

国际政治理论

Theories of International Politics

(课程代码: 24121690; 学分: 3)

2019-2020学年(春夏学期)本科

上课时间: 周五 第3, 4, 5节

上课地点: 紫金港校区 西1—509

担任老师: 崔顺姬 Shunji Cui (ssjcui@zju.edu.cn)

Office-hour: Wednesdays 15:00-17:00, Room: Campus West, School of Public Affairs 628

The aim of the course is to give students an introduction to Theories of International Politics at an undergraduate level. Why states go to wars with each other? Can states cooperate, and if so, under what conditions? Can growing economic interdependence lead to greater cooperation among states and non-state actors? Who are the main actors in international arena? How order is maintained in an anarchical system? The objective of this course is to give a basic theoretical understanding of the central questions of international relations as a field of study. By the end of this course students should be familiar with some of the wide range of theories and approaches that can be applied to the study of international relations.

The objectives of the course are: to promote a critical engagement with a wide range of literature, and to display this engagement via the development of a succinct writing style and the ability to present complex arguments orally.

Course requirements: The class will be taught by faculty member (Prof. Cui), across two quarters (16 weeks in total), and conducted mainly in English, using both English and Chinese language materials. As this class meets only once per week and each class builds sequentially on what we discussed/studied in the previous class/lessons, students are expected to attend each class unless unusual circumstances prevent it. In such cases the instructor would appreciate being notified by the student, beforehand if possible. It is expected that all students will have completed all of the required readings and be prepared to discuss them by class time on the day for which they are assigned. All students will be expected to participate actively in class discussions, do one essay, one presentation, and take a final exam. *Plagiarism or any other form of academic dishonesty will be grounded for failing the course.*

REQUIREMENTS/GRADING:

Participation and home work -----15%

Presentation -----15%

Mid-Term Exam (Essay)-----30%

Final Exam (In class open exam)-----40%

- **Participation and home work:** Participation concerns attendance and active participation in class discussions. Attendance matters. Numerous unexcused absences will have a very tangible effect on one's overall grade, and excessive unexcused absences will result in a failing grade in the course. The course will require students to complete home works, which will be given by the course instructor.
- **Presentation:** Students will do a presentation on one of the theoretical approaches covered in this class. Presentations should be done in English.

- **Essays:** Approximately by the end of spring quarter, students will write a short essay (around 1000 words in English, but who has particular difficulty writing in English can write in Chinese around 1500 words), on a subject presented to students by the instructor. Essay will be counted as the mid-term exam.
- **Final Exam:** The final exam will be in the form of in-class open exam, composing definitions and short questions, and will including materials from both quarters.

Required text:

- Jackson, Robert and Georg Sørensen (2016): Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches, 6ed.(电子版本第5版), (Oxford: OUP) (可参考: 中文译本《国外经典政治学教材: 国际关系学理论与方法》(第4版), 罗伯特·杰克逊, 乔格·索伦森 (作者), 吴勇, 宋德星 (翻译), 中国人民大学出版社, 2012年)。

Recommended books:

- Baylis, John & Steve Smith (eds.)(2017), *The Globalisation of World Politics, 7ed.* (Oxford: OUP).
- Barry Buzan and George Lawson (2015), *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*, CUP.
- Viotti and Kauppi (2012) *International Relations Theory, 5edn*, Longman.
- 秦亚青 (编) 《西方国际关系理论导读》, 北京大学出版社, 2009年。

Useful Periodicals (Please check them regularly):

Review of International Studies; International Affairs; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Policy; European Journal of International Relations; International Security; Chinese Journal of International Politics; International Relations of Asia Pacific. Economist; PacNet Newsletter (<http://esis.org/program/pacnet-newsletter>). 《世界政治与经济》《欧洲研究》《当代亚太》《国际安全研究》《现代国际关系》

Class Outline

春学期:	夏学期:
1. Introduction: Why study IR? IR as an Academic Subject	9. The ES II: Contemporary Approaches
2. Classical Realism	10. IPE I: Classical Theories
3. Liberalism: Transnationalism and Economic Interdependence	11. IPE II: Contemporary Debates
4. Neoliberal Institutionalism and Democratic Peace theory	12. Foreign Policy Analysis
5. Neorealism	13. Positivism and Post-positivism in IR
6. The ES I: The International Society Approach	14. Feminism in IR
7. Alexander Wendt and Social Constructivism	15. IR in China: A Chinese School?
8. Debates on the rise of China	16. New Issues in Contemporary IR, and Revision.

