

## Human, Social and Political Science Part I: POL2

### International Relations I

2015-16

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Lecturers:

Professor Hill is the lead lecturer for this course, but some lectures will be given by Dr. Stefano Recchia.

#### Aims and Objectives

The course aims to introduce students to the subject of International Relations (IR), whose main focus is the nature of politics at the international level. This includes not just foreign and security policy issues, but also aspects of international trade, human rights, and international law, to name a few—matters in which states, international institutions, and transnational nongovernmental organizations all play a major role. Students will acquire the empirical and conceptual foundations needed to understand an international political system which cannot be accurately described as either pure anarchy or a coherent form of 'global governance'. International politics can be analysed using varying analytical frameworks which compete but also to some extent complement each other. Some of these frameworks assume IR is best understood as an 'international society' with a shared set of institutions and common procedures that allow states to co-exist. Others presume IR is best characterized as an endless competition for power and prestige; still others contend that international politics should be studied from a moral point of view - even if there are many versions of morality active in the world. The course introduces students to the main IR theories, but does not treat theory as an end in itself. Rather it is the means to opening up substantive problems analytically and critically, showing how different assumptions lead to different interpretations. More specifically the course aims to equip you to have informed discussions about: the historical origins of the present international system; what is distinctive about international politics as opposed to politics inside the state; and the main challenges which confront humanity at the global level in the twenty-first century.

#### Brief Description of the Paper

The subject of International Relations (usually given capital letters, as opposed to international relations as events) has a huge range. To make the task of learning IR manageable, this course is structured around four inter-related themes, each of which takes a different 'cut' at the subject and selects certain key areas of knowledge, or debates, from

required to answer three questions from a choice of sixteen. The paper will be divided into two sections, one covering the two themes of History and War, and one covering the other two themes, Order and Ethics. You will be required to answer at least one question from each section. While each individual question will generally focus on a particular topic, a familiarity with the course as a whole will almost certainly improve the quality of your answers. In the reading list which follows lists of essay questions for supervisions are given at the end of each of the four sections.

## READING

### Textbooks and general background books

For this course you need to recognise that you will need varying kinds of knowledge: some historical, some conceptual, and some involving awareness of the contemporary world. The following are recommended both for preparatory reading before the course, and for background during it. While there is variation in terms of what different books choose to emphasise, these general texts also overlap quite a bit and thus can be used to substitute for one another. In other words, don't imagine that you are expected to read all of any single text— let alone read all of them! Instead, read selectively, according to interest. Mayall, however, is an exception as it rewards reading straight through. The course is not designed around any single book, but if you wish to purchase one or two for regular reference then those by Brown and Ainsley, Best et. al., and Jackson would probably be most useful. Second hand copies of most will be available from online retailers, while do not worry if you cannot find the latest edition of a text which is regularly updated - the earlier ones will serve as well on the concepts.

Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to Politics and International Relations*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). [This best-selling text covers a wide range of theoretical and empirical material, with the help of boxes and other study aids. Its overviews are reliable starting points for many of the issues which you will encounter].

Best, Anthony, Hanhimaki, Jussi, Joseph A. Maiolo, and Kirsten Schulze, *An International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 2014). [This collaborative work provides comprehensive coverage of world history since 1900, broken down by periods and by regions – but a good alternative is Keylor, below].

Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainsley, *Understanding International Relations*, 4th edition (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). [This is the most coherent and concise introduction available. It has a theoretical leaning but always stays close to real world concerns. It is written in a lively and engaging style].

Burchill, Scott and Andrew Linklater (eds.), *Theories of International Relations*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013). [Exceptionally clear and comprehensive collection of essays on all the main theories].

7. Before the state?
8. The European balance of power
9. The Concert of Europe, industrialisation and empire
10. The hopes and failures of the League of Nations
11. Bipolarity, globalisation and the 'triumph of the West'

#### Theme 2: War in International Society

12. Systemic causes of war
13. Domestic causes of war
14. Systemic consequences of war
15. Domestic consequences of war

#### LENT TERM

#### Theme 3: Order in World Politics

16. Concepts of international system and society
17. Statehood
18. Foreign policy and diplomacy
19. International order: law, rules and norms
20. International organisation (i): The UN Security Council
21. International organisation (ii): managing the international economy
22. International organisation (iii): The EU and other forms of regionalism
23. Non-state actors and the concept of global civil society

#### Theme 4: Normative dilemmas

24. Order v. Justice
25. Saving strangers: an obligation to intervene?
26. The environment and the problem of global commons
27. Nuclear proliferation
28. Unity and diversity in international society

#### EASTER TERM

Revision sessions TBC (see p. )

**\*\*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). [Interesting challenge to the conventional view that International Relations started in 1919]. eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources/326513>**

\* Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Rex Warner translation (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972). [Read 'The Melian Dialogue' at the end of Book V, often referred to as one of the earliest realist treatises on politics.]

\*Haslam, Jonathan, *No Virtue Like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations since Machiavelli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) [relevant throughout, for its focus on the evolution of thought, and for the relationship between ideas and practice].

