

HIS 2705E

The Western Tradition in International Relations Theory and Practice

Instructor: Brock Millman

Office: LH 2224

Phone: X84975

Email: bmillman@uwo.ca

Class:

Wednesdays, 6:00-9:00 p.m.

Room:

Course Description:

History 2705E is a 'great books' course. The purpose is to examine critical works of international relations theory in context. The focus is "the Western tradition". Thinkers to be considered include: Cicero, Augustine, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Grotius, Hobbes, Frederick of Prussia, von Clausewitz, Angell, and Morgenthau.

Course Objectives:

General Expectations and Outcomes, 2XXXXE courses:

- Content delivery
 - The examination of nations, regions and historical themes
- Content diversification: the opportunity to experience
 - New fields
 - New approaches
- Full understanding of plagiarism and its problems
- Intermediate primary source skills
 - Close reading
 - What do they tell us beyond the obvious?
- Intermediate secondary source skills
 - Identifying thesis and argument
 - Identifying sources
 - Critiquing [article-length texts]
- Basic research skills
 - Integration of primary and secondary sources
 - Finding and evaluating online sources
 - Framing research questions
- Intermediate writing skills
 - The thesis statement
 - Developing an argument
 - Economy of expression

- Transfer of paper-writing skills to exam format
- Participation and communication skills
 - Effective argument and exchange
 -

Specific Outcomes 2705E

- Gain an appreciation of critical works of international relations not simply as ideas, but as artifacts
- Gain an appreciation for the interplay between theory and developments
- Gain a better understanding of some of the major dynamics influencing foreign policy practice

Readings:

- ‘Readings’ as indicated below are indicated as: ‘background reading’, ‘primary source reading’ and ‘supplementary reading’.
- Background readings are intended to provide critical context and to assist students in preparing themselves to understand lecture materials, and participate effectively in discussions. The Palmer text was chosen as most students should already possess it. It is included for context. The McNeill and Nicolson texts are required reading, and are intended to assist students in understanding the structure of international relations as it evolved during the timeframe under discussion. In most cases the relevant chapters of these texts are indicated by lecture subject.
- Primary source readings are the focus of this course. When each will be discussed is indicated in the lecture schedule. Some primary readings are indicated immediately below as ‘Primary Source Readings (Books)’. These constitute a special subset, as particularly critical, and since each will be the subject of an entire lecture/discussion. These, as well, will be the subject of the book summaries which constitute a significant portion of graded material.
- Supplementary readings are included, by lecture topic to provide addition reference for interested students. In general, supplementary readings either help to site a primary source reading within historical context, or illustrate an important aspect of the lecture subject.
- Most readings of all sorts are available on line. Only three books (McNeill and Morgenthau not so available. These are available for purchase in the bookstore, and are held on two hour reserve in D.B. Weldon Library.

Background Reading:

- Harold Nicolson, *The Evolution of Diplomatic Method* (1953). Available on line at <https://lra.le.ac.uk/bitstream/2381/4809/1/LRA%20-%20Doc%2001.pdf>
- William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power. Technology Armed Forces and Society Since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). ISBN-10: 0226561585
- R.R. Palmer et.al., *A History of the Modern World*, 10th Edition, (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2007).

Primary Source Readings (Books):

- Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion* (1909). Available on-line at <http://archive.org/details/greatillusionstu00angeiala>
- Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1528). Available on-line at <http://archive.org/details/bookofcourtier00castuoft>
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (1832). Available on-line at <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/TOC.htm>
- Desiderius Erasmus, *Against War* (1513) (available on line at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/39487/39487-h/39487-h.htm>)
- Frederick of Prussia with Voltaire, *Anti-Machiavel* (1740). Available on line at <http://www.webcitation.org/5knIOQbEF>
- Hugo Grotius, *On the Laws of War and Peace* (1625). Available on-line at <http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/grotius/Law2.pdf>
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651). Available on-line at <http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/hobbes/Leviathan.pdf>
- Ibn Khaldun, *Al Muqaddimah*, Chapter 1-III (1377). Available on-line at <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ik/Muqaddimah/index.htm>
- Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1532). Available on-line at <http://www.planetebook.com/ebooks/The-Prince-2.pdf>
- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005). First published 1948. ISBN-10: 007289539X
- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (6th Century BC). Available on line at <http://suntzusaid.com/artofwar.pdf>

- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (431 BC). Available on-line at <http://classics.mit.edu/Thucydides/pelopwar.html>

Evaluation:

- Four Book Summaries X 5% each
- First Term Exam 20%
- Final Exam 30%
- Final Essay X 20%
- Participation X 10%

Description:

- Book Summaries. Each student will select four works from the Primary Source Reading (Books) list for special consideration. On the date that each is considered in class, those students who have selected that particular work will hand in a summary indicating clearly the central arguments of the work in question. Summaries should be no more than 1000 words (four pages).
- Exams. There will be one exam each term. There will be one cumulative essay question on the final exam.
- Final Essay. Each student is responsible for producing one 2500 word (ten to twelve pages) essay. Essays will aim to indicate the sources of a particular foreign policy. Further guidance will be forthcoming. Essentially, however, the task is to pick one discreet foreign policy period in the history of any international actor, describe the policy and establish its roots.
- Participation. Participation grades are an assessment of how much students have contributed to class discussions.

