

Fall 2011

## INTA 6102: International Relations Theory

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### Goals, Requirements, and Expectations of INTA 6102:

The goal of this course is to give you a broad exposure to scholarly thinking on International Relations theory. It is organized to give you an overview of the substantive paradigms and debates in the field. As students in a school of international affairs, this course forms the bedrock of your coursework. We will be making use of a number of books as well as scholarly articles. Once you have mastered these texts, your understanding of IR theory will be significantly more sophisticated and nuanced, giving you an excellent foundation both for future coursework in International Relations as well as your future career. Light bulbs will go off. Mysteries will be revealed and resolved. You might even enter a higher plane of consciousness.

This assumes, of course, that you study. I have **high** expectations in this regard. You are graduate students. No one is forcing you to pursue a post-graduate degree. It follows, since you are enrolled in this class and program of study, that you have an abiding interest in political science and seek to learn as much as you can about it. This course has been structured under the assumption that every student in this class *wants* to be here. Accordingly, I have expectations regarding your desire to commit time and energy to this course. You are graduate students, not undergraduates, and I expect you to act accordingly. Among other things, this means showing up for class. Course attendance, however, will not be enforced. I expect that you, as adults, are responsible for your decisions. While this means you have the freedom to skip class without immediate consequence, it also means that stories of woe at the end of semester will have very little audience with me.

This is a discussion-based class. That means you need to complete the assigned reading before the class date to which it is attached. You are graduate students, and I expect you to act commensurate with that status. The course texts require intensive, sustained focus and engagement; this is not light reading to be done while you watch television or wait for the latest YouTube video to download. Political science and international relations are *not supposed* to be easy. If it were, we would have figured it all out a long time ago. The fact that so many problems and issues today can be traced to political behavior clearly proves that we have not. Underestimate this course, and its subject, at your own (grade) peril.

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<sup>1</sup> Because unexpected meetings and assorted similar events occur all the time, office hours must inevitably be flexible and I may, from time to time, be required to cancel them. If this becomes necessary, I will notify you as far in advance as possible and endeavor to arrange alternative office hours. If you cannot make office hours, I am available for scheduled appointments.

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Objectives for Students:

- Analyze and understand the major themes of International Relations
- Develop an appreciation of theory and its utility in the study international relations.
- Improve critical thinking and writing skills.

Course Texts:

- ❖ Hollis, Martin and Steve Smith. (1990) *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- ❖ Manicas Peter T. (2006) *A Realist Philosophy of Social Science*. Cambridge University Press.
- ❖ Carr, E.H. (2001) *The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. Palgrave
- ❖ Morgenthau, Hans. (2005) *Politics Among Nations*. McGraw Hill, 7<sup>th</sup> edition.
- ❖ Waltz, Kenneth. (2010) *Theory of International Politics*. Waveland 1<sup>st</sup> edition.
- ❖ Walt, Stephen. (1987) *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press
- ❖ Wendt, Alexander. (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press
- ❖ Hopf, Ted. (2002) *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Cornell University Press
- ❖ Hall, Rodney Bruce. (1999) *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems*. Columbia University Press.
- ❖ Bull, Hedley. (2002) *The Anarchical Society*. Columbia University Press (Third Edition)
- ❖ Buzan, Barry. (2004) *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press
- ❖ Axelrod, Robert. (2006) *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Basic Books (Revised Edition)
- ❖ Keohane, Robert O. (2005) *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton University Press (Princeton Classics 1<sup>st</sup> edition)
- ❖ Haas, Ernst B. (2009) *Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization*. European Consortium for Political Research Press
- ❖ Tickner, J. Ann. (2001) *Gendering World Politics*. Columbia University Press
- ❖ Campbell, David. (1998) *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. University of Minnesota Press (Revised edition)

Course grading:

Weekly discussion	25 percent
Reaction papers (2)	20 percent
Discussion Lead	15 percent
Final Paper (Due first day of Finals, Dec 12)	40 percent

Grade Scale: 100-90 (A) | 89-80 (B) | 79-70 (C) | 69-60 (D) | 59-0 (F).

