

Politics 272: Critical Interventions in IR Theory and Global Political Economy

Winter 2008, Crown 235, Wed, 7-10 PM

Instructor: Ronnie Lipschutz

Syllabus web site: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/syl.pdf>

This seminar examines selections from the canonical literature in international relations theory and global political economy through a number of critical lenses, including constructivist, feminist, historical materialist, and subaltern approaches. For the most part, we will not be reading the canonical literature, although some basic familiarity with it is helpful; a skimming of any standard undergraduate survey text should suffice for starters. For class discussions, students will be expected to read one or two common readings for each class, and each will be assigned specific readings to present in class. Students are also required to write weekly critical commentary on the readings, to survey additional readings and to prepare a 10-page prospectus for a research paper. Details will be provided during the first class meeting.

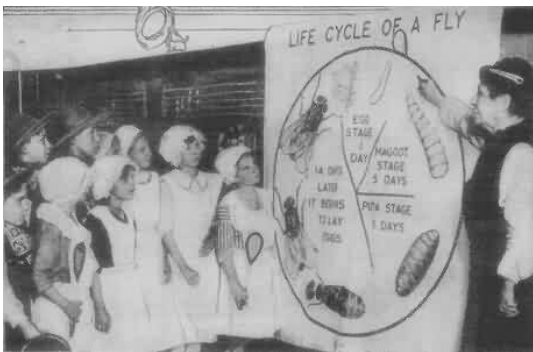


Required books: William Golding, *Lord of the Flies*; Neal Stephenson, *Snow Crash*

On-line resources: Nicholas Rengger, et al., “Critical International Relations Theory after 25 Years,” *Review of International Studies* 33, Supp 1. (April 2007), at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?jid=RIS&volumeId=33&issueId=S1>; Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*, at: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ucsc/Doc?id=10006827>

Syllabus

Week 1. Reading IR (Con)Texts. How should we regard and read texts on/in/about “International Relations?” What are the ontological foundations of such texts, and how do the authors know what they claim to know? To what extent are such texts contextual (and even contingent) and to what degree are they universal or timeless. Please read the two required novels for the first meeting of the class; we will analyze and discuss them through the lenses of IR and Global Political Economy, and associated arguments and concepts.

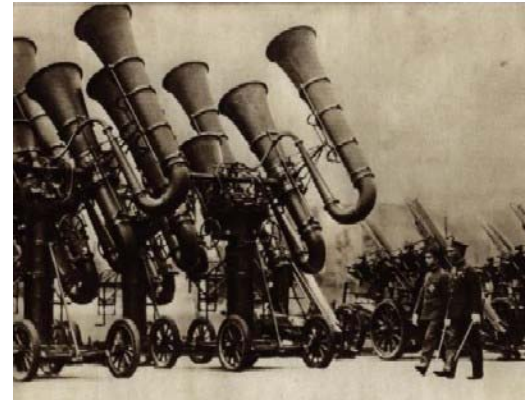


Required Readings:

Ronnie Lipschutz, “Flies in the Ointment,” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Chapter%202.doc>
Stephen Walt, “The Relationship between Theory and Policy in International Relations,” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Walt.theory.pdf>
David Armitage, “The Fifty Years’ Rift,” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Armitage.pdf>

Additional resources:

- Barry Buzan and Richard Little, 'Why International Relations has Failed as an Academic Project and What to do about it?' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 30:1 (2001): 19-39.
- Ngaire Woods, 'The Uses of Theory in the Study of International Relations,' in *Explaining International Relations Since 1945*, Ngaire Woods, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 9-31.
- Ole Waever, 'The Sociology of Not So International a Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations,' *International Organization* 52: 4 (1998): 687-727.
- Andrew Linklater, *Beyond Realism and Marxism*, 1990.
- Chris Brown, *International Relations Theory*



Week 2. Genealogies: The Canonical and the Critical. IR scholars often cite ancient and early modern writings as evidence of the long history of the discipline, yet, what does this mean? The modern discipline is usually said to have been established at the University of Aberystwyth in the 1920s, in response to the catastrophe of World War I. Since World War II, IR has become primarily an “American Discipline.” How does this genealogy affect the way international politics has been viewed, analyzed and understood?