COURSE AGENDA

春学期

1. Introduction: Why study IR? IR as an Academic Subject

- Introduction to the course; aims and objectives
- Course arrangement and assessment
- The Westphalian system and its impact on IR theorizing
- International Order & its Transformation
- IR as an academic subject: an overview

Main Questions:

- Why study IR? What are states and the state system?
- Who are the main actors in international relations? What are the main issues that IR is concerned?
- The Treaty of the Westphalia, 1648: the reasons to create it, the significance of the treaty, and to what extent the current world order continues to reflect it?
- When and why IR as an academic subject emerged? What were the major concerns?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to International Relations*, ch1, 'Why study IR?'; ch 2, 'IR as an academic subject'.

John T. Rourke, 2007, *International Politics on the World Stage*, ch1, 'Thinking and caring about world politics'.

Adam Watson (2002 [1992]) *The Evolution of International Society*, ch17, 'WESTPHALIA: An anti-hegemonial commonwealth of states', pp. 182-197.

Recommended Readings:

Richard Haass: 'World Order 2.0: The Case for Sovereign Obligation', *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2017.

Barry Buzan and George Lawson (2016), *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*, CUP (ch10: "Rethinking International Relations").

Stephen D. Krasner, 1995-96, 'Compromising Westphalia', *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 115-151 (Critical about the claim of the Westphalian model as accurate description, especially the assumption of states as independent rational actors).

On Interwar Idealism and its critique

Peter Wilson, 2011, 'Idealism in international relations', LSE Research Online, April 2012.

Ashworth, L. M. 'Where are the idealists in interwar IR?', *Review of international Studies*, 32 (2), 2006: 291-308.

Osiander, Andreas (1998): 'Rereading Early Twentieth-Century IR theory: Idealism Revisited', *International Studies Quarterly*, 42:3: 409-432.

*Carr, E. H. (2001). *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, especially, chs, 1, 2, 4-9.

2: Classical Realism

Main Questions:

- What are the basic tenets of Classical Realism?
- Realists are pessimistic about human progress and cooperation beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. What are the reasons given for that pessimism? Are they good reasons?
- How do realists understand national interests, power, morality in world politics?
- Outline the main arguments for and against NATO expansion. State your own position including supporting arguments.

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, Introduction to IR, ch3, 'Realism'.

Morgenthau, Hans J., Politics among Nations: The struggle for power and peace, 6th ed.(esp. "Foreword" by Kenneth Thompson and David Clinton; chs,1-3,15-16). (可参考: 中文翻译, 徐昕等译, 北京大学出版社, 2006)。

*Nobel, J. W., 'Morgenthau's Struggle with Power: The Theory of Power Politics and the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 21, 1 (1995).

*Mearsheimer, John, 'Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq war: realism versus neo-conservatism', *Open Democracy*, 21 April 2005.

*Cornelia Navari (ed.) *Hans J. Morgenthau and the American Experience*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Further Readings:

Buzan, Barry (1996): 'The timeless wisdom of realism?' in Smith, Booth and Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

James, A., 'The Realism of Realism: The State and the Study of International Relations', Review of International Studies 15, 3 (1989)

Milner, H., 'The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory', Review of International Studies, 17, 1 (1991).

Rosenberg, J., 'What's the Matter with Realism?', Review of International Studies, 16, 4 (1990).

Williams, M. 'What is the National Interest? The Neoconservative Challenge to IR Theory', *European Journal of International Relations* 11,3 (2004), pp.307-37.

Gellman, Peter (1988): 'Hans Morgenthau and the legacy of political realism', *Review of International Studies*, 14:4: 247-266; and response by J. W. Nobel in 1989, 15:3.

Chris Brown, et al (eds), *International Relations in Political Thought: Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

秦亚青 (编) 《西方国际关系理论导读》, 北京大学出版社, 2009年, 第3-39页。

3: Liberalism: Transnationalism and Economic Interdependence

Main Questions:

- Liberals are optimistic about human progress, cooperation, and peace. What are the reasons given for that optimism? Are they good reasons?
- Identify the arguments given by sociological liberalism. To what extent are you convinced by the arguments?
- Explain functionalism, neofunctionalism, and interdependence theories; what are their main contributions to promote peace and cooperation in international relations?