Grading Policy: Grade inflation is a documented problem in U.S. higher education. While no single class will change the phenomenon to any significant degree, this course will be graded to the original conceptualization of the letter grades. As such, an A represents excellent work, a B marks good or above average work, a C indicates average work, a D represents below average, and F indicates unacceptably subpar work. This does not mean that the average or median of the class will be a C. The descriptors are

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meant to signal the assessed level of understanding of the course material demonstrated by the student rather than a measure against the performance of other students.

Participation: As a discussion-based class, participation by students is absolutely critical to success. To this end, 40% of your overall grade is tied up in two forms of participation.

**First**, your in-class participation week-on-week is worth 25% of your overall grade. As part of this grade, you should come prepared to every class with at least three questions or points you did not understand about the reading. Students will be asked at random each week throughout the class to share their questions for class discussion. Failure to present a question will result in significant grade deduction. This grade will be updated in T-square every 4 weeks.

**Second**, each of you will need to lead class at least once this semester, although this number is contingent on course enrollment. Initial sign-ups for topics will take place in our first session. Leading course discussion entails presenting a critical summary of the reading. This means you will not only summarize the main points of the reading, you will also analyze the strong and weak points of the author's arguments. You should prepare between 5 and 10 discussion questions for the class, and will present and direct discussion for at least 45 minutes. Powerpoint slides for your presentation are not required, but encouraged.

Reaction Papers: You will submit two reaction papers throughout the semester, each 5-8 pages in length (double-spaced). In these papers, you will develop a critical analytical perspective on at least 3 of the readings for the weeks you choose. These papers may be on any subject you wish to write on: a theme or trend you've noted in the literature, comparing and contrasting different approaches, a lacunae you have identified in the literature, a research project to address a problem relevant to those readings etc. If you choose to do a research proposal as one of your papers, the object is to apply literature and concepts from the course along with additional research. The proposal should justify the project both in terms of research design and as a contribution to the traditions we will be examining. Remember that the purpose is not to summarize the readings descriptively but to make an argument about them or propose a project addressed to the concerns they raise. All papers will be submitted through the Assignment feature on T-square. Hard copies will not be accepted.

Final Paper: You have two options for the final paper.

I. Write a 20-25 page (double-spaced, 12pt font, 1" margins) review essay of academic works on a given general theme or question in International relations. The essay should cover at least 15 to 20 recent scholarly articles/book chapters or 3 to 5 books (or some combination of the above, assuming that one book equals 5-6 articles) beyond what we cover in class. In the first part of the paper, you should summarize and synthesize the readings, and discuss their theoretical various approaches and methodologies. In the second part of the paper, you should present your overarching, original critique of the body of literature: How coherent are the books and/or articles collectively in addressing the problem at hand? What are they missing? What are the policy and theoretical implications of their findings? Are you more convinced by some readings than by others? Is one theoretical approach or methodology more useful than the others? Finally, has this research advanced our understanding of the problem to your satisfaction (explain why or why not)?

**You must clear your project with me in advance.** You must a list of articles or books to review, and a paragraph on why you think the topic chosen is important, and must submit on or by November 1.

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Final versions of the papers must be submitted using the assignment feature on T-Square. Hard copies will not be accepted. Be aware that these papers will be analyzed using plagiarism detection software.

Miscellaneous: Students are required to submit assignments at the scheduled time. Students with excused absences will be able to make-up, but are responsible for arranging the time. All work for the semester should be kept until final grades are processed. Grades will be posted to T-Square.

Policy on letters of recommendation:

You must have taken at least two courses with me before I will consider writing a letter of recommendation for you. I will only write letters for students that have performed well in class, which means usually an A- or better in both classes, although I would be open to writing a letter for an individual who shows improvement from the first to second class (e.g. B or B+ in the first class to A in second class). Since a recommendation relies on personal knowledge, it would be in your interest to distinguish yourself in class. If I don't know you, I cannot comment on anything besides your course performance. Trust me when I tell you that "Jim/Jane did well in two courses, receiving an A in both," hardly makes for a compelling recommendation.

