

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Syllabus

THEORIES AND RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - 58844

Last update 29-10-2014

HU Credits: 4

Degree/Cycle: 2nd degree (Master)

Responsible Department: International Relations

Academic year: 0

Semester: Yearly

Teaching Languages: Hebrew

Campus: Mt. Scopus

Course/Module Coordinator: Piki Ish-Shalom

Coordinator Email: pikiis@huji.ac.il

Coordinator Office Hours: Tuesday 1430-1530

Teaching Staff:

Prof Piki Ish-Shalom

Course/Module description:

This is an advanced course in IR theory and it is assumed that students have prior knowledge of the material. As such its objective is to widen and deepen existing knowledge and the course will be conducted mainly through reading and discussion.

The course will begin with mapping the discipline using various axes and by a discussion on the scientific nature of the discipline and its theories. Various positivist and post-positivistic answers will be surveyed. Clearing those issues we will advance to discuss some central approaches in the field, such as realism, liberalism, and constructivism, as well as the more challenging approaches such as critical theory, feminism, and post-structuralism.

We will then zoom into key concepts that are used in the field like anarchy, power, international system, international organization, norms, identities, governance, and networks. The course will be concluded with a normative discussion of the position of researchers vis-à-vis their societies.

Course/Module aims:

The objectives of the course are to acquire a thorough knowledge of the theoretical world of IR, and to learn the challenges confronting researchers.

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

To compare different IR theories

To evaluate explanatory success of IR theories

To apply theories on cases

To criticize theories

To judge morally IR theories

Attendance requirements(%):

100

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Discussions in class and independent research

Course/Module Content:

- 1. Introduction: Different ways to map the discipline*
- 2. Is IR theory scientific?*
- 3. Evaluating scientific progress*
- 4. Realism*
- 5. Liberalism*
- 6. Constructivism*
- 7. English School*
- 8. Foreign policy and the domestic level of analysis*
- 9. Critical theory and post-structuralism*
- 10. Feminism*
- 11. Power and essentially contested concepts*
- 12. The state*
- 13. The international system*
- 14. Anarchy*
- 15. Hegemony*
- 16. Balancing*
- 17. Rationality and emotions*
- 18. Political psychology*
- 19. Identities*
- 20. Norms*
- 21. Global governance*
- 22. International networks*
- 23. Normative approaches*
- 24. The responsibilities of theorists*

Required Reading:

Introduction: Different ways to map the discipline

Peter K. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D. Krasner, "International Organization and the Study of World Politics," International Organization 52 (Autumn 1998), pp. 645-685.

Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," Daedalus 106/3 (1977), pp. 41-60.

Ole Weaver, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations," International Organization 52 (Autumn 1998), pp. 687-727.

Steve Smith, "Singing Our World Into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 3, September 2004, pp. 499-515.

Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 1-44.

Brian Schmidt, "On the History and Historiography of International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001), pp. 3-22.

Scott Burchill, "Introduction," in Scott Burchill et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 2nd edition (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 1-28 (or any of the later editions).

Is IR theory scientific?

Alan C. Lamborn, "Theory and the Politics in World Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 41/2 (June 1997), pp. 187-214.

John L. Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* 17/3 (1992-3), pp. 5-58.

Yosef Lapid, "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 33 (1989), pp. 235-254.

K. J. Holsti, "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall, Which are the Fairest Theories of All," *International Studies Quarterly* 33/3 (September 1989), pp. 255-261.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Toward Understanding in International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 29/2 (June 1995), pp. 137-144.

Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 45-91.

Steve Smith, "Positivism and Beyond," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 11-44.

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979), chapter 1.

Colin Wight, "Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 23-51.

Yale Ferguson and Richard Mansbach, "Between Celebration and Despair: Constructive Suggestions for Future IR Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 35/4 (December 1991), pp. 363-386.

Ole Weaver, "The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate," in Smith, Booth, and Zalewski, *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, pp. 149-185.

Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and its Implications for the Study of World Politics*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

Evaluating scientific progress

Lakatos, Imre, "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programme," in: Lakatos and Musgrave (eds.), *Criticism, and the Growth of Knowledge*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp.91-138

William Wohlforth, "Reality Check- Revising Theories of International Politics in Response to the End of the Cold War," *World Politics* 50 (July 1998).

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

Buenos de Mesquita, "Toward a Scientific Understanding of International Conflict: A Personal View," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol.29 (2), (1985) pp.121-136.

Krasner, S.D., "Toward Understanding in International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.29 (2) (1985), pp.137-144.

Ball, Terence, "From Paradigms to Research Programs: Toward a Post-Kuhnian Political Science," *American Journal of Political Science* Vol.20 (1976).

Stefano Guzzini, "The Ends of International Relations Theory: Stages of Reflexivity and Modes of Theorizing," *European Journal of International Relations*, 19, 3 (2013): 521-541.

Patrick Thaddeus Jackson and Daniel H. Nexon, "International Theory in a Post-Paradigmatic Era: From Substantive Wagers to Scientific Ontologies", *European Journal of International Relations*, 19, 3 (2013): 543-565.

Realism

Jeffrey Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* (Fall 1999)

+ See the correspondence- "Brother, Can you spare a paradigm? (Or was anybody ever a realist?)" , *International Security* 25(1) (Summer 2000) pp.165-193.

Ethan Kapstein, "Is Realism Dead? The Domestic Sources of International Politics," *International Organization* 49/4 (Autumn 1995), pp. 251-274.

Steven Forde, "International Realism and the Science of Politics: Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Neorealism," *International Studies Quarterly* 39/2 (June 1995), pp. 141-160.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 19/3 (Fall 1993), pp. 44-79.

Robert G. Gilpin (1996), "No One Loves a Political Realist," *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3, Spring 1996, pp. 3-26.

Robert Jervis, "Realism and the Study of World Politics," *International Organization* 52/4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 971-992.

Robert O. Keohane, "Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond" in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 158-203.

John G. Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis" (131-157).

Richard K. Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism" (255-300);

Robert Gilpin, "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism" (301-321); and

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Reflections on Theory of International Politics: A Response to My Critics" (322-345); all in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

John Vasquez, "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative vs. Progressive Research Programs," and the responses by: Waltz, Christensen and Snyder, Elman and Elman, Schweller and Walt. All in: *American Political Science Review* Vol.91 (4), December 1997.

Richard Ned Lebow, "The Long Peace, the End of the Cold War, and the Failure of Realism," *International Organization* 48/2 (Spring 1994), pp. 249-277

Barry Buzan, "The Timeless Wisdom of Realism?" in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 47-65.

Hans J. Morgenthau , *Scientific Man versus Power Politics* (The University of Chicago

Press, 1946).

Hans J. Morgenthau (revised, Kenneth W. Thompson), *Politics among Nations*, 4th edition (New York: Knopf, 1967).

Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear*, 2nd edition (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994).

Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics* 51(1) 1998, pp.144-172.

Steven Lobell, Norrin Ripsman and Jeff Taliaferro (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 1.

Randall Schweller, *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power*, chapter 1-2

Thomas J. Christensen. *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996,

Randall L. Schweller. *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

William Curti Wohlforth. *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Colin Elman, "Horses for Courses: Why no neorealist theories of foreign policy?" *Security Studies* 6(1) 1996, pp.7-53.

Liberalism

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

Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal International Relations theory- A scientific assessment" (Chapter 5)- both in Elman and Fendius-Elman (eds.,) *Progress in International Relations Theory- Appraising the Field* (MIT Press, 2003).

Andrew Moravcsik, "A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51/4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 513-553.

Beth Simmons and Lisa Martin, "International Organizations and Institutions," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 192-211.

Michael N. Barnett, and Martha Finnemore. 1999. *The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations*. *International Organization* 53 (4):699-732.

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders", in: Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner (eds.), *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World politics*, pp.303-330.

Robert Keohane, "international institutions: two approaches", *International Studies Quarterly*, (1988) pp.379-96.