- Was 9/11 a setback for liberal ideas?

Key Readings

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to IR*, ch: 4, 'Liberalism'.

*Keohane, R. and Nye, J., Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition, 2ed. (Boston: Little Brown, 1977), chapters, 1, 2, 8.

*Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry. 1999. The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order. *Review of International Studies* 25 (2): 179 – 196.

Doyle, Michael (2005) 'Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace', American Political Science Review. Vol. 99, No. 3 August 2005.

Further Readings

*Mitrany, David, 'The Functional Approach to World Organization', International Affairs, 24, 3 (1948).

Mitrany, David, A Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization, OUP, 1944.

Northedge, F. S., 'Transnationalism: An American Illusion', Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 5 (1976).

Reichardson, J. L. (1997): 'Contending Liberalisms: Past and Present', European Journal of International Relations, 3:1: 5-33.

*Richard Little, 'The Growing Relevance of Pluralism?', in Smith, Booth and Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp.66-87.

*Doyle, Michael (1986) 'Liberalism in World Politics', American Political Science Review, 80, 4.

David J. Dunn, 'Articulating an Alternative: The Contribution of John Burton', *Review of International Studies*, 21/ 2, 1995.

James N. Rosenau, Ernst-Otto Czempiel (1992) *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, CUP (ch6, by Oran R. Young (1992) 'The effectiveness of international institutions: hard cases and critical variables', pp.160-194).

Rosecrance R. And A. Stein, 'Interdependence: Myth and Reality', World Politics, 1974, 26,1, pp.1-27.

秦亚青《权力·制度·文化：国际关系理论与方法文集》，北京大学出版社，2005, chapter on, “自由主义国际关系理论的思想渊源”。

秦亚青（编）《西方国际关系理论导读》，北京大学出版社，2009年，第90-123页。

4. Neoliberal Institutionalism and Democratic Peace theory

Main questions

- What do we mean by international institutions, regime, and what their roles in it?
- What assumptions about international politics are shared by neorealists and neoliberals?
- Can states cooperate in the anarchical system? Realists argue that anarchy cannot be transcended. Strong liberals say it can. Who is right and for which reasons?
- What arguments can you make, for and against, the assertion that democracy has made striking progress in the world during the past decade?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to IR*, ch: 4, 'Liberalism'.

*Keohane, Robert and Lisa Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory", *International Security*, 20:1, 1995, p.39-51.

*Mearsheimer, John, "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, 19:3, 1994/5, p.5-49.

Doyle, Michael (1992) 'Liberal Democracy and the Future of International Security', *The Newsletter of PEGS*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (FALL 1992), pp. 12-13.

Further Readings:

Neo-Neo debates on states cooperation

World Politics (1985): Special Issue on Cooperation under Anarchy, 38 (1).

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

Grieco, J. M., 'Anarchy and the Limits of Co-operation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Internationalism', *International Organization*, 42 (1988).

Oye, Kenneth A. (1985), 'Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies', *World Politics* 38 (1), pp. 1-24.

Kenneth Oye, *Cooperation Under Anarchy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

秦亚青《权力·制度·文化：国际关系理论与方法文集》，北京大学出版社，2005年，chapter on “国际制度与国际合作——反思新自由制度主义”。

On Institutions

*Levy, M. A., Young, O. R. and Zurn, M (1995), 'The study of international regimes', *European Journal of International Relations*, 1/3: 267-330.

Haggard, S., and Simmons, B., 'Theories of International Regimes', *International Organization*, 41, 3 (1987).

Robert O. Keohane, "Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics," in Robert O. Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989).

*Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984/2005).

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

Democratic Peace theory

Doyle, Michael (2012) *Liberal Peace: Selected Essays* (London & New York: Routledge, 2012).

Michael Brown, Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996).

5. Neorealism

Main Questions:

- Identify the major differences between the classical realism of Hans Morgenthau and the neorealism of Kenneth Waltz. Which approach is best suited for analysing international relations after the Cold War?
- Why do neo-realists (esp. Waltz) place so much emphasis on security? Does that make sense?
- What would Neorealists/structural Realists say about China's rise?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to IR*, ch 3, 'Realism'.

