

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COURSE MANUAL

PERIOD 1

2017-2018



## Instructor Information

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# **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THEORIES, APPROACHES AND THEMES**

**UCM 2017-2018**

## **BLOK 1**

### **COURSE OVERVIEW & OBJECTIVES**

How does US foreign policy look like today? And how will it change after the new President?

Why isn't there stability in the Middle East?

Are we back to the times of proxy wars (Syria and Yemen)?

Is democracy still the ideal political system?

Will the EU continue to exist as a liberal entity with supra-national decision making and open internal borders? Or will the EU Member States strive towards populism and turn to more nationalist policies? Will the EU survive the recent economic and political crises especially after Brexit and elections in 2017?

What do people in the developing world think about international politics?

Can poverty be ended? Is colonialism over?

Is global politics a space which belongs to white, bourgeois, Western males?

Why are the opinions of women heard more often within international politics?

Why do states seek power? Why do they go to war? Does world peace stand a chance?

How does/will the world look like in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Is our planet going to recover from the negative effects of the environmental degradation and climate change?

These are some of the questions we will address in this course on International Relations. The course aims to introduce students to the main concepts of International Relations, such as world system, interstate relations, international organizations and transnational issues like environmental problems. The course also covers neglected issues about the 'other' side of world politics, such as environmental issues, the developing world, poverty, inequality, gender based biases, the construction of partial knowledge, the legitimization of power politics, representation of images, establishment of stereotypes and reproduction of hegemony. Rather than discussing on each issue or only on practical cases, this course attempts to explain theories in order to help students formulate their own world view. Since theories are essential to understanding and explaining the world, students will learn about the different theories and approaches developed within the discipline of International Relations. It is

important in this course that students be aware of the theoretical richness of the discipline, and that there is not a single 'right' way to answer questions about what is happening around us in our world.

## COURSE LITERATURE

- Selected supplementary and recommended articles, podcasts, videos, books.
- **Recommended books:** *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Third Edition, Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds), Oxford University Press, 2013; *The Globalization of World Politics*, John Baylis & Steve Smith & Patricia Owens (eds) (7<sup>th</sup> Edition), Oxford University Press (2017), *Global Politics: A New Introduction*, Second Edition, Edkins and Zehfuss (eds), Routledge, 2014; *International Relations Theory* (5th Edition), Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, 2009, Prentice Hall; *An Introduction to International Relations Theory: Perspectives and Themes* (3rd Edition), Jill Steans, Lloyd Pettiford, Thomas Diez (eds), 2010, Pearson; *Essential Reading in World Politics* (3rd Edition), Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Synder (eds), 2008, W. W. Norton & Company; *An Introduction to International Relations*, Second Edition, Devetak, Burke and George (eds), Cambridge Press, 2011.

## INSTRUCTIONAL FORMAT

There will be official tutorial meetings and some lectures in this course.

Lectures are not mandatory to attend however, beware that they are important and what is covered in these lectures and the literature for the lectures will be included in exams and assessment. In the writing of this course manual, only two lectures are planned (one before and one after the midterm). If there is a request coming from the students to hold an additional lecture, this will be considered.

### Tutorial Meetings and Calendar (post-discussions):

#### **Part 1: The Traditional Schools of International Relations**

**Tutorial Meeting 1.** The World of Realists, selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 2.** News Items [on Realism]: Further Discussion on the World of Realists/Application, selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 3.** World of Liberals, selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 4.** News Items [on (Neo)Liberalism]: Further Discussion on Liberals/Application, selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 5.** Preparation for the mid-term: Debating Two Worlds: World of Realists and World of Liberals

**Take home exam is given in Meeting 5!**

## **Part 2: The Critical Schools of International Relations**

**Tutorial Meeting 6:** Critique of Mainstream IR Theories, selected reading

**Tutorial Meeting 7.** Marxism and IR, selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 8.** Constructivism and IR, selected readings

**Tutorial Meetings 9.** Feminism and IR, News Items [on Marxism, Constructivism or Feminism], selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 10.** Poststructuralism, selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 11.** Post-colonialism and Green theory in IR, News Items [on Postcolonialism or Poststructuralism or Green theory], selected readings

**Tutorial Meeting 12.** “The Fourth Debate” in IR and poster

**Take home exam is given in Meeting 12!**

**Take-Home exam submission: TBA**

## **Schedule of Lectures:**

**Rise of China and Mainstream Theories of IR,** Wim Muller, 18.09.2017

**Constructivism in IR,** Jay Huang (to be announced)

## MIDTERM EXAM, TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAM

Mid-term exam will be in take-home format. It will be given in the Meeting 5, while we are discussing the Task 5. **It will consist of one or more cases in which students are expected to apply mainstream theories and discuss their explanatory values.** Hence, the exam will cover tasks and relevant reading materials from Task 1 through and including 5 (Realism, Neorealism, Liberalism, Neoliberalism and Debate task). Depending on the question, exams will be submitted within 2 or 3 days the latest. Exams will be submitted to the Safe Assignment.

A **final take-home exam** will be given in the last week of this course, in the last meeting. The take-home exam will focus on the non-mainstream (critical) theories but it will cover mainstream theories as well. Students are expected to tie critical theories back to the mainstream theories. Students should demonstrate their analytical, critical and writing skills and they should extensively apply the course literature. Students' take-home exams must be submitted to the **Safe Assignment**. **For final exams, students are given between 3 and 5 days depending on the question. Date is TBA.**

**More information about the exams and requirements will be announced in the meantime.**

**IMPORTANT:** Please do not negotiate the deadline with your tutors or course coordinator. Try to respect the official deadline. Please consider that for the exams, no personal favours will be made. Everyone is subject to the same deadlines. Any late submission will result with a reduction in your grade (a 24 hours late submission may result with a 20 percent reduction. Later submissions will have more reductions). If you showed a sincere attempt and failed the exam, you may take part in the resit exam (for this see the relevant section below).

## COLLECTING NEWS AND POSTER

Students are asked to bring an English language news item to FOUR 'News Items' meetings. These materials can be about any event, affair or development that is taking place in the world at the time. Materials must be applicable to the specific theory being covered in the course at the time. Students will attach their news item to a sheet of paper with a comment of no more than 300 words which briefly analyses or explains why they found the news relevant to the theory that will be discussed in that meeting. Tutors will collect these news items with the comments at the beginning of each tutorial group meeting. Tutors may also select a student to briefly present his/her selected news story to the rest of the tutorial group members.

In the last meeting, students are asked to make posters to show their world and how they see our world to the rest of the class. This is a free exercise. Students are free to determine the size, content and dimension of posters. Students can put pictures or photos in posters, as well as poems or short statements. Three-dimensional items are also welcome. As an alternative to the poster, you can also design your IR theory based on what you learnt this far. We believe that you have been acquainted with both the traditional and the critical theories of IR, this is time for you to attempt to formulate a theory that you believe is sufficient in accounting for the way the world works. You will be given more information about this in the tutorials.

## ASSESSMENT

The points of each assignment in the overall grade of students is as follows:

Four news items and their analysis: 2 points each (8 points in total)

Poster: 2 points

Participation in tutorial discussions/preparing literature and assignments: 10 points

Midterm exam: 35 points

Take-home final exam: 45 points

## ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

Students will be assessed mainly by way of a mid-term exam and a final take-home exam. Both exams will be in the format of take-homes. The Mid-term exam will include one or more case studies and questions about it covering theories and concepts discussed in the first part of the course. In the final take-home exam, students will apply all the theories that they studied during this course. In this last exam, usually one big case is given (real or hypothetical) and students answer questions below. Mid-term exam is aimed at evaluating students' understanding of two mainstream theories, whereas the final exam will give students a chance to analyse theories and the theoretical debates within IR and apply those to real world affairs. Exams have a 100% attendance requirement. Students who fail to fulfil this requirement have to follow rules and regulations determined by the UCM and referred to in the Students Handbook and act accordingly. Otherwise they may fail the course.