\*Keohane, Robert O. (ed.), *Neorealism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986). [Extracts from the key writings around Waltz's theory of neo-realism (see below); see particularly chapter 1 by Keohane and chapters 4-5 by Waltz.]

\*Morgenthau, Hans, *Politics among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948, and later eds). [Influential but also highly contested attempt to make power the scientific basis for studying IR].

Waltz, Kenneth, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979). [Seminal work, perhaps best approached through Keohane's collection at this stage].

Wolfers, Arnold, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962). [Sophisticated and pragmatic realism in a series of essays, any of which will reward reading].

#### 4. Varieties of liberalism ()

Liberalism covers a multitude of diverse approaches in relation to politics both within the state and between states. In IR, liberalism stresses the interrelationship between inside and outside, unlike realism which sees the international realm as distinctive. Liberalism also looks for the possibilities for cooperation between states, especially (after 1918) through international law and institutions. It is closely associated with what is known as the Grotian view, and to some extent with modern rationalism. It is also naturally the point of reference for those concerned to stress the rights of individuals rather than states, and ethical obligations to strangers. Economic liberalism tends to highlight trade, interdependence and human progress.

\*\*Axelrod, Robert and Robert O. Keohane 'Achieving cooperation under anarchy: strategies and institutions', *World Politics* 38, no. 1, October 1985.

\*\*Burchill, Scott, 'Liberalism', in Burchill and Linklater (see TEXTS).

\*\* Doyle, Michael W. 'Liberalism and World Politics', *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (1986), pp. 1151-1169. [authoritative treatment of the political philosophy behind liberal practices in international relations. For a more developed version, see Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997) Part II.]

\*Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992). [For the condensed precursor essay, see Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer

\*Howard, Michael, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith, 1978). [Insights from a major historian sensitive to the necessary dialogue between realism and liberalism].

\*Held, David, *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995). [from a leading exponent of optimistic modern liberalism]

\*Hill, Christopher, '1939: the Origins of Liberal Realism', *Review of International Studies* 15, 1989. [an attempt to show why World War II led to liberalism evolving, rather than disappearing].

\*Vincent, R.J, *Human Rights and International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1986). [One of the first IR attempts to bring human rights to the centre of the subject].

## 5. The constructivist turn (.)

Strictly speaking constructivism is not a theory of the substance of international politics; it is an epistemological approach common across the social sciences emphasising the need to understand human behaviour not in terms of objective reality, let alone laws, but rather in terms of 'inter- subjective understandings' – that is, how we use ideas, frames, perceptions to construct our world, which is thus far less predictable than realists, liberals or Marxists would have us believe. Constructivism has become the dominant approach among European IR scholars, and has also established a firm foothold in the US where, however, rationalism still dominates. NB the distinction between 'thin' constructivism, seen as close to liberal rationalism, and the 'thick' variety, being strongly post-positivist, even post-modernist.

\*\*Hopf, Ted, 'The promise of constructivism in International Relations Theory', *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998).

\*\*Reus-Schmidt, Christian, 'Constructivism' in Burchill and Linklater (see TEXTS)

\*\*Wendt, Alexander, 'Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics', *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992). [Classic article from the leading IR constructivist].

\*Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink, 'International norm dynamics and political change', *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917 [How can seemingly weak political actors compel powerful states and organisations to alter their behavior?]

\*Guzzini, Stefano, *Power, Realism and Constructivism* (London: Routledge, 2013), Part III. [Excellent critical synthesis, looking back on 20 years of constructivism in IR].

\*Ruggie, John, *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London: Routledge, 1998). [Key essays from a leading theorist who has also held major posts at the UN].

\*Wendt, Alexander, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

## 6. Critical approaches (.)

IR has often been accused of being too close to power, despite the influence of 'idealism' between the two World Wars. With the development of the subject at universities world-wide has come a wide range of approaches, empirical and theoretical, with critical approaches both to intellectual orthodoxies and their assumptions about what is possible – and more importantly not possible – in international politics. One critical strand looks back to Marxism. Another, currently more vigorous, derives from the work of Michel Foucault and others in challenging the foundational assumptions of established social science. This strand is generally termed 'post-structural'. There has also been much work generated by feminist and green writers, which is generally counter-orthodoxy, but not easy to place into the standard academic categories.

\*\*Burchill and Linklater (see TEXTS), chapters 5 on Marx and 7 on critical theory. [Chapters 6, 8, 10 and 11, (on historical sociology, post-structuralism, feminism, and green politics, respectively) are also worth further reading for those particularly interested in this general approach to IR].

\*\*Cox, Robert W., 'Social forces, states and world orders: beyond International Relations theory', *Millennium* 10, no. 2 (1981) [highly influential attempt to draw attention to the structures which underlie international relations.]

\*\* Linklater, Andrew, 'Citizenship and sovereignty in the post-Westphalian state', *European Journal of International Relations* 2, no. 1 (1996). [A major statement from Britain's leading IR theorist, creatively combining influences from both Marxism and the English School. For a fuller treatment see Linklater's book *The Transformation of International Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998).]

\*Enloe, Cynthia, 'Margins, silences and bottom rungs: how to overcome the underestimation of power in the study of International Relations', in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). [Attack on the IR's neglect of the actual impact of power on ordinary lives, from a leading feminist empiricist].

