

University of Western Ontario: Department of Political Science

POLITICAL SCIENCE 9512B

Tuesdays 12:30-2:30

SSC 4112

International Relations II

Winter 2015

Course Director: Dr. Adam Harmes

Office Hours: Mondays 1-2:30 p.m., 4155 SSC

Email: aharmes@uwo.ca

Course Description:

This course provides students with an advanced introduction to theoretical approaches and contemporary issues within the study of International Relations. The first part of the course examines explanatory theories of IR and approaches to foreign policy and global governance. The second part of the course examines ongoing issues in IR through the lens of current cases. Specific topics examined in the course include: the evolution of IR theory; IR's fourth debate; the integration of IR and comparative theories, realist and neoconservative visions of foreign policy and global governance; liberal visions of foreign policy and global governance; theories of international political economy; basic economics and the great recession; climate change; covert operations in IR; foreign policy tools and rogue states; humanitarian intervention and the R2P; and the Middle East conflict.

Course Structure:

The course meets weekly on Tuesday afternoons from 12:30-2:30 and will consist of 13 sessions of approximately 2 hours each. Seminars will be comprised of group and class discussions focused around the readings assigned for each week as well as 15 minute mini-lectures at the start of each class.

Required Readings:

All required readings for this course are available online.

Course Evaluation:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| Participation | 20% | |
| Mini-Lecture | 20% | |
| Analysis of IR Theory/Policy Brief | 20% | Due 10 February |
| Research Essay | 40% | Due 10 March |

Participation 20%

Attendance will be taken and students are expected to have completed, and thought about, all assigned readings prior to coming to class and to actively contribute to seminar discussions. For every class, each student must prepare a **typed** list of 2 discussion questions or points of analysis for each reading (include your name and the date). Questions should be detailed and make specific reference to the readings through the use of quotes etc. If you miss the class, you must email the questions to me. Students will receive comments on their first question sheet only to ensure they understand what is expected. After that, they will simply receive a final participation grade that takes into account attendance, question sheet quality and seminar participation.

Mini-Lectures (or Op-Ed) 20%

Each student will give one 15 minute (max) mini-lecture, using PowerPoint, at the start of each class. The lecture will present a brief argument based on the week's assigned question and should include an introduction with a clearly stated thesis and brief outline of the lecture. While the course readings can be used, the lecture does not need to address all or any of them. Instead, it should focus on making a clear argument based on the assigned question. Students can reformulate the question if desired but must get the instructor's permission to do so. The lecture must make use of PowerPoint and must include:

- a 1-2 page typed outline of the presentation with enough copies for the instructor and all students
- a printout of the Power Point presentation in the "handout, 6 slides per page" format for the instructor only

Students will be graded on the organization of their argument, their use of PowerPoint, their oral presentation skills and their response to questions. The emphasis will be on giving a presentation rather than on the specific content of the argument.

If the class has more than 12 students, some MA students will be assigned to write an 800 word op-ed making an argument related to an assigned class' subject matter. (An op-ed is an 'opinion-editorial' piece such as a column on the Comment page of a newspaper). The op-ed will be due one week before the assigned class and the student must provide copies for the instructor and all students. The argument presented in the op-ed will be discussed in the assigned class.

Analysis of IR Theory (PhDs) 20%

PhD students will complete one analysis of an IR theory or 'great debate' from the list below. The analysis will be 8-10 typed, double-spaced, pages in length and must be framed as an argument. The introduction must include a one sentence thesis statement. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day including weekends and papers longer than 10 pages will be penalized. Extensions will only be given for documented illnesses, emergencies, etc and will not be given for workload. Students must choose a topic that is different from their mini-lecture/op-ed and from their research essay. Students must choose one of the following theories or 'great debates':

- The idealism vs classical realism debate (first debate)
- The traditionalism vs scientific method debate (second debate)
- Neorealism (first approach in third debate)
- Liberalism (second approach in third debate)

- Marxism/structuralism/historical materialism (third approach in third debate)
- The inter-paradigm debate in IPE (economic neoliberalism, Keynesian-welfare, economic nationalism)
- Positivism, Constructivism and Post-Structuralism (epistemological part of fourth debate)
- Feminism and Post-Colonialism (ontological part of the fourth debate)

Each summary should include:

- the main arguments and assumptions of the theoretical approach including how it explains national preferences and how/when international cooperation is likely to occur
- the main strands of the theoretical approach and their differences (i.e. offensive vs defensive realism or the different strands of liberalism)
- the explanatory vs advocacy aspects of the approach where relevant (i.e. what the approach advocates vs how it explains events)
- the main authors associated with the approach and its strands
- the main critiques of the approach (i.e. those from other approaches in the debate)
- the historical context of the approach (i.e. the historical context of the broader great debate it is part of)
- the relation of the approach to its earlier or later version (i.e. classical realism and neorealism or idealism and liberalism)
- key sub-theories associated with the approach (i.e. regime theory and liberalism)
- bibliography of all sources with a minimum of ten

Students should make use of a variety of sources including IR textbooks, chapters in books on IR theory as well as original sources.