- Waltz, Kenneth, Theory of International Politics (Waveland Press, 2010 [1979]), chapters 1, 4, 5, 6.
- Mearsheimer, John, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001).
- Waltz, Kenneth, 'Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory', *Journal of International Affairs*, (44:1, 1990), pp.21-37.
- Keohane, Robert O., ed., *Neorealism and its Critics* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), Chapters 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.
- Recommended Readings:*
- Legro, Jeffrey and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security*, 24: 2 (Fall, 1999): 5-55.
- Neorealism and the rise of China*
- Mearsheimer, J. (2006) 'China's Unpeaceful Rise', *Current History*, 105 (690), 160-62.
- Waltz, Kenneth (2000): 'Structural Realism after the Cold War', *International Security* 25(1): 5-41.
- Roy, Denny (1994): 'Hegemon on the Horizon? China's Threat to East Asian Security', *International Security* 19(1): 149-68.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. (2005): 'The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?', *International Security* 30(2): 7-45.

6. The English School I: The International Society Approach

Main Questions

- What are the core elements of the International Society approach? Do you see the English school as a distinct approach to international relations?
- Can IR be seen in terms of international system, international society and world society?
- What is the difference between order and justice in world politics? Is Hedley Bull correct in claiming that order comes before justice?
- Explain the basic differences between pluralist international society and solidarist international society.
- Some IS theorists argue that human rights have become of increased importance in world politics since the end of Cold War. Are they correct? What is the evidence in favour of such a view?
- Can war be justified in terms of international humanitarian responsibility?

Key Readings:

- Jackson and Sørensen 2016, Introduction to IR, ch: 5, 'International Society'.
- Bull, H., The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (London: Macmillan, 1977), chapters, 1, 3, 4, 9, 'The concept of order in world politics', 'how is order maintained in world politics', 'order versus justice in world politics', 'the great powers and international order'. (可参考中文译本: 张小明翻译, 《无政府社会: 世界政治中的秩序研究》上海人民出版社).
- Tim Dunne, (2015) 'The English School and Humanitarian Intervention', in Robert W. Murray (ed.), *System, Society and the World: Exploring the ES of IR*, 2nd ed., E-International Relations Publishing, ch9. Pp. 60-67.
- Little, R., 'The English School's Contribution to the Study of IR', European Journal of IR, 6, 3 (2000).
- Buzan, B., 'The English School: An Unexploited Resource in IR', Review of International Studies, 27, 3 (2001).

Further Readings:

- *Ramesh Thakur (2013) 'R2P after Libya and Syria: Engaging Emerging Powers', *The Washington Quarterly*, 36:2 pp. 61-76.
- Dunne, T., 'The Social Construction of International Society', *European Journal of International Relations*, 1, 3 (1995).
- Harris, I., 'Order and Justice in The Anarchical Society', *International Affairs*, 69, 4 (1993).
- Jones, R., 'The English School of International Relations: A Case for Closure', *Review of International Studies*, 7, 1 (1981).
- Zhang, Xiaoming (2011), 'A Rising China and the Normative Changes in International Society,' *East Asia*, 28:235-246.
- 张小明: 《中国与国际社会价值和规则》《国际政治研究》2007年第3期。
- 张小明: 《中国的崛起与国际规范的变迁》, 《外交评论》, 2011年第1期 第34-47页。
- 巴里·布赞: 《英国学派及其当下发展》《国际政治研究》, 2007年第2期, 第101-112页。

7. Alexander Wendt and Social Constructivism

Main Questions:

- What is “societal constructivism?” and how does “identity” shape/impact foreign policy making? How do constructivists understand power in international politics?
- Social constructivists argue in favour of an ideational view and against a materialist view of the world. They claim that the international system is constituted by ideas, not by material forces. Explain the distinction and discuss whether it is valid.
- What is meant by the notion that “identities and interests are socially constructed” in IR?
- Alexander Wendt says that ‘if the United States and the Soviet Union decided they are no longer enemies, “the Cold War is over”. Do you agree? Why or why not?

