

**University of Sussex
School of Global Studies
Department of International Relations**

Capitalism and Geopolitics

**Course Code: L2062
(30 Credits)**

**Room: Fulton 207
Time: Thursday, 1-4pm**

**BA International Relations
Final Year: Specialist Option**

**Autumn Term 2012
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Office Hours: Monday, 10-11am and Thursday, 10-11am

Course Outline:

Capitalism and Geopolitics

I. Introduction

Week 1: Capitalism and Geopolitics – Approaches and Research Programme

II. Major Theoretical Perspectives

Week 2: The Weberian Tradition: War, the State and the Primacy of Geopolitics

Week 3: The Marxist Tradition: Exchange versus Class Relations, the State, and the Turn to Geopolitics

III. The History of Capitalism and Geopolitics

Week 4: Absolutism, War and the ‘Westphalian System of States’

Week 5: The French Revolution and Napoleon

Week 6: Capitalism, British Hegemony, and the ‘Concert of Europe’

Week 7: Imperialism and Inter-Imperial Rivalry

Week 8: Versailles, Fascism and ‘*Geopolitik*’

Week 9: Term Paper Plan Workshop

Week 10: Post-WWII International Order: American Hegemony?

Week 11: Globalisation and the Neo-Imperial Turn

Week 12: Term Paper Workshop

Course Description

The major theoretical traditions in IR, notably Realism and Neorealism, conceptualise international relations in abstraction from the question of the historical origins and development of capitalism. This restricts the analytical field to political relations – diplomacy, geopolitics, war - between states in an anarchical environment. Classical Marxism, in contrast, has largely neglected the challenge of the geopolitical dimension of capitalist development across time and space. While Realists insist on the primacy and autonomy of geopolitics, Marxists tend to reduce geopolitics to the deep ‘laws of motion’ of capitalism, if the problem of interstate rivalry for the course of capitalist development is not ignored altogether.

This long-standing opposition between Realists and Marxists has been subject to many attempts of theoretical synthesis, but also re-entrenchment. Realism, since Hobbes, has been enriched by Neo-Weberian Historical Sociology seeking to reconnect geopolitics with the classical sociology agenda, defined by Max Weber and Otto Hintze. During the interwar period, however, Realism was dramatically redefined by Carl Schmitt, promoting geopolitics again to the irreducible center of international relations. Similarly, Marxism has widened its analytical scope. Classical theories of imperialism, World Systems Theory and Neo-Gramscian IR have confronted the absence of international relations without, however, conceding much ground to Realism. While these theoretical developments have enriched the field – establishing the new discipline of *International Historical Sociology* - the opposition between Realism and Marxism and the challenge to integrate the dynamics of capitalism with the dynamics of geopolitics persist.

This multi-disciplinary course is designed a) to familiarize you with the main theoretical approaches in *International Historical Sociology*, b) to re-examine the historical relations between capitalism and geopolitics from the 17th to the 21st Century, and c) to explore possible avenues out of this theoretical impasse between Realism and Marxism. The course reviews the major theoretical debates, old and new, on the nexus between capitalism and geopolitics. It combines these theoretical questions with in-depth interrogations of history – the key processes, actors and events that shaped the turbulent history of the co-development of capitalism and the international system.

The first part of the course starts with an overview of the three classical traditions that have most centrally informed this discourse: (i) the writings of Max Weber and Otto Hintze that assert the primacy of military competition for geopolitical orders and that have - since the mid-1980s – inspired a Neo-Weberian turn in Historical Sociology and IR; (ii) the works of Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein – updated and extended by neo-Gramscian IR Theory - that revolve around the rise of commercial exchange and the construction of successive world hegemonies; and (iii) the ideas of Karl Marx that, although short on specific arguments on geopolitics, have more recently led to intense debates within the Neo-Marxist literature on how to conceptualise capitalist social relations and class conflict in their effects on inter-state conflict and co-operation across the centuries. Against this theoretical setting, the second part of the course examines sequentially a number of different historical geopolitical orders – dynastic-absolutist, revolutionary-Napoleonic, 19th Century British Hegemony, imperialist, fascist, liberal and contemporary – on the basis of the divergent interpretations deriving from the three classical traditions.

The key objective of this course is to develop solid knowledge of the interrelations between capitalism and geopolitics, historically and theoretically, and – for your Term Paper - to enable you to make an informed and intelligent selection of one or more theoretical perspectives to interpret and reconstruct a particular historical conjuncture of the international history covered in this course.

Seminar Organisation

The course consists of 12 three-hour seminars in the Autumn Term. These are divided into 10 substantive seminars and 2 term paper workshops (weeks 9 & 12). Seminars include a 25 minutes presentation by a dedicated discussion leader or two 20 minutes presentations by two discussion leaders.

The seminars are designed to provide an overview of the course syllabus with commentary on the literature and are an opportunity to explore in depth particular issues and to engage in discussion in a small group context. Students will be expected to contribute every week to discussions.

For each seminar session, study questions have been set, which will inform our discussions. One student will take the lead in introducing and commenting on each question in relation to the core readings, but everybody will be expected to engage with each of these questions. After the introductory seminar we have nine substantive sessions and two planning and revision sessions. Each substantive meeting will have several study questions that need introducing, so this means (depending on numbers) that each student is responsible for presenting (at least) one of them. You are expected to engage in continuous independent study, employing the reading list (below) and other sources to deepen your knowledge of the subject.

The two workshops in weeks 9 & 12 are dedicated to term paper planning. In week 9, I will introduce expectations regarding the term paper plan and the term paper itself. This includes information on suitable topics and the key components of the term paper plan (see also below). You will then discuss your ideas and topics amongst yourselves in small groups for about 30 mins. Thereafter, we will discuss and clarify outstanding issues and questions. Please come prepared to this meeting by having chosen and thought about your topic.

The second workshop in week 12 is designed to help you turn your term paper plan into a term paper. I will start by setting out key aspects of preparing, structuring, referencing and presenting term papers and talk you through our marking criteria. These will help you to get a better sense of what we expect. You will then get together in small groups to discuss your projects for about 30 mins before we reconvene to discuss any outstanding issues. Please bring your term paper plans along to this meeting.

Presentations

Presentations are supposed to last about 25 minutes for single presenters and 20 minutes for two presenters. They should tie the core readings of that particular week to the study questions. A 2-page hand-out that summarises in bullet-point form the key points of the presentation (and any other supplementary material, like maps, statistics, graphs, extracts from primary sources like speeches, letters, and official documents) should be circulated to course participants at the start of each presentation.

Each presentation should be organised according to the following guidelines:

- A short and succinct summary of the key argument of each core reading
- Answers to one or several study questions in light of these core arguments
- Critical reflection and analyses of these core arguments (also in the light of additional literature consulted). What are the key issues raised in the readings? What kinds of questions do they raise for further exploration in the seminar? What are my answers and conclusions?

Assessment & Coursework

The course is 10% assessed by a 1,000 words **Term Paper Plan** in combination with a 6,000 words **Term Paper**. Please read the assessment criteria, which you find at the end of this course guide. In addition, the coursework requirements for this course include:

- Attendance at and substantial contribution to each seminar
- Acting as presenter & discussion leader at least once per term

The Long Term Paper

The Long Term Paper constitutes a major written work reporting the results of a substantial research project, providing a coherent argument about the topic addressed and aiming to incorporate an element of originality in the argument and/or the evidence used to sustain it.

It should be up to 6,000 words long, including footnotes, but excluding the bibliography. You should submit 2 copies of your work, identified by candidate number only, to Student Progress & Assessment Office (SPA). Cover sheets, available from SPA, must be attached to your work.

The exact submission date will be announced through Sussex Direct.

The University's *Examination and Assessment Handbook for Undergraduate Students* contains information on the technical format of the Term Paper. It is available here:

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/academicoffice/1-3-2-1.ht>

Information on referencing and citation styles can be found at:
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/library/infosuss/referencing/>

Information on penalties for late submission and mitigating circumstances can be found at:
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/studentlifecentre/mitigation>

Term Paper Topics and Title Approval

- The topic and the title should be decided in discussion with me. It is a requirement to sign a title registration form, available from the School Office, before submission.
- You should start thinking about your choice of topic as soon as possible. I will dedicate a full seminar in week 9 to discuss expectations and answer questions in relation to preparations.
- Around that time (week 9), you should start coming to my office hours to discuss your thoughts on your choice of topic, and start devising a Term Paper Plan.
- The second workshop (week 12) will provide a second chance to present and discuss your Term Paper Plans.

Submitting a Term Paper Plan

It is a requirement of this course to submit a Term Paper Plan. It should be no longer than 1,000 words and word-processed. You should submit your Plan in **week 11** of the autumn term. I will discuss your Plans in individual sessions during my office hours in weeks 11 and 12 and in the final workshop.

The purpose of the Plan is to provide an outline of your project. It should include:

- Your preliminary title
- A 200 word abstract or summary
- Your proposed thesis or key argument
- A brief literature review
- A short exposition of your chosen theoretical framework
- An outline of your historical case study or case studies
- An indicative bibliography of up to 15 titles (books and journal articles)

Feedback

The course will be evaluated by you using an anonymous online Student Evaluation Questionnaire. Feel free, though, to raise issues with me as they arise during the course.

Warning: Plagiarism

Essays or dissertations must be entirely your own work, though of course they will be based upon what you have read, heard and discussed. It is very important that you avoid plagiarism, the presentation of another person's thoughts or words as though they were your own.

