

PSCI 6600F
Theory and Research in International Politics I
Wednesday 8:35am – 11:25am

Instructor: Dr. Brian C. Schmidt
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Office Hours: Monday 3-4:30, Wednesday 12:30-1:30, and by appointment
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I. Course Description and Objectives

This seminar and its counterpart in the winter term, PSCI 6601, constitute the core of the International Relations program in the department. They are the basis of the comprehensive examination in International Relations at the doctoral level. The Graduate Calendar describes this course as "An examination of the principal problems in contemporary international relations theory and research, emphasizing the state of the field and current directions in it." In the fall term, this examination will include the history of the field, the philosophical underpinnings of the field, and the development of IR theory. The course is designed to introduce graduate students to the main theories and debates that have structured the field. As a core course in the field, the intention is to provide a general, but not elementary, overview of the state of the discipline. The fall seminar is organized to include what is often considered to be the mainstream approaches including realism, neorealism, liberalism, neo-liberal institutionalism, and the English School. The seminar during the winter term focuses on so-called critical, reflectivist, and post-positivist approaches, which have emerged in the field since the late 1980s.

The aim of this course, along with PSCI 6601 in the winter term, is to provide political science doctoral students with grounding in the discipline in general, and of IR theory in particular, which serve as the basis of the PhD comprehensive exam in IR. The fundamental objective of the course is to prepare students for the comprehensive examination in International Relations, and ultimately to receive a satisfactory grade on the exam. The course will provide a foundation for future research and teaching in the field of International Relations.

II. Course Format

This class will meet "face to face" and will be conducted as a seminar. Since the course is a seminar, you are required to participate actively in class discussions. The reason for this is simple; seminars do not work if there is no student participation. Therefore, you must be fully prepared for each class and complete all the assigned reading. You

should aim to contribute to every seminar by engaging with the assigned reading. My expectation is that everyone will participate in a respectful manner and be willing to listen to what each of us has to say about the assigned reading material.

III. Learning Outcomes

Course requirements are geared toward preparing the student for the Ph.D. comprehensive exam in IR. By the end of this course students should have a strong understanding of:

- the disciplinary history of IR
- the historical and conceptual development of IR theory
- the main theories and variants of both realism and liberalism
- the meaning and controversies associated with a “scientific approach”
- the contributions of the English School
- the identity of specific scholars and the major works associated with particular approaches
- the strengths and weaknesses of the “mainstream” approaches in the field
- the ongoing conversation in the field and be able to begin placing yourself in that conversation.

IV. Course Texts

The following books are available for purchase at the Carleton University Bookstore:

Torbjorn Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd edition. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). ISBN: **9780719095818** (paperback)

Brian C. Schmidt, *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998). ISBN: **0-7914-3578-4** (paperback)

Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015). ISBN: **080145669X** (paperback)

E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001). ISBN: 0333963776 (paperback)

Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 7th edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005). ISBN-10: 007289539X (paperback)

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 4th edition (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2012). ISBN-10: **0231161298** (paperback)

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Waveland Press, 2010). ISBN-10: 9781478615033 (paperback)

Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001). ISBN: 0-393-97684-X (paperback)

Brian C. Schmidt ed., *International Relations and the First Great Debate* (London: Routledge, 2012). ISBN: 978-0-415-66895-8 (pbk)

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001/2014). ISBN: 978-0-393-34927-6 (pbk)

V. Course Requirements and Grading Policy

- A. Class participation (20%)
- B. Two weekly presentations (10% x 2 =20%)
- C. Book Review One (10%)
- D. Book Review Two (10%)
- E. Take-home final exam (40%)