Policy Brief (MAs) 20%

MA students will complete one foreign policy briefing paper on a contemporary international issue. The briefing paper will be 8-10 typed, double-spaced, pages in length and must be framed as an argument in favour of a specific policy option written for a specific policy-maker (Canadian or otherwise). The introduction must include a one sentence thesis statement. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day including weekends and papers longer than 10 pages will be penalized. Extensions will only be given for documented illnesses, emergencies, etc and will not be given for workload. All policy briefs must also be submitted to turnitin.com through the course website as outlined in class. Students must choose a topic that does not overlap with their mini-lecture/op-ed or research essay. The policy briefing paper will include:

- an introduction noting the policy options being discussed and a clear thesis in terms of which policy will be argued for
- empirical background on the issue
- the domestic and geopolitics of the issue including the views and policies advocated by relevant domestic interests (i.e. NGOs, think tanks, provinces, political parties, etc) and key international actors (other states, IOs, INGOs)
- the politics should focus on the political costs and obstacles of all the policy options but particularly on the option being advocated i.e. make the policy case for your policy option and then discuss what are the political obstacles are to getting it implemented and the political costs for the policy-maker

- the pros and cons of different policy options (in both policy and political terms)
- an argument in favour of a specific policy option

Examples of potential issues include: a response to an international crisis such as a natural disaster, civil war affecting Canadian citizens abroad, or the actions of a ‘rogue state’; preparations for an upcoming international negotiation or summit on trade agreements, climate change, etc; or development of policy on an ongoing issue such as foreign aid, Canada-US relations, the middle-east conflict, etc.

Research Essay **40%**

Each student will complete one research essay, with 10-12 typed double-spaced pages of text plus a bibliography. The essay will be a standard, thesis-based research paper where students will construct an argument around their chosen topic. The introduction must include a one sentence thesis statement. Students may choose any topic that falls within the areas of IR and which differ from other course essays. The intent is to get students started towards their MRPs/dissertations and topics should ideally be directed towards these. All topics must be approved by the course instructor. Grading will be based on research, organization and presentation of the argument as well as on strong analysis and creativity of thought. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day including weekends and papers longer than 12 pages will be penalized. Extensions will only be given for documented illnesses, emergencies, etc and will not be given for workload. All essays must also be submitted to turnitin.com through the course website as outlined in class.

Graduate Health and Wellness:

As part of a successful graduate student experience at Western, we encourage students to make their health and wellness a priority. Western provides several on campus health-related services to help you achieve optimum health and engage in healthy living while pursuing your graduate degree. Information regarding health- and wellness-related services available to students may be found at <http://www.health.uwo.ca/>. Students seeking help regarding mental health concerns are advised to speak to someone they feel comfortable confiding in, such as their faculty supervisor, their program director (graduate chair), or other relevant administrators in their unit. Campus mental health resources may be found at http://www.health.uwo.ca/mental_health/resources.html.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Jan. 6 Introduction

This class will be used to introduce the general subject matter of the course and to outline the course structure, readings and requirements. We will also have short discussions on techniques for PowerPoint presentations and IR research.

Jan. 13 Review: The Evolution of IR Theory

This seminar reviews the three “great debates” in the evolution of IR theory including: 1. the idealism/realism debate; 2. the traditionalism/behaviouralism debate; and 3. the inter-paradigm debate between neorealism, liberalism and critical theory. In doing so, we examine the key

theoretical terminology, assumptions and historical context of each of the approaches/debates.

Required Readings:

F.A.W.J. van Esch. 2002. "Why States Want EMU: Developing a Theory of National Preferences" in Amy Verdun (ed.), *The Euro: European Integration Theory and Economic and Monetary Union*. New York. Roman & Littlefield Publishers, pp.51-65.

David Long. 1995. "The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory: A Case For Closure". *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 24: 489-505.