\* Strange, Susan, *Casino Capitalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986) [prescient, sceptical and readable account from the founder of modern international political economy, stressing US hegemony].

\*Tickner, J. A. *Gendering World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) [one of the key writers among feminist approaches to IR].

Campbell, David, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, revised ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998). [Sometimes difficult but innovative study on how foreign policy relies on creating the 'Other', and how that very process shapes our own identities].

Gill, Stephen (ed.), *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). [The Italian theorist and anti-fascist Antonio Gramsci has been increasingly influential in the study of IR for the way he combines ideas and

### Essay Questions for Theories and Approaches:

Extra readings are given here to indicate how theory can be relevant to real-world problems.

1. Take any two theoretical perspectives and consider what light they throw on the possibility of the US accepting a 'peaceful rise' of China to superpower status.

Suggested extra readings:

- a. Ikenberry, G. John, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth, 'Unipolarity, state behavior, and systemic consequences', *World Politics* 61, no. 1 (2009).
  - b. Friedberg, Aaron L., 'The Future of US-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?' *International Security* 30, no. 2(2005).
2. Which theory or theories seem to you best suited to explaining the European Union's growing international role?

Suggested extra reading:

Filippo Andreatta, 'The EU's international relations: a theoretical view', in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, eds., *International Relations and the European Union*, 2nd ed., OUP 2011

3. Did the global recession which began in 2008 demonstrate the weakness of liberal IR theory, and/or vindicate Marxist-critical approaches to international politics?

Suggested extra readings:

- a. Drezner, Daniel W., 'The System Worked: Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession', *World Politics* 66, no. 1 (2014).
- b. Foster, John Bellamy, and Robert W. McChesney, 'The Endless Crisis', *Monthly Review* 64, no. 1 (2012). Available for download at <http://monthlyreview.org/2012/05/01/the-endless-crisis/>

### THEME 1 History-the evolution of the international system

\*\*For the whole of theme 1, see Watson, Adam, *The Evolution of International Society* (see TEXTS), 1-

276. [The best single source on this subject; clear and informative; see especially pp 152-198 on the emergence of the European states-system].

#### 7. Why the state? (.)

The international system used to be constituted by a mélange of city-states, principalities, empires, feudal and tribal entities, and other forms of political organization. It is now overwhelming characterized by polities defined as states. What were the historical dynamics that produced the modern state system?



historical and philosophical reflections on how international relations evolved].

## 8. The European balance of power ()

The sovereignty principle, and its relation to power; the classical 18th 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.

\*\*Jarvis, Robert, 'Security regimes', *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982).

[Understanding the classic balance of power in Europe within an institutional framework; written by one of the leading US IR scholars of the past four decades].

\*\*Schroeder, Paul, 'Not even for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: power and order in the early modern era', in Ernest May, Richard Rosecrance and Zara Steiner, eds., *History and Neorealism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp78-102 [informed critique of some conventional wisdoms. For a more historically narrow essay by Schroeder see 'Did the Vienna settlement rest on a balance of power? *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 3 (1992)].

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

8-11. [A classic book, which looks both at the key ideas about war and peace in modern Europe, and at the actual evolution of the system].

\*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. [One of the best US overviews, again combining theory with history].

\*Osiander, Andreas, *The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the conditions of international stability* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). [Study of the four great peace congresses from Westphalia through Utrecht and Vienna to Versailles]

\*Simms, Brendan, "A false principle in the Law of Nations": Burke, state sovereignty, [German] liberty and intervention in the age of Westphalia', in Simms, Brendan and D.J.B. Trimm, eds., *Humanitarian Intervention: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). [A detailed contestation of the idea that Westphalia put an end to interventions on moral grounds in domestic affairs].

\*Simms, Brendan, *Europe: the Struggle for Supremacy, 1453 to the Present: A History of the Continent from*

1500 (London: Allen Lane, 2013). [A major reinterpretation of modern Europe history, focusing on geopolitics. Long!]

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

[sophisticated realism from the leading scholar-practitioner of our time]

Sked, Alan, *The Decline and Fall of the Hapsburg Empire, 1815-1918*, 2nd edition (Harlow: Longman,

\*\*Bayly, C.A., *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), chapter 6 on 'Nation, empire, and ethnicity, c. 1860-1900.'

\*\*Kennedy, Paul, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500-2000* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), Chapters 4-5. [A book which touched a chord in the USA, worried about decline. Powerful historical analysis of the impact of imperial overstretch].

\*\*Polanyi, Karl, *The Great Transformation: The political and economic origins of our time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), Chapters 1-2. [Influential classic, not always easy to read but with highly original analysis of the relationship between states, power and markets].

\*Joll, James, *Europe since 1870: an International History*, 3rd edition (London: Penguin, 1990), Chapters 1, 4-7. [Superior text].

\*Schroeder, Paul, *Systems, Stability and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), Chapters 1, 2, 9,10. [Schroeder is one of the leading historians of 19 century diplomacy, and one who enjoys debating with political scientists. The chapters suggested are among the most wide-ranging of his essays].