Key Readings:

- Jackson and Sørensen 2016, ch: 8, ‘Social Constructivism’.
- Wendt, Alexander, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), ch1, ch6, ‘Four sociologies of international politics’, ‘Three cultures of anarchy’, pp.1-44 and 246-312.
- Dunne, T. (1995) ‘The Social Construction of International Society’, *European Journal of International Relations*, (1) 367-89.
- 秦亚青(编), 《西方国际关系理论导读》, 北京大学出版社, 2009年, (‘国际体系的三种无政府文化’, 第219—247页)。

Further Readings:

- Wendt, A., ‘Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics’, *International Organization*, 46, 2 (1992) .
- Thomas U. Berger, ‘Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan’, in by Peter J. Katzenstein, (ed.)*The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, 1996, ch9.
- Review of International Studies* (2000) Forum on Alexander Wendt’s *Social theory of International Politics* (26). (eg, Stephen Krasner, “Wars, Hotel Fires, and Plane Crashes;” Robert Keohane, “Ideas Part-Way Down;” and Steve Smith, “Wendt’s World;” all in this Forum. Krasner is a Realist, Keohane a Neo-Liberal Institutionalism, and Smith a post-modernist).

8. Debates on the Rise of China

Main Questions:

- What do we mean by status quo powers and revisionist powers, and why rising powers are often considered as revisionists.
- What is power transition theory, how does the theory explain the impact of a rising power to international system?
- Why a rising Chinese power has generated so much concerns in world politics, do they come from same reasons, if not, what are they?
- How can China become a responsible great power in International Society?

Readings:

Alastair Iain Johnson, 'Is China a status quo power?', *International Security* 27: 4, 2003, pp. 5–56;

From realist (power transition) perspectives

Roy, Denny (1994): 'Hegemon on the Horizon? China's Threat to East Asian Security', *International Security* 19(1): 149-68.

Friedberg, Aaron L. (2005): 'The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?', *International Security* 30(2): 7-45.

Mearsheimer, J. (2006) 'China's Unpeaceful Rise', *Current History*, 105 (690), 160-62.

Graham Allison (2017): *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (中文译本, 注定一战: 中美能避免修昔底德陷阱吗? 作者:[美]格雷厄姆) (short video).

From Constructivist (socialization) perspectives

Foot, Rosemary (1998): 'China in the ASEAN Regional Forum: Organizational Processes and Domestic Modes of Thought' *Asian Survey* 38(5): 425-40.

From ES (standard of civilization) perspectives

张小明: 《中国的崛起与国际规范的变迁》, 《外交评论》, 2011年第1期 第34-47页。

From the perspective of defending the Liberal Order

Gregory Chin and Ramesh Thakur, 'Will China change the rules of global order?', *Washington Quarterly* 33: 4, 2010, pp. 119–38.

Zbigniew Brzezinski and John Mearsheimer, 'Clash of the Titans', *Foreign Policy*, no. 146, Jan.–Feb. 2005, pp. 46–50;

G. John Ikenberry, 'The rise of China and the future of the West: can the liberal system survive?', *Foreign Affairs* 87: 1, 2008, pp. 23–37;

Suzuki, S. (2008) 'Seeking 'Legitimate' Great Power Status in Post-Cold War International Society: China's and Japan's Participation in UNPKO', *International Relations*, 22 (1), 45-63.

Zhang, Y. (2016) 'China and liberal higherarchies in global international society: power and negotiation for normative change', *International Affairs*, 92 (4), 795-816.

Zhang, X. (2011) 'A Rising China and the Normative Changes in International Society', *East Asia*, 28:3, 235-246. (See Chinese version, 张小明 《中国的崛起与国际规范的变迁》 《外交评论》 2011年第1期, 第34-47页).

Kopra, S. (2017) 'China and international norm of climate responsibility: Agency and Institutional Change', Paper presented at the 2017 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, February 22-25, 2017.

春学期

9. The English School II: Contemporary Approaches

- Primary institutions, normative structure, international/world order

Main Questions:

- What are primary institutions? How they differ from institutions referred by regime theorists?
- Explain the basic differences between pluralist international society and solidarist international society; and how the current international society has gone beyond the pluralism v. solidarism.
- In addition to its rising material capabilities, the difficulty of China forging constructive relations with the US and other great powers arises more so because China, a non-Western, non-democratic country, is rising within a Western dominated liberal international society'. Please discuss?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to IR*, ch: 5, 'International Society'.