VI. Explanations

- A. Your presence and active participation in class is an integral part of this course. Since the course is a seminar, you are required to participate actively in class discussions. The reason for this is simple; seminars do not work if there is no student participation. It is necessary that you complete all the reading assignments prior to coming to class so that you are fully prepared to engage with the assigned material. We will be discussing the assigned material in class and if you fail to participate in class discussions and do not engage with the assigned material this will be taken as a sign of inadequate preparation and result in a grade reduction. Attendance is mandatory and missing class will result in a grade reduction. In addition to attendance, your class participation grade will be determined by both the quantity and quality of your comments in class. After each class, I will note whether you participated at a high, medium, or low level.
- B. You are required to provide a 15-minute oral presentation on one of the books assigned during the semester, and a second 15-minute oral presentation on either one of the weeks when no book is assigned or when there is material assigned in addition to the book we are reading for a particular week. There are two parts of this assignment; first, to summarize succinctly the assigned book or readings and two, to provide a critical review of them. You should aim to provide a thorough overview of the material: what is the central argument, where does it fit within the IR literature, what contribution does it make to the literature, what

are the strengths and weaknesses of the book or articles? Students will sign up for the presentations at the beginning of the semester and ideally there will be two presenters for each topic.

- C. Students must complete one book review of one of the assigned books we are reading this semester. Ideally, the book that you select for the oral presentation will also be the book that you review. The book review is due on the week when we are reading the book you selected. There are two parts of this assignment. One, you must write a 5 -7 page review of the book. Here again, I am looking for a broad overview of the book that clearly identifies and explains the main argument, the methodology used, the type of supporting evidence provided, a historical account of where the book fits within the IR literature, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the book. I am looking for evidence that you clearly understand the book you selected to review. Two, each student will provide a two-page, max, hand-out of the book review. Here you must succinctly situate and explain the book you reviewed. The hand-out should begin with a full bibliography and as much text as you can provide in two pages (single-spaced). The aim of the two-page review is to provide a study guide for the students in the class for the IR comprehensive exam in August 2025.
- D. Students must select one of the books from any of the recommended books assigned during the semester. The instructions are the same from what is outlined above. This includes a 5-7 page book review and a two-page synoptic review to be distributed to the students in the course. If you select a book between week 2 and 7, the book review is due October 16, 2024, and if you select a book from week 9 to 13, the book review is due November 27.
- E. Students will complete a take-home final examination. The questions for the final exam will be handed-out on December 4, 2024, and the answers for the final exam are due **December 21, 2024**. Although you have ample time to complete the assignment, my recommendation is to give yourself 48 hours to complete the

exam. I will provide additional instructions, but this is not a research paper; it is a final exam.

VII. Message from Graduate Supervisor

All graduate students registered in a core course should be aware of the following guidelines:

- A student must complete both halves of the core course, with a B+ standing or higher, to be eligible to write the scheduled August comprehensive examination.
- Eligibility to write the comprehensive examination will be determined by the Graduate Administrator and Graduate Supervisor by the end of May.
- Students must complete the Fall core course and submit all outstanding work by the end of the Fall term. In the case of extenuating circumstances an extension may be granted by the course instructor, but all outstanding work must be completed by January 15. In these instances, a student will be awarded an "F" until a change of grade is submitted. Students may be deregistered from the second half of the core course if this condition is not met.
- Students seeking accommodations for the final comprehensive exam in August must inform the Graduate Administrator and seek formal accommodation for the exam through the Paul Menton Centre by end of May.

VIII. Other Guidelines

Late assignments will be penalized one letter-grade per day. For example, a B+ paper, one day late, will receive a B.

IX. Course Schedule and Assigned Readings

Week One (September 4) Course administration

- Please read the course outline carefully. Students will meet and organize the presentation schedule for the term. I will be away attending the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Week Two (September 11) In the Beginning: A History of International Thought

Required Reading

- Torbjorn Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd edition. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
- Martin Wight, "Why is there No International Theory?" in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight eds., *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of*

International Politics (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966). The essay can also be found in James Der Derian ed., *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1995), ch. 2.