Lisa L. Martin and Beth Simmons, "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions," *International Organization* 52/4, Autumn 1998, pp. 729-758.

Yoram Z. Haftel, "Designing for Peace: Regional Integration Arrangements, Institutional Variation, and Militarized Inter-State Disputes", *International Organization* 61, 1 (2007): 217-237.

Ian Jhonstone, "The Role of the UN Secretary General: the Power of Persuasion Based on Law", *Global Governance* 9, 4 (2003): 441-458.

Ian Hurd, "Myths of Membership: The Politics of Legitimation in UN Security Council Reform", *Global Governance*, 14, 2 (2008): 199-217.

Alexander Thompson, "Rational Design in Motion: Uncertainty and Flexibility in the Global Climate Regime", *European Journal of International Relations*, 16, 2 (2010): 269-296.

John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19/3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 5-49.

Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20, 1995, pp. 39-51.

Robert Powell, "The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate," *International Organization* 48/2, Spring 1994, pp. 313-340.

David Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), Chapter 1.

Stephen Haggard and Beth Simmons, "Theories of International Regimes," *International Organization* 41/3, 1987, pp. 491-517.

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

Donald J. Puchala and Raymond F. Hopkins, "International Regimes: Lessons from Inductive Analysis" (61-92). Oran R. Young, "Regime Dynamics: The Rise and Fall of International Regimes" (93-114). Arthur Stein, "Coordination and Collaboration:

Regimes in an Anarchic World" (115-140). John G. Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order" (195-232). Susan Strange, "Cave! Hic Dragons: A Critique of Regime Analysis (337-354); all in Volker Rittberger, ed., *Regime Theory and International Relations* (Clarendon Press, 1993).

Stephen Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," in Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 1-22.

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, 2nd edition (New York: Harper Collins, 1989), Chapters 1-2, pp. 3-37; and Part V, "Second Thoughts on Theory and Policy," pp. 245-282.

Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions," in Kenneth A. Oye, ed., *Cooperation under Anarchy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 226-254.

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters* (Columbia University Press, 1993).

Charles Kupchan and Clifford Kupchan, "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," *International Security* 16/1 (Summer 1991), pp. 114-161.

Robert O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann, "Institutional Change in Europe in the 1980s," in Robert O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann, eds., *The New European Community: Decision-Making and Institutional Change* (Westview, 1991), pp. 1-39.

Amitav Acharya, *Crafting Cooperation- Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

English School

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1977).

Richard Little, "The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 6/3 (2000), pp. 395-422.

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

Galia Press-Barnathan, "The War against Iraq and International Order: From Bull to Bush," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 6, Issue 2, June 2004, pp. 195-212.

Barry Buzan, *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (Cambridge University Press, 2004). Chapter 1-2.

Barry Buzan, "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism Meets the English School," *International Organization* 47/3, 1993, pp. 327-352.

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

Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society* (Routledge, 1992).

Richard Little, "Neorealism and the English School: A Methodological, Ontological, and Theoretical Assessment," *European Journal of International Relations* 1/1 (1995), pp. 9-34.

Chris Brown, "International Theory and International Society," *Review of International Studies* 21:2 (April 1995): 183-196.

Martin Wight, *International Theory: The Three Traditions* (edited by G. Wight and B. Porter) (Holmes and Meier, 1992).

For great resources on the English School see the website developed by Buzan: <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/research/international-relations-security/english-school/resources.php>

Constructivism

Thomas Risse, "Let's Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics," *International Organization* 54/1 (Winter 2000), pp. 1-40.

Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23 (Summer 1998), pp. 171-200.

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50/2 (January 1998), pp. 324-348.

Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics," *International Security* 20 (Summer 1995), pp. 71-81.

Alexander Wendt, *A Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), Chapter 2, and Chapter 3.

Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 3/3, September 1997, pp. 319-363.

John G. Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist challenge", in: Ruggie, *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

Emanuel Adler, "Constructivism and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 95-118.

Friedrich Kratochwil, "Constructing a New Orthodox? Wendt's 'Social Theory of International Politics' and the Constructivist Challenge," *Millennium* 29:1 (2000): 73-101.