Take home exams are graded for their content as well as their academic styles and essay qualities. Thus, answering a question by simply stating factual data would not be sufficient to get a full grade. Students should write fluent, analytical and critical essays with a structure and coherent parts. Exams should use the course literature as much

as possible. Every statement should be backed and supported by our course literature. More information about the exams will be given in the meantime.

Students will receive pass or fail grade for their news items. Tutors will assess the news items according to their relevance and also to the quality of short essays. We advise students to apply theories to their short essays rather than summarizing their news articles. With this exercise, students will learn how to apply theories to real world issues and developments.

Participation grades will be given to the students based on their overall performances in the tutorial meetings that they attended. This grade will include student's active participation, preparation of the literature, presenting her/his findings about the literature to the classmates, joining the discussions and contributing to the understanding of IR in the tutorial. Please note that participation will be awarded, but mere attendance will not. Moreover, participation which is not grounded on the course literature will also not be appreciated by tutors. In addition to these, the participation grade includes fulfilling the roles like Discussion Leadership with utmost care and preparation as well as being on time. If a student is not sure about his/her participation in general, tutor will be available to discuss it with the student. Tutor may also share her/his notes, points or remarks about the student's participation to some degree.

## **ATTENDANCE & ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENT & RESIT EXAM**

For attendance, extra assignment and resit exam, the rules and procedures determined by the UCM Academic Rules and Regulations will be applied. These rules can be found in students' or teachers' handbooks. The content and type of the additional assignment will be decided by the tutor who will inform the student about it. Resit exam will be in the format of a take-home exam and it will be similar to the midterm and final exams. Resit will be posted at the beginning of the resit week and deadline will be before the end of the resit week, not including weekends (depending on the question, resit exam usually submitted between 2 and 4 days).

We highly recommend that students attend all tutorial meetings. Tutors may use their discretion in the participation grade of a student, if the student misses more tutorials than allowed by the UCM Academic Rules.

## **TIPS FOR STUDENTS**

Some of our students may find this course rather theoretical. In order to make the course more applicable and understandable, we advise our students to read recommended International Relations books that they can find in

our library. In addition to this, students can also use online web sources like IR Glossary or IR Dictionary (see this one here <http://ocw.tufts.edu/data/58/727216.pdf> ). We also encourage students to attend all lectures. Moreover reading news as much as possible will give students an idea about the world around us and not only to know what is happening in it but also how to *understand* it.

Many IR books have online resources centres with examples, quizzes, videos and various links. See for instance here: <http://global.oup.com/uk/orc/politics/intro/baylis6e/student/>

For those who are curious about famous IR theoreticians, visit <http://www.theory-talks.org/> and read interviews with many of the IR scholars you will learn in this course. For some papers written by students, visit <http://www.e-ir.info/> and find hundreds of student papers on theories and also their applications (these are not academic literature but give you straight forward information about many issues).

## Notes

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## Some clarification about the course manual, tasks and literature before we start

**Meeting** means a tutorial meeting in the classroom. **Task** means the problem or the assignment given in the manual for a meeting.

**Course manual is only for tasks and relevant information about the course.**

**All literature (mandatory and recommended and others) will be posted on Student Portal.**

In that literature list, students will find **Mandatory** readings (everybody should read them), **recommended** readings (students can read them if they have time) and **strongly recommended** readings (they are quite important for the mid-term exam and/or take-home exam). There are also fun readings, movies, links, games and books in order to learn with fun 😊

**Some literature will be posted throughout the course.** The reason for this is this course manual has been written months before and world politics and the agenda of states will be changing rapidly. As IR students, we want you to follow real politics very closely, we want you to stay tuned and updated with fresh information. For this aim, sometimes a new real event, a comment, article or a discussion will be incorporated into our tutorials spontaneously.

Some Tasks may have 2 **Parts**. This should not be confusing. It simply means that meeting has one overall Task but it is divided into two problem or issues to be discussed. Both will be discussed in the pre and post discussions.

We wish you success and hope you will enjoy the course 😊

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## Part 1: The Traditional Schools of International Relations

- We strongly recommend our students to read a little bit history before they start with the course. Especially learn about the history of nation-states in Europe, Westphalian system, Congress of Vienna and causes of two world wars. Any good history book would work. From the IR perspective, four chapters in the recommended Baylis & Smith book (see above) are very useful (chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5).

### Tutorial Meeting 1, Task 1, Part 1: Melians, Athenians and Political Realism



We travel back in time to around 416 B.C. The Melians lived on the small island of Melos in the Greek Aegean sea. They were a pious people with no political ambitions and had no real military power save the meager ability to defend themselves. They did not threaten anyone, and they wished to remain in peace. They believed that they were safe from any danger as they were such a small state. After receiving threats from Athens; a huge, powerful state with expansionist ambitions, the Melians initiated diplomatic discussions with Sparta, the second great power in the region and the mortal enemy of Athens. They did not invest much in their military power. They thought they were safe.

When the Athenian delegation arrived in Melos and asked for their surrender, the Melians appealed to their sense of justice and morality; they reminded the Athenians that they wished to do them no harm and certainly could not threaten them as they were a tiny independent state. Believing themselves to be safe, the Melians relied on the common rules of justice and morality of intercity-state system; non-aggressive or aligned states were not to be invaded. Aggression was morally wrong and not ethical.

The Athenian delegation was blunt: the Melians had to stop talking about justice, gods and morality but consider the magnitude of their military power. They were inferior to Athenian power and it was a time of war. Such conversations about justice and rules could take place among equals. But if one is weak, it had to accept what the

powerful one dictates. Melians had to give up their wishful thinking and focus on their survival, thus they needed to surrender.

The dialogue between the Athenian delegation and the Melian representatives was more or less like this (this is a shortened and simplified version of the 'original' dialogue written and reported by Thucydides):

**Athenian Delegation:** As the delegation of the mighty Athens we demand you to join the Athenian league, to surrender or else you are to be killed.

**Melian representative:** High esteemed delegation, we have not done anything wrong, we are a small neutral nation, we are not threatening your kingdom. Why are you treating us now like this?

**Athenian Delegation:** Melians did not understand the nature of this conversation it appears to me. We are here NOT to negotiate the terms and reasons. We are here to dictate you what you should do and this is not open to discussion.

**Melian representative:** Civilised and lawful nations talk, converse and discuss. This is not acceptable attitude in the society of civilized nations where we are both members to. If nations do not agree they go to arbitration and the situation is assessed in a just and fair manner. We Melians believe in Gods, we have been always honest and true in our actions with each other and others. We promoted peace, no use of force, justice and pious state leadership. We strongly believe that one state cannot simply dictate its terms on another much smaller state. If that is the case, then there is no rule, no law, no wisdom or values in our lands.

**Athenian Delegation:** No no no! This is not a court house where everyone stands equally before the judge nor an ideal galaxy where all nations are equal and promised fairness. Plus I do not have time for this. I told you this is not a dialogue. Let me tell you how it works here with us right now: **the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept.**

**Melian representative:** If you try to conquer us, we can fight and we can still win. Or other smaller states will get alarmed and come to our help or unite against you. Gods will also be on our side. Not to mention giant Sparta may come to help us.

**Athenian Delegation:** Ha ha ha. Your fear is making you blind, emotional and irrational. No one including Gods will help you because no one can risk itself for such a small tiny irrelevant nation. Even in the Kingdom of Gods, weak is always dominated by the strong. So stop avoiding the unavoidable and accept the fact that you have lost already.