Recommended Reading

- Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler eds., *Women's International Thought: A New History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).
- David Boucher, *Political Theories of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).
- R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Lucian M. Ashworth, *A History of International Thought: From the Origins of the Modern State to Academic International Relations*. (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations, Revised Edition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Chris Brown, *International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- Michael Donelan, *Elements of International Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Kimberly Hutchings, *International Political Theory: Rethinking Ethics in a Global Era* (London: Sage, 1999).
- Howard Williams, *International Relations and the Limits of Political Theory* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).
- Steve Smith, "The Forty Years' Detour: The Resurgence of Normative Theory in International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21 (1989): 489-506.
- Brian C. Schmidt, "Together Again: Reuniting Political Theory and International Relations Theory," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2002), pp. 115-140.
- Lucian M. Ashworth, "How Should We Approach the History of International Thought" in Brian C. Schmidt and Nicolas Guilhot eds., *Historiographical Investigations in International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 79-95.

Week Three (September 18) The Historiography of IR

Required Reading

- Brian C. Schmidt, *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998).
- Brian C. Schmidt, "On the History and Historiography of International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmons eds., *Handbook of International Relations, second edition* (London: Sage, 2013), ch. 1

- Duncan Bell, "Writing the World: Disciplinary History and Beyond," *International Affairs* (Vol. 85, No. 1, 2009): 3-22.

Recommended Reading

- Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, *The Making of Global International Relations: Origins and Evolution of IR at its Centenary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- Jan Stockmann, *The Architects of International Relations: Building a Discipline, Designing the World, 1914-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).
- Andreas Gofas, Inanna Hamati-Ataya eds., *The SAGE Handbook of the History, Philosophy, and Sociology of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2018).
- Kal Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory*. (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985).
- Robert M.A. Crawford and Darryl S.L. Jarvis eds., *International Relations--Still An American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001).
- William C. Olson and A.J.R. Groom, *International Relations Then and Now: Origins and Trends in Interpretation* (London: HarperCollins, 1991).
- Brian C. Schmidt and Nicolas Guilhot eds., *Historiographical Investigations in International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
- John G. Gunnell, "The Matter with History and Making History Matter," in Brian C. Schmidt and Nicolas Guilhot eds., *Historiographical Investigations in International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019):203-221.
- Steve Smith, "Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science," *Millennium* Vol. 16, No. 2 (1987), pp. 189-206.
- Steve Smith, "The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory," in Ken Booth and Steve Smith eds., *International Relations Theory Today* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).
- Ole Wæver, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline," *International Organization* 52 (1998): 687-727 (R) and also in Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane, and Stephen Krasner eds., *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
- Kjell Goldmann, "International Relations: An Overview," in Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann eds., *A New Handbook of Political Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 401-27.
- Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," in James Der Derian ed., *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1995), ch. 9. Also in *Daedalus* Vol. 106, No. 3 (1977), pp. 41-60.
- Miles Kahler, "Inventing International Relations: International Relations Theory

After 1945,” in Doyle and Ikenberry eds., *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997): 20-53.

- Ido Oren, *Our Enemies and US: America’s Rivalries and the Making of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Week Four (September 25) The Origins of IR: Empire, Colonialism and Race

Required Reading

- Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).
- Brian C. Schmidt, “Political Science and the American Empire: A Disciplinary History of the ‘Politics’ Section and the Discourse of Imperialism and Colonialism,” *International Politics* 45 (2008):675-687.

Recommended Reading

David Long and Brian C. Schmidt eds., *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005).

Matthew Specter, *The Atlantic Realists: Empire and International Political Thought Between Germany and the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2022).

Alexander E. Davis, Vineet Thakur, and Peter Vale, *The Imperial Discipline: Race and the Founding of International Relations* (London: Pluto Press, 2020).

John M. Hobson, *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Duncan Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

W.E.B. Du Bois, *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (Picador: New York: 2019).

Robert Vitalis, “The Noble American Science of Imperial Relations and its Laws of Race Development,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, 4 (2010): 909-938.

Robert Vitalis, “Birth of a Discipline,” in David Long and Brian C. Schmidt eds., *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (New York: SUNY Press, 2005): 159-181.

Torbjorn Knutsen, “A Lost Generation? IR Scholarship Before World War I,” *International Politics* 45 (2008): 650-674.