\*Stearns, Peter N., *The Industrial Revolution in World History* (any edition). [Placing the industrial revolution in global and historical context].

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

Haslam, Jonathan, *No Virtue Like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations since Machiavelli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp 128-161. [Important for its analysis of the neglected economic dimension of the balance of power].

Joll, James, *The Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992) [Sharp, concise, compelling].

Roberts, J.M., *Europe, 1880-1945*, 3rd edition (London : Longman, 2000), Chapters 2-4.[High-level text].

## 10. 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.

\*\*Carr, E.H., *The Twenty Years Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1946). [Major classic which deserves reading right through. Chapters 2-3-4 provide Carr's critique of 'utopianism' and of the League of Nations].

\*\*Best, Anthony, et. al, *International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (see TEXTS),

\*Keylor, William, *The Twentieth Century and Beyond: An International History since 1900*, 5th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), Chapters. 2-4 [detailed and informative].

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

\*Steiner, Zara, *The Lights that Failed : European international history, 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), Chapter 7.

\*Steiner, Zara, *The Triumph of the Dark: European international history, 1933-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011). [The second volume of the most recent and authoritative diplomatic history of the period. Probably best used for reference at this stage].

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

Henig, Ruth (ed.), *The League of Nations* (London: Haus Publishing, 2010) [good commentary on the Articles of the League's Covenant].

Keynes, J.M. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (London: Macmillan, 1919). [Devastating contemporary critique of Versailles, which either foretold the troubles to come, or helped to create them, according to one's view] (eBook: [http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=depfacozdbj\\_455805](http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=depfacozdbj_455805)).

Northedge, F.S. *The League of Nations: its life and times* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986). [Lucid history written by an IR professional with an historical approach].

## 11. Bipolarity, globalisation and the 'triumph of the West'. (.)

Why was international organisation deemed so important in 1945 given 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 impact of globalisation.

\*\*Gaddis, John Lewis, 'The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System', *International Security* 10, no. 4 (1986). [A statement by one of the leading historians of the Cold War]

\*\*Ikenberry, G. John, 'A world economy restored: Expert consensus and the Anglo-American postwar settlement', *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992). [A historical and theoretical argument for why the US remain engaged with the European system after World War II, unlike World War I]

\*\*A debate about the end of the Cold War: Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, 'Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas', *International Security* 25, no. 3 (2000/01); and, in reply, Robert D. English, 'Power, ideas, and new evidence on the Cold War's end: A reply to Brooks and Wohlforth', *International*

\*Calvocoressi, Peter, *World Politics since 1945*, 9th edition (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2009), Chapter 1. [Long, detailed and useful reference book on all the major episodes of post-1945 world history; good maps].

\*Clark, Ian, *Globalisation and Fragmentation; International Relations in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), Chapters 6-8. [Important overview from a leading figure in both the history and theory of IR].

\*Halliday, Fred, *The Making of the Second Cold War* (London: Verso, 1983), Chapters 1-2. [Critical perspective on both superpowers as détente failed at the end of the 1970s].

\*Lauren, Paul Gordon Craig and Alexander George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic challenges of our time*, 4th 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. [The main chapters on superpower relations up to 1979 from this major synthesis of developments at all levels of post-war history].

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

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). [In this book Fukuyama articulated - albeit intelligently - the triumphalism which engulfed some of the West after the fall of the USSR, and which culminated in the rise of neo-conservatism in US foreign policy. He recanted in an article in the *New York Times Magazine* of 19 February 2006 – to be found in the Wikipedia entry in his name].

#### Essay questions for Theme 1

1. In what sense, if any, did 'international relations' exist in pre-modern times Answer with reference to one or more regions/civilisations.
2. Trace the emergence of the sovereign state in Europe. Why did this prove such a critical development for international relations?
3. Did the industrial revolution destroy the balance of power?
4. Was the League of Nations doomed to fail?
5. Discuss the extent to which any ONE of the following had an impact on the structure of the international system: the First World War; the Second World War; the end of the Cold War.
6. How did a truly global international system come into being?

Suganami, Hidemi, *On the Causes of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) [Erudite, logical and careful dissection of the common errors made when talking about causes].

Van Evera, Stephen, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Spring, 1998), pp. 5-43 [War is more likely when conquest is easy, or thought to be easy].

Walt, Stephen M., *Revolution and War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997). [Explains how revolution within states can heighten the security dilemma between them].

Waltz, Kenneth N., *Man, the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Classic study using the levels-of-analysis framework].

Waltz, Kenneth N., 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1998), pp. 615-628. [Anarchy causes war – a good summary of Waltz's seminal contribution].

### 13. 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:

\*\*Frieden, Jeffrey A., David A. Lake and Kenneth A. Schultz, *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, Institutions* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), Ch4, 'Domestic Politics and War' [Exceptionally clear overview of relevant theories].

\*\* Lenin, V.I., "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," in Richard K Betts, *Conflict after the Cold War*, 4th edition (Pearson, 2012), or any other edition of Lenin's seminal text. [Capitalist societies are expansionist. The full version is available online at [www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/](http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/)].