John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds). 2001. *The Globalization of World Politics, Second Edition*. Chapter 7 "Realism" pp. 141-161

Joshua Goldstein and Sandra Whitworth. 2005. *International Relations, Canadian Edition*. Chapter 3 "Liberal and Critical Approaches", pp. 86-126.

Handout on the "Chronology and Components of IR's Four Great Debates", pp. 1-2.

Mini-Lecture Question:

In terms of how they explain national preferences, how would realism and liberalism, as explanatory theories, explain why President Bush (Jr) decided to invade Iraq and which one offers the best explanation?

Jan. 20 IR's Fourth Debate

This seminar examines the epistemological aspects of IR's "fourth great debate" including constructivism and post-structuralism as challenges to positivism.

Required Readings:

Christian Reus-Smit. 2001. "Constructivism", in S. Burchill et al (eds.), *Theories of International Relations, 3rd Edition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 188-212.

Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and S. Smith. 2007. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. M. Kurki and C. Wright. Chapter 1 "International Relations and Social Science", pp. 13-32.

Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and S. Smith. 2007. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. David Campbell. Chapter 11 "Poststructuralism", pp. 203-227.

Geeta Chowdhry. 2006. "Post-Colonial Readings of Child Labour in a Globalized Economy" in R. Stubbs and G. Underhill (eds.), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order, Third Edition*, pp. 233-244.

Morton Kaplan. 1966. "The New Great Debate", *World Politics*. 19(1): pp. 1-20. (This article is on IR's second great debate - just skim it in order to see how it relates to fourth debate).

Mini-Lecture Question:

Using an example (such as child labour, the invasion of Iraq, etc), outline what constructivism and poststructuralism would have to say and whether you think they offer any useful insights?

Jan. 27 Integrating IR and Comparative Theories

This seminar examines the similarities and differences between key IR and comparative theories such as neoliberal institutionalism, historical institutionalism, functionalism, liberal-pluralism, rational choice theory, public choice theory and others.

Required Readings:

John Hobson. 2009. "Comparative Politics and International Relations" in T. Landman and N.

Robinson (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 175-189.

Rand Dyck. 2011. *Canadian Politics; Critical Approaches, Sixth Edition*. Chapter 1, read only the 'Approaches to the Study of Politics' section, pp. 10-24.

Vivien Schmidt. 2009. "Comparative Institutional Analysis" in T. Landman and N. Robinson (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 125-143.

Michael Howlett, M. Ramesh and Anthony Perl. 2009. *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles & Policy Subsystems, Third Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2 'Understanding Public Policy: Theoretical Approaches', pp. 17-48.

Mini-Lecture Question:

Outline and explain the key assumptions of historical institutionalism, functionalism and the public choice approach.

Feb. 3 Foreign Policy and Global Governance: Realist and Neoconservative Visions

This seminar examines the normative (advocacy) aspects of realism and neoconservatism as guides to foreign policy and global governance.

Required Readings:

Michael Williams. 2005. "What is the National Interest?: The Neoconservative Challenge in IR Theory". *European Journal of International Relations*. 11: 307-337.

Lee Hamilton,. 2005. "The great U.S. foreign policy divide". *Globe and Mail*. 7 November, 2005, pp. 1-2.

Robert Gilpin. 2002. "A Realist Perspective on International Governance" in D. Held and A. McGrew (eds.), *Governing Globalization* Blackwell, pp. 237-248.

Brian Schmidt and Michael Williams. 2008. "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives Versus Realists". *Security Studies*. 17(2): 191-220.

John Kirton,. 2006. "Harper's 'Made in Canada' Global Leadership" in A. Cooper and D. Rowlands (eds.), *Canada Among Nations 2006*, pp. 34-57.

Mini-Lecture Question:

What are the main differences between realism and neoconservatism and which is a better guide to US foreign policy?

Feb. 10 Foreign Policy and Global Governance: Liberal and Critical Visions

This seminar examines the normative (advocacy) aspects of liberalism and critical theory as guides to foreign policy and global governance including key concepts such as human security, global public goods and soft power.

Required Readings:

David Mutimer. 1999. "Beyond Strategy: Critical Thinking and the New Security Studies" in C. Snyder (ed.), *Contemporary Security and Strategy*. Macmillan, pp. 77-99.

Anthony McGrew,. 2002. "Liberal Internationalism: Between Realism and Cosmopolitanism" in D. Held and A. McGrew (eds.), *Governing Globalization* Blackwell, pp. 267-289.