Lucian Ashworth, "Warriors, Pacifists and Empires: Race and Racism in International Thought Before 1914", *International Affairs*, 2022 98(1), 281-381.

Week Five (October 2) The Inter-war Period

Required Reading

- E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
- Brian C. Schmidt ed., *International Relations and the First Great Debate* (London: Routledge, 2012). Several chapters in the book—Wilson, Osiander, Ashworth—first appeared as journal articles.

Recommended Reading

E.H. Carr, *Conditions of Peace* (London: Macmillan, 1942).

E.H. Carr, *Nationalism and After* (London: Macmillan, 1945)

David Long and Peter Wilson, *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Interwar-War Idealism Reassessed* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

G. Lowes Dickinson, *The European Anarchy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1916).

David Long, "Who Killed the International Studies Conference?" *Review of International Studies* 32, 4 (2006): 603-622.

Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage* (London: Heinemann, 1912).

Tim Dunne, Michael Cox, and Ken Booth eds., *The Eighty Years' Crisis: International Relations 1919-1999* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

W.T.R. Fox, "E.H. Carr and Political Realism: Vision and Revision," *Review of International Studies* 11 (1985): 1-16.

Charles Jones, *E.H. Carr and International Relations: A Duty to Lie* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Political Science of E.H. Carr," *World Politics* 1 (1948): 127-134.

Cornelia Navari, "The Great Illusion Revisited: The International Theory of Norman Angell," *Review of International Studies* 15 (1989): 341-358.

Andreas Osiander, "Rereading Early Twentieth-Century IR Theory: Idealism Revisited,"

International Studies Quarterly 42 (September 1998): 409-432.

Joel Quirk and Darshan Vigneswaran. "The Construction of an Edifice: The Story of a First Great Debate." *Review of International Studies* 31, no. 1 (2005): 89-107.

Week 6 (October 9) The Need for a Theory of International Relations

Required Reading

- Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Intellectual and Political Functions of Theory," in James Der Derian ed., *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1995), ch. 3. Also in Horace V. Harrison ed., *The Role of Theory in International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964).
- Raymond Aron, "What Is a Theory of International Relations?" *Journal of International Affairs* XXI, 2 (1967): 185-206.
- Stanley H. Hoffmann, "International Relations: The Long Road to Theory," *World Politics* 11, 3 (April 1959): 346-377.
- Nicolas Guilhot, "The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of IR Theory," *International Political Sociology* (Vol. 2, No. 4, December 2008): 281-304. Also in Nicolas Guilhot ed., *The Invention of International Relations Theory: Realism, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the 1954 Conference on Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).
- Brian C. Schmidt, "The Need for Theory: International Relations and the Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on the Theory of International Relations, 1953-1954," *The International History Review* 42, 3 (2020): 589-606.

Recommended Reading

Nicolas Guilhot ed., *The Invention of International Relations Theory: Realism, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the 1954 Conference on Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

David M. McCourt ed., *American Power and International Theory at the Council on Foreign Relations, 1953-54* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2020).

Yale H. Ferguson and Richard W. Mansbach, *The Elusive Quest: Theory and International Politics* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

James Der Derian ed., *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1995).

Horace V. Harrison ed., *The Role of Theory in International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: D.

Van Norstrand Co., Inc, 1964).

William T.R. Fox ed., *Theoretical Aspects of International Relations* (Notre Dame: Notre Dam Press, 1959).

Week 7 (October 16) Realism: A Theory of International Relations

Required Reading

- Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 7th edition* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005). I have ordered the 7th edition, but any edition is acceptable.

Recommended Reading

Jonathan Kirshner, *An Unwritten Future: Realism and Uncertainty in World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022).

Hans J. Morgenthau, *Dilemmas of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

Hans J. Morgenthau, *In Defense of the National Interest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

Benjamin Frankel, ed., *Roots of Realism* (London: Frank Cass, 1996).

