*\*Welsh, Jennifer (ed.), *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455402](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455402))

\*\*Wheeler, Nicholas, *Saving Strangers: humanitarian intervention in international society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455402](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=455402))

## **22. The environment and the problem of global commons**

*The emergence of the concepts of 'planet earth' and the 'common heritage of mankind': rhetoric or necessity? Natural resources and the 'limits to growth'; the UN Stockholm conference of 1972, and the emergence of green politics; the debate over possible ecological catastrophe; the politics of international environmental negotiations; can 'the world' act?*

Elliott, Lorraine, *The Global Politics of the Environment*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Giddens, Anthony, *Politics of Climate Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).

\*\**International Affairs*, 85, 6 (November 2009): special issue on 'Tackling Resource challenges in the 21st century: avoiding worst case scenarios', especially articles by Lee, Matthew & Hammill, Froggatt & Levi, and Deere-Birkbeck.

\*\*Ostrom, Elinor, *Governing the Commons; the evolution of institutions for collective action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapter 1.

Sprout, Harold and Margaret, *The Ecological perspective on Human Affairs; with special reference to international politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

\*\*Vogler, John, *The Global Commons: Environmental and Technological Governance*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).

Young, Oran, George J. Demko and Kilaparti Ramakrishna (eds.), *Global Environmental Change and International Governance* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1996).

## **23. Nuclear proliferation**

*The step-change represented by Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the theory of nuclear deterrence – continued relevance? The Non-Proliferation Treaty; the slow spread of nuclear weapons – reasons for acquisition or reluctance; the loss of states' monopoly over WMD; current dilemmas.*

Allison, Graham. 'Nuclear Disorder: Surveying Atomic Threats', *Foreign Affairs* 89, 1 (January/February 2010), pp. 74-75.

Buzan, Barry and Eric Herring, *The Arms Dynamic in World Politics* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1998)

Krause, Joachim, 'Enlightenment and nuclear order', *International Affairs*, 83, 3 (May 2007), pp. 483-500.

\*\*Litwak, Robert, 'The new calculus of pre-emption', *Survival*, 44, 4 (February 2002), pp. 53-80.

Nye, Joseph, *Nuclear Ethics* (New York: Free Press, 1986), Chapter 6.

\*\*Ruzicka, Jan and Nicholas Wheeler, 'The puzzle of trusting relationships in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty', *International Affairs*, 86, 1 (January 2010), pp. 69-85.

\*\*Sagan, S. D., and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: a debate renewed*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).

#### **24. Unity and diversity in international society**

*Pluralism v solidarism: what is the balance, and how well does it work? Do we live in the 'Westfailure system'?*

Kahler, Miles and David Lake, 'Economic Integration and Global Governance: Why so little supranationalism?', in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods (eds.), *The Politics of Global Regulation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

\*\*Keene, Edward, 'Order in contemporary world politics, global but divided' in Edward Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, colonialism and order in world politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Ruggie, John, *Constructing the World Polity* (Routledge, 1998), pp. 1-40 'What makes the world hang together?' (also in *International Organization*, 52,4, October 1998, in amended form). (eBook: [http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib\\_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=445267](http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=depfaco&bib=445267))

\*\*Strange, Susan, 'The Westfailure system', *Review of International Studies*, 25, 3 (1999), pp. 345-354.

Wendt, Alexander, 'Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics', *International Organization*, 46, 2 (1992), pp. 391-425.

## WEBSITES

There is a huge range of websites of potential use to you, including:

- The foreign ministries and prime ministerial/presidential offices of most states;
- The UN, EU, NATO and most other intergovernmental organizations (IGOs);
- The International Crisis Group, and other major non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
- The media, especially the *Financial Times*, *Le Monde*, *New York Times*, *BBC*, *Al-Jazeera* etc (some require payment).
- Specialised academic sites via key portals – see the UL's electronic resources.

Most urls are not given here as Google, and Google Scholar make finding them, and other links, so easy. But see in particular:

[www.csg.org](http://www.csg.org) Website of Centre for the Study of Globalization and Regionalization at the University of Warwick.

<http://archive.timesonline.co.uk/tol/archive/> for issues relating to international and global conflict.

[www.globalpolicy.org](http://www.globalpolicy.org) Global Policy forum.

[www.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.isn.ethz.ch) for the International Relations and Security Network.

[www.unfccc.de](http://www.unfccc.de) UN Framework Convention on Climate Change Secretariat.

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

What follows is a range of fourteen questions for you and your supervisor to use in deciding on essay titles for your six supervisions.

### Essay questions

#### *The Evolution of the System*

1. In what sense, if any, did 'international relations' exist before the Peace of Westphalia?
2. 'The notion of a "peaceful nineteenth century" is the product of European myopia'. Discuss.
3. Discuss the extent to which any ONE of the following had a structural impact on the nature of the international system: the First World War; the Second World War; the end of the Cold War.

*The Elements of International Politics*

4. 'Sovereignty is like virginity – it is all or nothing'. Discuss
5. Is the idea of a 'society of states' a contradiction in terms?
6. Is it sensible to talk about the causes of *war*, as opposed to the causes of wars?
7. How much progress has been made in controlling the incidence of war and the damage caused by it?
8. What is foreign policy for?
9. Compare the United Nations and the European Union as 'working peace systems'.
10. How effective are international institutions in helping states to manage the global economy?

*Normative Dilemmas*

11. Is order a precondition of achieving justice in international relations?
12. Is the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states (Article 2.7 of the UN Charter) now out-dated?
13. Is it realistic to expect states to act in order to prevent hypothetical environmental problems for future generations?
14. Why have relatively few states sought to acquire nuclear weapons?

**SAMPLE EXAM PAPER**

**NB:** this is the first year that a paper in international Relations has ever been offered to Cambridge undergraduates, so no previous examination papers are available.

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Candidates must answer **THREE** questions

1. Why was Europe the birthplace of the modern international system?
2. To what extent were serious efforts made before 1914 to create a collective system for fostering international order?
3. Did European imperialism transform international relations?
4. Is the story of international politics after 1945 largely that of the triumph of capitalism?
5. Why has sovereignty been such a persistently critical issue in international relations?
6. Can the causes of wars all be subsumed under one cause of war?
7. 'War devastates individual societies, but it is a necessary institution of international society'. Discuss.
8. Are we all engaged in foreign policy nowadays?
9. Has the United Nations system proved itself to be indispensable?

10. 'It's the economy, stupid' (President Clinton). Are economics the key factor in making possible international order?
11. Why should we risk our lives and prosperity to save strangers?
12. Does it make sense to talk about threats to humanity as a whole? If so, can we meaningfully act against such threats?