What is plagiarism? The Sussex University definition is as follows:

“...plagiarism is the use, without acknowledgment, of the intellectual work of other people and the act of representing the ideas or discoveries of another as one's own in written work submitted for assessment. To copy sentences, phrases or even striking expressions without acknowledgment of the source (either by inadequate citation or failure to indicate verbatim quotations) is plagiarism; to paraphrase without acknowledgment is likewise plagiarism.” (*BA and LLB Examinations: Handbook for Examiners and Examination Board*, p.45).

When you submit your written work, you will be asked to sign a statement that the work submitted is your own. Course Tutors and examiners check submitted work for plagiarism. Suspicious cases are submitted to an Academic Misconduct Panel which may impose severe penalties.

Plagiarism is a serious examination offence.

To avoid plagiarism, intentional or unintentional, be careful to record who said or wrote what in your notes, and always provide accurate references in your essays.

Weekly Readings

You will find a comprehensive list of reading materials for each week in the reading list below.

The **core readings** constitute the absolute minimum that each of you has to read to be able to participate in seminar questions. You will normally be assigned between 80 to 100 pages per week as core readings. You are, however, encouraged to also draw from the readings listed in the further readings section for seminar discussions, especially when it comes to the more historical topics, where you need to do some independent background reading in terms of historiographical overviews.

If you are responsible for a presentation, it is of course expected that, in addition to the core readings, you will read widely amongst the further reading list.

There is plenty of material in the library which is not listed below. If you come across any such readings which you find especially useful, I would be more than happy to receive the bibliographical information for these items.

You should expect to be working independently for this course about 12 hours per week, in addition to your seminar attendance.

Week 1: Introduction: Capitalism and Geopolitics – Approaches and Research Programme

This session will be an introductory one, but you will nonetheless be expected to come prepared. In the first half of the session we will go through some of the administrative and introductory stuff. I will give an overview of the course. More importantly, you will be asked to sign up for presentations. You are therefore advised to have a good look through the syllabus beforehand to decide what you want to present on. In the second half of the session, we will have a broader discussion on the theme of ‘capitalism and geopolitics’ within IR and the subfield of ‘International Historical Sociology’. Please come prepared by reading the core readings below in advance.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Why do we need to historicise in IR?
- 2) What is the specific contribution of Historical Sociology to IR Theory? Why do we need to extend or revise the field of IR in the direction of an international historical sociology (IHS)?
- 3) Do authors agree on the subject-matter of the emerging field of ‘International Historical Sociology’?
- 4) What constitutes the core problematique of a (Neo-)Weberian IHS?
- 5) What constitutes the core problematique of a (Neo-)Marxist IHS?
- 6) Which is the best method to conduct IHS?

Core Readings:

- John Hobson, George Lawson and Justin Rosenberg (2010), ‘Historical Sociology’, in Robert A. Denemark (ed.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, vol. VI, (Oxford: Wiley-Balckwell), pp. 3357-3375.
- Lawson, George (2007), ‘Historical Sociology in International Relations: Open Society, Research Programme and Vocation’, *International Politics*, 44:4, 343-368.
- Teschke, Benno (2011), ‘Advances and Impasses in Fred Halliday’s International Historical Sociology: A Critical Appraisal’, *International Affairs*, 87:5, pp. 1-20.

International Historical Sociology is an emerging field that is still ill-defined and interdisciplinary, rather than transdisciplinary, in nature. However, there are by now a few works, mostly located within the field of IR, that try to delineate its essential contours more sharply – research programme, approaches, subject matter, lacunae, etc.. In this, it builds partly on the more mature and long-standing field of Historical Sociology, which had its strongest moment in the 1920s and 1930s in Germany.

There are a number of recent debates within mainstream IR journals that explicitly focus on the question of the relation between History/Historical Sociology and IR:

- *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2010, 23: 1.

- *Millennium*, 2008, 37:2.
- *International Politics*, 2007, 44:4
- *International Politics*, 2006, 43:5
- *Review of International Political Economy*, 1998, 5:2.

For the most recent developments in IR Historical Sociology, consult the website of the BISA ‘Historical Sociology’ working group at <http://www.historical-sociology.org/index.html> and the Comparative and Historical Sociology section of the American Sociological Association <http://www2.asanet.org.sectionchs>.

You will realize that much of my own thinking on the subject is inspired by the tradition of Political Marxism, associated with the work of Robert Brenner and Ellen Meiksins Wood. For more on this approach, see

<http://politicalmarxism.wordpress.com/>

Relevant academic journals for this course include:

- *European Journal of International Relations*
- *Review of International Studies*
- *New Left Review*
- *International Politics*
- *International Theory*
- *Review of International Political Economy*
- *Geopolitics*
- *Political Geography*
- *The Cambridge Review of International Affairs*
- *Economy & Society*
- *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*
- *Antipode: A Journal of Radical Geography*
- *Comparative Studies in Society and History*
- Older issues of *World Politics* were also more historically oriented.

The Journal of Historical Sociology contains also many relevant articles and debates, even though its focus is not directly ‘international’ and more ‘micro’ than ‘macro’. The journal ‘*International History*’ is also worth consulting.

The two flag-ship journals of American Sociology – the *American Journal of Sociology* and the *Annual Review of Sociology* – have turned predominantly ‘quantitative’ (rather than ‘qualitative’), though they are worth checking. The LSE-based *British Journal of Sociology*, the *European Journal of Sociology* and the *European Sociological Review* are also relevant.

Surveys, Readers and Handbooks:

1) Texts in IR and Political Geography

- Agnew, John, Katheryne Mitchell and Gerard Toal (eds.), *A Companion to Political Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell 2007)
- Buzan, Barry and Richard Little (2000), *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations* (Oxford: OUP)
- Cox, Michael, Tim Dunne and Ken Booth (2001), *Empires, Systems and States: Great Transformations in International Politics* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Cox, Kevin R., Murray Low and Jennifer Robinson (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Political Geography* (London: Sage 2007)
- Elman, Colin and Miriam Elman (eds.), *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists and the Study of IR* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 2001)
- Hobden, Stephen and John M. Hobson (2002), *Historical Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: CUP) [***this is probably the easiest and most accessible introductory survey available*]; see especially John Hobson (2002), 'What's at Stake in Bringing Historical Sociology Back into International Relations?' in Stephen Hobden and John Hobson (eds.), *Historical Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 3–41
- O Tuathail, Gearoid, Simon Dalby and Paul Routledge, *The Geopolitics Reader*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge 2006)
- Teschke, Benno (2008), 'Marxism', in Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds.) (2008), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: OUP), chapter 9, pp. 163-187 [*this is the most up-to-date and comprehensive critical survey of Marxism and IR available and should be used as a vademecum throughout this course*]

Useful references to IR Theory and International Historical Sociology can also be found in the following standard textbooks:

- Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds.) (2008), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: OUP)
- Baylis, John and Steve Smith (eds.) (2007), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 4th edition (Oxford: OUP)
- Burchill, Scott et al (2009), *Theories of International Relations*, 4th ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan); see especially chapters 5 & 6 by Andrew Linklater on 'Marx and Marxism' and 'Historical Sociology'.
- Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (2002), *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage)

2) Texts in Historical Sociology

- Abrams, Philip (1982), *Historical Sociology* (Shepton Mallet: Open Books)
- Adams, Julia, Elisabeth S. Clemens and Ann Shola Orloff (eds.) (2005), *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology* (Durham and London: Duke University Press).

- Anderson, Perry (2007), *Spectrum: From Right to Left in the World of Ideas* (London: Verso) [see especially the entries on Leo Strauss, Carl Schmitt, Eric Hobsbawm, Robert Brenner and E.P. Thompson]
- Bidet, Jacques and Stathis Kouvelakis (eds.) (2008), *Critical Companion to Contemporary Marxism* (Leiden: Brill) [contains many up-to-date entries on themes central to this course like, for example, ‘Historical Materialism and IR’, ‘Political Marxism’ etc.]
- Delanty, Gerard and Engin F. Isin (eds.) (2003), *Handbook of Historical Sociology* (London: Sage)
- Hall, John A. and Ralph Schroder (eds.) (2006), *An Anatomy of Power: The Social Theory of Michael Mann* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Skocpol, Theda (ed.), (1984), *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Smith, Dennis (1992), *The Rise of Historical Sociology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press)
- Tilly, Charles (1981), *As Sociology Meets History* (New York: Academic Press)
- Tilly, Charles (1990), *Big Structures, Large Comparisons, Huge Processes* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation)
- For German-reading students, I can highly recommend the multi-volume lexicon edited by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (eds.) (1972-1997), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-Sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta). It follows the method of ‘historical semantics’ and traces the changing meanings of core social and political concepts – like sovereignty, empire, war - across history.