Required readings:

- David Welch, “Why International Relations theorists should stop reading Thucydides,” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Welch.Thucydides.pdf>
- Steve Smith, “The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory,” pp. 1-37, in: Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Smith.pdf>
- Nicholas Rengger and Ben Thirkell-White, “Still Critical After All These Years?” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Rennger.pdf>
- Richard K. Ashley, “The Poverty of Neo-Realism,” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Ashley.pdf>



Additional Resources:

- Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*
- Machiavelli, *The Prince*
- Hans Morganthau, *Politics among Nations*
- E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*
- Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*
- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*
- James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations*
- Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*
- Raymond Aron, *Peace and War*

Week 3. Constructing the International and Global—Language, Critique and the “Real” in IR. International Relations and international relations should be understood as a discourse, that is, a “product” of ontological foundations, normed principles, and habitual behaviors. Language plays a certain role in naturalizing particular social constructions, but these are neither universal nor timeless, notwithstanding repeated efforts to make them so. So, are we stuck with the anarchic world of states? Or are other worlds possible, or even present?

Required readings:

Alex Wendt, “Anarchy is what States Make of It,” at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Wendt.Anarch.pdf>

Duncan Bell, “Language, legitimacy, and the project of critique,” at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Bell.language.htm>

Veronique Pin-Fat, “Why Aren’t We Laughing?” at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Pin-Fat.laughing.pdf>

Stefano Guzzini, “A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations,” at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Guzzini.Soc%20Constr.pdf>



Additional resources:

Friedrich Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms and Decisions*, 1989.

Alex Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*

Barry Buzan, *People States and Fear*

Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making*

James Der Derian & Michael Shapiro (eds.), *International/Intertextual Relations*

Plato, *The Republic* (especially the parable of “The Cave”)

Week 4. Gender and the International/Global. To what extent does the “international” reproduce household and state and, in so doing, reinscribe gendered divisions of labor among states and across the world? Critical feminist interventions in IR attack both theorists and practitioners, but pay only limited attention to the mutually-constitutive “(re)production” of gendered social institutions and social reality (i.e., historical materialism as both epistemology and method). This week introduces Global Political Economy as one way of dealing with this dilemma.

Required readings:

Anna M. Agathangelou and L. H. M. Ling, “Power and Play through Poisies,” at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/pol160A/Agathangelou.pdf>

Gillian Youngs, “Feminist International Relations,” at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Youngs.pdf>

Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations*, ch.8. at:

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ucsc/Doc?id=10006827>

J. Ann Tickner, “You Just Don’t Understand,” at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Tickner.pdf>

Additional resources:

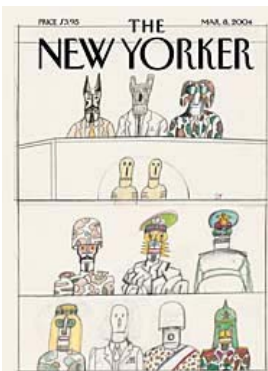
Jean Elshtain, *Women and War*, 1987.
Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, 1989.
R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside*
J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*
Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women*
V. Spike Peterson, *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy*
Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*
Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States*



Week 5. Liberalism and its Progeny—The Narcissism of Small Differences. The conventional approach to IR (and IPE) distinguishes among three “distinct” traditions—Realism, Liberalism, and Marxism (the last recently replaced by “constructivism,” which is a method, not a “theory”—and presents them as different, and mutually exclusive, approaches to explaining global politics. Yet, a closer, historical reading of such theorizations reveals their common origins, in Hobbes and Locke, common context, late 18th and early 19th century Europe, and common ontology. Why, then, such vicious fights within the discipline? From an epistemological perspective, philosophical realism is meant to be deeply rooted in empiricism: what you see is what you get. Yet, a careful reading of canonical realist texts reveals a deeply-rooted idealism at its core: assumptions about social objectives, claims about human nature, interpretations about material capabilities. (The same is true of International Political Economy.) How we understand this contradiction depends, in part, on where we seek the roots of Realism in IR: Classical Geopolitics? The Scientific Method? The Will to Power?

Required readings:

Jesus Labiano, “A Reading of Hobbes’ *Leviathan* with Economists’ Glasses,” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Labiano.Hobbes.pdf>
James Martel, “The Radical Promise of Thomas Hobbes,” at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Rothman.Marxism.pdf>
Thomas I. Cook & Malcolm Moos, “Foreign Policy: The Realism of Idealism,” *The American Political Science Review* 46,# 2 (Jun., 1952): 343-356, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Cook.pdf>
Richard K. Ashley, “Political Realism and Human Interests,” *International Studies Quarterly* 25, #2 (Jun., 1981): 204-236, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Ashley2.pdf>
Cameron G. Thies, “Progress, History and Identity in International Relations Theory: The Case of the Idealist-Realist Debate,” *EJIR* 8, #2 (2002): 145-85, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Thies.pdf>



Additional resources:

Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*
Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*
Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*
Robert Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*
Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*

Week 6: Rewriting International/Global Political Economy. Political economy has come mostly to mean “economics,” while international political economy primarily studies economic relations among states. Another reading of the term “political economy” examines the relationship between the power of actors and agents—with power expressed in its many forms—and the rules and regulations that shape actors and govern their actions. In this context, discourse, language and framing also become important as resources to be deployed in political struggles.