Emanuel Adler, "The Spread of Security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self-Restraint, and NATO's Post-Cold War Transformation," *European Journal of International Relations*, 14, 2 (2008): 195-230.

Stefano Guzzini, "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (June 2000): 147-182.

Martha Finnemore, *The National Interest in International Society* (Cornell University Press, 1996).

Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making: Rules and Role in Social Theory and International Relations* (University of South Carolina Press, 1990).

Friedrich Kratochwil and John G. Ruggie, "International Organization: A State of the Art or the Art of the State," *International Organization* 40 (1986), pp. 753-776.

Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions," *International Organization* 51/4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 555-590.

Foreign policy and the domestic level of analysis

Peter Gourevitch, "Domestic Politics and International Relations", in *Handbook of International Relations* pp. 309-327.

Peter Gourevitch, "The second image reversed – the international sources of domestic politics" *International Organization* 32(4) Autumn 1978, pp.881-911.

Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42/3 (1988), pp. 427-460.

Peter Katzenstein, *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States* (University of Wisconsin Press: 1978), chapters 1, 9.

Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 3-42.

Etel Solingen, "The Domestic Sources of Regional Regimes: The Evolution of Nuclear Ambiguity in the Middle East," *International Studies Quarterly* 38/2 (1994), pp. 305-338.

Etel Solingen, *Regional Orders at a Century's Dawn* (Princeton University Press, 1998)

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe* (Cornell University Press, 1998).

John M. Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19 (1994), pp. 87-125.

Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson and Robert D. Putnam, eds., *Double Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).

Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Cornell University Press, 1991).

James M. Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, "A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era," *International Organization* 46/2 (1992), pp. 467-492.

Critical theory and post-structuralism

Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 204-254.

Andrew Linklater, "The Achievements of Critical Theory," in Smith, Booth, and Zaelwski, *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, pp. 279-298.

James Der Derian, "The (S)pace of International Relations: Simulation, Surveillance and Speed," *International Studies Quarterly* 34 (1990).

Jim George and David Campbell, "Patterns of Dissent and the Celebration of Difference," *International Studies Quarterly* 34 (1990), pp. 269-293.

Richard K. Ashley, "The Achievements of Post-Structuralism," in Smith, Booth, and Salewski, *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, pp. 240-254.

James Keeley, "Toward a Foucauldian Analysis of International Regimes," *International Organization* 44 (1990), pp. 83-105.

Richard K. Ashley and R.B.J. Walker, eds., "Special Issue: Speaking the Language of Exile: Dissidence in International Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 34 (1990).

Richard K. Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism," *International Organization* 38 (1984), pp. 225-304.

Daniel Levine, *Recovering International Relations: The Promise of Sustainable Critique*, Oxford University Press, 2013.

Brent J. Steele, *Alternative Accountabilities in Global Politics: The Scars of Violence*, Routledge: 2013.

Oded Lowenheim, *The Politics of the Trail: Reflexive Mountain Biking along the Frontier of Jerusalem*, The University of Michigan Press: 2014.

Feminism

J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Perspectives on International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 275-291.

J. Ann Tickner, "What is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to IR Methodological Questions," *International Studies Quarterly*, 49, 1 (March 2005): 1-21.

Christine Sylvester, "The Contribution of Feminist Theory to International Relations," in Smith, Booth, and Zalewski, *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, pp. 254-279.

J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*, Columbia University Press, 1992.

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

J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly* 41/4 (December 1997): 611-632.

Lene Hansen, "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School," *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 29, 2 (2000): 285-306.

Sarai Aharoni, "The Gender-Culture Double Bind in Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations: A Narrative Approach", *Security Dialogue* 45, 4 (2004): 373-390.

Cynthia Enloe, *Globalization and Militarism; Feminists Make the Link*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.

Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict*, Polity Press, 2014.

Laura Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict: Towards a Feminist Theory of War*, Columbia University Press, 2013.