3) Historical Surveys in IR

- Bobbitt, Philip (2002), *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History* (London: Allen Lane)
- Delbrück, Hans (1990) [1920], *History of the Art of War*, vols. 1-4 (University of Nebraska Press)
- Hartmann, Anja V. and Beatrice Heuser (eds.) (2001), *War, Peace and World Orders in European History* (London: Routledge); [*an empirically useful, but thoroughly a-theoretical overview*]
- Holsti, Kalevi J. (1991), *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Ikenberry, John G. (2001), *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press),
- Lesaffer, Randall (ed.) (2004), *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the late Middle Ages to World War One* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Osiander, Andreas (1994), *The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- , (2007), *Before the State: Systemic Political Change in the West from the Greeks to the French Revolution* (Oxford: OUP)

- Schwartz, Herman (2000), *States versus Markets: The Emergence of a Global Economy*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Siegelberg, Jens and Klaus Schlichte (eds.) (2000), *Strukturwandel Internationaler Beziehungen: Zum Verhältnis von Staat und Internationalem System seit dem Westfälischen Frieden* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag)

Week 2: The Geopolitical Tradition: War, the State and the Primacy of Geopolitics

Seminar Questions:

- 1) To which degree does geography - and the geo-strategic advantages and disadvantages derived from it - matter in understanding the differential development of 'states' in early modern Europe?
- 2) What is the link between war and state-formation in the Weber-Hintze tradition? Is there a difference between 'sovereignty' and 'the modern state' in this literature?
- 3) How are differences in state-formation – in regime types or constitutions – explained by the various writers in this tradition?
- 4) Assess the argument of 'state autonomy'!
- 5) How is capitalism defined in this tradition and how is it related to the nexus between geopolitical competition and state-formation?
- 6) Is the Weber-Hintze approach to war and state-formation superior to Marxism?

Core Reading:

- Axtmann, Roland, (1993), 'The Formation of the Modern State: The Debate in the Social Sciences', in Mary Fulbrook (ed.), *National Histories and European History* (London: UCL Press), pp. 21-45.
- Tilly, Charles (1990), 'Cities and States in World History', in Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1992* (Cambridge: Blackwell), pp. 1-37.
- Skocpol, Theda (1979), *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge: CUP), preface, chapter 1 & conclusion.

Critiques:

- Cammack, Paul (1989), 'Bringing the State Back in?', *British Journal of Political Science*, 19, pp. 261-90.
- Brenner, Robert (2006), 'From Theory to History: 'The European Dynamic' or Feudalism to Capitalism?', in John A. Hall and Ralph Schroeder (eds.), *An Anatomy of Power: The Social Theory of Michael Mann* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 189-232.
- McMichael, Philip (1990), 'Incorporating Comparison within a World-Historical Perspective; An Alternative Comparative Method', *American Sociological Review*, 55:3, pp. 385-397.

- Teschke, Benno (2003), *The Myth of 1648* (London: Verso), pp.117-127.
- Wickham, Chris (1988), 'Historical Materialism, Historical Sociology', *New Left Review*, No. 171, pp. 63-78.

Further Reading:

- Axtmann, Roland (1990), 'The Formation of the Modern State: A Reconstruction of Max Weber's Arguments', *History of Political Thought*, 11:2, pp. 295-311.
- Bendix, Reinhard (1960), 'Basic Concepts of Political Sociology', chapter 9, pp. 285-297, in *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- (1967), 'Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9:3, pp. 292-346.
- Bonney, Richard (ed.) (1990), *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c.1200-1815* (Oxford: OUP), pp. 1-17 (introduction)
- , (ed.) (1995), *Economic Systems and State Finance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- Brewer, John (1989), *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688 – 1783* (New York: Knopf)
- and Eckhart Hellmuth (eds.) (1999), *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford: OUP)
- Carroll, Patrick (2009), 'Articulating Theories of States and State Formation', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 22: 4, pp. 553-603.
- Collins, Randal (1980), 'Weber's Last Theory of Capitalism: A Systematization', *American Sociological Review*, 45, pp. 925-942 [reprinted in R. Collins (1986), *Weberian Sociological Theory* (Cambridge: CUP), chapter 2.]
- Contamine, Philippe (ed.) (2000), 'Introduction', in Ph. Contamine, *War and Competition Between States* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 1-7.
- Downing, Brian C. (1992), *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Ertman, Thomas (1997), *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP), esp. chapter 1.
- Evans, Peter, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (1985), 'On the Road toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State', pp. 347-366, in *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by P. Evans, et al. (New York: CUP).
- Giddens, Anthony (1984), *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Gilbert, Felix (1990), *History: Politics or Culture?: Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Gorski, Philip (2001), 'Beyond Marx and Hintze?': Third Wave Theories of Early Modern State Formation', *Contemporary Studies in Society and History*, 43:3.
- , (2003), *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), chapter 1.
- Hintze, Otto (1975 [1906]), 'Military Organization and the Organization of the State', in Felix Gilbert, ed., *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, (New York: OUP), pp. 180-215.

- , (1975 [1902]), ‘The Formation of States and Constitutional Development: A Study in History and Politics’, in Felix Gilbert, ed., *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, (New York: OUP), pp. 159-177.
- Hobson, John M. and Linda Weiss (1995), *States and Economic Development: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (Cambridge: Polity)
- , (1997) *The Wealth of States: A Comparative Sociology of International Economic and Political Change* (Cambridge: CUP)
- , (2000), ‘Weberian Historical Sociology’, in J. Hobson, *The State and International Relations* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 174-214.
- , (1998) ‘The Historical Sociology of the State and the State of Historical Sociology in International Relations’, *Review of International Political Economy*, 5 (2): 284-320.
- Hui, Victoria Tin-bor (2005), *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Kennedy, Paul (1988), *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* (London: Unwin Hyman).
- Michael Mann (1984), ‘The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results’, *European Journal of Sociology*, 25 (2): 185-213 [reprinted in M. Mann (1988), *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology* (Oxford: OUP, pp. 1-32].
- (1986), *The Sources of Social Power: Vol. 1. A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge: CUP)
- (1988), *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology* (Oxford: OUP)
- (1993), *The Sources of Social Power, Vol. 2. The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914* (Cambridge: CUP).
- Mommsen, Wolfgang J. (1984) [1959], *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), especially chapters 2,3 and 4.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang (ed.) (1996), *Power Elites and State Building* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- Skocpol, Theda (1985), ‘Bringing the State Back in: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research’, in *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by P. Evans, et al. (New York: CUP), pp. 3-37.
- (1994), *Social Revolutions in the Modern World* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Spruyt, Hendrik (1994), *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton: Princeton New Jersey), especially chapters 1 & 2.
- Stone, Lawrence (ed.) (1994), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 – 1815* (London: Routledge)
- Tilly, Charles (1975), ‘Reflections on the History of European State-Making’, in Charles Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press), pp. 3-83.
- (1985), ‘War Making and State Making as Organized Crime’, in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 169-91
- (1992), *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990-1992* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)
- Von Ranke, Leopold (1973), *The Theory and Practice of History*, edited by G. G. Iggers

and K. Moltke (Bobbs-Merrill).

Weber, Max (1978) [1922], 'Domination by Economic Power and by Authority', 'Characteristics of Modern Bureaucracy', 'The Power Position of the Bureaucracy', pp. 941-948, 956-958, 990-992 in *Economy and Society*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, (eds.) (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Weber, Max (1989) [1895], 'The National State and Economic Policy', in Keith Tribe (ed.), *Reading Weber* (London: Routledge), pp. 188-209 [also in Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs (eds.), *Max Weber: Political Writings* (Cambridge: CUP), pp.1-28.]

Weber, Max (1991) [1948], 'The Prestige and Power of the "Great Powers"', in Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills (eds.) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge), pp. 149-161.

Further Critiques:

Anderson, Perry (1992), 'Michael Mann's Sociology of Power', in P. Anderson, *A Zone of Engagement* (London: Verso), pp. 76-86.

Dufour, Frederick Guillaume and Thierry Lapointe (2007), 'la Sociologie Historique Néowébérienne: L'Éffritement de la Distinction entre la Politique Comparée et l'Étude des Relations Internationales', in Alex Macleod et Dan O'Meara (eds.), *Théories des Relations Internationales: Contestations et Résistances* (Outremont: Athéna), pp. 305-27.

Jessop, Bob (1990), *State Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press), pp. 275-288.

Sayer, Derek (1991), 'Reinventing the Wheel: Anthony Giddens, Karl Marx and Social Change', in Jon Clark et al., *Anthony Giddens: Consensus and Controversy* (Basingstoke: Falmer Press), pp.

Useful readers on Weber include:

Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills (eds.) (1991) [1948], *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge).

Lassman, Peter and Ronald Speirs (eds.), *Max Weber: Political Writings* (Cambridge: CUP).

Runciman, W.G. (1978), *Weber: Selections in Translation* (Cambridge: CUP)

Tribe, Keith (ed.) (1989), *Reading Weber* (London: Routledge).

Week 3: The Marxist Tradition: Exchange versus Class Relations, the State, and the Turn to Geopolitics

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of *The Communist Manifesto* for Marx and Engels's original conception of the international relations of capitalism for world history.
- 2) How is capitalism defined in the commercial tradition and how does it conceptualise the transition to capitalism?
- 3) How convincing is the concept of 'hegemony' – both theoretically and as an explanatory category in relation to world history?

- 4) How is the inter-state system conceived in world-systems theory, both chronologically and theoretically, and what role do geopolitics and war play in the modern world-system?
- 5) Do you agree with Robert Brenner's critique of Wallerstein? If not, what's missing?
- 6) How does Political Marxism define capitalism and what are its implications for rethinking the narrative for European development?
- 7) How convincing is Lacher's critique of the Marxist IR tradition?