After the failure of negotiations, Athens invaded and massacred the population of Melos.

Deeming it either desired or necessary, the Athenians continued to expand. They thought they were not going to lose and they were going to be hegemon. They invaded all small and medium size city-states and island states on their way. Few years later though the Athenians were going to lose the Peloponnesian war against the Peloponnesian League (an alliance of states led by Sparta established against the Athenian expansion) and their expansion was going to be put to an end.

First look at any newspaper of the day. Read any news about a state or a group of states carefully. Try to figure out why the state in that particular case is important. What are the interests? Is any form of power involved? What is the role of international organizations (IOs) or other entities (including individuals) in that issue, if there is any at all? Then read your literature and read the same news again. Now apply the concepts and assumptions to the news at hand. If you want to share your findings, please do so at the tutorial meeting.

Since this is a post-discussion, below we give you some LGs:

- What are the 4 main assumptions of realism? Discuss each one of them with examples.
- What is high/low politics?
- What is power?
- What is international system? How is it characterised? Why is the structure of system important?
- What is Balance of Power and why is it important?
- What are the meanings of:
  - Prisoner's dilemma and Security dilemma
  - Zero or positive or negative sum game
  - Self-help
  - Determinism and Voluntarism
  - Polarity
  - Hegemony
- What is interdependence? How do realists see it?
- Are there situations in contemporary international relations similar to what happened to Melians? Come up with some examples.

## **Part 2: War, Survival and Structural Realism**

Imagine yourself in Midwestern America at the beginning of the 1700s. Imagine there is no established security system with a central police or army. There is no central system of governance of land or property either. Local tribes and migrant communities have not yet established a system of co-existence. You have to find land for food for your family and build a house to shelter against the long, cold winter, not to mention other problems you will have to confront, such as possible dangers from other people (local or migrant), animals and storms. On the other hand, the area you chose to live in is full of resources, has fertile soil and gold. You immediately notice that this environment is very different from where you used to live. You have to protect your family and your property. You do not know anybody in this new area. You realise that there are people grouping together and power is distributed among different poles. There are different local communities of natives and migrants. Some of them

promise their members protection, others promise wealth and enlargement. Native groups are usually formed for the purpose of defence. Migrant communities seem a bit more offensive. You do not know whom to trust, what to do, if there are rules and what they may be, or where authority is vested. You have to decide if you need power and what kind of power. But remember you can trust no one, and maybe there are no rules and no authority like a sheriff or judge at all. You are confused and lost about what to do.

For this assignment read the literature and try to answer LGs below:

- What are the assumptions of offensive and defensive realism?
- What do states want?
- Why do states want (more) power?
- Does it make any sense to want more power?
- Why is it so important that the system is anarchic? Discuss this in detail by using Kenneth Waltz's text on Explaining War.
- What is the link between polarity and stability in international system? What is the hegemonic stability?
- What is the current system you think? Which systems are most stable? Discuss.
- What is a revisionist state? A status quo state? Give examples.
- Will China rise peacefully?

What would frank underwood do about China?



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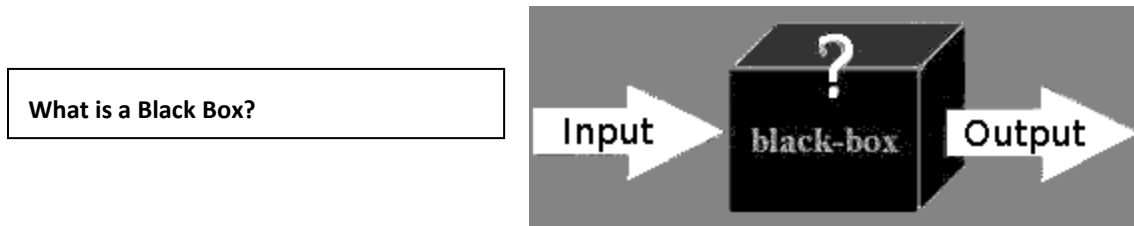
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## Tutorial Meeting 2 – Task 2: News Items on (Neo)Realism and Further Discussion/Application



Here are two very controversial statements:

- Nuclear weapons can prevent wars.
- Trump is actually quite a realist President. Look what his policies involve for NATO or climate change. Aren't they simply following a rationalism logic and isn't he doing what the US interests dictate? Remember many realists like Mearsheimer and Walt would not be so happy with Hillary Clinton if she was the President.

Is that so? Discuss.

How would a realist President act? What is rationality in this thought? What is threat? What is the best strategy to survive if the survival is the ultimate goal for states?

In this meeting, we will dive deeper into the world of realism. We will try to make sense of their weird logics about anarchy, nuclear deterrence, polarity and hegemony, rational actor assumption, best strategy to survive, balancing, and so on.

Keep in your mind that realists are NOT war mongers. They are actually the smartly cautious guys in the D.C. In spite of lack of norms or emotions in this theory, some renowned structural realists never supported some interventions abroad including war in Iraq, Libyan intervention and any intervention to protect Ukraine against Russia. Would they support the war against terrorism?

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*Who said the quotes below?*

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***"It is better to be feared than loved, if you cannot be both."***

***"The condition of man... is a condition of war of everyone against everyone."***

***"The great questions of the day will not be settled by means of speeches and majority decisions but by iron and blood."***

***"All of the things I hold with high regard rules is not one of them."***

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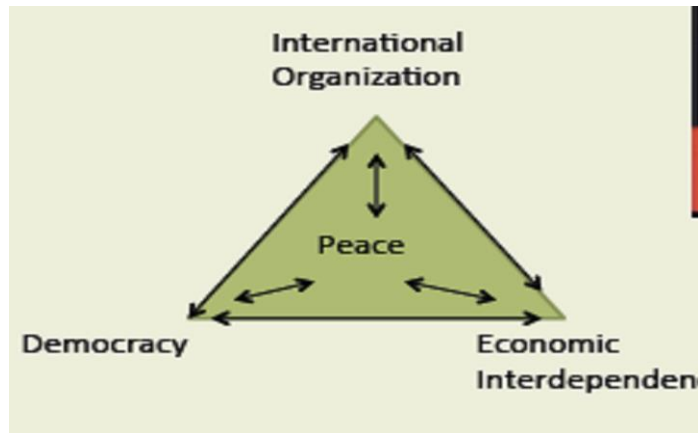
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### Tutorial Meeting 3, Task 3: World of Liberals

Discuss the triangle below.



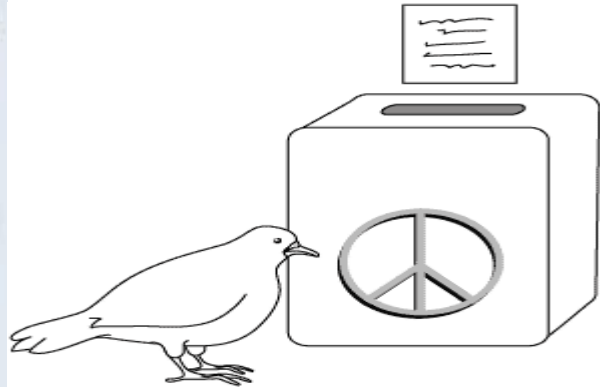
Perhaps some of you think that democratic and liberal countries act differently in international politics. Maybe you believe they are just a bit more rational, predictable, transparent and peaceful?

Also some of you have this idealism spirit in their hearts wherein international organisations do matter. The EU, UN, WTO so on. These huge and complex institutions are not for nothing.