Nimmi Gowrinathan, "The Women of ISIS: Understanding and Combating Female Extremism", *Foreign Affairs*, August 21, 2014, available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141926/nimmi-gowrinathan/the-women-of-isis>

Power and essentially contested concepts

Milja Kurki, "Democracy and Conceptual Contestability: Reconsidering Conceptions of Democracy in Democracy Promotion," *International Studies Review*, 12, 3 (2010): 362-386.

Milja Kurki, *Democratic Futures: Re-visioning Democracy Promotion*, London: Routledge: 2013.

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics," *International Organization* 59 (Winter 2005).

Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Soft Power- The Means to Success in World Politics* (NYC: PublicAffairs, 2004), chapter 1

Stephen Lukes, "Power and the Battle for Hearts and Minds", *Millennium* (2005) Vol. 33 (3)

Paul R. Brass, "Foucault Steals Political Science" *Annual Review of Political Science* (2000) Vol.3, pp.305-30.

Robert A. Dahl, "The concept of Power", *Behavioral Science* 2 (1957)

Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan, 1974).

David A. Baldwin, *Paradoxes of Power* (NYC: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, "Socialization and hegemonic power", *International Organization* 44(3) Summer 1990, pp.283-315.

Stefano Guzzini, "Structural power: the limits of neorealist power analysis", *International Organization* 47(3) Summer 1993, pp.443-478.

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, *Power and Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Brian C. Schmidt, "Competing Realist Conceptions of Power", *Millennium* 33(3), pp.523-549.

Leander, Anna, "The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 33, 3 (2005): 803-826.

The state

Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making." In *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, ed. Charles Tilly, pp. 3-83. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

Joel S. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-31.

Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85 (1991), No. 1: pp. 77-96.

J. P. Nettl, "The State as a Conceptual Variable." *World Politics*, Vol. 20 (1968), No. 4 pp. 559-592.

Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In." In *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol.(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 3-37

Janice E. Thomson, "State Sovereignty in International Relations: Bridging the Gap between Theory and Empirical Research." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 39 (1995), No. 2, pp. 213-233.

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign state and its Competitors: an Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1994)

The international system

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979) (especially 60-78; 88-101; 116-128).

Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1974, pp. 387-415.

Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41/3 (1987), pp. 335-370.

David Dessler, "What's at stake in the agent-structure debate?" *International Organization* Vol.43 (3) (Summer 1989): 441-73.

Buzan, Jones and Little, *The Logic of Anarchy*, pp.102-113

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (three volumes) (Academic Press, 1974, 1980, 1989).

George Modelski, "Is World Politics Evolutionary Learning?," *International Organization* 44 (Winter 1990), pp. 1-24.

Anarchy

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (McGraw Hill, 1977), chapter 6- especially pp.102-116.

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great power Politics* (NYC: Norton, 2001), chapter 2 ("Anarchy and the struggle for power").

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46 (1992), pp. 391-425.

Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, chapter 6 ("Three cultures of Anarchy").

Helen Milner, "The Assumption of anarchy in international relations theory: a critique", *Review of International Studies* (1991(17, pp.67-85.

Barry Buzan, Charles Jones, and Richard Little, *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 22-8, 66-80.

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, "Governing Anarchy: A Research Agenda for the Study of Security Communities," *Ethics and International Affairs* 10 (1996), pp. 63-98.

Joanne Gowa, "Anarchy, egoism, and third images: The evolution of Cooperation and International Relations", *International Organization* 40(1) Winter 1986, pp.167-186.

David Lake, "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations," *International Organization* 50/1 (Winter 1996), pp. 1-35.

Hegemony

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 9-49.

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), Chapter 2. ומגבלותיה להגמוניה השאיפה על החלק בעיקר

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), chapter 3.

Robert O. Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory", in: Robert Keohane 9ED.,) *Neorealism and its Critics* , pp.205-249 [especially from 217]

S.D.Krasner, "State power and the structure of international trade", *World Politics*, 19.

David Lake, *Power, protection and free trade – International Sources of US Commercial Strategy 1887-1939*.

Charles Kindelgerger, *The World in Depression- 1929-1939* (London: Penguin Press, 1973).