Christoph Frei, *Hans J. Morgenthau: An Intellectual Biography* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

Peter Gellman, "Hans J. Morgenthau and the Legacy of Political Realism," *Review of International Studies* 14 (1998): 247-266.

Joseph M. Grieco, "Realist International Theory and the Study of World Politics," in Doyle and Ikenberry eds., *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997): 163-201.

Stefano Guzzini, *Realism in International Relations and International Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 1998).

John Herz, *Political Realism and Political Idealism: A Study in Theories and Realities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

Michael Joseph Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

Thucydides (trans. R. Warner), *The Peloponnesian War* (New York: Penguin, 1954).

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1959).

Michael C. Williams, *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

William E. Scheuerman, *Morgenthau: Realism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).

Greg Russell, *Hans J. Morgenthau and the Ethics of American Statecraft* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

Week 8 (October 23)

Reading Week – No Class

Week 9 (October 30)

Behavioralism: A Science of International Politics

Required Reading

- Colin Wight, "Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmons eds., *Handbook of International Relations, second edition* (London: Sage, 2002), ch. 2
- Morton A. Kaplan, "Toward a Theory of International Politics," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Vol. 2, No. 4, December 1958): 335-347.
- J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics* (Special Issue, No. 1, October 1961): 77-92.
- Morton A. Kaplan, "The New Great Debate: Traditionalism Versus Science in International Relations," *World Politics* 19 (1966), 1-20.
- Arend Lijphart, "The Structure of the Theoretical Revolution in International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 18 (1974): 41-74.

Recommended Reading

Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Morton A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967).

Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba eds., *The International System: Theoretical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau eds., *Contending Approaches to International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Jonathon W. Moses and Torbjorn Knutsen, *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

Patrick James, *International Relations and Scientific Progress: Structural Realism Reconsidered* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002).

John A. Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics: From Classical Realism to Neotraditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Michael Nicholson, *Causes and Consequences in International Relations: A Conceptual Study* (London: Pinter, 1996).

Colin Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations: Politics as Ontology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

John G. Gunnell, *The Orders of Discourse: Philosophy, Social Science, and Politics* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998).

John G. Gunnell, "Social Scientific Inquiry and Meta-theoretical Fantasy: The Case of International Relations," *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 37, No. 4, 2011): 1447-1469.

William T.R. Fox, "Pluralism, the Science of Politics, and the World System," *World Politics* 27 (1975): 597-611.

Richard Little, "A Systems Approach," in Trevor Taylor ed., *Approaches and Theory in International Relations* (London: Longman, 1978): 182-204.

Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Week 10 (November 6)

English School

Required Reading

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 3rd ed. (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2002).
- Hedley Bull, "International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach," *World Politics* 18 (1966), 361-377.
- Richard Little, "The English School's Contribution to the Study of International

Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (September 2001):395-422.

Recommended Reading

Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight eds., *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966).

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

Barry Buzan, "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory meet the English School," *International Organization* 47 (1992): 327-352.

Barry Buzan, *From International Society to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Barry Buzan, *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014).

Dale C. Copeland, "A Realist Critique of the English School," *Review of International Studies* 29 (July 2003): 427-441.

Claire Cutler, "The 'Grotian' Tradition in International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, 17 (1991): 41-65.

Tim Dunne, *Inventing International Society: A History of the English School* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Andrew Linklater, "Rationalism," Scott Burchill et al., *Theories of International Relations* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001): 103-128.

Richard Little, "The English School vs. American Realism," *Review of International Studies* 29 (July 2003): 443-460.

Nicholas Wheeler, "Pluralist or Solidarist Conceptions of International Society: Bull and Vincent on Humanitarian Intervention," *Millennium* 21 (Winter 1992):463-487.

Nicholas Wheeler and Tim Dunne, "Hedley Bull's Pluralism of the Intellect and Solidarism of the Will," *International Affairs* 72 (1996): 91-107.

Martin Wight, *Systems of States*, ed. Hedley Bull (London: Leicester University Press, 1977).