It is possible some of you felt a bit repelled by the thoughts of realists. They sound logical but very plain, shallow, and actually not representing the whole reality. If you had some of these thoughts maybe this is your moment to shine. Liberalism might be speaking of what you were thinking or what you wanted to hear.

Liberal thought is a very old philosophy, mostly developed in the West. Liberalism can be a first image, second image and also a third image approach. In an initial look, liberalism looks very different than realism. In liberalism, not only the regime type matters, but there are also other actors which are relevant in the international system. Liberalism is also about common good or living together in peace and prosperity. Some tend to ignore this but liberalism is also money and trade. All these ingredients together may create a nice dish which will serve to the world peace.

After all, rationalism means different things to different people. To liberals it certainly means co-existence and dialogue. Before accusing liberalism for being too utopian let's open our Black Box and let's give the pigeon of peace a chance.



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## Tutorial Meeting 4, Task 4: News Items on Liberalism and Further Readings/Application

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*Who said the quotes below?*

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- “A democracy does not necessarily have to be liberal.”
- “The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter.”
- “If voting made any difference they wouldn't let us do it.”

Our world witnessed many celebrations in 1989 and 1990. These were the celebrations of people who broke down the walls, ended the authoritarian regimes and finally brought freedoms and liberties to their societies. Fukuyama explained this as the end of history in his famous study. In this assignment, study his thesis of end of history and rise of liberal democracy.

Many thought liberal democracy was the champion of the Cold War. It was not going to be beaten. After all people would not choose more restrictive, less liberal regimes. Democracy with liberal economy and political atmosphere was going to triumph. Democracy was going to spread like McDonald's or iPhones (or spread through them).

Discuss if we are still at the end of history. Are democracy and liberalism still the most desired system by people and governments? How about capitalism?

Some believe that Brexit is a consequence of such dramatic changes. Some feared that in Europe populist, anti-European Union and right wing (or extreme) parties are gaining power (Netherlands, Austria, France so on). Remember that EU was once a dream project and a model for norms, values, freedoms, democracy and economic prosperity. Things are not very promising in the world's great power either. Trump's actions and discourses are worrisome for many groups. Those who believed that peace, democracy and liberalism were going to spread all over the world are a bit disappointed. Discuss (neo)liberalism's strengths and weaknesses in this regard. Are those idea(l)s still valid or they are outmoded? Are IOs such as UN or EU reducing the negative effects of the anarchy or are the state sovereignty, self-help system and egoist foreign policies as strong as before? Read liberal texts on various issues and discuss their main assumptions and also differences from (neo)realist texts.

But first take a look at the images and text boxes in the next pages.

# Freedom in our world (in 2014)

*In a year marked by an explosion of terrorist violence, autocrats' use of more brutal tactics, and Russia's invasion and annexation of a neighboring country's territory, the state of freedom in 2014 worsened significantly in nearly every part of the world.*

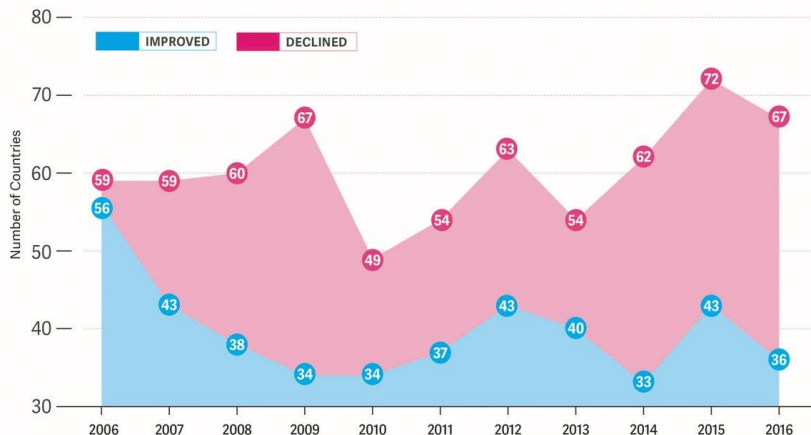
*For the ninth consecutive year, Freedom in the World, Freedom House's annual report on the condition of global political rights and civil liberties, showed an overall decline. Indeed, acceptance of democracy as the world's dominant form of government—and of an international system built on democratic ideals—is under greater threat than at any point in the last 25 years.*

*Even after such a long period of mounting pressure on democracy, developments in 2014 were exceptionally grim. The report's findings show that nearly twice as many countries suffered declines as registered gains, 61 to 33, with the number of gains hitting its lowest point since the nine-year erosion began....By contrast, a troubling number of large, economically powerful, or regionally influential countries moved backward: Russia, Venezuela, Egypt, Turkey, Thailand, Nigeria, Kenya, and Azerbaijan. Hungary, a European Union member state, also saw a sharp slide in its democratic standards as part of a process that began in 2010.*

<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2015/discarding-democracy-return-iron-fist>

## 11 YEARS OF DECLINE

Countries with net declines in aggregate score have outnumbered those with gains for the past 11 years.





## Freedom in 2016

Unfortunately, 2016 report of Freedom House is not more optimistic:

- *With populist and nationalist forces making significant gains in democratic states, 2016 marked the 11th consecutive year of decline in global freedom.*
- *There were setbacks in political rights, civil liberties, or both, in a number of countries rated "Free" by the report, including Brazil, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Hungary, Poland, Serbia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Tunisia, and the United States.*
- *In 2016, populist and nationalist political forces made astonishing gains in democratic states, while authoritarian powers engaged in brazen acts of aggression, and grave atrocities went unanswered in war zones across two continents.*
- *All of these developments point to a growing danger that the international order of the past quarter-century—rooted in the principles of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law—will give way to a world in which individual leaders and nations pursue their own narrow interests without meaningful constraints, and without regard for the shared benefits of global peace, freedom, and prosperity.*

**While in past years the declines in freedom were generally concentrated among autocracies and dictatorships that simply went from bad to worse, in 2016 it was established democracies—countries rated Free in the report's ranking system—that dominated the list of countries suffering setbacks. In fact, Free countries accounted for a larger share of the countries with declines than at any time in the past decade, and nearly one-quarter of the countries registering declines in 2016 were in Europe.**

<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2017>



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Democracy is a device  
that ensures we shall  
be governed no better  
than we deserve.

George Bernard Shaw

## Tutorial Meeting 5, Task 5: Preparing for Mid-term: Debating Two Worlds: World of Realists and World of Liberals

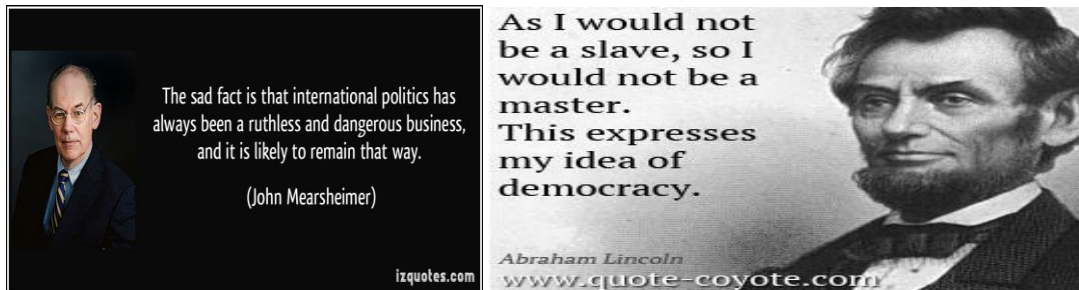
In this task before the midterm exam make two debate themes, agree on some issues, assumptions and themes and discuss the world views of two main theoretical schools you learnt so far: realists and liberals. You can decide on a specific issue or case. Or you discuss their general assumptions on role of organisations, states, cooperation, anarchy, self-help, importance of security versus economy, democracy, values so on.

