

Perspectives on the International Arena

Course Description

Political and social theory has been largely concerned with the foundations of order within a community. But authors have often been just as concerned with the basis of order and relationships *between* such communities. This course will examine the long history of perspectives on the space between peoples, often termed the ‘international’, and the unique relationships that emerge there. It will begin with accounts from antiquity, and continue through to contemporary international relations, placing modern scholarship in conversation with older traditions and perspectives.

The dominant form of political community in modernity is the state, and the meaning of ‘international political thought’ will depend on antecedent notions of community. Therefore, key questions for our study will be: What is the relationship between different communities of peoples? What are the proper units of the international? Is it composed of states, of peoples, of empires? What sorts of rights are claimed by political communities, and what duties should they recognize towards others? Is the space between states a legal and moral vacuum, where only *realpolitik* reigns?

We will begin with classic philosophical and historical texts, before examining medieval theology, Christendom, and the impact of the conquest of the New World. The context of the early European empire will also begin our investigation into the emergence of international law in juridical texts and declarations of independence. We will examine key concepts in modern international thought like Machiavellian realism, sovereignty, the balance of power, and the enlightenment ideal of a perpetual peace. As the course moves into the nineteenth century, we will study the relationship between three key ideas: the nation, empire, and industrial society. We will pay particular attention to how each of these ideas intersect with race, and how race became a key concept for organizing the globe. The final third of the class will turn toward the emergence of “international relations” as a discipline and the schools of thought that have characterized twentieth-century approaches. We will close the semester with a consideration of the frontiers of contemporary scholarship.

Assignments and Grading

This course has two purposes: to acquaint students with the history of theorizing about the international arena; and to train students in conducting independent research. Toward that end, much of the assessment will focus on helping you conceive of an appropriate topic for a research paper, how to situate it within an academic literature, and how to plan and execute that paper. At each stage (prospectus, annotated bibliography, and first draft), fellow students and I will offer feedback to help further develop the project.

- Attendance and Participation (10%)
- Prospectus (10%)
- Annotated bibliography (15%)
- Research Presentation (10%)
- Paper Draft (15%)
- Final Paper (40%)

Course Reading List

Introduction:

- Martin Wight, 'Why is there no International Theory?' (1966)
- David Armitage, 'The International Turn in Intellectual History' (2013)
- Kimberly Hutchens and Patricia Owens, 'Women Thinkers and the Canon of International Thought: Recovery, Rejection, and Reconstitution,' *APSR* (2021)

Classical Perspectives

- Thucydides, *History of The Peloponnesian War* (selections: The Melian Dialogue, Pericles Funeral Oration, The Mytilenian debate)
- Aristotle, *Politics*
- Cicero, *On Duties*, Book 1, 53-60
- Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*

Medieval Theology

- Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, Book 4: 3-5; Book 19: 11-14, 17.
- Al-Farabi, *The Political Regime*

International Relations of Christendom:

- Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (selections)
- John of Paris, *On Royal and Papal Power*, chs. 1, 5, 7
- Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*

Natural Law and the Conquest of the Americas

- Francisco de Vitoria, *On the American Indians* (1532)
- Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Apologetic History of the Indies; Thirty Very Juridical Propositions* (1552)
- Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *On the Just Causes for War Against the Indian*
- Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnography* (1982)

Renaissance Realism, Sovereignty, and Modern Foundations

- Machiavelli, *The Prince, Discourses on Livy* (1532)
- Jean Bodin, *The Six Books of the Commonwealth* (1576)
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)
- John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (1689)

What is international order? Westphalia and beyond

- Samuel von Pufendorf, *Monzambano, or On the Present State of the German Empire* (1667)
- Johannes Althusius, *Politica* (1603)

The Emergence of International Law

- Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace* (1625)
- Samuel von Pufendorf, *The Law of Nature and Nations* (1672)

- Christian Wolff, *The Law of Nations Treated According to the Scientific Method* (1749), Selections on the 'Civitas Maxima'.
- Emer de Vattel, *The Law of Nations* (1758)

Enlightenment Visions and Revolutionary

- Abbe de Saint-Pierre, 'A project for Settling an Everlasting Peace in Europe' (1713)
- Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795)
- Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1749)
- Germaine de Staël, *Correspondences and Writings*, (selections)
- Friedrich von Gentz, "The True Concept of a Balance of Power" (1806)

Declarations of Independence

- American Declaration of Independence (1775)
- The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789)
- Haitian Declaration of Independence (1804)
- Bentham, 'Emancipate your Colonies!' (1793)
- David Armitage, 'The Declaration of Independence and International Law' (2013)

State, Empire and Nation in the Nineteenth Century

- GWF Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (1820)
- John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention" (1859)
- Edmund Burke, *Empire and Community: Edmund Burke's Writings and Speeches on International Relations* (1999) (selections)
- Giuseppe Mazzini, "The Duties of Man" (1862)
- Rosa Luxemburg, "In Defense of Nationality" (1909)
- Emma Goldman, "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty," in *Anarchism and other essays* (1910)

Industrial Society and the International Realm

- Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776)
- David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817)
- Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848)
- Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917)
- Joseph Schumpeter, "The Sociology of Imperialisms" (1919)
- Robert Cox, 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations,' (1982)

Race, Geography, and the International

- W.E.B. Du Bois, *International Thought*, Getachew ed. (selections) (2022)
- Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965)
- Ellen Semple, "The Operation of Geographic Factors in History", *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* (1909)
- Anna Julia Cooper, *Slavery and the French Revolutionists* (1925)
- Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951)

The Birth of "IR Theory"

- EH Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis* (1939)

- Peter Wilson, 'Power, morality and the remaking of international order' (2013)

IR Theory: Realism

- Nicolas Guilhot, *The Invention of International Relations Theory: Realism, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the 1954 Conference on Theory*, (2011)
- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (1948)
- Ken Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (1959)

IR Theory: Liberalism

- Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, 1992
- Michael Doyle, 'Liberalism and World Politics,' (1986)
- Michael Doyle, 'Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs', (1983)
- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (1999)

IR Theory: English School

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, (1977)
- Martin Wight, *Systems of States*, (1977)
- Martin Wight, *International Theory: Three Traditions* (1991)
- Adam Watson, *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States* (1992)
- Bull and Watson, *The Expansion of International Society*, (1986)

IR Theory: Constructivism

- RBJ Walker, 'History and Structure in the Theory of International Relations,' (1989)
- John Ruggie, 'Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis,' (1983)
- Alexander Wendt, 'Anarchy is what States Make of it', *International Organization* (1992)

Gender, Feminism, and the International Realm

- M. Zalewski, 'Feminist Standpoint Theory Meets International Relations Theory', *The Fletcher Forum for World Affairs* (1993)
- JA Tickner, *Gender in International Relations* (1992)
- JB Elshtain, 'Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War, and Feminism in a Nuclear Age,' (1983)
- JB Elshtain, *Women and War* (1987)

Rethinking Internationalism

- Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993)
- Glenda Sluga, 'Women, Feminisms, and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms' in *Internationalism: A Twentieth-Century History*, (2017)
- Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking After Empire* (2019)