Core Reading:

- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels (1989), *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition* (London: Verso), pp. 33-50 (section I)
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974), 'The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16: 387-415.
- Robert Brenner (1997), 'Property Relations and the Growth of Agricultural Productivity in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in R. Bhaduri, A. Skarstein, R. (eds.), *Economic Development and Agricultural Productivity* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar), pp. 9-44.
- Lacher, Hannes (2002), 'Making Sense of the International System: The Promises and Pitfalls of Contemporary Marxist Theories of International Relations', in Mark Rupert and Hazel Smith (eds.), *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London: Routledge), pp. 147-64.

Further Reading:

The Commercial Tradition/World-Systems Theory

- Abu-Lughod, Janet L. (1989), *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: OUP)
- Arrighi, Giovanni (1993), 'The Three Hegemonies of Historical Capitalism', in Stephen Gill (ed.), *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 148-185.
- (1994), *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (London: Verso)
- and Beverly Silver (1999), *Chaos and Governance in the Modern World System* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- and Beverley J. Silver (2001), 'Capitalism and World (Dis)Order', in Cox, Michael, Tim Dunne and Ken Booth (2001), *Empires, Systems and States: Great Transformations in International Politics* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 257-80.
- (2005a), 'Hegemony Unravelling 1', *New Left Review*, second series, 32: 23-80.
- (2005b), 'Hegemony Unravelling 2', *New Left Review*, second series, 33: 83-116.
- (2007), *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the 21st Century* (London: Verso)
- Banaji, Jairus (2007), 'Islam, the Mediterranean and the Rise of Capitalism', *Historical Materialism*, 15, pp.47-74
- (2010), *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation* (Leiden: Brill).

- Braudel, Fernand (1972), 'History and the Social Sciences', in Peter Burke, ed., *Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe: Essays from Annales*, (London: Routledge), pp. 11-42.
- (1977), *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press)
- (1981), *On History* (London: Weidenfeld)
- (1985) [1979], *Civilization & Capitalism, 15th-18th Century. Vol. 1: The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible* (London: Fontana Press).
- (1982) [1979], *Civilization & Capitalism, 15th-18th Century. Vol. 2: The Wheels of Commerce* (London: Collins), pp. 223-272.
- (1984), *Civilization & Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol. 3: The Perspective of the World* (London: Collins)
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher (1991), *Global Formation: Structures of the World-Economy*. (Oxford: Blackwell).
- and T. Hall (1997), *Rise and Demise: Comparing World Systems* (Boulder, Co.: Westview)
- and E. N. Anderson (2005), *The Historical Evolution of World Systems* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan)
- and Babones, Salvatore J (eds.) (2006), *Global Social Change: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press)
- Frank, Andre Gunder (1966), 'The Development of Underdevelopment', *Monthly Review* 18: 17-31.
- Mielants, Eric H. (2007), *The Origins of Capitalism and the "Rise of the West"* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press).
- Taylor, Peter J. (1993), *Political Geography: World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, 3rd edition (Harlow: Longman)
- Tracy, James D. (ed.) (1990), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750* (Cambridge: CUP)
- , (1991), *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974), *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press).
- (1980), *The Modern World-System: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (Boston: Academic Press)
- (1983), 'The Three Instances of Hegemony in the History of the Capitalist World-Economy', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 24: 100-08.
- (1991), *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System* (Cambridge: CUP)
- (1996) [1983], *Historical Capitalism with Capitalist Civilization* (London: Verso)
- (1996), 'The Inter-State Structure of the Modern World-System', in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Maja Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: CUP), pp.87-107.
- (2004), *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham/London: Dukes University Press).
- (2006), 'The Curve of US Power', *New Left Review*, second series, 40: 77-94.

Critiques of World-System Theory:

- Brenner, Robert (1977), 'The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism', *New Left Review*, 104: 25-92. [This is a famous and rather long and difficult article, but it is a very worthwhile read that covers a lot of ground!]
- (2007), 'Property and Progress: Where Adam Smith Went Wrong', in Chris Wickham (ed.), *Marxist History-Writing for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: OUP), pp. 49-111.
- Brewer, Anthony (1990), *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge), pp. 161-178.
- Gerstenberger, Heide (1987), 'Vom Lauf der Zeit: Eine Kritik an Fernand Braudel', *Prokla: Zeitschrift für Kritische Sozialwissenschaft*, 17:67, pp. 119-134.
- Gourevitch, Peter (1978), 'The International System and Regime Formation: A Critical Review of Anderson and Wallerstein', *Comparative Politics*, 10, pp. 419-38.
- Gowan, Peter (2006), 'Contemporary Intracore Relations and World-Systems Theory', in *Global Social Change: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, eds. C. Chase-Dunn and S. J. Babones, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 213-38.
- Marx, Karl (1981) [1894], 'Chapter 20: Historical Material on Merchant Capital', in Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 3 (London: Penguin).
- Skocpol, Theda (1977), 'Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique', *American Journal of Sociology*, 82:5, pp. 1075-90 [reprinted in Th. Skocpol (1994), *Social Revolutions in the Modern World* (Cambridge: CUP), chapter 2].
- Teschke, Benno (2003), *The Myth of 1648* (London: Verso), pp. 129-139.
- (2008), 'Marxism', in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: OUP), pp. 169-73.
- Wolf, Eric R. (1982), 'Crisis and Differentiation in Capitalism', in R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 296-309 (chapter 10).
- Zolberg, Aristide (1980), 'Strategic Interactions and the Formation of Modern States: France and England', *International Social Science Journal*, 32:4, pp. 687-716.
- (1981), 'Origins of the Modern World System: A Missing Link', *World Politics*, 33:2, pp. 253-81.

The Class Conflict Tradition/Political Marxism:

- Anderson, Perry (1974), *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso).
- Brenner, Robert (1985), 'The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism', in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, eds. T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 213-327.
- (1986), 'The Social Basis of Economic Development', in John Roemer (ed.), *Analytical Marxism* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 23-53.
- (1993), *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge: CUP) [there is a pb edition]

- available from Verso 2003]
- (2001), 'The Low Countries in the Transition to Capitalism', in Peter Hoppenbrouwers and Jan Luiten van Zanden (eds.), *Peasants into Farmers? The Transformation of Rural Economy and Society in the Low Countries* (Turnhout: ...), pp. 247-76.
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- Dufour, Frederick Guillaume (2007), 'Approches Néomarxistes: La Théorie Néogramscienne et le Marxisme Politique', in Alex Macleod et Dan O'Meara (eds.), *Théories des Relations Internationales: Contestations et Résistances* (Outremont: Athéna), pp. 207-230.
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- Heine, Christian and Benno Teschke (1996), 'Sleeping Beauty and the Dialectical Awakening: On the Potential of Dialectic for International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 25:2, pp. 399-423, [reprinted in Steven C. Roach (2007) in Steven C. Roach (ed.), *Critical Theory and International Relations: A Reader*, (London/New York: Routledge)].
- (1997), co-authored with Christian Heine, 'The Discipline of International Relations and Dialectical Thinking: A Reply to Our Critics', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 26:2, 455-70.
- Lacher, Hannes (2006), *Beyond Globalization: Capitalism, Territoriality and the International Relations of Modernity* (London: Routledge).
- Lapointe, Thierry and Frederick Dufour (2012), 'Assessing the Historical Turn in IR: An Anatomy of Second Wave Historical Sociology', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25:1, pp. 97-121.
- McNally, David (1988), *Political Economy and the Rise of Capitalism: A Reinterpretation* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Mooers, Colin (1991), *The Making of Bourgeois Europe: Absolutism, Revolution and the Rise of Capitalism in England, France and Germany* (London: Verso).
- Parker, David (1996), *Class and State in Ancien Regime France: The Road to Modernity?* (London: Routledge).
- Post, Charles (2011), *The American Road to Capitalism: Studies in Class Structure, Economic Development and Political Conflict, 1620-1877* (Leiden: Brill).
- Therborn, Goran (1978), *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?: State Apparatuses and State Power Under Feudalism, Capitalism and Socialism* (London: New Left Books) [new edition 2008 on order]

- Van der Pijl, Kees (1998), *Transnational Classes and International Relations* (London: Routledge).
- Wolf, Eric (1981), *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press), especially chapter 3 'Modes of Production'.
- Wood, Ellen Meiksins (1995) [1981], 'The Separation of the „Economic“ and the „Political“ in Capitalism', in E. Wood, *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: CUP), chapter 1.
- (1991), *The Pristine Culture of Capitalism: A Historical Essay on Old Regimes and Modern States* (London: Verso).
- (1995), *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: CUP).
- (2002), *The Origins of Capitalism: A Longer View* (London: Verso).

Further Reading:

- Benner, Erica (1995), *Really Existing Nationalisms: A Post-Communist View from Marx and Engels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Boucher, David (1998), 'Marx and the Capitalist World System', in D. Boucher, *Political Theories of International Relations* (Oxford: OUP), chapter 15.
- Clarke, Simon (ed.), (1991), *The State Debate* (Basingstoke: Macmillan)
- Gallie, W.B. (1978), *Philosophers of Peace and War: Kant, Clausewitz, Marx, Engels And Tolstoy* (Cambridge: CUP), chapter 4.
- Halliday, Fred (1994), 'A Necessary Encounter: Historical Materialism and International Relations', in F. Halliday, *Rethinking International Relations* (London: Macmillan)
- Harvey, David (2001) [1985], 'The Geopolitics of Capitalism', in D. Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (New York: Routledge), pp. 312-344
- Kandal, Terry R. (1989), 'Marx and Engels on International Relations, Revolution and Counterrevolution', in Michael T. Martin and Terry R. Kandal (eds.), *Studies of Development and Change in the Modern World* (New York: OUP), pp. 25-76.
- Linklater, Andrew (1990), *Beyond Realism and Marxism: Critical Theory and International Relations* (London: Macmillan).
- Morton, Adam (2007), *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy* (London: Pluto).
- Neumann, Sigmund and Mark von Hagen (1986), 'Engels and Marx on Revolution, War, and the Army in Society', in Peter Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 262-280.
- Rosenberg, Justin (1994), *The Empire of Civil Society: A Critique of the Realist Theory of International Relations* (London: Verso)
- (1996), 'Isaac Deutscher and the Lost History of International Relations', *New Left Review*, 215, pp. 3-15.
- (2006), 'Why is there no International Historical Sociology?', *European Journal of International Relations*, 12, pp. 307-40.