Required readings:

Robert Cox, “Social Forces, States and World Orders,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10, #2 (1981): 126–55, at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Cox.pdf>

Adam David Morton, “The Grimly Comic Riddle of Hegemony in IPE: Where is Class Struggle?” *Politics* 26, #1 (2006): 62–72, at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Morton.pdf>

Randall D. Germain, “‘Critical’ Political Economy, Historical Materialism and Adam Morton,” *Politics* 27, #2 (2007): 127–131, at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Germain.pdf>

Adam David Morton, “Unquestioned Answers/Unanswered Questions in IPE: A Rejoinder to ‘Non-Marxist’ Historical Materialism,” *Politics* 27, #2 (2007): 132–136, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Morton2.pdf>

Additional resources:

Stephen Gill, *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*

Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony*

Stephen Krasner, *International Regimes*

Ronen Palan (ed.), *Global Political Economy*

Kees van der Pijl, *Transnational Class and International Relations*

Sandra Halperin, *War and Social Change in Modern Europe*

Robert Cox, *Production, Power & World Order*

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*

Robert Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*

Anna Agathangelou, *The Global Political Economy of Sex*

David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism*



Week 7. Theories and Practices from Othered Places. Post-colonial theory has taken some time to penetrate into IR. Even as concepts such as intersectionality have taken hold in the humanities and social sciences, they remain marginal if not obscure in IR. In particular, not only do class, gender, race not lend themselves to interrogation within either realism or liberalism but also are rarely considered in or by critical theories. Perhaps this is because such theories, concepts and practices are, of necessity, intrastate- and society-focused, and the fetish of the “national” in the “international” remains the focus of analytical efforts.

Required readings:

Mohammed Ayoob, "Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism," *International Studies Review* 4, #3 (2002): 27-48, at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/pol160A/Ayoob.pdf>

Eva Cherniavsky, "Subaltern Studies in a U.S. Frame," *boundary 2* 23, #2 (summer, 1996): 85-110, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Cherniavsky.pdf>

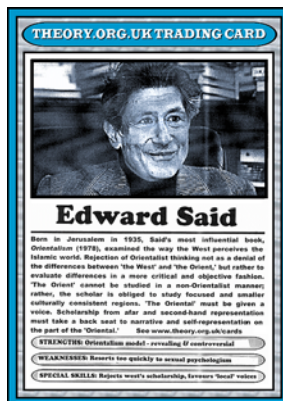
Anna Agathangelou, "'Sexing' Globalization in International Relations," at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/pol160A/Agathangelou1.pdf>

Geeta Chowdry and Sheila Nair, *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*, ch. 1, at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/pol160A/Chowdry1.pdf> &

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/pol160A/Chowdry2.pdf>



Additional Resources.

Ozgur Cicek, "Review of a Perspective: Subaltern Realism," *The Review of International Affairs* 3, #3 (March 2004): 495-501.

Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, "Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, 33 (2007), at:

<http://irap.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/lcm012v3>

Michael Shapiro, *For Moral Ambiguity*

Nevzat Soguk, *States and Strangers*

Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*

Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third World Security Predicament*

Week 8. State, System, Historicity. IR tends to naturalize both state and system, even when dating their modern forms from 1648 or thereabouts. This also fosters the effort to identify "states and systems" not only as modern phenomena but also as timeless ones (viz. vulgar realism on Thucydides). If we recognize the inter-relationship of the state, capitalism and society, as historically-contingent and fluid formations, however, neither the "natural" nor "eternal" stand up. Global political economy, especially in its critical vein, adopts a more skeptical approach to analyzing social formations, such as the state.

Required readings:

John G. Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations," at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Ruggie.Territoriality.pdf>

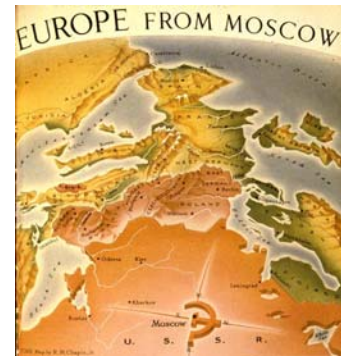
Sandra Halperin, "Dynamics of Conflict and System Change: *The Great Transformation Revisited*," *European Journal of International Relations* 10, #2 (June 2004): 263-306,

at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol190x/Halperin.pdf>

Daniel Philpott, "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," *World Politics* 52 (Jan. 2000): 206-45, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Philpott.pdf>