Duncan Snydal, "Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory", *IO* 39(4) Autumn 1985

Joanne Gowa, "Rational Hegemons, Excludable Goods, and Small Groups – An Epitaph for HST?", *World Politics* 41 (April 1989).

John A.C.Connybeare, "Public Goods, Prisoners' Dilemma and the International Political Economy", *ISQ* 28 (1984)

Timothy J. Mckeween, "Hegemonic Stability Theory and 19th Century Tariff Levels in Europe", *International Organization* 37(1) Winter 1983.

G. John Ikenberry, and Charles Kupchan (1990) "Socialization and Hegemonic Power." *International Organization* 44 (Summer).

International Studies Perspectives Vol.9(3) August 2008, "ISP Forum: American Empire", pp.272-330. – interesting articles on what Empire means and what is the nature of "American empire".

Balancing

Robert A. Pape, "Soft Balancing against the United States," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005); T. V. Paul, "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005); Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005);

Keir Lieber and G Alexander, "Waiting for balancing: why the world is not pushing back", *International Security* (2005)

Randall Schweller, "Unanswered threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing", *International Security* (2004)

Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, [-relevant sections in Chapter 6]

Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), chapter 1,2

Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chapter 8 [balancing versus buck-passing]

Randall Schweller, "Bandwagoning for profit- Bringing the Revisionist State back in" *International Security* 1994.

Benjamin Pohl, "Neither Bandwagoning nor Balancing: Explaining Europe's Security Policy," *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34, 2 (2013): 353-373.

Tom Dyson, "Balancing Threat, not Capabilities: European Defence Cooperation as Reformed Bandwagoning," *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34, 2 (2013): 387-391.

Felix Berenskoetter, "Jumping off the Bandwagon," *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34, 2 (2013): 382-386.

Spyridon N. Litsas, "Bandwagoning for profit and Turkey: alliance formations and volatility in the Middle East," *Israel Affairs*, 20, 1 (2014): 125-139.

Wohlforth "The stability of a unipolar world", *International Security* (Summer 1999).

Paul Schroeder, "Historical Reality vs. Neorealist Theory," *International Security* 19/1 (Summer 1994), pp. 108-148. [on hiding]

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *World out of balance- International Relations and the challenge of American Primacy* (Princeton University Press, 2008).

John Vasquez and Colin Elman (eds.), *Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).

Stephen Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *International Organization* 51/3 (Summer 1997), pp. 445-477.

for Moment The :Iraq After Strategy East Middle s'America" ,Laye Christopher
Offshore Balancing Has Arrived," *Review of International Studies*
(January 2009).

Rationality and emotions

Jonathan Mercer, "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics," *International Organization*, 59:1 (January 2005), pp. 77-106.

Duncan Snidal, "Rational Choice and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 73-94.

James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism versus Constructivism: A Skeptical View," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 52-72.

James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations of War," *International Organization* 49/3, Summer 1995, pp. 379-414.

Stephen M. Walt, "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies", *International Security*, 23:4 Spring 1999, pp. 5-48.

Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations", in: Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane and Stephen Krasner (eds.) *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (MIT Press, 1999) [originally a special issue of *International Organization*.]

Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Oxford University Press, 1960).

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *The War Trap* (Yale University Press, 1981).

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

Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (Basic Books, 1984).

Robert O. Keohane, "Reciprocity in International Politics," *International Organization* 40 (Winter 1986), pp. 1-27.

Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison, "Fear no more: emotions and world politics," *Review of International Studies*, 34, S1 (2008): 115-135.

Khaled Fattah and K.M. Fierke, "A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East," *European Journal of International Relations*, 15, 1 (2009): 67-93.

Oded Löwenheim and Gadi Heimann, "Revenge in International Politics," *Security*

Studies, 17, 4 (2008): 685-724.

Torsten Michel, "Time to get Emotional: Phronetic Reflections on the Concept of Trust in International Relations", *European Journal of International Relations* 19, 4 (2013): 869-890.