- Rupert, Mark and Hazel Smith (eds.) (2002), *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London: Routledge)
- Sayer, Derek (1985), 'The Critique of Politics and Political Economy: Capitalism, Communism and the State in Marx's Writings of the mid-1840s', *Sociological Review*, 33:2, pp. 221-53.
- Soell, Helmuth (1972), 'Weltmarkt - Revolution - Staatenwelt: Zum Problem einer Theorie Internationaler Beziehungen bei Marx und Engels', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 12, pp. 109-84.
- Smith, Hazel (1994), 'Marxism and International Relations Theory', in A.J.R. Groom and Margot Light (eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers), chapter 10.

Critiques:

- Berki, R. N. (1971), 'On Marxian Thought and the Problem of International Relations', *World Politics*, 24: 80-105.
- Giddens, Anthony (1981), *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Vol. 1: Power, Property and the State* (London: Macmillan).
- (1984), *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

Useful readers on Marx and Marxism include:

- Bottomore, Tom and Patrick Goode (eds.) (1983), *Readings in Marxist Sociology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Bottomore, Tom (ed.) (1988), *Interpretations of Marx* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
- Carver, Terrell (ed.) (1991), *The Cambridge Companion to Marx* (Cambridge: CUP).
- Sayer, Derek (ed.), (1989), *Readings from Karl Marx* (London: Routledge).
- Simon, Lawrence H (ed.) (1994), *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing)

Week 4: Absolutism, War and the 'Westphalian System of States'

Seminar Questions:

- What are the core assumptions associated with the standard IR conception of 'The Westphalian System' and why are they defective?
- Assess Ruggie's attempt to theorise the transition from medieval geopolitics to modern international relations?
- Discuss the causes and consequences of the divergent trajectories of economic and political development in early modern France and England!
- Discuss and problematise the Marxist notion of 'bourgeois revolution'!
- Does religion matter for understanding the dynamics of war and state-formation in early modern Europe?

Core Readings:

- Gross, Leo (1948), 'The Peace of Westphalia: 1648-1948', *American Journal of International Law*, 42:1, pp. 20-41.
- Ruggie, John Gerard (1986) [1983], 'Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neo-Realist Synthesis', in Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 131-57.
- Teschke, Benno (2002), 'Theorising the Westphalian System of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism', *European Journal of International Relations*, 8(1): 5-48.

Further Reading:

- Anderson, Perry (1974), *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso), Foreword, chapter 1, and Conclusion, being respectively pp. 7-11, 15-42, and 397-431.
- Asbach, Olaf and Peter Schröder (eds.) (2010), *War, the State and International Law in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (London: Ashgate).
- Bobbitt, Philip (2002), *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History* (London: Allen Lane), chapters 7 and 19.
- Duchhardt, Heinz (2001), 'Interstate War and Peace in Early Modern Europe', in Anja V. Hartmann and Beatrice Heuser (eds.), *War, Peace and World Orders in European History* (Routledge: London), pp. 184-195
- Dufour, Frederick (2007), 'Social-Property Regimes and the Uneven and Combined Development of Nationalist Practices', *European Journal of International Relations*, 13(4), pp. 583-604.
- Hall, Rodney Bruce (1999), *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Holsti, Kalevi J. (1991), *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Hui, Victoria Tin-bor (2005), *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP).
- Kennedy, Paul (1988), 'Introduction' and chapter 3 'Finance, Geography and the Winning of Wars, 1660-1815', in P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* (London: Unwin Hyman), pp. xv-xxv and pp. 73-139.
- Krasner, Stephen (1993), 'Westphalia and all that', in J. Goldstein and R. Keohane (eds.), *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change*, (Cornell: Cornell University Press), pp...
- (1995), 'Compromising Westphalia', *International Security*, 20:3, pp. 115-51.
- (1999), *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- McKay, Derek and H.M. Scott (1983), *The Rise of the Great Powers, 1648-1815* (London: Longman).
- Morton, Adam D. (2005), 'The Age of Absolutism: Capitalism, the Modern States-System and International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 31(1), pp. 495-517.
- Nexon, Daniel (2009), *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

- Osiander, Andreas (1994), 'The Peace of Westphalia', in A. Osiander, *The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), chapter 2.
- (2001), 'Sovereignty, International Relations and the Westphalian Myth', *International Organization*, 55:2, pp. 251-287.
- Philpot, Daniel (2001), *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Reus-Smit, Christian (1999), *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity And Institutional Rationality in International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Ruggie, John (1993), 'Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations', *International Organization*, 47:1, pp. 139-74 [reprinted in J. Ruggie (1998), *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London: Routledge)].
- Van der Pijl, Kees (1998), 'The Lockean Heartland in the Global Political Economy', in van der Pijl, *Transnational Classes and International Relations* (London: Routledge), chapter 3.

The Debate on Absolutism and the Transition to Capitalism (France vs. England):

- Anderson, Perry (1992) [1964], 'Origins of the Present Crisis', in P. Anderson, *English Questions* (London: Verso), pp. 15-47 (chapter 1).
- (1974), *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso).
- (2005), 'Civil War, Global Distemper: Robert Brenner', in P. Anderson, *Spectrum: From Right to Left in the World of Ideas* (London: Verso), pp. 232-276.
- Beik, William (1985), *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: CUP).
- (2005), 'The Absolutism of Louis XIV as Social Collaboration', *Past & Present*, 188, pp. 195-224 [*this is the best and most up-to-date discussion and survey of the absolutism literature!*]**.
- Bonney, Richard (ed.) (1995), *Economic Systems and State Finance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- (1995), 'The Eighteenth Century II. The Struggle for Great Power Status and the End of the Old Fiscal Regime', in *Economic Systems and State Finance*, edited by Richard Bonney, (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp.
- (1999), 'France, 1494-1815', in *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c.1200-1815*, edited by R. Bonney (Oxford: OUP), pp.
- Brenner, Robert (1985), 'The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism', in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, eds. T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 213-327.
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- (1993), *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge: CUP) [there is a pb edition available from Verso 2003]
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- Comninel, George C. (1987), *Rethinking the French Revolution: Marxism and the Revisionist Challenge* (London: Verso).
- (2000), 'English Feudalism and the Origins of Capitalism', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 27:4, pp. 1-53.
- (2003), 'Historical Materialist Sociology and Revolutions', in *Handbook of Historical Sociology*, edited by Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin, (London: Sage), pp. 85-95
- Crouzet, François (1990), *Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in Franco-British Economic History* (Cambridge: CUP).
- Dobb, Maurice (1946), *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (London: Routledge)
- Duplessis, Robert S. (1997), *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP), especially chapter 1.
- Emigh, Rebecca 2004, '[The] Transition(s) to Capitalism(s)?: A Review Essay', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 46:1, pp. 188-98.
- Gerstenberger, Heide (2007) [1990], *The Impersonal Power: History and Theory of the Bourgeois State* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers)
- Hilton, Rodney (ed.) (1976), *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London: New Left Books).
- Hoffman, Philip T. (1994), 'Early Modern France, 1450-1700', in *Fiscal Crises, Liberty, and Representative Government, 1450-1789*, edited by Philip T. Hoffman and Kathryn Norberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press), pp. 226-52.
- Lachmann, Richard (2000), *Capitalists in Spite of Themselves: Elite Conflict and Economic Transitions in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: OUP)
- Mielants, Eric H. (2007), *The Origins of Capitalism and the "Rise of the West"* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press).
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- Parker, David (1996), *Class and State in Ancien Regime France: The Road to Modernity?* (London: Routledge).
- Potter, Mark (2003), 'War Finance and Absolutist State Development in Early Modern Europe: An Examination of French Venality in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 7:1-2: 120-47.
- Teschke, Benno (2003), *The Myth of 1648* (London: Verso), chapters 5, 7 & 8.
- Thomson, E.P. (1978) [1965], 'The Peculiarities of the English', in E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory & Other Essays* (London: Merlin Press).
- Wood, Ellen Meiksins (1991), *The Pristine Culture of Capitalism: A Historical Essay on Old Regimes and Modern States* (London: Verso).
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The Debate on 'The Myth of 1648'

- See the contributions by Hendrik Spruyt, Roland Axtmann and John Agnew in *International Politics*, (2006), 43(5) and my reply in Benno Teschke (2006), 'Debating "The Myth of 1648": State-Formation, the Interstate System and the Rise of Capitalism - A Rejoinder', *International Politics*, 43(5): 531-73.
- Paul W. Schroeder (2005), 'Class and the Making of the Modern International System', *European History Quarterly*, 35, pp. 119-25.
- Balakrishnan, Gopal (2004), 'The Age of Warring States', *New Left Review* II, 26, pp. 148-60.