\*\*Doyle, Michael W., 'Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs', Part I, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1983). [Why established liberal democracies do not fight each other. An essential classic].

\*Mansfield, Edward D., and Jack Snyder, 'Democratization and War', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (1995), pp. 79-97. [Established democracies may not fight each other, but democratizing states are exceptionally warlike].

\*Snyder, Jack, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), Chapters 1-2 [Explains how domestic logrolling can result in bellicose and even imperialist policies].

Van Evera, Stephen, 'Hypotheses on Nationalism and War,' *International Security* 18, no. 4

Levy, Jack S. 'Domestic Politics and War', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring, 1998) [Historians generally explain war as the outcome of domestic politics. Levy attempts to systematize their arguments].

Levy, Jack S., and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), Chapter 4. [Good overview of the theoretical literature].

Freedman, Lawrence, 'The age of liberal wars', *Review of International Studies* 31, no. 1 (2005) [Uses the 2003 Iraq War as a starting-point to discuss the role of legitimacy and liberal values in producing military interventions].

Mueller, John, 'The Obsolescence of Major War', *Security Dialogue* 21 (July 1990), pp. 321-328. [As culture changes, inter-state war might simply disappear].

#### 14. War: (iii) systemic consequences (3 Feb.)

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

\*\*Ikenberry, G. John, *After Victory: Institutions, strategic restraint and the building of order after major wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), Chaps. 1, 6. [Shows how major peace settlements have shaped the next stage of international order].

\*\*Gilpin, Robert, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Chaps. 1, 5. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=depfacozdb|464500>) [Classic realist statement on how war can change the international hierarchy and the rules that underpin it].

\*Ramos, Jennifer, *Changing Norms Through Action: The Evolution of Sovereignty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). [Studies under what conditions wars that violate international rules can actually change those rules].

\*Mark W. Zacher, 'The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force', *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (2001), pp. 215-250. [Explains why contemporary wars no longer result in territorial change].

Kaldor, Mary, *New and Old wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, 3rd ed., (Palo Alto, CA.: Stanford University Press, 2012), esp. chaps. 2, 4 [Does it still make sense to focus primarily on traditional, inter-state wars? Kaldor shifts our attention to "new" wars within states and their broader consequences for the whole states-system].

Hurrell, Andrew, *On Global Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapter 7. [Good overview of the international ramifications of war and attempts that have been made to manage the phenomenon]. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources|4718158>)

Barkin, Samuel and Bruce Cronin, 'The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules

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

15. 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.

\*\*Krebs, Ronald R., 'In the Shadow of War: The Effects of Conflict on Liberal Democracy', *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter, 2009) [Those interested in a more extensive treatment of the question should see the collection of essays in Elizabeth Kier and Ronald R. Krebs, eds., *In War's Wake: International Conflict and the Fate of Liberal Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)].

\*\*Barnett, Michael, *Confronting the Costs of War: Military Power, State, and Society in Egypt and Israel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), ch. 6. [How did constant preparation for war from the 1940s through 1970s affect the state and societies of two of the most powerful Middle Eastern countries?]

\*\*Sorenson, George, 'War and State-Making: Why Doesn't it Work in the Third World?' *Security Dialogue* 32, no. 3 (September 2001) [Applies Tilly's analysis to the developing world].

\*Desch, Michael C. 'War and strong states, peace and weak states?' *International Organization* 50, no. 2 (1996): 237-268.

\*Marwick, Arthur, Clive Emsley and Wendy Simpson (eds.), *Total War and Historical Change: Europe 1914-1955* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001). [Marwick was a path-breaker in writing the history of social change in Britain as the consequence of war. Here the analysis is extended across Europe].

\*Zarakol, Ayse, *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). [Studies international stigmatization and the integration of defeated eastern powers—Turkey after WWI, Japan after WWII and Russia after the Cold War—into the international system].

Bell, Duncan, ed., *Memory, Trauma and World Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), Chapters 1, 3, 11. [Memory has become a hugely important theme in the humanities and social sciences. The essays in this advanced book probe into what this means for world politics]. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources/4718148>)

Centeno, Miguel, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

Gourevitch, Peter, 'The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics,' *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1978), pp. 881-912, read esp. pp. 896-900 [First systematic analysis of how the international system can affect domestic politics].

### THEME II: The elements of international order

#### 16. Concepts of international system and society (.)

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

**\*\*Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Chapters 1-3. [The major work of 'the English School', also useful as a high-level text].**

**\*\*Buzan, Barry, 'From international system to international society: Structural realism and regime theory meet the English school', *International Organization* 47, no. 3 (1993) [A useful synthesis of a set of perspectives on international politics that are often treated as competitors]**

**\*\*Jackson, Robert, *The Global Covenant: Human conduct in a world of states* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapter 5. [Strong argument for the continued importance of states, and of agreements between them]. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=depfacozdbj455400>)**

**\*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) [this text as a whole is exceptionally clear on concepts, theories, schools of thought and paradigms].**

**\*Mayall, James, *World Politics; progress and its limits* (see TEXTS), Part I.**

**\*Wight, Martin, *International Theory: the Three Traditions* (Leicester University Press, 1994)**

**Kaplan, Morton, *System and Process in International Politics* (Essex: European Consortium for Political Research Press, 2005). [Reprint of a classic of systems theory applied to IR]**

**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). [Well-written account of an alternative view of global politics, stressing the transnational dimension].**

**Northedge, F.S., *The International Political System* (London: Faber, 1976), Chapters 1-3. [Lucid traditionalist view of a system run on realist principles, but edging towards a society of states].**



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; the subject of Foreign Policy Analysis.