If students cannot come up with a debate statement (a controversial issue or a case), tutors will help them.

P.S.: Choose a case then make a theoretical debate statement: "What are the strengths and weaknesses of mainstream theories?" or "Realist or liberal theorist can explain the world better and more accurately." Or "realist/liberal theory can explain certain cases better."

P.S.: Suggestions for case studies: Syrian conflict, climate change, Brexit, Trump's foreign policy, Chinese foreign policy, Russian foreign policy, future of NATO, the US hegemony, rise of new/old powers (Russia, China, others), future of the UN or EU, wars in the Middle East, neo-liberal institutions such as IMF, poverty, terrorism or war on terror.

We wish you a good debate and success in your midterms.



### Notes

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## Part 2: The Critical Schools of International Relations

### Tutorial Meeting 6, Task 6: Critique in IR

In the previous part, you discussed the two mainstream theories in International Relations: Realism and Liberalism. In this task and the upcoming ones, you will discuss those two theories with a critical view. There are many alternative approaches which question assumptions made by mainstream theories and which pay attention to 'other' issues, which are considered equally important.

#### Part 1. Making Sense of Art and IR

Discuss what you see in the following paintings:







## Part 2. What are/should IR be and is all about?

- *What kind of international relations theory do I want to see in this new millennium? Above all, I want to see a discipline that is open to a variety of issues, subjectivities and identities rather than taking the agenda of the powerful as the natural and legitimate focus for the discipline. I want to see a discipline that enquires into the meanings and subjectivities of individuals in cultures different to those of the dominant world powers rather than assuming their rationality, interests and thus identities. I want to see a discipline that admits of many routes to understanding...I want to see a discipline that realises the limitations on correspondence theories of truth, and instead treats truth not as a property of the world waiting to be discovered, but as a matter for negotiation and interpretation. Finally, I want to see a discipline that does*

*not hide behind the mask of value-neutrality and empiricism. We sing our worlds into existence, yet rarely reflect on who wrote the words and the music, and virtually never listening out for, nor recognising, voices or worlds other than our own until they occasionally force us into silence. – Steve Smith, Singing Our World into Existence*

Those who study international relations cannot always avoid falling into the trap of perceiving the world as made by states and their military and economic relations and wars between them. For many people studying IR, the percentage of women carrying HIV virus in some countries in Africa or the number of deaths from starvation in some parts of Asia are not relevant issues. Think about ebola epidemic in West Africa or Zika virus in Latin America. These issues have almost immediately been ignored by the mainstream IR scholars as these deaths or structural violence (poverty, hunger, lack of any future prospect) are not IR issues.

Mainstream IR such as realism is interested in wars though, but not its casualties. It is estimated that 90% of current war casualties are civilians, the majority of whom are women and children. Similarly, almost 75% of displaced people are women and children. Liberal theory wants to explain the economy of world politics but without investigating poverty, underdevelopment and the growing economic differences between North and South. The Oxfam report of 2015 is rather chilling: 85 richest people are as wealthy as poorest half of the world. The Richest 1% will own more than the rest in 2016, according to this renowned NGO (<http://www.oxfam.org/en/pressroom/pressreleases/2015-01-19/richest-1-will-own-more-all-rest-2016>).

Even concepts like democracy, freedoms, open markets, good governance are still alien words for billions of people in the world. For many liberalism has not reached its goal to create a prosperous world for everyone. It created one for a few.

On the other hand, to be fair to these two theories, realists and liberals never claimed to 'save' the world. They claim that they 'explain' the world as it is, without judging it or without really changing it. They believe that explanation is key, and not 'understanding.' Liberals would say that they have good intentions to help people but these people have bad governments or leaders. The West should intervene even more and give support to certain groups in these societies. Capitalism works for everyone if it is applied correctly. Realists would say that HIV, migration, asylum seekers or women are not 'issues of IR'. However, as people thinking about IR theories, we should ask ourselves: Should IR theories focus only on some 'hard' issues like wars, conflicts, economic prosperity and security or should they have a critical position towards this very understanding which represents a certain political ideology?

Depending on your perspective, your understanding of terms like conflict, threat, security, state, interstate institutions and rationality will be quite different. You may find different actors in International Relations than just states. Does someone from Africa or Latin America or migrant communities in Europe see the world in the same way as Realists or Liberals see it?

In pre-discussion discuss the difference between IR and ir.

We talk of globalization, and how much money is needed for the education of children in the world, their liberation and rehabilitation just \$9 billion which is four days of military expense. Just four days. Nine billion dollars is nothing. But what Americans spent on ice cream just 20 percent of this. One fifth of what you spend on ice creams could bring the children out of the clutches of their masters and put them to school.

— *Railash Satyarthi* —

AZ QUOTES

## Notes

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## Meeting 7, Task 7: Marxism in IR: Is There a Class Conflict in International System?

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- *Would wear a shoe on your head? Of course you wouldn't wear a shoe on your head. A shoe doesn't belong on your head. A shoe belongs on your foot. A hat belongs on your head. I am a hat. You are a shoe...Now, as in the beginning, I belong to the front. You belong to the tail. When the foot seeks the place of the head, the sacred line is crossed. Know your place. Keep your place. Be a shoe!" Snowpiercer, 2013*

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*"Socio-economic apartheid is a small area is living in prosperity and privileged and it is surrounded by a vast land of other nations and peoples by the majority of mankind."*  
*Oswaldo de Rivero, a former Peruvian diplomat*

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*According to OXFAM 8 richest men own the same wealth as the 3,6 billion people in the world.*

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*"Oxfam's report, '**An economy for the 99 percent**', shows that the gap between rich and poor is far greater than had been feared. It details how big business and the super-rich are fuelling the inequality crisis by dodging taxes, driving down wages and using their power to influence politics. It calls for a fundamental change in the way we manage our economies so that they work for all people, and not just a fortunate few."*  
(<https://www.oxfam.org/en/pressroom/pressreleases/2017-01-16/just-8-men-own-same-wealth-half-world> )

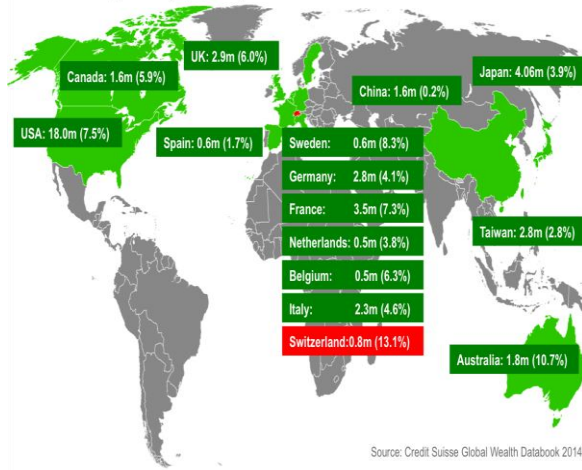
During the G20 summit of July 2017, Hamburg witnessed many protests. Protesters coming from all over the world had some things to say. Maybe some of our former students were also there. To some people's dislike or revulsion, these people were angry; even sometimes aggressive and violent. What made them so angry? For background info, see <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40534768> or <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40555972>





Some argue that the world is divided not into politically determined nations but into economically determined classes. Consequently, politics does not supersede economics, but rather economics trumps politics. Thus, the international state system serves the interests of wealthy states and corporations, which seek to protect and expand their wealth. Marxist theorists think of it primarily in economic rather than military terms. Maybe Marxism as a political ideology about a government system is outdated. But Marxism as a theory employing several methods to understand the world and reach knowledge is certainly still very useful. These methods and many Marxist elements of the Marxist theory became an inspiration and ground-work for many other critical theories till this day.