Week 5: The French Revolution and Napoleon

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Does Comninel provide a credible Marxist reformulation of Cobban's critique of the orthodox Marxist interpretation of the French Revolution?
- 2) Was the French Revolution a 'bourgeois revolution', and what was the place of capitalism in its emergence and consequences?
- 3) Does Skocpol's externalist account of the French Revolution constitute an insurmountable Weberian challenge to Marxism?
- 4) What was the effect of the concept of a 'nation-in-arms' on the nature of European warfare?
- 5) In which ways did Napoleon change the rules of international relations?

Core Readings:

- Lewis, Gwynne (1999), 'Introduction to the Second Edition', in Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: CUP), pp.xiii-xlix.
- Comninel, George (2003), 'Historical Materialist Sociology and Revolutions', in *Handbook of Historical Sociology*, edited by Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin, (London: Sage), pp. 85-95
- Skocpol, Theda and Meyer Kestnbaum (1990), 'Mars Unshackled : The French Revolution in World-Historical Perspective', in Ferenc Feher (ed.), *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity* (Berkeley : University of California Press), pp. 13-29
- Teschke, Benno (2005), 'Bourgeois Revolution, State-Formation and the Absence of the International', *Historical Materialism*, 13:2, pp. 3-26.

Further Reading:

- Anderson, Perry (1992) [1976], 'The Notion of Bourgeois Revolution', in P. Anderson, *English Questions* (London: Verso)
- Best, Geoffrey (1998) [new edition] *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870* (Stroud: Sutton).
- (1988) *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and its Legacy 1789-*

- 1989, (London: Fontana).
- Blanning, TCW (1986), *The Origins of the French Revolutionary Wars* (London: Longman).
- (2008), *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648-1815* (London: Penguin).
- Cassels, Alan (1996) *Ideology and International Relations in the Modern World*, (London: Routledge), chapter 2
- Cobban, Alfred (1968), *Aspects of the French Revolution* (London: Granada)
- (1999), *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: CUP).
- Comninel, George C. (1987), *Rethinking the French Revolution: Marxism and the Revisionist Challenge* (London: Verso).
- Doyle, William (1999), *Origins of the French Revolution*, 3rd edition (Oxford: OUP).
- Furet, Francois (1996), *The French Revolution: 1770-1814* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Gildea, Robert (2003), *Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800-1914*, 3rd. edition (Oxford: OUP), chapter 2.
- Halliday, Fred (1999), *Revolution and World Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Sixth Great Power* (Houndmills: Macmillan).
- Hobsbawm, Eric (1962) *The Age of Revolution 1789-1848*, (London: Weidenfeld).
- 1990 [1989], ‘The Making of a “Bourgeois Revolution”’, in *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity*, edited by Ferenc Fehér (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 30-48.
- Howard, Michael (1976), ‘The Wars of the Revolution’, in *War in European History*, (Oxford: OUP).
- Kates, Gary (1998), *The French Revolution: Recent Debates and New Controversies* (London: Routledge).
- Klaits, Joseph Michael Haltzel (1994) *The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution*, (Cambridge: CUP)
- Miller, Stephen (2004), ‘Revolutionary Politics in France, 1788-91: The Case of Languedoc’, *European History Quarterly*, 34:4, pp. 443-74.
- , (2008), *State and Society in Eighteenth-Century France: A Study of Political Power and Social Revolution in Languedoc* (Washington, D.C.).
- Moran, Daniel et al (2003), *People in Arms: Military Myth and Mobilization since the French Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP).
- Paret, Peter (1986), ‘Napoleon and the Revolution in War’, in P. Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 123-142.
- Rudé, George (1964) *Revolutionary Europe 1783-1815*, (London.).
- Thompson, David (1957) *Europe Since Napoleon*, (London: Penguin), Part I.
- Schroeder, Paul W. (1994), *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: OUP).
- Simms, Brendan (1997), *The Impact of Napoleon: Prussian High Politics, Foreign Policy, and the Crisis of the Executive, 1797-1806* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Shilliam, Robbie (2009), *German Thought and International Relations: The Rise and Fall of a Liberal Project* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), chapter 2.
- Soboul, Albert (1974) *The French Revolution 1787-1799*, London,
- (1988), *Understanding the French Revolution* (London: Merlin Press).
- Stone, Bailey (1994), *The Genesis of the French Revolution: A Global-Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: CUP).

—— (2002), *Reinterpreting the French Revolution: A Global-Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: CUP).

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1990), 'The French Revolution as a World-Historical Event', in Ferenc Feher (ed.), *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity*, (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Week 6: Capitalism, British Hegemony and the 'Concert of Europe'

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Compare and contrast Kissinger's Realist with Benner's Marxist account of international politics in the first half of the 19th century! Are they mutually exclusive?
- 2) What is 'hegemony' according to Cox? How do O'Brien and Lacher challenge Cox's notion of hegemony?
- 3) What was the purpose of the 'Concert of Europe'? How did the quest for 'international order' intertwine with the 'social question'?
- 4) Was there a 'Pax Britannica'? If so, what were its sources, mechanisms and achievements?
- 5) How can we conceive of the emergence of capitalism on the Continent?
- 6) What was the Balance of Power in the 19th Century?

Core Reading:

- Henry Kissinger (1994), 'The Concert of Europe: Great Britain, Austria and Russia', in H. Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster), chapter 4, pp. 78-102.
- Benner, Erica (1995), 'Principles and Interests in Foreign Policy', in Benner, *Really Existing Nationalisms: A Post-Communist View from Marx and Engels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 114-122.
- O'Brien, Patrick and Geoffrey Allen Pigman (1992), 'Free Trade, British Hegemony and the International Economic Order in the 19th Century', *Review of International Studies*, 18, pp. 89-113.
- Lacher, Hannes and Julian Germann (2012), 'Before Hegemony: Britain, Free Trade, and 19th Century World Order Revisited', *International Studies Review*, 14, pp. 99-124.
- Teschke, Benno (2003), 'Towards the Modern States-System: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism', in Teschke, *The Myth of 1648* (London: Verso), pp. 249-270.

Further Reading:

Bartlett, C. (1979), 'Britain and the European Balance, 1815-1848', in Alan Sked (ed.), *Europe's Balance of Power 1815-1848* (London: Macmillan)

Bobbitt, Philip (2002), *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History* (London: Allen Lane), 'Introduction' and chapters 8 and 21.

Chamberlain, Muriel Evelyn (1988), *"Pax Britannica"?: British Foreign Policy, 1789-1914* (Harlow: Longman)

- Cox, Robert (1987), *Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (New York: Columbia University Press), Chapter 5: The Coming of the Liberal Order, pp. 105-150.
- Dehio, Ludwig (1963) [1948], *The Precarious Balance: The Politics of Power in Europe 1494-1945* (London: Chatto & Windus), chapter 4.
- Gildea, Robert (2003), 'Metternich's Europe', in R. Gildea, *Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800-1914*, 3rd edition (Oxford: OUP), chapter 3.
- Gulick, Edward Vose (1967) [1955], *Europe's Classical Balance of Power* (New York: W.W. Norton), chapters 7-9.
- Halperin, Sandra (2004), *War and Social Change in Europe: the Great Transformation Revisited* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Hobson, John M. and Linda Weiss (1995), *States and Economic Development: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (Cambridge: Polity), pp. 113-117.
- Holbraad, Carsten (1970), *The Concert of Europe: A Study in German and British International Theory, 1815-1914* (London: Longman)
- Holsti, Kalevi J. (1991), *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989* (Cambridge: CUP), chapters 6 and 7.
- Ikenberry, John G. (2001), *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapter 4 'The Settlement of 1815'.
- Kaufmann Stuart J., Richard Little and William C. Wohlforth (eds.) (2007), *The Balance of Power in World History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)**
- Kennedy, Paul (1988), chapter 4 'Industrialization and the Shifting Global Balances, 1815-1885', in P.Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* (London: Unwin Hyman), pp. 143-169.
- Keohane, Robert O. (1984), *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapter 3.
- Kissinger, Henry (2000) [1957], *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-1822* (London: Phoenix Press).
- Lacher, Hannes (2006), *Beyond Globalization: Capitalism, Territoriality and the International Relations of Modernity* (London: Routledge), pp. 90-98.
- Latham, Richard (1997), 'History, Theory and International Order: Some Lessons from the Nineteenth Century', *Review of International Studies*, 23:4, pp. 419-43.
- Little, Richard (2007), *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths, and Models* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Lowe, John (1990) *The Concert of Europe: International Relations 1814-1870* (London: Hodder & Stoughton), chapter 2: „The Congress of Vienna“.
- Meadwell, Hudson (2001), 'The Long Nineteenth Century in Europe: Reinterpreting the Concert System', in Cox, Michael, Tim Dunne and Ken Booth (2001), *Empires, Systems and States: Great Transformations in International Politics* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 165-189.
- O'Brien, Patrick Karl and Armand Clesse (eds.) (2002), *Two Hegemonies: Britain 1846-1914 and the United States 1941-2001* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Osiander, Andreas (1994), 'The Congress of Vienna', in A. Osiander, *The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability*

- (Oxford: Clarendon Press), chapter 4.
- Polanyi, Karl (1944), *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Beacon Press), chapter 1, pp. 3-20.
- Schroeder, Paul W. (1994), *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: OUP).
- (1994), ‘Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory’, *International Security*, 19:1, pp. 108-48.
- (2000), ‘International Politics, Peace and War, 1815-1914’, in Blanning, T.C.W. (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford: OUP), chapter 5, pp. 158-209.
- (2004) [], ‘Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?’, in Paul W. Schroeder (ed.), *Systems, Stability, and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), chapter 2, pp. 37-57 [originally published 1992 in *The American Historical Review*, 97:3, pp. 683-706].
- (2004), ‘The Nineteenth Century System: Balance of Power or Political Equilibrium?’, in Paul W. Schroeder (ed.), *Systems, Stability, and Statecraft: Essays on the International History of Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), chapter 10, pp. 223-241 [originally published 1989 in *Review of International Studies*, 15, pp. 135-53].
- Schwartz, Herman (2000) ‘The Industrial Revolution and Late Development’, in Schwartz, *States versus Markets: The Emergence of a Global Economy*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave), chapter 4.
- Sheehan, Michael (1996), *The Balance of Power: History and Theory* (London: Routledge), chapter 6.
- Thomson, David (1966), *Europe since Napoleon* (London: Penguin), chapters 8-11.
- Van der Pijl, Kees (1998), ‘The Lockean Heartland in the Global Political Economy’, in van der Pijl, *Transnational Classes and International Relations* (London: Routledge), chapter 3.