Buzan, B. (2014) *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations*. Cambridge: Polity (especially see, pp.16-17, 30-31, 35-38; and Part III 'Normative Orientations: Pluralism and Solidarism').

Morris, J. (2005) 'Normative Innovation and the Great Powers', in A. J. Bellamy (ed.), *International Society and its Critics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 265-82.

Further Readings:

On norms, institutions, and normative structural change

Donnelly, J. (1998) 'Human rights: a new standard of civilization?', *International Affairs*, 74 (1), 1-23.

Hurrell, A. (2007) *On Global Order: Power, Values and the Constitution of International Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Falkner, R. (2012) 'Global Environmentalism and the Greening of International Society', *International Affairs*, 88 (3), 503-22.

Falkner, R. and Buzan, B. (2017) 'Global Environmental Politics in English School Perspective: Environmental Stewardship as an Emerging Primary Institution of International Society', Paper presented at the 2017 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, February 22-25, 2017.

Cui, Shunji (2018) 'China-US Climate Cooperation: Creating a New Model of Major-Country Relations?', *Asian Perspective*, 42,2: 239-263.

Cui, Shunji and Buzan, Buzan (2016) 'Great Power Management in International Society', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 9 (2), 181-210.

On normative structural change and China

Barry Buzan; China's rise in English school perspective, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, lcy005, <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcy005>.

Suzuki, S. (2008) 'Seeking 'Legitimate' Great Power Status in Post-Cold War International Society: China's and Japan's Participation in UNPKO', *International Relations*, 22 (1), 45-63.

Zhang, Y. (2016) 'China and liberal higherarchies in global international society: power and negotiation for normative change', *International Affairs*, 92 (4), 795-816.

Zhang, X. (2011) 'A Rising China and the Normative Changes in International Society', *East Asia*, 28:3, 235-246. (See Chinese version, 张小明《中国的崛起与国际规范的变迁》《外交评论》2011年第1期, 第34-47页).

Kopra, S. (2017) 'China and international norm of climate responsibility: Agency and Institutional Change', Paper presented at the 2017 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, February 22-25, 2017.

巴里·布赞:《英国学派及其当下发展》《国际政治研究》, 2007年第2期, 第101-112页。

10. IPE I: Classical theories

Main Questions:

- What is IPE and why is it important?
- What are the main arguments of mercantilism, economic liberalism, and Marxism?
- Politics is in control of economics, say mercantilists. Economics is the basis for everything else, including politics, say Marxists. How should we settle this dispute?
- Economic liberals argue that economic exchange is a positive-sum game. In the Marxist approach the economy is a site of exploitation and inequality. Who is right?
- Do security interests always have priority over economic matters, as mercantilists claim?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, ch 6, 'IPE: Classical theories'.

Viotti and Kauppi (2012) International Relations Theory, ch 4, 'Economic Structuralism: Global capitalism and Postcolonialism', pp.189-238.

Further Readings:

Andrew Linklater, "The Question of the Next Stage in International Relations Theory: A Critical-Theoretical Point of View," Millennium 21/1 (1992).

V.I. Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism (orig. published in 1917, now via Pluto Press, 1996; or free via <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/> (just scan through Lenin to get a feel for where he is coming from, and consider whether parts of his argument applies today).

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World Systems*, 1, New York: Academic Press.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16/4 (September, 1974).

Immanuel Wallerstein, *World Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, N.C.: Duke UP, 2004).

王正毅,《构建一个国际政治经济学的知识框架——基于四种“关联性”的分析》,《世界经济与政治》,2009年第2期。

11. IPE II: Contemporary Debates

Main Questions:

- What is hegemony? Is the United States currently an altruistic or a 'predatory' hegemon?
- Should we support the claim that a hegemon is needed in order to create a liberal world economy?
- Define the development problem in the Third World and discuss how it should be analysed; which theory is most helpful? Can the development problem be solved?

- What is economic globalization? What are the benefits and drawbacks of economic globalization? What are the implications for sovereign statehood?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2013, ch 7, 'IPE: Contemporary Debates'.