Lecture Schedule:

Wed. 11 Sept. **Course Introduction**

Wed. 18 Sept. **Greece and Rome**

Background Readings:

- Nicolson, Chapter I
- McNeill, Chapter I

Primary Source Reading:

- Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Treatise on the Commonwealth*, Book III (available on line at http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=546&chapter=83302&layout=html&Itemid=27)

Supplementary Reading:

- David Whetham, ‘What Did the Romans Do For The United States?’, *RUSI Journal*, Vol. CXLVI, No. 6 (December 2001), p. 51-53.

Wed. 25 Sept. **Thucydides: Specific Context and Discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

Supplementary Reading:

- Robin Lane Fox, “Thucydides and Documentary History”, *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. LX, No. 1 (15 April 2010), p. 11-29.
- W. Julian Korab-Karpowicz, “How International Relations Theorists Can Benefit By Reading Thucydides”, *Monist*, Vol. LXXXIX, No. 2 (April 2006), p. 232-244.

Wed. 2 Oct. **The Christian Dilemma**

Background Readings:

- Palmer, Chapter I

Primary Source Reading:

- St. Thomas Aquinas, “On War”, *Summa Theologica* (available on line at <http://www.ccel.org/a/aquinas/summa/SS/SS040.html>)
- Fulcher of Chartes, Urban II: Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095 (available on line at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/urban2-5vers.html#Fulcher>)

Supplementary Readings:

- Matthew Gabriele, “The Last Carolingian Exegete: Pope Urban II, the Weight of Tradition, and Christian Reconquest”, *Church History*, Vol. LXXXI, No. 4 (December 2012), p. 796-814.
- Raymond Schmandt, “The Fourth Crusade and Just-War Theory”, *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. LXI, No. 2 (April 1975), p. 191-221.

Wed.9 Oct. **Comparators: Islam and China**

Background Readings:

- McNeill, Chapter II

Supplementary Readings:

- Khaled Abou El Fadl, “The Use and Abuse of ‘Holy War’”, *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (11 April 2006), p. 33-41.
- Shaohua Hu, “Revising Chinese Pacifism”, *Asian Affairs*, Vol. XXXII No. 4 (January 2006), p. 256-278.
- M.J. Sweeney, “Philosophy and Jihad”, *Review of Metaphysics*, Vol. LX, No. 3 (March 2007), p. 543-572.
- Feng Zhang, “The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism In International Relations”,

European Journal of International Relations, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (June 2013), p. 305-328.

Wed. 16 Oct. **Sun Tzu: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

Supplementary Readings:

- Derek Yeun, “Decyphering Sun Tzu“, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Mar 2008), p. 183-200.

Wed. 23 Oct. **Ibn Khaldun: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Ibn Khaldun, *Al Muqaddimah*, Chapter 1-III

Supplementary Readings:

- Jack Kalpakian, “Ibn Khaldun’s Influence on Current International Relations Theory”, *Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September 2008), p. 363-376.
- Franz Rosenthal, “Ibn Khaldun in His time”, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3-4 (1983), p. 166-178.

Wed. 30 Oct. **Renaissance and Reformation**

Background Readings:

- Palmer, Chapter II

Primary Source Reading:

- Statue in Restrain of Appeals (available on line at http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/act_restraint_appeals.htm)
- Thomas the Eparch and Joshua Diplovatatzes, Account of the Taking of Constantinople (available on line at http://apps.carleton.edu/curricular/mars/Translations/primary_sources/)

Supplementary Readings:

- G.W. Bernard, “Elton’s Cromwell”, *History*, Vol. LXXXIII, Issue 272 (October 1998), p. 587-607.

Wed 6 Nov. **Erasmus: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Desiderius Erasmus, *Against War* (1513)

Supplementary Readings:

- Jose Fernandez, Erasmus on the Just War, *History of Ideas*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2 (June 1973), p. 209-226.