Bernard Prosper. 2006. "Canada and Human Security: From the Axworthy Doctrine to Middle Power Internationalism". *The American Review of Canadian Studies*. Summer, 2006, pp. 233-261.

Kim Richard Nossal., 1998. "Foreign Policy For Wimps". *Ottawa Citizen*. 23 April, 1998, p. A19.
 Inge Kaul et al. 1999. "Defining Global Public Goods" in I. Kaul et al (eds.), *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 2-19.

Mini-Lecture Question:

Is PM Harper's approach to Canadian foreign policy better or worse for Canada than the previous Axworthy doctrine with its focus on a human security and soft power?

Feb. 17 Reading Week - No Class

Feb. 24 IPE Theories

The seminar examines the inter-paradigm debate in international political economy including economic liberalism/neoliberalism, the Keynesian-welfare approach and economic nationalism.

Required Readings:

M. Howlett, A. Netherton and M. Ramesh. 1999. *The Political Economy of Canada: An Introduction* Chapter 2 "Liberal Political Economy", pp. 17-35.

Adam Harmes. 2012. "The Rise of Neoliberal Nationalism". *Review of International Political Economy*. 19(1): 59-86.

Richard Lipsey, Christopher Ragan and Paul Courant. *Economics* Chapter 18, "Benefits and Costs of Government Intervention", pp. 381-402.

Eric Helleiner. 2002. "Economic Nationalism as a Challenge to Economic Liberalism?: Lessons from the 19th Century". *International Studies Quarterly*. 46: 307-329.

Mini-Lecture Question:

Which approach, neoliberal globalization or social democratic multilateralism, offers a better approach to globalization?

Mar. 3 The Basics of Economics and the Great Recession

This seminar will take the form of a lecture and is designed to give students a basic conceptual understanding of both domestic and international economics. We will also briefly look at the debate between neoliberalism and the Keynesian-welfare approach over the current great recession and the euro crisis.

Required Readings:

Thomas Lairson and David Skidmore. 2003. *International Political Economy: The Struggle for Power and Wealth* Chapter 2 "The Economics of International Political Economy" pp. 17-39.

Adam Harmes. 2001. *Unseen Power* Stoddart "International Economics 101: 'The Impossible Trinity'" pp. 50-53.

Paul Krugman. 2009. "How Did Economists Get It So Wrong?". *New York Times Magazine*. 6 September 2009, pp. 1-12.

Mark Blyth. 2013. "The Austerity Delusion". *Foreign Affairs*. 92: 41-56.

Robert Carling. 2012. "Keynes, Hayek and the Great Recession". *Policy*. 28(4): 17-21.

Mini-Lecture Question:

Was stimulus or austerity a better response to the Great Recession?

Mar. 10 Climate Change

This seminar examines the domestic and geopolitics of climate change as well the different policy tools which have been proposed to address it.

Required Readings:

TD Bank Financial Group. 2010. "Market-Based Solutions to Protect the Environment". *TD Economics Special Report*. 7 March, 2010, pp. 1-18.

Geoffrey Heal. "New Strategies for the Provision of Global Public Goods: Learning from International Environmental Challenges" in I. Kaul, I. Grunberg and M. Stern (eds.), *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 220-239.

David Levy. 2005. "Business and the Evolution of the Climate Regime: The Dynamics of Corporate Strategies" in D. Levy and P. Newell (eds.) *The Business of Global Environmental Governance*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, pp. 73-104.

Radoslav Dimitrov. 2010. "Inside UN Climate Change Negotiations". *Review of Policy Research*. 27(6): 795-821.

Mini-Lecture Question:

What are the arguments for and against a carbon tax and should Canada adopt one?

Mar. 17 Ethnic Conflict, International Intervention and Iraq/Syria

This seminar examines key concepts related to international interventions, ethnic conflict and post-ethnic conflict state-building using the current situation in Iraq and Syria as a case study.

Required Readings:

Chaim Kaufmann. 2005. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars" in Robert Art and Robert Jervis (eds.) *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary issues, Seventh Edition*. New York: Pearson-Longman, pp. 496-517.

David Lake. 1995. "Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention". Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation Policy Brief No. 3, March 1995, pp. 1-4.

Andrew Bacevich. 2008. "The Patraeus Doctrine". *The Atlantic Monthly*. October 2008, pp. 1-4.

