

Theories of International Relations in the 20th Century

Thomas J. Biersteker
Watson Institute
Brown University
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Course Description

In this course, major intellectual contributions to international relations during the twentieth century will be placed in their historical contexts and the emergence of challenges and new theoretical syntheses will be examined. Theories about international security and international political economy will be given particular attention, but the formation of political community (at different levels of analysis) and the global environment will also be considered.

The course will proceed in approximate chronological order, beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and continuing up through contemporary theoretical debates. There will be no secondary texts or textbooks assigned. Instead, students will read original texts, dating from the periods under study. We will be engaged in a recovery of "lost" texts, that is, works that are frequently cited (and often dismissed superficially by their successors), but rarely read any longer in the original. Most of these texts are out of print, and hence we will make extensive use of specially prepared course packets assembled in readers for the course and available at the University Bookstore.

The pedagogical objectives of the course include: (1) sensitizing students to the contextual setting of all theoretical work, (2) providing a basis for a more sophisticated understanding of contemporary theoretical work (and an ability to differentiate what is genuinely new from what is not), (3) illustrating how new theoretical work emerges, and (4) debunking the faddishness that plagues much of contemporary international relations theorizing.

International Relations 80 and/or the new core courses of the International Relations Program will be prerequisites for the course, although in special circumstances, these prerequisites can be waived, with the permission of the instructor.

Course requirements include an in class mid-term examination (February 26) and two research papers (one due on April 7 and another on May 11). Details about the two paper assignments will be provided in class and in the news group section of the course web page.

Course Reading

Course Packets (There will be 2 or 3 packets.)

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*

E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939*

Robert Keohane, *Neorealism and Its Critics*

William Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World* (for background reading)

V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism*

Course Schedule

1/22, *Introduction: Approaches to International Relations Theory*

1/27, *Geopolitics and the Balance of Power*

Captain A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, 1895, Chapter VII, pp. 254-280.
Sir Halford Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History," *The Geographical Journal*, 1904, pp. 421-444.
Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion*, 1910, Chapters III and V, pp. 29-48 and 63-84.
Henry Noel Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold*, 1916, Chapter 1, pp. 9-46

1/29, *The Age of Imperialism*

Jules Ferry, Speech to the French Chamber of Deputies, 1885.
Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion*, 1910, Chapter II, pp. 15-28.
John A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*, 1902, Introductory and Chapter VI, pp. 1-13 and 76-99.

2/3, *Marxist Challenges and the Imperialism Debate*

Rudolf Hilferding, *Finance Capital*, 1910, Preface and Chapters 14, 21, and 22, pp. 21-24, 223-226, and 301-336.
V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism*, 1916.
Joseph Schumpeter, "The Sociology of Imperialisms," in *Imperialism and Social Classes*, 1919, pp. 3-7 and 64-98.

2/5, *Collective Security and the League of Nations*

John A. Hobson, *Towards International Government*, 1915, Chapter 1, pp. 11-27. Sir Halford Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, 1919, Chapter 6, pp. 148-181.

2/10, *The Debate about Reparations*

John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1920, Chapters I, III, and IV, pp. 3-8 and 27-112.
Charles G. Dawes, *A Journal of Reparations*, 1922, Appendix I, pp. 239-245.
Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery of Victory*, 1930, Chapters XI and XVI, pp. 170-192 and 277-285.

2/12, *The Great Depression, the Welfare State, and Keynesianism*

Lionel Robbins, *The Great Depression*, 1934, Chapters III and IX, pp. 30-54 and 195-200.
Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 1935, Selections from Americanism and Fordism, pp. 277-278 and 306-310.
John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money*, 1936, Chapters 1, 2, and 24, pp. 3-22 and 372-384.

2/19, *Socialist and Fascist Alternatives*

Maurice Dobb, *Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution*, 1928, Chapters One and Twelve, pp. 5-24 and 373-400.
Joseph Stalin, *The New Russian Policy*, 1931.
Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1945, Appendix, pp. 291-308.
Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 1935, Selections from Caesarism, pp. 219-222.
Harold Lasswell, "The Garrison State," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1940, pp. 455-468.
Albert Hirschman, *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*, 1945, Chapters I and II, pp. 3-52.

2/24, *The Breakdown in Europe*

E. H. Carr, 1939, *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939*.
Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 1942, Chapters 12 and 21, pp. 211-224 and 351-360.