90% of the wealthiest 1% live in these 15 countries - Switzerland has highest percentage  
Number in millions (% of country's population)



## Notes





### Global Inequality - By the Numbers

The **85** richest individuals in the world now own more wealth than the bottom **3,500,000,000**

**2.6 Billion**

people world-wide lack access to proper sanitation

**22,000**

children die each day due to poverty

**80%**

of humanity lives on **less than \$10 a day**

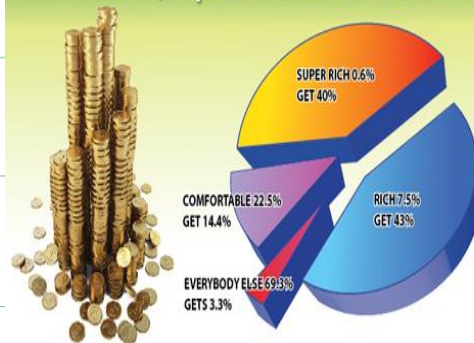
**1 Billion**

people world-wide lack the education to read a book or sign their name

**1 in every 2**

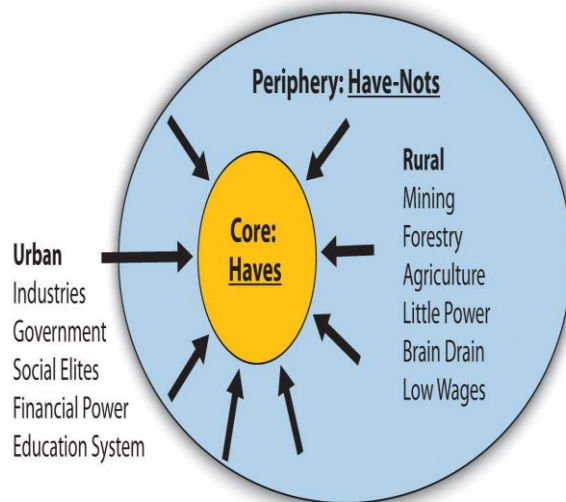
children world-wide live in poverty

### The World's Wealth Distribution: The Rich, Super-Rich and the Rest of Us



The RICH: The rich and the super rich make up 8% of the world's adult population and own 82% of its wealth

The REST: The rest make up 92% of the world's adult population and own 18% of its wealth



*People usually shift from periphery to core.*



## Tutorial Meeting 8, Task 8: Constructivism in IR: Is everything a Construct?

- *“...Consider two actors--ego and alter--encountering each other for the first time. Each wants to survive and has certain materials capabilities, but neither actor has biological or domestic imperative for power, glory, or conquest...., and there is no history of security or insecurity between the two. What should they do? Reliasts would probably argue that each should act on the basis of worst-case assumptions ... Such a possibility always exist, even in civil society; however, society would be impossible if people made decisions purely on the basis of worst-case possibilities. Instead, most decisions are and should be made on the basis of probabilities, and these are produced by interaction, by what actors do.....Consider an example. Would we assume, a priori, that we were about to be attacked if we are ever contacted by members of an alien civilization? I think not...” – Alexander Wendt*

Article 1.2 of the Lisbon Treaty describes European Union’s values as follows:

*The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.*

Are all these just words or do they have any weight?

In the writing of this manual, Trump was visiting France and BBC in an almost uncontrolled happy tone states that he softened his language about the climate deal (see <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40597244>). Would this signal a positive change in the US position? After the Hamburg meeting, Chancellor Merkel wearing a green suit in the press conference warned everybody against the dangers of climate change and invited all world leader once more to re-consider their policies. G19+1 ended up with a united and also divided atmosphere. Just like the Paris summit earlier.

States want to protect and defend their national interests (America first!). Is this always true? Can national interests change? Can they be more inclusive (global), normative, legitimate and moral (Environment first!). When Sweden and Germany opened their doors to the Syrian refugees in 2015-2016, did they mean it or were they looking for some interest and gain? When human rights treaties are signed by states, do they get or expect some material benefit immediately? Once the idea of equal rights was utopian or absurd. There was no prospect for the peace in Europe. People were being executed on the streets of Paris or London by the authorities. Politics can change to a better panorama sometimes, for some.



Constructivists are a bit like liberals; idealists when it comes to the certain issues, such as the role of norms and values. They -naively- claim states follow the norms and rules most of the time. And this is not because there is a punishment at the end. But due to some socially formed (constructed) structures, institutions and identities. They follow rules because they ..... (fill in the blanks).

As maybe the most popular approach in IR currently, today you will first discuss what constructivism is. Then you will apply it to some cases. Consider the assumption that everything is a construct. What are the results of believing such an assumption?

Is the world made of material interests, material power and money as neorealism and neoliberalism suggest? Or can we also talk about constructs, norms, language and the role of ideas (unmeasurable things but things which are out there and influential)? Apply this also to other concepts like the state, sovereignty, interest and ANARCHY. Is the *Anarchy What States Make of it*? Discuss the role of 'social actors' in making the world. Can social actors and their ideas change the world?

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## Tutorial Meeting 9, Task 9: Feminism in IR? Where are women? (News Items on Marxism, Constructivism or Feminism)

Table 2: Women's Participation in the National Parliament  
at the International Level

Country	Election Year	No. of Seats	No. of Women	% of Women Elected
<b>High</b>			<b>Participation</b>	
Rwanda	2008	80	45	56.3
Cuba	2013	612	299	48.9
Sweden	2010	349	156	44.7
Finland	2011	200	85	42.5
<b>Medium</b>			<b>Participation</b>	
Nepal	2008	594	197	33.2
Germany	2009	620	204	32.9
Algeria	2012	462	146	31.6
Afghanistan	2010	249	69	27.7
<b>Low</b>			<b>Participation</b>	
Thailand	2011	500	79	15.8
Romania	2012	412	55	13.3
India	2009	543	58	10.68
Japan	2012	480	39	8.1

Source: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

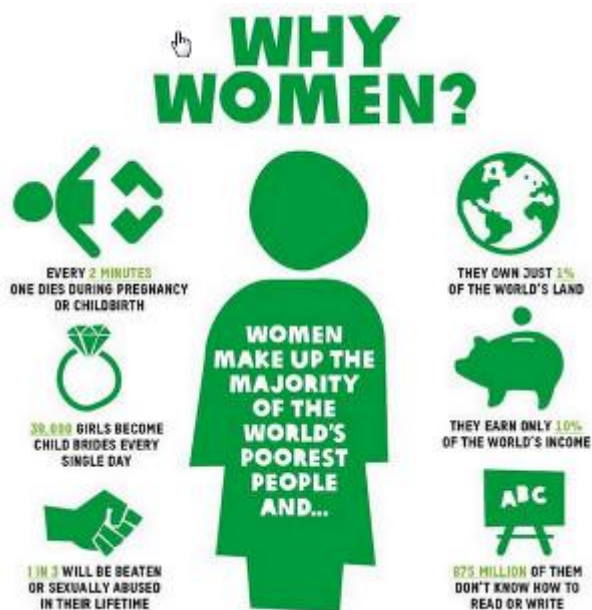
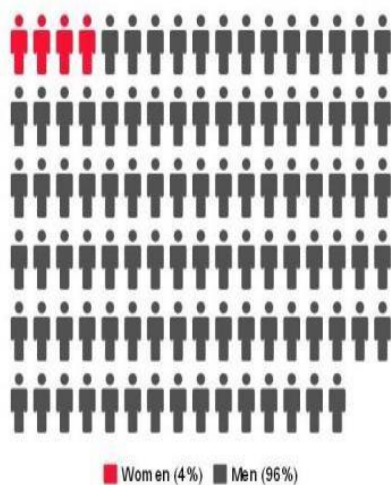
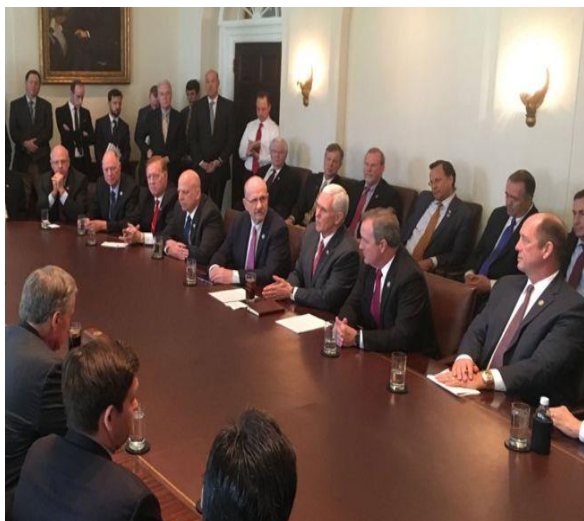