Viotti and Kauppi (2012) International Relations Theory, ch 4, 'Economic Structuralism: Global capitalism and Postcolonialism', pp.189-238.

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984/2005).

Further Readings:

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2004) *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Duke University Press.

- Ch2, "The Modern World-System as a Capitalist World-Economy"
- Ch5, "The Modern World-System in Crisis"

*Skocpol, T., 'Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique', *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 5 (1977).

Wallerstein, Immanuel, 'Patterns and perspectives of the capitalist world-economy', in Viotti and Kauppi, International Relations Theory, 1999, pp.369-376

Gills, Barry and Ronen Palan, 'The neostructuralist Agenda in International Relations', in Viotti and Kauppi, International Relations Theory, 1999, pp.377-382.

Murphy, Craig, 'International Organization and Industrial Change', in Viotti and Kauppi, International Relations Theory, 1999, pp.383-396.

秦亚青 (编), 《西方国际关系理论导读》, 北京大学出版社, 2009年, ('世界体系理论' , 第251—262页)

王正毅, 《全球化与国际政治经济学:超越“范式”之争?》, 《世界经济与政治》, 2010年第10期。

12. Foreign Policy Analysis

Main Questions:

- What is foreign policy analysis fundamentally concerned with?
- Which is the best approach to FP analysis, and why?
- Which level of FP analysis makes most sense, and why?
- How useful is the RAM approach for explaining why the US chose to go to war in the Persian Gulf in 1991?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to IR*, ch10, 'Foreign Policy'.

Further Readings:

Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2008 (esp. pp.1-8; 11-29).

Thomas Risse-Kappen, 'Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War', *International Organization*, vol.48, no.2, 1994, pp.185-214.

J.D. Singer, 'The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations', *World Politics*, vol.14, no.1, October 1961, pp.77-92.

Michael C. Desch, 'America's Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy', International Security, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Winter 2007/08), pp. 7–43

13. Positivism and Post-positivism in IR

Questions:

- What is the debate between positivism and post-positivism?
- Identify the major post-positivist approaches
- Outline the substantial contributions that post-positivist analyses make to the study of IR.
- What is the relationship between truth and power? Is there “Truth”?
- How is Critical Theory derived from Marxism?

Key Readings:

Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to IR*, ch9, 'Post-positivism in IR'.

*Richard Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism," in Robert Keohane, ed., *Neorealism & its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986). [the Chinese version appears in 秦亚青 (编), 理查德·阿什里《新现实主义的贫困》(*International Organization*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring, 1984), pp. 225-286)。

Viotti and Kauppi (2012) International Relations Theory, ch7: 'Positivism, Critical Theory, and Postmodern Understandings'.

On Critical Theory

*Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," *Millennium*, 1981, 10(2): 126-155. [Note: the Chinese version is here: 罗伯特·考克斯, <社会力量, 国家于世界秩序: 超越国际关系理论>, 秦亚青 (编), 《西方国际关系理论导读》, 北京大学出版社, 2009年].

Steven C. Roach, "Critical Theory, Marxism, and International Ethics," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Ethics and International Relations* (Surrey, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009).

Linklater, A., *Beyond Realism and Marxism: Critical Theory and International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow, eds., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Vintage, 1984): 51-75.

On Post-Structuralism

David Campbell, "Post-Structuralism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 4th edn. (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2016).

David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1992).

Hansen, Lene (2006) *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, London: Routledge.

14. Feminism in IR

- Do men and women view the world differently? Do they understand power and the use of force differently? How does a feminist approach to international politics contribute to our study of IR? What do we mean by gender?

Key Readings:

Viotti and Kauppi (2012) *International Relations Theory*, ch8: 'Feminist Understandings in IR Theory'.

J. Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, "Feminism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 4th edn. (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2016), Chapter 10.

Further Readings:

Enloe, Cynthia (1989) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Berkeley: University of California Press (esp. chs:1,2,9).

Colleen O'Manique (2015) 'Gender, health, and security', in Simon Rushton and Jeremy Youde (eds). *Routledge Handbook of Global Health Security*, London and New York: Routledge, ch4, pp. 48-59. (Book: Electronic version)

Jean Bethke Elshtain, 'Is There a Feminist Tradition on War and Peace?', in Terry Nardin (ed.), *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Princeton University Press, 1996.