Laptops in class:

I am aware that students no longer use chalk on cave walls to take notes, and that laptops are ubiquitous in the modern classroom. I have no problem with using laptops to take notes. It even makes sense to have your notes in a format where you can easily search for particular dates or terms. What I have a serious problem with is the use of your laptop to check email, browse the web, or catch up on Facebook, Twitter, Fritter, or whatever the latest social networking is called. Do not do it. If I see you reading your screen (i.e. not paying attention to whomever is speaking) I will give you a warning. The next time, the laptop will be banned from class. International Relations is a serious matter, I expect you to respect it and the class. Express your digital self before or after class.

Cheating and plagiarism:

Don't do it. I have a zero tolerance with respect to these activities. Cheating and plagiarism demean the efforts of others who put in blood, sweat, and tears to do well in the class. I will not allow the above-board work of honest students to be undermined by those who seek shortcuts. Keep in mind that turning in a paper that you wrote for another class constitutes a cheating violation. The Georgia Tech Honor Code is available online: <http://www.honor.gatech.edu/plugins/content/index.php?id=9>. Plagiarizing is defined by Webster's as "to steal and pass off (the ideas or words of another) as one's own: use (another's production) without crediting the source." If caught plagiarizing, you *will* be dealt with according to the GT Academic Honor Code.

Students with Disabilities:

Georgia Tech is committed to providing reasonable accommodation for all students with disabilities through the ADAPTS program (<http://www.adapts.gatech.edu/>). Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent them from fully demonstrating their abilities should contact me as soon as possible to discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate their educational opportunities. Students with disabilities must be registered with the ADAPTS-Disability Services Program prior to receiving accommodations in this course. The ADAPTS-Disability Services Program is located in Smithgall Student Services Building, phone 404-894-2564 or TDD only 404-894-1664.

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### Religious Observance:

It is the policy of the University to excuse absences of students that result from religious observances and to provide without penalty for the rescheduling of examinations and additional required class work that may fall on religious holidays. Please see me immediately if you will need to miss class at any point during this semester.

### Add/Drop:

Please consult the GT academic calendar to make sure you observe add/drop deadlines (<http://www.registrar.gatech.edu/home/calendar.php>)

### Course Schedule

➔ Marks an important date, usually exam date or assignment deadlines.

#### *Part I: The nature and purpose of inquiry in International Relations*

August 23 | **No class** Introduction, Admin (Presentation and Paper sign-up), and What is IR Theory?

- ❖ Aron, Raymond. (1967) "What is a Theory of International Relations?" *Journal of International Affairs* 21
- ❖ Walt, Stephen. (1998) "One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy*: 29-46
- ❖ Isms symposium, *International Studies Quarterly* June 2011 (Volume 55, Issue 2, pages 465-491)
  - Lake, David. (2011) "Why "isms" Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 465-480.
  - Sil, Rudra and Peter J. Katzenstein. (2011) "De-Centering, Not Discarding, the "Isms": Some Friendly Amendments." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 481-485.
  - Nau, Henry R. (2011) "No Alternative to "Isms." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 487-491.

August 30 | One discipline or many?

- ❖ Hoffmann, Stanley. (1995) "An American Social Science: International Relations." in James DerDerian (ed.), *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (NYU Press): Chapter 9
- ❖ Jørgensen, Knud Erik. (2000) "Continental IR Theory: The Best Kept Secret." *European Journal of International Relations* 6(1): 9-42.
- ❖ Wæver, Ole. (1998) "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations." *International Organization* 52(4): 687-727
- ❖ Smith, Steve. (2000) "The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2(3): 374-402.
- ❖ Acharya, Amitav and Barry Buzan. (2007) "Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7(3): 287-312.

September 6 | Epistemologies and Ontologies

- ❖ *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Chapters 1-4
- ❖ Geller, Daniel S. and John A. Vasquez. (2004) "The Construction and Cumulation of Knowledge in International Relations: Introduction." *International Studies Review* 6(4): 1-6

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- ❖ Agathangelou, Anna M. and L.H.M. Ling (2004) “The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poisons of Worldism.” *International Studies Review* 6(4): 21-50
- ❖ Waltz, Kenneth. (1986) “Laws and Theories” in Robert Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics* (Columbia University Press): Chapter 2
- ❖ Wendt, Alexander. (1998) “On Constitution and Causation in International Relations.” *Review of International Studies* 24(5): 101-117
- ❖ Wight, Colin. (1996) “Incommensurability and Cross-Paradigm Communication in International Relations Theory: ‘What’s the Frequency Kenneth.’” *Millennium* 25(2) 291-319
- ❖ Nicholson, Michael. (1996) “The continued significance of positivism?” in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press): Chapter 6
- ❖ *A Realist Philosophy of Social Science* Chapters I, 3 & 4