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

\*\*Hill, Christopher, 'What is to be Done? Foreign Policy as a Site for Political Action', *International Affairs* 79, no. 2 (March 2003) [Argues against the neglect of foreign policy, and of agency in general, by IR structuralists].

\*\*Hudson, Valerie M., 'Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations', *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1, no. 1 (2005). [An argument for FPA as the fundamental 'building block' of studies of international politics, with an overview of what makes the approach distinctive].

\*Alden, Chris and Aran, Amnon, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches: Understanding the Diplomacy or War, Profit and Justice* (London: Routledge, 2012). [Concise and up to date].

\*Hill, Christopher, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), Chapters 1, 2, 6 and 11. [Detailed study designed for third year undergraduates and postgraduates, but these chapters are relevant here].

\*Hudson, Valerie, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006) [Excellent overview of the main theories of foreign policy and its making].

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

\*Ross, Carne, *Independent Diplomat: dispatches from an unaccountable elite* (London: Hurst, 2007), Chapter 1. [Critical account from someone who resigned from the British Diplomatic Service].

\*Smith, Steve, Amelia Hadfield Tim Dunne (eds.), *Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). [Good introduction to foreign policy in theory and practice].

Berridge, Geoffrey et. al. (eds.), *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). [See essay on Harold Nicolson].

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].

Webber, Mark and Michael Smith, (eds.), *Foreign Policy in a Transformed World*, (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2002), Chapters 1-4, 11. [Good on individual national foreign policies].

Wittes, Tamara Cofman, ed., *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2005). [In-depth examination of a prominent area of interest].

#### 19. 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. [Legally literate but also written from an IR viewpoint].

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

\*\*Jackson, Robert, *The Global Covenant: Human Conduct in a World of States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapter 1. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=|depfaco2db|455400>)

\*\*Snyder, Jack, and Leslie Vinjamuri, 'Trials and errors: Principle and pragmatism in strategies of international justice', *International Security* 28, no. 3 (2003/2004). [On possible unintended consequences of international law].

\*Armstrong, David, Lorna Lloyd and John Redmond, *International Organisation in World Politics* 3rd edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), Chapters 1 and 13. [Short guide in these chapters to the rise of international organisations, political and economic].

\*Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore, 'The politics, power, and pathologies of international organizations', *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999). [An analysis of IOs from within a sociological-bureaucratic framework. A more extensive treatment of the question can be found in Barnett and Finnemore's book *Rules for the world: International organizations in global politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004)].

\*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. [Byers is one of the increasing number of international lawyers working at the interface with IR].

\*Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and James Ron, 'Seeing double: Human rights impact through qualitative and quantitative eyes', *World Politics* 61, no. 2 (2009) [A review of some of the best work on human rights and international law; conclusions about the effects of international law on state behaviour depend on where you look and the methods you use

[Informative and judicious on what the UNSC can do and what not].

\*Drezner, Daniel W., *The System Worked: How the World Stopped another Great Depression* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) [As Drezner has said, he has 'cornered the market on optimism' with this book. Have the faults of international political-economic institutions been overstated?]

\*Lake, David, and Miles Kahler, eds., *Politics in the New Hard Times* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013) [A collection of essays by leading scholars on the 2008 recession].

\*Narlikar, Amrita, *The World Trade Organisation: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). [Excellent brief account of the attempt to create an international trade regime].

\*Strange, Susan, 'Wake up Krasner, the world has changed!' *Review of International Political Economy*, 1, no. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 209-219. [Typically combative, but also shrewd, intervention from one of the most original thinkers on IPE].

\*Walter, Andrew, and Gautam Sen, *Analyzing the Global Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). [Good IPE text, with more of an economics focus than the historical approach of Economides and Wilson].

\*Webb, Michael C., and Stephen D. Krasner, 'Hegemonic stability theory: an empirical assessment', *Review of International Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989) [Places emphasis on economically powerful states]

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

Gilpin, Robert, *Global Political Economy: understanding the international economic order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), especially Chapters 7-10. [One of the few classical realists to bother with economic issues].

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

The regional v. the universal; the 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.

\*\*Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, *Debates on European Integration: a Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 17-36; 89-104; 264-303 [Very useful source-book, with expert commentary, on the key theories and issues surrounding the integration process]. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources|4718153>)

\*\*Katzenstein, Peter, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca:

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

\*Baylis, John, Smith, Steve and Owens, Patricia, eds. (TEXTS), Chapter 26

\*Bickerton, Christopher, *European Integration: From Nation-State to Member State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Ch1. [Sharp analysis of the extent to which the EU is a function of the changing nature of statehood in Europe].