Martin Wight, *Power Politics* 2nd ed, ed. Hedley Bull and Carsten Holbraad (London: Penguin, 1979).

Martin Wight, *International Theory: The Three Traditions*, ed. Brian Porter and Gabriele Wight (London: Leicester University Press, 1992).

Various Contributors, "Forum on the English School," *Review of International Studies*, 27 (July 2001): 465-519. Read the contributions by Watson, Buzan, Hurrell, Guzzini, Neumann, and Finnemore.

Andrew Linklater and Hidemi Suganami, *The English School of International Relations: A Contemporary Reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Week 10 (November 13) Liberalism

Required Reading

- Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001).
- Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order," *Review of International Studies* 25 (April 1999): 179-196.

Recommended Reading

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Power and Interdependence*, 3rd ed. (New York: Pearson Addison Wesley, 2000).

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

John G. Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Building of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

John G. Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Robert Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988): 379-96.

Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20 (Summer 1995): 39-51.

John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19 (1994/95): 5-49.

Jaap H. de Wilde, *Saved from Oblivion: Interdependence Theory in the First Half of the 20th Century* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Co., 1991).

Richard Cooper, *The Economics of Interdependence* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1968).

Robert O. Keohane Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

David A. Baldwin, "Interdependence and Power: A Conceptual Analysis," *International Organization* 34 (1980): 471-506.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization*, 51, 4, Autumn 1997, 513-54.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal International Relations Theory: A Scientific Assessment," in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

Mary Ann Tetreault, "Measuring Interdependence," *International Organization* 34 (1980): 429-443.

Mark Zacher and Richard Matthews, "Liberal International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands," in C. Kegley, ed., *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the NeoLiberal Challenge*, pp. 107-50, St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Stephen D. Krasner ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Arthur Stein, *Why Nations Cooperate* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Democratic Peace Recommended Reading

Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Bruce Russett, "Why Democratic Peace?" in Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller eds., *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 82-115.

Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller eds., *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001),

Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 97, No. 4, Nov. 2003): 585-602.

Steven Chan, "In Search of Democratic Peace: Problems and Promise," *Mershon International Studies Review* 41 (May 1997): 59-91.

David Lake, "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War," *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992): 24-37.

James Lee Ray, *Democracy and International conflict: An Evaluation of the Democratic Peace Proposition* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).

Hans Reiss ed., *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19 (1994).

Ido Oren, "The Subjectivity of the 'Democratic' Peace: Changing US Perceptions of Imperial Germany," *International Security* 20, 2 (Fall 1995): 147-84.

Week 12 (November 20) Structural Realism

Required Reading

- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979).
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory," *Journal of International Affairs* (Vol. 44, No. 1, 1990): 21-37.

Recommended Reading

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2001).

Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 18, 2 (Fall 1993): 44-79.

Jonathan Kirshner, *An Unwritten Future: Realism and Uncertainty in World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022).

Marc Trachtenberg, "Realism: A Historian's View," *Security Studies* 13, 1 (Autumn 2003): 156-194.

Paul Schroeder, "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory." *International Security* 19, 1 (1994): 108-148.

Robert O. Keohane ed., *Neorealism and its Critics* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1986).

David Baldwin ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Barry Buzan "The Timeless Wisdom of Realism," in Ken Booth, Steve Smith and Marysia Zalewski eds, *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 47-65.

Barry Buzan, Charles Jones, and Richard Little, *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, 2 (1978), pp. 167-214.

Robert Jervis, "Realism in the Study of World Politics," *International Organization* 52 (Autumn 1998): 971-92.

Stephen Walt, "The Enduring Relevance of the Realist Tradition," in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner eds., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline III* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).

Daniel Bessner and Nicolas Guilhot, "How Realism Waltzed Off: Liberalism and Decisionmaking in Kenneth Waltz's Neorealism," *International Security* (Vol. 40, No. 2, 2015):87-118.

Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Week 13 (November 27) Offensive Realism and Neoclassical Realism

Required Reading

- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* 51 (1998): 144-172.
- Brian Rathbun, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism," *Security Studies* (Vol. 17, No. 2, 2008): 294-321.