Gareth Stansfield. 2014. "The Islamic State, the Kurdistan Region and the future of Iraq: assessing UK policy options". *International Affairs*. 90(6): 1329-1350.

Eva Bellin and Peter Krause. 2012. "Intervention in Syria: Reconciling Moral Premises and Realistic Outcomes". Middle East Brief No. 64, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University, pp. 1-6.

Nussaibah Younis. 2011. "Set up to fail: Consociational political structures in post-war Iraq, 2003-2010". *Contemporary Arab Affairs*.

Mini-Lecture Question:

Was Obama right to have re-intervened in Iraq? Discuss in the context of providing an update on the current situation.

Mar. 24 Foreign Policy Tools and Russia as a Rogue State

This seminar examines various foreign policy tools and evaluates them in terms of the West's response to Russia's actions in Ukraine.

Required Readings:

- John Mearsheimer. 2014. "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin". *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2014, pp. 1-12.
- Leon Aron. 2013. "The Putin Doctrine: Russia's Quest to Rebuild the Soviet State". *Foreign Affairs*. 8 March 2013, p. 1-9.
- Colin Dueck. 2006. "Strategies for Managing Rogue States". *Orbis*. Spring, 2006: 223-241.
- Lawrence Freedman. 2014. "Ukraine and the Art of Crisis Management". *Survival*. 56(3): 7-42.
- Stephen Nix. 2014. "Responding to the Russian invasion of Crimea: policy recommendations for US and European leaders". *European View*. 13: 143-152.
- Elena Servattaz. 2014. "A Sanctions Primer: What Happens to the Targeted?". *World Affairs*. July/August 2014, pp. 82-89.
- Michael Emerson. 2014. "The EU-Ukraine-Russia Sanctions Triangle". Centre for European Policy Studies Commentary, 13 October 2014, pp. 1-6.

Mini-Lecture Question:

In the context of providing an update on the current situation, evaluate U.S and Western foreign policy towards Russia in terms of the Ukraine crisis.

Mar. 31 Covert Operations in IR

This seminar examines the growing use of covert operations – including drone strikes, special forces raids, intelligence operations and cyber-warfare – as a foreign policy tool.

Required Readings:

- Jennifer Kibbe. 2011-12. "Conducting Shadow Wars". *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*. 5(2): 373-392.
- Craig Forcese. 2011-12. "Spys Without Borders". *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*. 5(1): 179-210.
- Laura Dickinson. 2011-12. "Outsourcing Covert Activities". *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*. 5(2): 521-537.
- Media articles on drones: Hillel Ofek. 2010. "The Tortured Logic of Obama's Drone War". *The New Atlantic*. Spring, 2010: 35-44; Stephanie Nolan. 2012. "A taboo thought in Pakistan: Are U.S. drones working?". *The Globe and Mail*. 17 November, 2012; Editorial. 2012. "Rules for Targeted Killing". *The New York Times*. 29 November, 2012.
- James Cox. 2012. "Canada and the Five Eyes Intelligence Community". Strategic Studies Working Group Papers. Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, December 2012, pp. 1-12.
- James Ball, Julian Borger and Glenn Greenwald. 2013. "Revealed: how US and UK spy agencies defeat internet privacy and security". *The Guardian*. 13 September 2013.

Mini-Lecture Question:

What are the pros and cons of covert operations and do you think they should be discontinued or reformed?

Apr. 7 The Middle East Conflict

This seminar examines the history and contemporary situation in the Arab-Israeli conflict including key actors and issues, regional dynamics as well as US and Canadian foreign policy towards the region.

Required Readings:

- Thomas Magstadt. *Nations and Governments: Comparative Politics in Regional Perspective, Fifth Edition*. pp. 459-466, 472-497. Skim for background on the conflict.
- Guy Ben-Porat. 2006. "Markets and Fences: Illusions of Peace". *The Middle East Journal*. 60(2): 311-328.
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby". *London Review of Books*. 23 March, 2006: 1-31.
- Daniel Byman. 2011. "Israel's Pessimistic View of the Arab Spring". *The Washington Quarterly*. 34(3): 123-136.
- Rex Brynen. 2007. "Canada's Role in the Israeli-Palestine Peace Process" in P. Heinbecker and B. Momani (eds.) *Canada and the Middle East: In Theory and Practice*. Wilfred Laurier Press, pp. 73-89.

Mini-Lecture Question:

Does Mearsheimer and Walt's article on the domestic Israel lobby contradict their realist assumptions?