Wed 13 Nov. **International Relations 16th Century**

Background Readings:

- Nicolson Chapter II
- McNeill, Chapters II and III

Primary Source Reading:

- Bernal Diaz de Castillo, *Memoirs*, Chapters, XCI-XCIII (available on line at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/32474/32474-h/32474-h.htm>)

Supplementary Readings:

- Steven Gunn, “War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Widening the Debate”, *War in History*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (November 2008), p. 371-388.
- Christine Isom-Verhaaren, “Barbarossa and His Army Who Came to Succour All of Us . . .”, *French Historical Studies*, Vol. XXX, Issue 3 (June 2007), p. 395-426.
- William McPeak, “Charles de Bourbon and the Sack of Rome”, *Military History*, Vol. XIX, No. 6 (February 2003), p. 42-48.

Wed. 20 Nov. **Castiglione: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*.

Supplementary Readings:

- Michael Mallett, “Italian Renaissance Foreign Policy”, *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (March 2001), p. 61-70.

Wed. 27 Nov. **Machiavelli: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Machiavelli, *The Prince*.

Supplementary Reading:

- Nicholas Baker, “For Reasons of State: Political Executions, Republicanism, and the Medici in Florence, 1480-1560”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. LXII, Issue 2 (June 2009), p. 444-478.
- Phillip Kain, “Niccolo Machiavelli: Advisor of Princes”, *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (March 1995), p. 33-56.

Wed. 4 Dec. **Wars of Religion**

Background Readings:

- Palmer, Chapter III

Primary Source Readings:

- John Calvin, “On the Right of the Government to Wage War”, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), (available on line at <http://www.reformed.org/books/institutes/books/book4/bk4ch20.html>)
- Schleitheim Confession (1527), Article 6, (available on line at <http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/S345.html>)
- Peace of Augsburg (1555), (available on line at http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Doc.67-ENG-ReligPeace1555_en.pdf)
- Pope Sixtus V, “A Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth” (1588), (available on line at <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/pope0227b.htm>)

Supplementary Readings:

- Allan A. Tulchin, “Massacres During the French Wars of Religion”, *Past and Present*, Vol. CCXIV, Supplement 7 (May 2010), p. 100-127.

FIRST TERM EXAM

Wed. 8 Jan. **The Thirty Years War and the Westphalian Peace**

Background Readings:

- McNeill, Chapter IV
- Palmer, Chapter IV

Primary Source Readings:

- Treaty of Westphalia (available on line at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/westphal.asp)

Supplementary Source Reading:

- Andreas Osiander, “Sovereignty, International Relations and the Westphalian Myth”, *International Organization*, Vol. LV, No. 2 (April 2001), p. 251-287.
- Peter Wilson, “Who Won the Thirty Years War”, *History Today*, Vol. LIX, No. 8 (August 2009), p. 12-19.

Wed. 15 Jan. **Grotius: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Grotius, *On the Laws of War and Peace*

Supplementary Reading:

- Thomas Mautner, "Grotius and the Sceptics", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. LXVI, No. 4 (October 2005), p. 577-601.

Wed. 22 Jan. **Hobbes: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Hobbes, *Leviathan*

Supplementary Reading:

- J.J. Hamilton, "Hobbes the Royalist. Hobbes the Republican", *History of Political Thought*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (2009), p. 411-454.

Wed. 29 Jan. **Richelieu's Europe: International Relations 17th Century**

Background Readings:

- Nicolson Chapter III

Primary Source Reading:

- Cardinal Richelieu, "On the Nobility", *Political Testament* (1624), (available on line at http://dev.prenhall.com/divisions/hss/app/BW_TEST/Western_History/documents/Cardinal_Richelieu_Political_Testament.htm)

Supplementary Reading:

- Robert Knecht, "Cardinal Richelieu: Hero or Villian?", *History Today*, Vol. LIII, No. 3 (March 2003), p. 10-17.

Wed. 5 Feb. **Statescraft in the Age of Reason: The Second Hundred Years War**

Background Readings:

- McNeill, Chapter V
- Palmer, Chapter V and VII

Primary Source Readings:

- Jean Baptiste Colbert, Memorandum on Trade (1664) (available on line at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1664colbert.asp>)

Supplementary Reading:

- Jeremy Black, "Chatham Revisited", *History Today*, Vol. XLI (1999), p. 34-39.
- Scott Hamish "The Seven Years War and Europe's Ancien Regime", *War in History*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (November 2011), p. 419-455.

Wed. 12 Feb. **Frederick and Voltaire: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Readings:

- Frederick of Prussia with Voltaire, *Anti-Machiavel*

Supplementary Readings:

- Bernard Giesen, "Cosmopolitans, Patriots, Jacobins and Romantics", *Daedalus*, Vol. CXXVII, No. 3 (Summer 1998), p. 221-250.
- Sarah Figal, "When Brothers are Enemies", *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, p. 23-36.