The Debate on the ‘Exceptionality’ of England:

- Bonney, Richard (ed.) (1990), *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c.1200-1815* (Oxford: OUP)
- Brewer, John (1989), *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (New York: Alfred Knopf)
- (1994), ‘The Eighteenth Century British State: Contexts and Issues’, in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London: Routledge), pp. 52-71
- Dickson, Peter (1967), *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688-1756* (London: Macmillan).
- Harling, Philip (2001), *The Modern British State: An Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press), chapters 1 & 2.
- O’Brien, Patrick (1998), ‘Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State and the Expansion of Empire, 1688-1815’, in P.J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 2: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP), pp.

- Miller, John (1983), *The Glorious Revolution* (London: Longman)
- Pincus, Steve (2009), *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (Newhaven: Yale University Press), especially chapter 11 'Revolution in Foreign Policy'.
- Prados de la Escosura, Leandro (ed.) (2004), *Exceptionalism and Industrialisation: Britain and its European Rivals, 1688-1815* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Stone, Lawrence (ed.) (1994), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London: Routledge),
- Winch, Donald and Patrick O'Brien (eds.) (2002), *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914* (Oxford: OUP).

Debate on England and its European Rivals:

- Patrick K. O'Brien (2006), 'Contentions of the Purse between England and its European Rivals from Henry V to George IV: a Conversation with Michael Mann', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 19:4, 341-363.
- Michael Mann (2006), 'Putting the Weberian State in its Social, Geopolitical and Militaristic Context: A Response to Patrick O'Brien', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 19:4, pp. 364-373.

Week 7: Imperialism and Inter-Imperial Rivalry

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Assess the strengths and weaknesses of classical Marxist theories of imperialism!
- 2) Where there any economic benefits to imperialism?
- 3) Do we need 'political theories of imperialism' to complement or replace 'economic theories of imperialism'?
- 4) What was the impact of imperial expansion on the non-capitalist 'periphery'? Is there a singular analytic through which we can theorise these geo-economic encounters?
- 5) Is it possible to ground the pre-WWI alliance system and the final descent into war in the deep functional requirements of capitalism?

Core Reading:

- Brewer, Anthony (1990), *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge), chapter 6.
- John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson (1970), 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', in A.G.L. Shaw (ed.), *Great Britain and the Colonies* (London: Methuen), chapter 7.
- Ray Kiely (2010), 'Classical Imperialism, 1882-1945', in Kiely, *Rethinking Imperialism* (London: Plagrove), chapter 4.
- Green, Jeremy (2010), 'Uneven and Combined Development and the Anglo-German Prelude to World War I', *European Journal of International Relations*, 18: 2, pp. 345-368

Further Reading:

An invaluable and comprehensive collection of key articles on imperialism is:

***Cain, P. and Mark Harrison (2001), *Imperialism: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, vols. 1-3 (London: Routledge).

Avineri, Shlomo (ed.) (1968), *Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization* (New York: Doubleday).

Baumgart, Winfried (1982) [1975], *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914* (Oxford: OUP).

Brewer, Anthony (2000), 'Imperialism in Retrospect', in Chilcote, Ronald H. (ed.), *The Political Economy of Imperialism: Critical Appraisals* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefields), pp. 65-83.

Bukharin, Nikolai (1972) [1915], *Imperialism and World Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press).

P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins (1993), *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914* (London: Longman)

P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins (2001), 'The Problem and the Context', in Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism: 1688-2000* 2nd ed. (London: Longman), pp. 23-61

Chilcote, Ronald H. (ed.) (2000), *The Political Economy of Imperialism: Critical Appraisals* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefields).

— (ed.) (2000), *Imperialism: Theoretical Directions* (Amherst: Humanity Books).

Gildea, Robert (2003), 'The Race for Empire', in R.Gildea, *Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800-1914*, 3rd edition, (Oxford: OUP), chapter 12.

Gollwitzer, Hermann (1969), *Europe in the Age of Imperialism, 1880-1914* (London: Thames and Hudson)

Johnson, Robert (2002), *British Imperialism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

Hilferding, Rudolf (1981) [1910], *Finance Capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

Hobsbawm, Eric (1999) [1969], *Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day*, New and revised edition (London: Penguin)

— (1987), *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson)

Horowitz, David (1969), *Imperialism and Revolution* (London: Allen Lane)

Kautsky, Karl (1970) [1914], 'Ultra-imperialism', *New Left Review*, 59: 41-6.

Kehr, Eckart (1977) [1956], 'Class Struggle and the Armament Policy in Imperial Germany', in Kehr, *Economic Interest, Militarism and Foreign Policy: Essays on German History* (Berkeley: University of California Press), chapter 3.

Kennedy, Paul (1988), chapter 5 'The Coming of a Bipolar World and the Crisis of the "Middle Powers": Part One, 1885-1918', in P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* (London: Unwin Hyman), pp. 194-274.

Kiely, Ray (2010), *Rethinking Imperialism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

Kiernan, Victor G. (1974), *Marxism and Imperialism* (London: Arnold).

Koskenniemi, Martti (2001), *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law, 1870-1960* (Cambridge: CUP), chapter 2.

- Lenin, Vladimir. I. (1973) [1917], *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press).
- Luxemburg, Rosa (1951) [1913] *The Accumulation of Capital* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
- Mommsen, Wolfgang. J. (1980), *Theories of Imperialism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson).
- (1995) [1990], *Imperial Germany, 1867-1918: Politics, Culture and Society in an Authoritarian State* (London: Arnold)
- Narizny, Kevin (2007), *The Political Economy of Grand Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), chapters 5-7.
- (2003), ‘Rational Idealism: The Political Economy of Internationalism in the US and Great Britain, 1870-1945’, *Security Studies*, 12: 3, pp. 1-39.
- O’Brien, Patrick (1999), ‘Imperialism and the Rise and Decline of the British Economy, 1688-1989’, *New Left Review*, 238, pp. 48-80.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen and Wolfgang J. Mommsen (1986), *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities* (London: The German Historical Institute).
- Owen, Richard and Bob Sutcliffe (1972) (eds.), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London: Longman).
- Pagden, Anthony (2001), *Peoples and Empires: Europeans and the Rest of the World, from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson), chapters 10 & 11.
- Schroeder, Paul W., (1984) [1972], ‘World War I as Galloping Gertie: A Reply to Joachim Remak’, in H. W. Koch (ed.), *The Origins of the First World War: Great Power Rivalry and German War Aims* (London: Macmillan), pp.101-127.
- Schumpeter, Joseph (1961) [1919], ‘The Sociology of Imperialism’, in J. Schumpeter, *Social Classes and Imperialism* (Cleveland: Meridian Books).
- Schwartz, Herman (2000) ‘The Collapse of the Nineteenth-Century Economy: The Erosion of Hegemony?’, in Schwartz, *States versus Markets: The Emergence of a Global Economy*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave), chapter 7.
- Semmel, Bernard (1960), *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought, 1895-1914* (London: Allen & Unwin).
- Smith, Simon C (1998), *British Imperialism, 1750-1970* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Gareth Stedman Jones (1972), ‘The History of US Imperialism’, in Robin Blackburn (ed.), *Ideology in the Social Sciences: Readings in Critical Social Theory* (Glasgow: Collins), pp. 207-237.
- Thomson, David (1966), ‘Imperial Rivalries and International Alliances, 1871-1914’, in D. Thomson, *Europe since Napoleon* (London: Penguin), pp. 457-544.
- Warren, Bill (1980), *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism* (London: Verso)
- Weber, Max ‘The Economic Foundations of Imperialism’, in Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills (eds.) (1991) [1948], *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge), pp. 162-170.
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich (1985) [1973], *The German Empire, 1871-1918* (Oxford: Berg), esp. chapters 6 & 7.
- Wesseling, H.-L. (1997), *Imperialism and Colonialism: Essays on the History of European Expansion* (Westport: Greenwood Press).