September 13 | Modes of analysis

- ❖ *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, chap. 7
- ❖ Singer, J. David. (1961) “The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations.” *World Politics* 4(1): 77-92.
- ❖ Buzan, Barry. (1995) “The level of analysis problem in international relations reconsidered.” in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theory today* (Penn State Press): Chapter 9
- ❖ Putnam, Robert. (1988) “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games.” *International Organization* 42(3): 427-460
- ❖ Wendt, Alexander. (1987) “The agent-structure problem in international relations theory.” *International Organization* 41(3): 335-370
- ❖ Dessler, David. (1989) “What's at stake in the agent-structure debate?” *International Organization* 43(3): 441-473

*Part II: Approaches and Traditions in IR Theory*

September 20 | Classical Realism

- ❖ Parent, Joseph M. and Joshua M. Baron. (2011) “Elder Abuse: How Moderns Mistreat Classical Realism.” *International Studies Review* 13(2): 193-213
- ❖ *The Twenty Years Crisis*: Chapter 1-9, 14
- ❖ *Politics Among Nations*, chapter 1-3, 8-9, 11-13
- ❖ Williams, Michael C. (2004) “Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization* 58(4): 633-665
- ❖ Welch, David A. (2003) “Why International Relations theorists should stop reading Thucydides.” *Review of International Studies* 29: 301–319

September 27 | Neo and Modern Realism

- ❖ *Theory of International Politics*: Review Chapter I, Chapters 4-9
- ❖ Brooks, Stephen G. (1997) “Dueling Realisms.” *International Organization* 51(3): 445-477
- ❖ *Origins of Alliances*, Chapters 1,2, 5, 6, 8

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- ❖ Mearsheimer, John J. (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W.W. Norton: Chapters I-2  
See also Mearsheimer on the rise of China:  
<http://www.spectator.co.uk/australia/6320273/australians-should-fear-the-rise-of-china.shtml>
- ❖ Glaser, Charles L. (1995) "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help." *International Security* 19(3): 50-90
- ❖ Schweller, Randall L. (2004) "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing." *International Security* 29(2): 159-201.
- ❖ Wohlforth, William, et al. (2007) "Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History." *European Journal of International Relations* 13(2): 155-185
- ❖ Legro, Jeffrey W. and Andrew Moravcsik. (1999) "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24(2): 5-55

October 4 | Liberalism

- ❖ Kant, Immanuel. (1795) "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" available online at  
<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kantI.htm>
- ❖ *The Evolution of Cooperation*: Chapters I-4, 7-9
- ❖ Moravcsik, Andrew. (1997) "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51(4): 513-53
- ❖ Moravcsik, Andrew. (1993) "Preferences and power in the European Community: A liberal intergovernmentalist approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31(3): 473-524
- ❖ Hayes, Jarrod. (2012) "The Democratic Peace and the New Evolution of an Old Idea." *European Journal of International Relations*

October 11 | Neoliberalism and Institutions I

- ❖ *After Hegemony*: Chapters Preface to 2005 edition, I-7, 11
- ❖ Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa L. Martin. (1995) "The Promise of Institutional Theory" *International Security* 20(1): 39-51 (see for reference John J. Mearsheimer (1994-1995) "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19(3): 5-49)
- ❖ McCalla, Robert B. (1996) "NATO's persistence after the Cold War." *International Organization* 50(3): 445-475.
- ❖ Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. (2001) "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55(4): 761-799

October 18 | **No Class**

October 25 | Neoliberalism and Institutions II

- ❖ Ruggie, John Gerard. (1982) "International regimes, transactions, and change: embedded liberalism in the postwar economic order." *International Organization* 36(2): 379-415
- ❖ Jervis, Robert. (1982) "Security regimes." *International Organization* 36(2): 357-378
- ❖ Haggard, Stephan and Beth A. Simmons. (1987) "Theories of international regimes." *International Organization* 41(3): 491-517
- ❖ Snidal, Duncan. (1985) "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory." *International Organization* 39(4): 579-614
- ❖ Caporaso, James. (1998) "Regional integration theory: understanding our past and anticipating our future." *Journal of European Public Policy* 5(1): 1-16
- ❖ *Beyond the Nation State*: Chapters I-4, 13-14