Political psychology

Janice Gross Stein, "Psychological Explanations of International Conflict," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 292-308.

Janice Gross Stein, "Threat Perceptions in International Relations," in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, 2nd ed. Edited by Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Jack Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, 41/1, March 1997, pp. 87-112.

Chaim Kaufmann, "Out of the Lab and into the Archives: A Method for Testing Psychological Explanations of Political Decision Making", *International Studies Quarterly* December 1994.

Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations* (University of Michigan Press, 2004), chapter 3 (Theoretical concepts in political psychology).

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

Yaacov Y.I. Verzberger, *The World in Their Minds: Information, Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decisionmaking* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

Identities

Brent J. Steele, "Ontological security and the power of self-identity: British neutrality and the American Civil War," *Review of International Studies*, 31, 3 (2005): 519-540.

Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations*, 12, 3 (2006): 341-370.

Felix Berenskoetter, "Parameters of a National Biography," *European Journal of International Relations*, 20, 1 (2014): 262-288.

Charlotte Epstein (2011) *Who Speaks? Discourse, the Subject and the Study of Identity in International Politics*, *European Journal of International Relations* 17:327-350.

David M. McCourt, *Britain and World Power Since 1945: Constructing a Nation's Role in International Politics*, University of Michigan Press, 2014.

Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies*, Moscow, 1955 and 1999 (Cornell University Press: 2002).

Peter Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1996).

Alexander Wendt, *A Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Bill McSweeney, *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, 2nd ed (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

Norms

Nina Tannenwald, "Ideas and Explanation: Advancing the Theoretical Agenda ", *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol.7 (2) (Spring 2005).

Gregory A. Raymond, "Problems and Prospects in the Study of International Norms," *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 41, Supplement 2, November 1997, pp. 205-245.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* , Vol. 52, No. 4, Autumn 1998, pp. 887-917. [or in the book version edited by Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner, *Exploration and Contestation*, 247-278.]

Peter Katzenstein, *Culture of National Security*, (NYC: Columbia University Press, 1996), Introduction.

Amitav Acharya, *Whose Ideas Matter: Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism*, Cornell University Press: 2009.

Antje Wiener, "Contested Meanings of Norms: A Research Framework", *Comparative European Politics*, 5 (2007): 1-17.

Antje Wiener, "Enacting meaning-in-use: qualitative research on norms and

international relations", Review of International Studies, 35, 1 (2009): 175-193.

Nicola P. Contessi, " Multilateralism, Intervention and Norm Contestation: China's Stance on Darfur in the UN Security Council", Security Dialogue, 41, 3 (2010): 323-344.

Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., Ideas and Foreign Policy (Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 3-30; 139-206.

Arie M. Kacowicz, The Impact of Norms in International Society: The Latin American Experience, 1881-2001 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), Chapters 1 and 2.

Albert Yee, "The Causal Effect of Ideas on Policy," International Organization 50/1, Winter 1996, pp. 69-108.

Michael C. Desch, "Cultural Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies," International Security 23 (Summer 1998), pp. 141-170.

Nina Tannenwald, The Nuclear Taboo- the United States and the non-use of nuclear weapons since 1945 (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Judith Goldstein, "Ideas, Institutions, and Trade Policy," International Organization 42 (1988), pp. 179-218.

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures and the End of the Cold War," International Organization 48 (1994), pp. 185-214.

Andrew P. Cortell and James W. Davis, Jr., "How Do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms," International Studies Quarterly 40/4 (December 1996), pp. 451-478.

Ethan Nadelmann, "Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society," International Organization 44 (1990), pp. 479-526.

Jack S. Levy, "Learning and Foreign Policy: Exploring a Conceptual Minefield," International Organization 48 (Spring 1994), pp. 279-312.

Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl, "Toward a Theory of International Norms: Some Conceptual and Measurement Issues," Journal of Conflict Resolution 36/4 (December 1992), pp. 634-664.

Ernst B. Haas, When Knowledge is Power (University of California Press, 1990).

International Organization. Special issue: "Knowledge, Power and International Policy Coordination," 46 (1992).