Additional Resources:

Justin Rosenberg, *The Empire of Civil Society*
Sandra Halperin, *War and Social Change in Modern Europe*
Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*
Ellen Meksins Wood, *Empire of Capital*
Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*
Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*



Week 9. In/securities/inside/outside/Imprisonment and Emancipation. Max Weber wrote of the “iron cage”; Barry Buzan pointed out that one meaning of “security” is “unable to escape.” Today, we debate tradeoffs between “liberty” and “safety,” and consider imprisonment a small price to pay for a life of illusory freedom. The tension in Hobbes around this point is only too evident, but is this a perpetual cost of living in liberal society? Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben seem to think so; others are less certain.



Required readings:

Jef Huysmans, “International Politics of Insecurity: Normativity, Inwardness and the Exception,” *Security Dialogue* 37, #1 (March 2006): 11-29, at: <http://sdi.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/37/1/11>

Boris Holzer & Mads P. Sørensen, “Rethinking Subpolitics: Beyond the ‘Iron Cage’ of Modern Politics?” *Theory Culture Society* 20 (2003):79-102, at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Holzer.pdf>

Roland Axtmann, “Humanity or Enmity? Carl Schmitt on International Politics,” *International Politics* 44, #5 (Sept. 2007): 531-51, at:

<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Axtmann.pdf>

Additional Resources:

Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology*
Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer*
David Campbell, *Writing Security*
James Der Derian, *Virtuous War*
Special issue of *Security Dialogue*, at:

<http://sdi.sagepub.com/content/vol37/issue1/>

Week 9. Our enemies and US. Who is a friend? Who is not? And how do we know? This is where the construction of identity and the self come to the fore: if we do not know who we are not, how can we know who we are? Yet, identity is hardly fixed, as Carl Schmitt and others argue(d).

Required readings:

Ido Oren, “Is Culture Independent of National Security?” *European Journal of International Relations* 6, #4 (2000): 543-73, at:

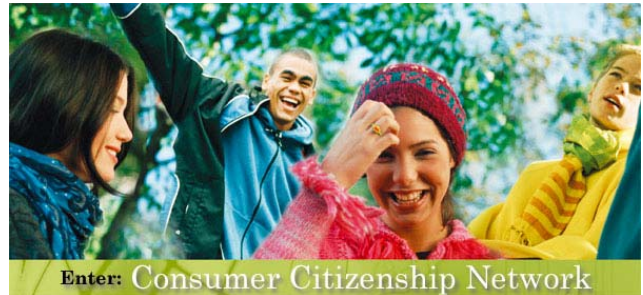
<http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Oren3.pdf>

Jutta Weldes, "Constructing National Interests," *European Journal of International Relations*, 2, #3 (1996): 275-318, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Weldes.pdf>

Michelle Everson and Christian Joerges, "Consumer Citizenship in Postnational Constellations?" European University Institute, Department of Law, Law No. 2006/47, at: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/dspace/bitstream/1814/6547/1/LAW%202006-47.pdf>

Additional resources:

Ido Oren, *Our Enemies and Us*
Jutta Weldes, *Constructing National Identities*
William Connelly, *Identity/Difference*
James Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics*
James Der Derian, *On Diplomacy*
Ronnie Lipschutz (ed.), *On Security*



Week 10: Whose Rights? Who's Right? "Critical interventions in IR theory and global political economy" out to be seen less as a project of (re)defining what is "real" and more in terms of "what do we claim allows us to know what we claim to know?" That is, if we want to know something about the "real" where global matters are concerned, what are the linguistic and epistemological tools we use to constitute a particular "real," and what are the political consequences of the act of constituting a "real" as well as the "real" that we constitute? Because the language and behavior of (neo)-liberalism constitutes the "real" around notions of "rights," what are the political implications and possibilities in which rights come to constitute the "real?"

Required readings:

Ronnie D. Lipschutz, "Churn, Change and Religious Revivalism," *Empire of Faith*, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Ch.1.doc>

Ronnie D. Lipschutz, "Power, Politics and Global Civil Society," *Millennium* 33, #3 (2005): 747-69, at: http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Lipschutz_33_3.pdf

Bryan S. Turner, "Outline of a Theory of Human Rights," *Sociology* 27, #3 (Aug. 1993): 489-512, at: <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Turner.pdf>

Additional Resources

Jürgen Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action*
Jürgen Habermas, *The Divided West*
John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*
Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*
David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights in International Relations*
Alison Brysk and Gersho Shafir (eds.), *People Out of Place: Globalization, Human Rights, and the Citizenship Gap*
Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Social Theory*