Figure 1: Women as participants in peace negotiations 1992–2011



Source: UN Women (2012)



Feminism as a concept has been misunderstood for a long time (see here <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tLEiTCVRxE> or [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hg3umXU\\_qWc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hg3umXU_qWc)).

After having an allegedly misogynous US president (who won against a woman), feminist movement gained some blood again. Even Ivanka is a 'feminist' nowadays. But what is feminism's business in IR? What can it offer? What does it have to do say about international politics?

To answer this question, some of you will immediately think of some statistics and data: women are in minority in politics, high level positions, in the UN, in the armies so on so forth. So far we have discussed almost only male academicians and their works. Many bureaucratic or governmental bodies (even the ones interesting for women and their issues) are composed of male members (see the infamous photo above).

But feminism is more than these figures, statistics and data. Do not ask HOW MANY, but ask yourselves this question: WHY are there less women, coloured, minority, under-privileged in such positions with such powers? Can you see the picture more clearly?

Then ask, if we can apply this picture to the world system and distribution of power in international politics?

In this meeting, we will not discuss biological or anatomic differences but gendered structures. What are these structures and what can they do? Feminism provides a sophisticated critique of the mainstream theories even though it does not present a clear and solid alternative itself. Feminism also proposes a different method to analyse and understand IR and ir: postpositivism.

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## Tutorial Meeting 10, Task 10: Post-structuralism in IR: What is Truth and Who says it is Truth?

### Part 1. Images and Representation

Below you can see some images. What sort of connotations do you have with these images when you see them? Why are they relevant to IR theories? What are the links between these pictures? What would be the implications of presenting these pictures over and over again?

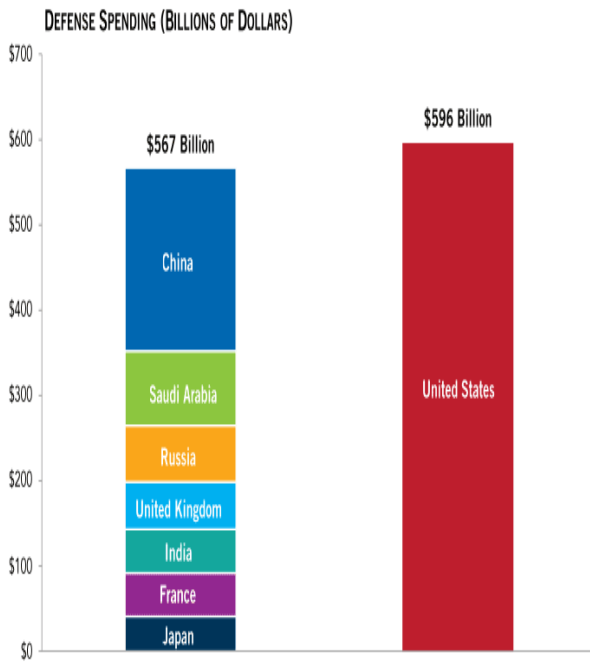




US President Barack Obama says the US is "not at war with Islam - we are at war with the people who have perverted Islam". 19.02.2015







SOURCE: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, April 2016. Data are for 2015. Compiled by PGPF.  
NOTE: Figures are in U.S. dollars, converted from local currencies using market exchange rates.

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PGPF.ORG





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*You who killed them, tell yourself  
that your violent stupidity will not  
lead me towards the stupidity of  
violence.*

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*I don't want the love you  
destroyed to turn into hate and  
war. That would give you too  
much satisfaction.*

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## Part 2. Opening the Pandora's Box

- *"Where there is power, there is resistance." Micheal Foucoult*

Post-structuralism or post-modernism is one of the most complicated and difficult approaches IR theory borrowed from other disciplines. The complexity and difficulty of this approach partly stems from its ambition to try to answer thousands of years of old philosophical questions like "what is truth?" "Who represents or tells the truth?" "Is there a neutral language or discourse?" and "is there an objective reality?" Partly it is the result of the underprivileged and underrepresented position given to this approach in the universities and departments of social sciences or IR. Should IR theories and IR courses try to 'explain' the reality out there and be satisfied with positivist analysis for the sake of being clear, understandable and 'scientific'? Or, should IR open its doors to the alternative understandings about our world, like feminism, green theory and post-modernism/structuralism and welcome post-positivist and critical research as well, even though these alternative views are against the common knowledge we have? The risk here is to have too many theories/views so losing the coherence in the field. But postpositivists claim that too many does not mean something negative, but it reflects the pluralism and richness in social sciences. And they highlight the problematic relationship between knowledge and power:

What you know is not necessarily the truth (or the best, objective, tested reality), it can be also truth taught to you by power brokers to maintain their positions or authorities. But who/what is this power?

### **Assignment:**

A group of volunteer students will make a simple Discourse Analysis exercise in any news item or in the images displayed above. In your analysis, answer questions like: Whose message is it, where is it published, who is the target audience, what is the text of the message, what is the subtext (is there a hidden meaning/message), what kind of values/life style is presented/glamorized, tools of persuasion, what groups does it empower, what groups does it dis-empower, what is NOT told in the image or story? They will present their findings in 5 minutes during the post-discussion.

### **Notes**

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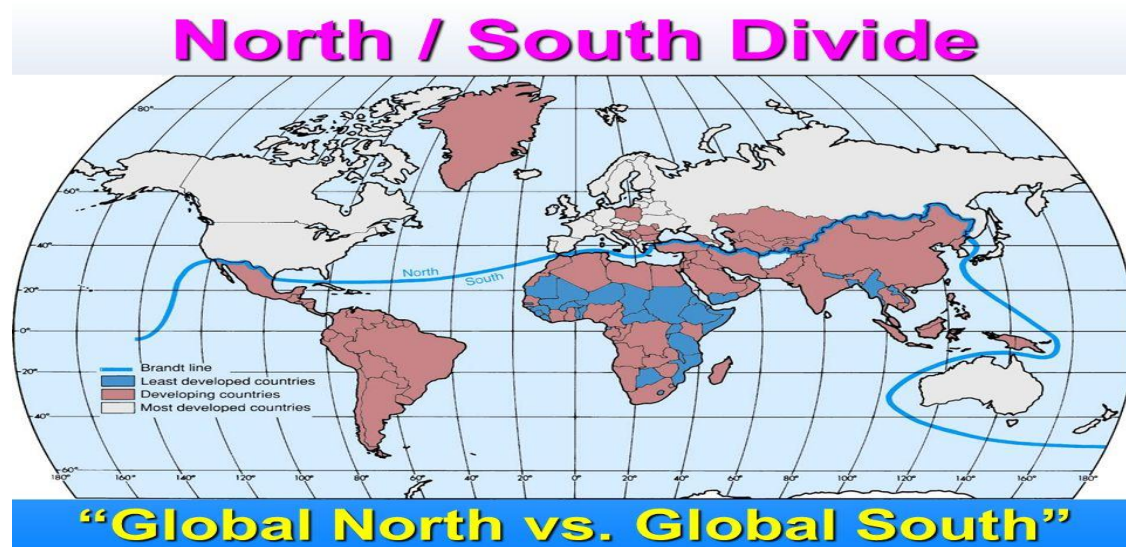