\*Ginsberg, Roy, H., *Demystifying the European Union: the enduring logic of regional integration* (Lenham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007). [Clear and comprehensive coverage of all aspects of the EU's experience].

\*Hoffmann, Stanley, *The European Sisyphus: Essays on Europe, 1964-1994* (London: Westview Press, 1995), especially Chapters 3, 7, 12, 13. [Incisive reflections from a major thinker about both Europe, and international relations more generally].

\*Hill, Christopher and Michael Smith, *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005 – second edition January 2011), Chapters 1-3. [An attempt to look at the EU through the lens of IR].

\*Hurrell, Andrew, 'One world, many worlds: the place of regions in international society', *International Affairs* 83, no. 1 (2007). [IR theorist, and Latin American regionalist assesses the significance of the growth of regional organisations].

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

Archer, Clive, *International Organisations*, 3rd edition, (London: Routledge, 2001). [Straightforward text].

Marquand, David, *The End of the West: the Once and Future Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011) [lively and informed overview of Europe's troubles from an academic/politician].

### 23. 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?

\*\*Bartelson, Jens, 'Making sense of global civil society', *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2006) [useful discussion of how far the scope of 'civil society' might be expanding].

\*\*Brown, Chris, 'Cosmopolitanism, world citizenship and global civil society', in Jones, Peter,

\*\*Reimann, Kim D., 'A view from the top: International politics, norms and the worldwide growth of NGOs', *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (2006) [Are NGOs representative of 'world citizens' or elites?].

\*\*Vertovec, Steven, *Transnationalism* (Oxford: OUP, 2009). [excellent, comprehensive coverage, including diasporas and migration].

\*Archibugi, Daniele, *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Towards cosmopolitan democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), Chapters 1-5. [Lively idealist account of how to move beyond the states-system]

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

\*Rosenberg, Justin, *The Follies of Globalisation Theory* (London: Verso, 2000), pp 1-15. [Sophisticated assault on the clichés of globalisation thinking].

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). [useful essays on different kinds of transnational actors]

Kaldor, Mary, *Global Civil Society: An answer to war* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003). [Committed analysis from an academic who has advised senior European decision-makers].

Keane, John, *Global Civil Society?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). [Political theory employed in defence of the idea of global civil society]. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources|4761533>)

Keohane, Robert, and Joseph Nye (eds.), *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973) – a reprint from *International Organization* 25, no. 3 (Summer 1971). [The first work to focus attention on the various forms of transnational actors].

Scholte, Jan Art, *Globalization: a critical introduction*, 2nd edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). [Informed, sympathetic overview of the phenomenon]

### Essay questions for Theme III

1. Is the idea of an international community a hopeless dream?
2. Why has sovereignty proved such a resilient concept, even in conditions of economic interdependence?
3. What can states realistically expect to achieve through foreign policy?
4. What constraints are imposed on governments as a result of their membership of

6. Does the international economy require managing? If so, who or what are capable of taking on the role?

7. Are non-state actors paving the way for a 'global civil society', or are they too dependent on the existing system of sovereign states?

#### THEME IV: Normative dilemmas

##### 24. 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 *ius ad bellum*; historical injustices – how far back should they be traced? Where do obligations mainly fall – on governments, on international organisations, or on citizens?

\*\*Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Chapters 4 and 12. [Bull's major statement, tending to privilege order].

\*\*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. [Very useful commentary, not limited to Bull].

\*\*Foot, Rosemary, John Lewis Gaddis and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially pp. 1-48. [A set of Oxford IR essays on

(1996) [An expert on military strategy and operations discusses the practical challenges of using force to aid others]

\*Simms, Brendan and D.J. B. Trimm, eds., *Humanitarian Intervention: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). [As with Bass, above, an invaluable corrective to the view that these are recent dilemmas].

\*Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars: A moral argument with historical illustrations* (New York, Basic Books, 2006, 4th edition). Ch6. (a classic of both IR and political theory to be read right through at some point over the three year degree).

\*Vincent, R. J., *Nonintervention and International Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 327-389. [Elegant tracing of the principle of non-intervention as it became established].



\*O'Neill, Kate, *The Environment and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) [clear and useful attempt to relate these issues to IR].

\*Ostrom, Elinor, *Governing the Commons; the evolution of institutions for collective action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapter 1. [Good discussion of the theoretical issues involved in international action on the environment, by the first female Nobel Laureate in economics].

\*Vogler, John, *The Global Commons: Environmental and Technological Governance*, 2nd edition (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2000). [Good textbook, but now rather dated. The author's new book, *Climate Change in World Politics*, Houndmills: Palgrave, is due out just as this course is starting].

Elliott, Lorraine, *The Global Politics of the Environment*, 2nd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). [Clear text].

Sprout, Harold and Margaret, *The Ecological perspective on Human Affairs; with special reference to international politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965). [One of the first to focus on the environments in which politics takes place, in the most inclusive sense].

Young, Oran, George J. Demko and Kilaparti Ramakrishna (eds.), *Global Environmental Change and International Governance* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1996). [Essays on various environmental regimes, from climate and marine life to desertification and bio-diversity].