Wed. 22 Feb. **Revolution, Popular Sovereignty and State Formation**

Background Readings:

- McNeill, Chapters VI and VII
- Palmer, Chapter IX, and X

Primary Source Readings:

- George Washington, Farwell Address (1796) (available on line at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp)
- Terror is the Order of the day (1795) (available on line at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/416/>)

Supplementary Readings:

- Jeremy Black, "Napoleon's Impact on International Relations", *History Today*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2 (February 1998), p. 45-51.
- Benno Teschke, "Theorizing the Westphalian System of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (March 2002), p. 5-48.

Wed. 26 Feb. **Industrial Revolution, and Ramifications**

Background Readings:

- Palmer, Chapter XI

Primary Source Readings:

- Richard Cobden, Speech on Foreign Policy, House of Commons, June 12, 1849, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* (London: T. Fisher, 1870), p. 85 (available on line at http://files.libertyfund.org/files/931/0129-02_Bk.pdf).
- Henry Temple, Lord Palmerston, Speech on Affairs in Greece (1850) (available on line at <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/polspeech/foreign.htm>)

Supplementary Readings:

- A.D. Harvey, "Was the American Civil War The First Modern War?", *History*,

Vol. XCVII (April 2012), p. 272-280.

•

Wed 5 Mar. **Clausewitz: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Clausewitz, *On War*.

Supplementary Reading:

- Martin Van Crevald, "The Clausewitzian Universe and the Law of War", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (January 1991), p. 403-429.

Wed. 12 Mar. **The National Security State, 1870-1990**

Background Readings:

- McNeill, Chapters VII - X
- Palmer, Chapters, XIII, XVII, XVIII, and XXI

Primary Source Reading:

- Adolph Hitler, On National Socialism and World Relations, Speech to the Reichstag, 30 January 1937 (available on line at <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/hitler1.htm>).

Suggested Reading:

- Antulio Echevarria, "Borrowing From the Master: Uses of Clausewitz in German Military Literature Before the Great War", *War in History*, Vol. III, No. 3 (July 1996), p. 274-292.
- Azar Gat, "Clausewitz and the Marxists: Yet Another Look", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (January 1992), p. 363-382.

Wed. 19 Mar. **Morgenthau and Neo-Realism: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*.

Suggested Reading:

- Shibashis Chatterjee, "Neo-Realism in International Relations", *International Studies*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (January 1997), p. 39-58.

Wed. 26 Mar. **Liberalism, 1870-1945**

Background Readings:

- Nicolson Chapter IV

- Palmer, Chapter XIX and XX

Primary Source Readings:

- Charter of the United Nations (available on line at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/>)
- Geneva Convention (available on line at <http://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/index.jsp>)
- Marshall Plan, 1947 (available on line at http://www.oecd.org/document/10/0,3746,en_2649_201185_1876938_1_1_1_1,00.html)
- Truman Doctrine, 1947 (available on line at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp)

Suggested Readings:

- Francis Garvin, “The Wilsonian Legacy in the Twentieth Century”, *Orbis*, Vol. XLI, No. 4 (September 1997), p. 628-641.
- Thomas Weiss, “How United Nations Ideas Change History”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. XXXVI (2010), p. 3-23.

Wed.2 Apr. **Angell: specific context and discussion**

Primary Source Reading:

- Angell, *The Great Illusion*.

Suggested Reading:

- Martin Ceadel, “The Founding Text of International Relations? Norman Angell’s Seminal Yet Flawed “The Great Illusion””, *Review of International Relations*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 p. 1671-1693.

FINAL EXAM

SUPPORT SERVICES

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western <http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Please contact the course instructor if you require material in an alternate format or if you require any other arrangements to make this course more accessible to you. You may also wish to contact Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) at 661-2111 x 82147 for any specific question regarding an accommodation.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

PLAGIARISM

Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offense (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>).

The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of Publication and page number. Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writer's ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source; these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently.

Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction, your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases, in their suspension from the University.

MEDICAL ACCOMMODATION

The University recognizes that a student's ability to meet his/her academic responsibilities may, on occasion, be impaired by medical illness. Please go to https://studentservices.uwo.ca/secure/medical_accommodations_link_for_OOR.pdf to read about the University's policy on medical accommodation. Please go to <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/medicalform.pdf> to download the necessary form. In the event of illness, you should contact Academic Counselling as soon as possible. The Academic Counsellors will determine, in consultation with the student, whether or not accommodation is warranted. They will subsequently contact the instructors in the relevant courses about the accommodation. Once a decision has been made about accommodation, the student should contact his/her instructors to determine a new due date for term tests, assignments, and exams.

If you have any further questions or concerns please contact, Rebecca Dashford, Undergraduate Program Advisor, Department of History, 519-661-2111 x84962 or rdashfo@uwo.ca