2/26, Mid-term Examination

3/3, Postwar Realism

Henry L. Stimson, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Harper's Magazine*, 1947, pp. 5-15.
Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 1948, Chapters 1 through 7, pp. 3-69.
Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, 1947, Introduction and Chapter 4, pp. xi-xxv and 83-112.

315, Containment and Nuclear Strategy

George F. Kennan, "X," "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.
Henry Kissinger, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, 1957, Chapter 1, pp. 3-20.
Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, 1960, Chapters 1 and 3, pp. 3-20 and 53-80.

3/10, Liberal Institutionalism

David Mitrany, "The Functional Approach to World Organization," *International Affairs*, July 1948.
Karl Deutsch et. al., "Political Community and the North Atlantic Area," in *International Political Communities*, 1957, pp. 1-91.
Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, 1958, Chapter 1, pp. 3-31.

3/12, Behavioralism: The New 'Science' of International Politics

Bruce M. Russett, "The Calculus of Deterrence," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1963.
J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba (eds.) *The International System: Theoretical Essays*, 1966.
Morton A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics*, 1967, Chapter 2, pp. 21-53.

3/17, Radical Critiques: from European Peace Research to People's War

Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," *Journal of Peace Research*, 1971.
Lin Piao, "Defeat U.S. Imperialism by People's War," 1965 in Fann and Hodges (eds.) *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*, Chapter 24, pp. 371-382.
Che Guevara, "Create Two, Three, Many Vietnams," 1967, in Fann and Hodges (eds.) *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*, Chapter 23, pp. 357-370.

3/19, Transnational Relations and the Limits to Growth

Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane, *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, 1971, Introduction and Conclusion, pp. ix-xxix and 371-398.
Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, 1969, pp. 689-718.
Robert Gilpin, *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation*, 1975, Chapter I, pp. 20-43.
Dennis L. Meadows et. al., *The Limits to Growth*, 1972, Chapter 1, pp. 31-51.

3/31, Dependency Critiques

Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," *American Economic Review*, May 1970, pp. 231-236.
Fernando Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, 1979, Preface, Introduction, Conclusion, and Postscript, pp. vii-xxv, 1-7, 172-176, and 177-216.

4/2, The English School

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* 1977, Chapters 1-9.

4/7, *The Neorealist Synthesis*

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 1979, reprinted in Keohane, *Neorealism and Its Critics*, Chapters 2-5.

4/9, *Hegemonic Stability Theory*

Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression*, 1973, Chapter 14, pp. 291-308.
Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* 1981, Chapters 1 and 6, pp. 9-49 and 211-230.

4/14, *The New Institutionalism*

Stephen Krasner, *International Regimes*, 1982, Chapters by Krasner and Strange, pp. 1-21, and 337-354.
John Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," *International Organization*, Spring 1982, pp. 379-415.
Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony*, 1984, Chapter 6, pp. 85-109.

4/16, *Rational Choice Theory*

Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, 1984, Chapter 4, pp. 73-87.
Kenneth Oye, *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, 1986, Chapter 1, pp. 1-24.
Robert Powell, "Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory," *American Political Science Review*, December 1991, pp. 1303-1320.

4/21, *Post-Modernism and the Inter-Paradigm Debate*

Richard Ashley, "The Poverty of Neo-Realism," reprinted as Chapter 9 in Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*, 1984, pp. 255-300.
Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker, "The Dialectics of World Order," *International Studies Quarterly*, 1984, pp. 121-142.
Robert Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," *International Studies Quarterly*, 1988, pp. 379-396.
Yosef Lapid, "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post Positivist Era," *International Studies Quarterly*, 1989, pp. 235-254.

4/23, *Constructivism*

John Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity," 1983, reprinted as Chapter 6 in Keohane (ed.) *Neorealism and Its Critics*, pp. 131-157.
Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make of it," *International Organization*, Spring 1992, pp. 391-425.
Thomas Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, 1996, Chapters 1 and 9, pp. 1-21 and 278-286.

4/28, *Attempts to define the Post Cold War World - 1*

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, Summer 1989, pp. 3-18.
John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security*, Summer 1990, pp. 5-56.

4/30, *Attempts to define the Post Cold War World - 2*

Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, 1990, Introduction and Chapter 8, pp. 1-22 and 231-261.

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, pp. 22-49.
Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994.

5/5, Contemporary Syntheses

Michael Doyle and John Ikenberry, *New Thinking in International Relations Theory*, 1997, Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 1-19 and 266-280.

Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly*, December 1997, pp. 611-632.