## 27. 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.

\*\*Lavoy, Peter R. 'The Strategic Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation: A Review Essay', *Security Studies* 4, no. 4 (1995) [There are both nuclear 'optimists' and 'pessimists' on proliferation. The formative debate in this vein took place between Kenneth Waltz and Scott D. Sagan; see Sagan and Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012).]

\*\*Litwak, Robert, 'The new calculus of pre-emption', *Survival* 44, no. 4 (February 2002). [One of the best US analysts, always relating strategy to foreign policy]. See also Litwak's *Outlier States: American Strategies to Change, Contain or Engage Regimes* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2012).

\*\*Ruzicka, Jan and Nicholas Wheeler, 'The puzzle of trusting relationships in the nuclear

## 28. Unity and diversity in international society (.)

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

\*\*Jervis, Robert, 'Force in our time', *International Relations* 25, no. 4 (2011). [subtle overview from one of the key IR thinkers of our time].

\*\*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). [The inherent tension between the ideas of civilization and global order].

\*\*Strange, Susan, 'The Westfailure system', *Review of International Studies*, 25, 3 (1999), pp. 345-354. [Another sharp critique of orthodox thinking about IR]

\* Narlikar, Amrita, 'Negotiating the rise of new powers', *International Affairs* 89, no.3 (2013)

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). [Should interdependence lead us to expect more global governance? Is supranationalism possible outside the EU?]

Ruggie, John, *Constructing the World Polity* (Routledge, 1998), pp. 1-40 'What makes the world hang together? (also in *International Organization* 52, no. 4, October 1998, in amended form). [Stimulating overview from a leading scholar-practitioner]. (eBook: <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources/4761514>)

### Essay questions for Theme IV

1. Is order a precondition of achieving justice in international relations?
2. Is the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states (Article 2.7 of the UN Charter) now out-dated?
3. Can the protection of the environment be reconciled with state sovereignty?
4. Have we achieved anything significant so far in terms of protecting the environment?
5. How dangerous is nuclear proliferation?
6. How divided is the world at the level of values?
7. Do you see elements of progress in 21st century international relations?

Revision Sessions (TBC; note new room and time!)

Group 1:

Group 2:

Alison Richard Building, Room SG1

## 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, The Guardian, BBC, Al-Jazeera etc (some require payment). There are also specialised academic sites via key portals – see the UL's electronic resources.

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

[www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/reports.aspx](http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/reports.aspx) The International Crisis Group's reports 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.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org) the Council on Foreign Relations offers excellent coverage and background information organised by geographic regions and topical issues, if from a somewhat US-centric perspective.

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

## EXAMINATION PAPER JUNE 2014

Candidates must answer THREE questions.

1. Is it right to see the Peace of Westphalia as the start of international relations?
2. Consider the impact of economic issues on international politics, with reference either to the period 1789-1914, or 1918-2014.
3. "Anarchy is the rule; order, justice, and morality the exceptions" (Robert Gilpin). Do you agree with this assessment of international politics?
4. Do only great powers enjoy much scope for an effective foreign policy?
5. Which international organisations have been the most successful, and why?
6. Is talk about international norms and regimes much more than wishful thinking?
7. Can war break out even when nobody intends it? Give examples to support your argument.

2. Assess the working of the balance of power in any ONE historical period of your choice before 1900.
3. What effects did the industrial revolution have on international politics, and how significant were they?
4. Why has the international community not succeeded in creating a working system of collective security?
5. Does it make sense to say that war is rooted in human nature?
6. Is war always a disaster?
7. Is international order compatible with attachment to the principle of sovereignty?
8. Has diplomacy changed fundamentally, in terms of its purpose and practices, over the course of the last hundred years?
9. Why has international cooperation been more successful in Europe than in other regions of the world?
10. Does a 'global civil society' exist?
11. How realistic is it to pursue moral causes in international politics? Illustrate your answer with reference EITHER to the problem of the environment OR to that of humanitarian intervention.
12. What problems of international justice arise from attempts to prevent nuclear proliferation?

#### EXAMINATION PAPER JUNE 2011

Candidates must answer THREE questions

1. How significant are the differences between an "international system" and an "international society"?
2. Does it make sense to talk about "international relations" in the pre-modern era?
3. Assess the significance of one of the following dates in the evolution of international society:  
1648; 1815; 1919; 1945; 1991.
4. "In the international environment actions will not tightly conform with any given set of norms regardless of which set is chosen" (KRASNER). How far do you agree with this assessment of the importance of norms, including law, in international relations?
5. What, in your view, are the principal causes of war?
6. Does war accelerate social and political change within societies?
7. To what extent did the United Nations represent a realist reaction to the failure of the

8. How far has the modern state had to surrender powers to international organisations?

Answer with reference either to the European Union or to international economic organisations.

9. Does the quality of its decision-making make much difference in terms of the effectiveness of a state's foreign policy?

10. What are the merits of continuing to uphold the norm of non-intervention in international society?

11. Is order a precondition of justice in international relations?

12. Is the agenda of international politics largely determined by the Western powers?

Answer with reference either to environmental negotiations or to the issue of nuclear non-proliferation.