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➔ November 1 | (Final paper proposal due) Constructivism I

- ❖ *Social Theory of International Politics*: Chapters 1, 3, 4, 6, skim 7
- ❖ Onuf, Nicholas. (1989) *World of Our Making*. South Carolina University Press: Chapters Introduction and Chapter 1
- ❖ Adler, Emanuel. (1997) "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 3(3): 319-363
- ❖ Finnemore, Martha. (1993) "International organizations as teachers of norms: the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and science policy." *International Organization* 47(4): 565-597
- ❖ Barkin, J. Samuel. (2003) "Realism Constructivism" *International Studies Review* 5(3): 325-342

November 8 | Constructivism II

- ❖ *Social Construction of International Politics*: Chapters 1, 2, 6
- ❖ *National Collective Identity*, Chapter 1-3, 4, 6
- ❖ Rise, Thomas. (2003) "The Euro between national and European identity." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(4): 487-505
- ❖ Checkel, Jeffrey T. (1999) "Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe." *International Studies Quarterly* 43(1): 84-114
- ❖ Hayes, Jarrod. (2009) "Identity and Securitization in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergence of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(4): 977-999

November 15 | English School

- ❖ *The Anarchical Society*, Chapters 1-9
- ❖ "Forum on the English School" (2001) *Review of International Studies* 27(3): 465-513
- ❖ Wheeler, Nicholas. (2003) *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. Oxford University Press: Introduction, Chapters 1,5, and Conclusion
- ❖ *From International to World Society?* Chapters 1,2,4,5,6

November 22 | Feminism

- ❖ *Gendering World Politics*
- ❖ Tickner, J. Ann. (1997) "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists." *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 611-632
- ❖ Halliday, Fred. (1988) "Hidden From International Relations: Women and the International Arena." *Millennium* 17(3): 419-428
- ❖ Sjoberg, Laura. (2006) "Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism." *International Studies Quarterly* 50(4): 889-910
- ❖ Wilcox, Lauren. "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive." *Security Studies* 18(2): 214-240

November 29 | Marxism

- ❖ Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1996) "The inter-state structure of the modern world-system." in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press): Chapter 4
- ❖ Rosenberg, Justin. (1994) "The International Imagination: IR Theory and 'Classic Social Analysis.'" *Millennium* 23(1): 85-108



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- ❖ Ahiakpor, James C. W. (1985) "The Success and Failure of Dependency Theory: the Experience of Ghana." *International Organization* 39(3): 535-552
- ❖ Cox, Robert W. (1983) "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method." *Millennium* 12(3): 162-175
- ❖ Bieler, Andreas and Adam David Morton. (2004) "A critical theory route to hegemony, world order and historical change: neo-Gramscian perspectives in International Relations." *Capital & Class* 28(1): 85-113

December 6 | Postmodern and critical approaches

- ❖ *Writing Security*
- ❖ Ashley, Richard. (1984) "The Poverty of Neorealism." *International Organization* 38(2): 225-286
- ❖ George, Jim and David Campbell. (1990) "Patterns of Dissent and the Celebration of Difference: Critical Social Theory and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 34(3): 269-293
- ❖ Ruggie, John Gerard. (1993) "Territoriality and beyond: problematizing modernity in international relations." *International Organization* 47(1): 139-174
- ❖ Wight, Martin. (1995) "Why is There No International Theory?" in James DerDerian (ed.), *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (NYU Press): chapter 2
- ❖ Shah, Nisha. (2010) "Security Must Be Defended – Or, the Survival of Security." *Security Dialogue* 41(6): 631-638
- ❖ Der Derian, James. (1990) "The (S)pace of International Relations: Simulation, Surveillance, and Speed." *International Studies Quarterly* 34(3): 295-310.
- ❖ Der Derian, James. (2010) "Now We Are All Avatars." *Millennium* 39(1): 181-186

➔ December 12 | Final paper due Course wrap-up