Audie Klotz, Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

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

Global governance

Ann-Marie Slaughter, "The real new world order", Foreign Affairs Sept/Oct 1997.

Keck and Sikkink, Activists beyond Borders- Advocacy networks in International Politics, (Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 1.

Jennifer Mitzen, Power in Concert: The Nineteenth Century Origins of Global Governance, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Miles Kahler, "Rising Powers and Global Governance: Negotiating Change in a Resilient Status Quo", International Affairs, 89, 3 (2013): 711-729.

Robert Keohane, Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World. (Routledge, 2002).

Jorg Friedrichs, "The Meaning of the New Medievalism," European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2001, pp. 475-502;

Philip Cerny, "Neomedievalism, Civil War, and the New Security Dilemma: Globalization as Durable Disorder," Civil Wars, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1998, pp. 36-64.

David Held, "Restructuring Global Governance: Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and the Global Order," Millennium - Journal of International Studies, 37, 3 (2009), pp. 535-547.

Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed., Bringing Transnational Relations Back In (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

International/Transnational networks

Goddard, S. E. (2009). Brokering Change: Networks and Entrepreneurs in International Politics. International Theory, 1(2), 249-281.

Börzel, T. a. (2011). Networks: Reified Metaphor or Governance Panacea? Public Administration, 89(1), 49-63.

Arie Perliger and Ami Pedahzur, "Social Network Analysis in the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44, 1 (2011): 45-50.

R. Charli Carpenter, "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms," *International Organization*, 65, 1 (2011): 69-102.

Oren Barak and Gabriel Sheffer, "Israel's 'Security Network' and its Impact: An Exploration of a New Approach," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 38, 2 (2006): 235-261.

Gabriel Sheffer and Oren Barak, *Israel's Security Networks: A Theoretical and Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Miles Kahler and Alexander H. Montgomery, "Network Analysis for International Relations," *International Organization*, 63, 3 (2009): 559-592.

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 1998).

Zeev Maoz, *Networks of Nations: The Evolution, Structure, and Impact of International Networks* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Normative approaches

Singer, Peter, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 1, 3 (Spring 1972): 229-243.

Pogge, Thomas, "World Poverty and Human Rights," *Ethics & International Affairs*, 19, 1 (2005): 1-7.

Held, David, "Restructuring Global Governance: Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and the Global Order," *Millennium*, 37,3 (2009), pp. 535-547.

Dryzek, John S., "Global Civil Society: The Progress of Post-Westphalian Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15 (2012): 101-119.

Goodin, Robert, "Global Democracy: In the Beginning," *International Theory*, 2,2 (2010), pp. 175-209.

Bohman, James, "Republican Cosmopolitan," *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 12, 3 (2004): 336-352.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, 2nd edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

The responsibilities of theorists

Piki Ish-Shalom, "Theorizing Politics, Politicizing Theory, and the Responsibility that Runs in Between," *Perspectives on Politics*, 7, 2 (2009): 303-316.

Piki Ish-Shalom, "Theoreticians' Obligation of Transparency: When Parsimony, Reflexivity, Transparency, and Reciprocity Meet," *Review of International Studies*, 37, 3 (July 2011): 973-996.

Piki Ish-Shalom, "Three Dialogic Imperatives in International Relations Scholarship: A Buberian Program," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 39, 3 (May 2011): 825-844.

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

Inanna Hamati-Ataya (2011) *The "Problem of Values" and International Relations Scholarship: From Applied Reflexivity to Reflexivism*, *International Studies Review* 13(2):259-287.

Steve Smith, "Singing Our World Into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 3, September 2004, pp. 499-515.

Additional Reading Material:

--

Course/Module evaluation:

End of year written/oral examination 0 %
Presentation 0 %
Participation in Tutorials 10 %
Project work 0 %
Assignments 20 %
Reports 0 %
Research project 70 %
Quizzes 0 %
Other 0 %

Additional information:

We will read from the required list according to progress.

*The requirements of the course include:
Leading discussions on reading material*

Active participation.

One book report.

A final paper.