Recommended Reading

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

- John J. Mearsheimer, "Reckless States and Realism." *International Relations* 23 (2009): 241-256.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "International Politics is Not Foreign Policy." *Security Studies* 6 (1996): 54-57.
- Brian C. Schmidt, "Realism as Tragedy." *Review of International Studies* 30 (2004): 427-441.
- Brian C. Schmidt and Colin Wight, "Rationalism and the 'Rational Actor Assumption' in Realist International Relations Theory," *Journal of International Political Theory* 19, 2 (June 2023): 158-182.
- Arah Heydarian Pashakhanlou, "Back to the Drawing Board: A Critique of Offensive Realism." *International Relations* 27, 2 (2013): 202-225.
- Michael E. Brown and Sean M. Lynn-Jones eds., *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).
- John G. Ikenberry eds., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).
- Ethan Kapstein, "Is Realism Dead? The Domestic Sources of International Politics," *International Organization*, 49/4, (Autumn 1995): 251-274.
- Christopher Layne, "The 'Poster Child for Offensive Realism': America as a Global Hegemon," *Security Studies* 12 (Winter 2002/03): 120-164.
- Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Jeff Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24 (Fall 1999): 5-55. Also see responses in 25, 1, Summer.
- Randall Schweller, *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
- Randall Schweller, "The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism," in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).
- Randall Schweller, "Neorealism's Status Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *Security Studies* 5 (1996): 90-121.
- Michael Spirtas, "A House Divided: Tragedy and Evil in Realist Theory," *Security Studies* 5 (1996): 385-423.

Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Security Seeking Under Anarchy," *International Security* 25 (2000/01): 128-161.

John Vasquez, "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition," *APSR* 91, 4 (December 1997): 899-913. With responses by Kenneth Waltz, Colin and Miriam Elman, Randall Schweller, and Stephan Walt.

John A. Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics: From Classical Realism to Neotraditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

William C. Wohlforth, "Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* 19 (1994/95): 3-41.

Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Week 14 (December 4)

The End of IR Theory

Required Reading

- Tim Dunne, Lene Hansen, and Colin Wight, "The End of International Relations Theory?" *European Journal of International Relations* (Vol. 19, No. 3, 2013): 405-425.
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "Leaving Theory Behind: Why Simplistic Hypothesis Testing is Bad for International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* (Vol. 19, No. 3, 2013).
- Michael C. Williams, "In the Beginning: The International Relations Enlightenment and the Ends of International Relations Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* (Vol. 19, No. 3, 2013),
- David Lake, "Theory is Dead, Long Live Theory: The End of the Great Debates and the Rise of Eclecticism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 19, No. 3 (2013): 567-587.
- Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations." *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998): 919-941.

Appendix

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

- **Carleton Resources:**

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

- **Off Campus Resources:**

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Requests for Academic Accommodation

Deferred final exams, which must be applied for at the RO, are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course. The course outline must stipulate any minimum standards for good standing that a student must meet to be entitled to write a deferred final exam.

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Please contact your instructor if you are experiencing circumstances that (a) are beyond your control, (b) have a significant impact your capacity to meet your academic obligations, and (c) could not have reasonably been prevented. Decisions on academic consideration are in your instructor's discretion; they will be guided by the course learning outcomes and the principle of good faith. Please see [here](#) for more details. For

considerations relating to course work, your instructor may request that you complete the [Self-Declaration form](#). To apply for a deferral of your final exam, you must submit the Self-Declaration form to the Registrar's Office no later than three days after the scheduled examination or take-home due date.

Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation, or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more information, please [click here](#).

Carleton is committed to providing academic accessibility for all individuals. You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. The accommodation request processes, including information about the Academic Consideration Policy for Students in Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances, are outlined on the Academic Accommodations website (students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence

Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

Plagiarism

The Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- Any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- Using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- Using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- Submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question or a final grade of "F" for the course. More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit.

If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.