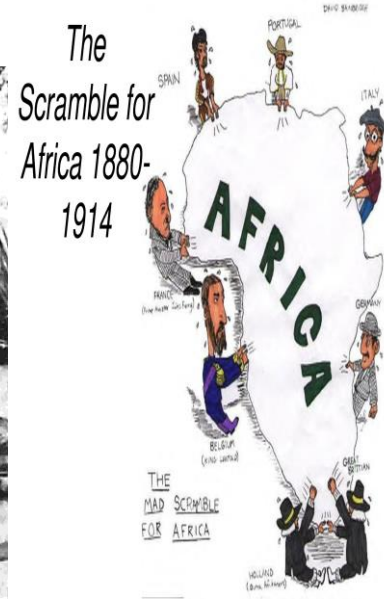


Many of us heard the horrible atrocities that Kony committed in Uganda or Boko Haram in Nigeria. We hear about Islamic groups threatening a big area in the African and Asian continent and approaching the West. Africa and Middle East are represented as lands of violence, chaos, instability and potentially a threat for the West (Copenhagen, Paris, Canada, Australia, so on), if not source of diseases, hunger and extreme poverty. This essentialist discourse nowadays uses Islamic terrorists and extremists as its main enemy. Not many people hear about far worse atrocities committed by the governments in these countries or structural violence caused by unfair distribution of resources and income. We do not hear much about the terror caused by the big states and their militarized policies either. The role of corporations in politics and wars is another issue neglected in many IR books. Ironically, those Western states who are champions of democracy and liberal values also supported and even created very powerful authoritarian and corrupt elite (dictators) in these regions for decades, which are responsible for the horrendous crimes and lack of equality, justice and freedom.

In 2001, 2% of all news stories in Western media presented images of Muslim militants, while just over 0.1% presented stories portraying ordinary Muslims. Jump to ten years later. In 2011, militant images went from 2% in 2001, to 25% in 2011. Yet, coverage of ordinary Muslims remained the same as 2001, at 0.1% (see <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/09/08/interview-john-esposito/>).

Discuss how the images and representation of East or South are reinforcing certain stereotypes and constructing certain 'truths'. In this regard, Said and Orientalism are still very relevant.





## Part 2:

They were living on the land. Then men with guns and weapons came and they lost the land. They were subject to the rules of the conquerers. Their land has been plundered, exploited, abused. Together with their lives and their bodies. They and their territories became subjects. Silenced, quietened, repressed, exploited, objectified and instrumentalised.

The appetite of the masters was endless. Never satisfied. One day, Masters wanted to drill the land. They needed petrol and gas. They needed it badly. But the land was crying. They were crying. And finally they decided to speak up. A few activists remained from the whole tribe and those who supported them, they stood up!

Legendary Standing Rock protests started like this.

See <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/03/north-dakota-access-oil-pipeline-protests-explainer> or <http://time.com/4548566/dakota-access-pipeline-standing-rock-sioux/> ).

Ended brutally

See <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/23/dakota-access-pipeline-camp-cleared-standing-rock> ).





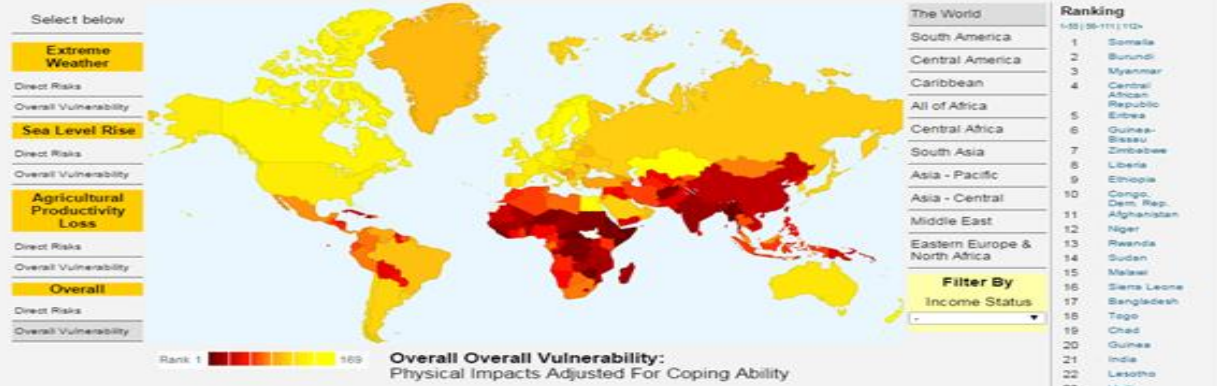
Climate change is the most popular phrase of these days. From various 'failed' summits, to the Trump's gaffes about environment, from the doomsday scenarios and movies to the alarming UN reports we see and hear it everywhere.

Environment entered mainstream IR text books and scholarly enterprises as a 'threat'. Mainstream approaches investigate ways to cope with this threat without being harmed and without changing the system. Non-mainstream IR on the other hand talks about 'Greening IR', which is a very different approach.

Non-mainstream IR perceives the environmental degradation and climate change as a structural issue where usually disadvantaged communities face the negative effects. They also criticise the model of life promoted by the Western cultures. Interestingly, in this way of thinking race, gender, class, economy, power relations, cultural structures all come together. Isn't the story of the exploitation of people also the story of the exploitation of our planet and its resources as well? According to the green critique, so-called 'good' policies like sustainable development are being used in order not to sustain the environment but the development. Earth and its resources are being commodified, expropriated, exploited, possessed, managed and colonised. Hence we can continue our life styles and consuming our planet until there is not much left.

## Mapping the Impacts of Climate Change

Tweet Like 543 +1 13 Share Print



*“Day by day, river by river, forest by forest, mountain by mountain, missile by missile, bomb by bomb, almost without our knowing it, we are being broken.” Arundhati Roy*

## Tutorial Meeting 12, Task 12: Fourth Debate in IR and POSTER

### Fourth Debate in IR

In this meeting, you will talk about the fourth debate in IR as a discipline. This debate is between explaining and understanding, positivism and post-positivism, problem-solving and critical.

Take your side, make a debate statement and use this moment to discuss and compare/contrast mainstream to non-mainstream. This is also an excellent preparation for the final take-home exam.

### POSTER: How we see ourselves and our world

In this class exercise, please make a poster and bring it to the classroom. You are free to choose the format, content and the size of your poster. Please imagine and locate yourself in a world you are actually living in or you want to live in. Your poster should tell us about you, your world and how you see 'our' world. POSTER DOES NOT HAVE TO BE ABOUT IR OR ITS THEORIES. Posters will be presented by their makers shortly in the tutorial.

In this last tutorial, we will discuss the IR approaches in general with their strengths and weaknesses, with comparing them to each other and then you can try to synthesis your own approach and understanding. Do some reflection and share your views about the course with others: what did you learn? Did you like IR? Do you think this course was useful? What do you think about the world politics and IR theories?

Hopefully you enjoyed this course. Hope to see you again in other courses and we wish you good luck in the final exams ☺