Hansen, Lene (2000) 'The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.29, No.2, pp.285-306.

Caprioli, Mary (2004) 'Feminist Theory and Quantitative Methodology: A Critical Analysis', *International Studies Review*, 6:2, 253–69.^[1]_{SEP}

Caprioli, Mary (2004) 'Democracy and Human Rights versus Women's Security: A Contradiction?', *Security Dialogue*, 35:4, 411–28.

Carpenter, R. Charli (2003) 'Women and Children First: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991–1995', *International Organization*, 57:4, 661– 94.

Tickner, J. Ann (2001) *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Tickner, J. Ann (1997) 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists', *International Studies Quarterly*, 41:4, 611–32.^[1]_{SEP}

Jacqui True (2005) 'Feminism', in Alex Bellamy (ed.) *International Society and its Critics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch8, pp. 151-162.

15. IR in China: A Chinese School?

- Is there a Chinese school in IR? If so, what makes it so distinct?
- What are the main differences between rationality approaches and relationality approaches to IR?
- Please explain Yan Xuetong's theory of Moral/Chinese Realism

Key Readings:

Zhang, Yongjin and Teng-Chi Chang (eds.) *Constructing a Chinese School of International Relations: Ongoing Debates and Sociological Realities*, Routledge, 2016.

- Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan (eds.) (2009) *Non-Western International Relations Theory. Perspectives on and beyond Asia*. Routledge, (especially the chapter by Qin Yaqing).
- Qin, Yaqing (2018) *A Relational Theory of World Politics*, CUP.
- Qin, Yaqing (2009) 'Relationality and Processual Construction: Bringing Chinese Ideas into International Relations Theory', *Social Sciences in China*, 30 (3), 2009: 5–20.
- Qin, Yaqing (2016) 'A Relational Theory of World Politics', *International Studies Review*, Volume 18, Issue 1, 1 March 2016, Pages 33–47.
- Yan Xuetong (2016) 'Political Leadership and Power Redistribution', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 1, 1 March 2016, Pages 1–26
- Further Readings:*
- Yan Xuetong (2012) 'Yan Xuetong on Chinese Realism, the Tsinghua School of International Relations, and the Impossibility of Harmony', Theory Talk #51, Wednesday, November 28, 2012, <http://www.theory-talks.org/2012/11/theory-talk-51.html>.
- Wang, Jiangli and Buzan, Barry (2014) The English and Chinese schools of international relations: comparisons and lessons. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 7 (1). pp. 1-46.
- Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, Daniel H. Nexon, 'Relations Before States: Substance, Process and the Study of World Politics', *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.5, No.3, 1999.

16. New Issues in Contemporary IR, and Revision

Main Questions:

- Should international terrorism be the top issue on the international agenda? Why or why not?
- How serious is the problem of environmental degradation? What are the consequences for IR?
- Is religion a relevant new issue in IR? Why or why not?
- What are the prospects for successfully confronting the problems connected with weak states?
- Does the arrival of 'new issues' in IR mean that the discipline will have to be fundamentally changed and some or all of the established ways of thinking will have to be discarded? Why or why not?

Readings:

- Jackson and Sørensen 2016, *Introduction to IR*, ch11, 'Key Issues in contemporary IR'.
- *Hurrell, Andrew (1999) 'Security and Inequality', in Hurrell, Andrew and Ngaire Woods (eds.) (1999) *Inequality, Globalization and World Politics*, Oxford: OUP, ch9, pp.248-271.
- Sandal, N. and James, P. (2011). 'Religion and International Relations Theory: Towards a Mutual Understanding', *European Journal of International Relations*, 17/1: 3–25.
- Schmid, A. P. (2005). 'Terrorism and Human Rights: A Perspective from the United Nations', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 17: 25–35.
- Cui, Shunji and Barry Buzan (2019) 'Securitization and the Merger of Great Power Management and Global Governance: The Ebola Crisis', *Analyses and Alternatives*, 3,1: 29-61.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2010) *The Globalization of Crime: A Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment*, Vienna, Austria (Intro; ch1; ch11).
- Susana Ferreira (2019) *Human Security and Migration in Europe's Southern Borders*, Palgrave Macmillan.