Week 8: Versailles, Fascism and ‘Geopolitik’

Seminar Questions:

- 1) How can we explain the sudden turn towards ‘geography’ in international thought in England, the US and Germany by the turn of the century?
- 2) Assess Neil Smith’s argument on the formation of US grand strategy in the postwar period!
- 3) Is there anything we can learn from the German conception of ‘Geopolitik’?
- 4) What marks, according to Carl Schmitt, the end of the *ius publicum europaeum* and how convincing is his critique of the Versailles Peace Treaty?
- 5) Is Carl Schmitt – reflecting on his critique of the ‘spaceless universalism’ of liberalism and his notion of the *Grossraum* (pan-region) - still relevant today?
- 6) Was German national-socialist foreign policy capitalist?

Core reading:

- Neil Smith (2003), *American Empire: Roosevelt’s Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press), prologue, pp. 113-122, pp. 139-143 and pp. 273-292.
- Diner, Dan (2000) [1984], ‘Knowledge of Expansion: On the Geopolitics of Karl Haushofer’, in Diner, *Beyond the Conceivable: Studies on Germany, Nazism and the Holocaust*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 26-48.
- Carl Schmitt (1996) [1932], *The Concept of the Political*, edited by George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Benno Teschke (2011), ‘Decisions and Indecisions: Political and Intellectual Receptions of Carl Schmitt’, *New Left Review*, II: 67, pp. 61-95.

Debate on Carl Schmitt:

- Gopal Balakrishnan (2011), ‘The Geopolitics of Separation: Response to Teschke’s “Decisions and Indecisions”’, *New Left Review*, II: 68, pp. 57-72.
- Benno Teschke (2011), ‘The Fetish of Geopolitics: Reply to Gopal Balakrishnan’, *New Left Review*, II: 69, pp. 81-100.

Further reading:

- Axtmann, Roland (2007), ‘Humanity or Enmity? Carl Schmitt on International Politics’, *International Politics*, 44, pp. 531-51.
- Agnew, John, Katharyne Mitchell, and Gearóid Ó Tuathail (eds.) (2003), *A Companion To Political Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell), chapter 13.
- Agnew, John (2003), ‘The Three Ages of Geopolitics’, in J. Agnew, *Geopolitics: Re-Envisioning World Politics*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge), pp. 85-113.
- Balakrishnan, Gopal (2000), *The Enemy: An Intellectual Portrait of Carl Schmitt* (London: Verso), chapter 18 ‘The International Order and World War’ and chapter 19 ‘The Law of the Earth’.
- Bassin, Marc (1987), ‘Race contra Space: The Conflict between German *Geopolitik* and

- National Socialism', *Political Geography Quarterly*, 6:2, pp. 115-134.
- Bracher, Karl (1972) [1969], 'Foreign Policy between Revision and Expansion', in K. Bracher, *The German Dictatorship* (New York: Praeger Publishers)
- Bendersky, Joseph W. (1983), *Carl Schmitt: Theorist for the Reich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapter 12 'The Security of Silence? From *Grossraum* Theory to Nuremberg', pp. 243-273.
- Bobbitt, Philip (2002), *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History* (London: Allen Lane), 'Introduction' and chapter 22.
- Bowman, Isaac (1922), *The New World: Problems in Political Geography* (London:...).
- Carr, E.H. (1946) [1939], *The Twentieth Year Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (London: Macmillan), chapters 3 & 4.
- Crowl, Philip A. (1986), 'Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Naval Historian', in Peter Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapter 16.
- Diner, Dan (2000) [1989], 'Norms for Domination: Nazi Legal Concepts for World Order', in Diner, *Beyond the Conceivable: Studies on Germany, Nazism and the Holocaust*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 49-77.
- Frieden, Jeffry (2007), 'The Turn to Autarchy', in Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the 20th Century* (New York: Norton), chapter 9.
- Gray, Colin S. and Geoffrey Sloan (eds.) (1999), *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy* (London: Frank Cass)
- Haushofer, Karl, 'Why *Geopolitik*?' [1942] and 'In Defense of German Geopolitics' [1948], in Gearoid O Tuathail, Simon Dalby and Paul Routledge, *The Geopolitics Reader*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge 2006), pp. 33-35 and 40-45.
- Hildebrand, Klaus (1984), *The Third Reich* (London: Allen & Unwin).
- (1989), *German Foreign Policy from Bismarck to Adenauer: The Limits of Statecraft* (London: Routledge), chapter 6.
- (1995), *Reich - Nation State - Great Power: Reflections on German Foreign Policy 1871-1945* (London: The German Historical Institute)
- Ikenberry, John G. (2001), *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapter 5 'The Settlement of 1919'.
- Kallis, Aristotle (2000), *Fascist Ideology: Territory and Expansionism in Italy and Germany, 1922-1945* (New York: Routledge).
- Kalyvas, Andreas (2008), *Democracy and the Politics of the Extraordinary: Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt* (Cambridge: CUP).
- Kearns, Gerry (2009), *Geopolitics and Empire: The Legacy of Halford Mackinder* (Oxford: OUP).
- Kershaw, Ian (2000) *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 4th ed. (Hodder Arnold Publication)
- Knox, MacGregor (2000), *Common Destiny: Dictatorship, Foreign Policy, and War in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Koskenniemi, Martti (2001), *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law, 1870-1960* (Cambridge: CUP), chapter 6.
- Legg, Stephen (ed.) (2011), *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt: Geographies of the Nomos* (London: Routledge).

- Long, David and Peter Wilson (eds.) (1995), *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed* (Clarendon: Oxford Press).
- Mackinder, Halford J (1904), 'The Geographical Pivot of History', *The Geographical Journal*, 23:4, 421-37.
- Mouffe, Chantal (ed.), *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (London: Verso 1999).
- Mueller, Jan-Werner (2003), *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought* (Yale: Yale University Press).
- Narizny, Kevin (2007), *The Political Economy of Grand Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), chapters 2-4.
- O Tuathail, Gearoid (1996), *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London: Routledge)
- Odyseos, Louiza and Fabio Petito (eds.) (2007), *The International Political Thought of Carl Schmitt: Terror, Liberal War and the Crisis of Global Order* (Abingdon, NY: Routledge).
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- Schmitt, Carl (1995), *Staat, Großraum, Nomos: Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1916 bis 1969* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot).
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- Smith, Neil (2003), *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press), chapters 10 & 12.
- Sohn-Rethel, Alfred (1978), *Economy and Class Structure of German Fascism* (London: CSE Books)
- Stirk, Peter (2005), *Carl Schmitt, Crown Jurist of the Third Reich: On Preemptive War, Military Occupation, and World Empire* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press)
- Teschke, Benno (2006), 'Geopolitics', *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory*, 14(1): 327-35.
- (2010), 'Geopolitics', in Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Leonardo Morlini (eds.), *IPSA Encyclopedia of Political Science* (London: Sage)
- (2011), 'Fatal Attraction: A Critique of Carl Schmitt's International Political and Legal Theory', *International Theory*, 3:2, pp. 179-227.
- Tooze, Adam (2008), *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (London: Penguin)
- Turner, Henry Ashby (1985), *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler* (New York: OUP)
- Ziebur, Gilbert (1990) [1984], *World Economy and World Politics, 1924-1931: From Reconstruction to Collapse* (Oxford: Berg)

Week 9: Term Paper Plan Workshop

See blurb for information!

Week 10: Post-WWII International Order: American Hegemony?

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Critically assess the notion of ‘hegemony’ across the Neo-Gramscian, liberal and (neo-)realist spectrum!
- 2) To which degree can British and American hegemony be compared?
- 3) Is Mark Rupert’s account a form of international theory’?
- 4) What are the key elements of US Grand Strategy after WWII?

Core Reading:

- O’Brien, Patrick (2003), ‘The Myth of Anglophone Succession: From British Primacy to American Hegemony’, *New Left Review*, second series, 24, pp. 113-134.
- Schwartz, Herman (2000) ‘The Depression, US Domestic Politics and the Foundation of the Post-World War II System’, in Schwartz, *States versus Markets: The Emergence of a Global Economy*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave), chapter 8.
- Saull, Richard (2010), ‘Hegemony and the Global Political Economy’, in Robert Denmark (ed.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Blackwell/Wiley), pp. 3272-3291.
- Rupert, Mark (1994), *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power* (Cambridge: CUP), chapters 1, 2 & 3.

Further Reading:

Anderson, Perry (1976/77), ‘The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci’, *New Left Review*, 100, pp.

Brenner, Robert (1998), *The Economics of Global Turbulence: A Special Report on the World Economy, 1950-98*, *New Left Review*, No.229, chapters 3 and 4.

—— (2002), *The Boom and the Bubble: The US in the World Economy* (London: Verso)

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See the symposia on Brenner’s *Economics of Global Turbulence* in *Historical Materialism* 4:1, 1999 and *New Left Review*, II, 54, 2008.

Bieler, Andreas and Adam Morton (eds.) (2006), *Images of Gramsci: Connections and Contentions in Political Theory and International Relations* (London: Routledge)

Bromley, Simon (1991), *American Hegemony and World Oil* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

—— (1999), ‘Marxism and Globalisation’, in Andrew Gamble, David Marsh and Tony Tant (eds.), *Marxism and Social Science* (London: Macmillan), chapter 14.

Burnham, Peter (1991), ‘Neo-Gramscian Hegemony and the International Order’, *Capital*

- & *Class*, 45, 73-93.
- Cox, Robert (1987), *Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (New York: Columbia University Press)
- and Bjorn Hettje (eds.) *International Political Economy: Understanding Global Disorder* (London: Zed Books)
- (1995), *Approaches to World Order: Essays by Robert W. Cox* (Cambridge: CUP)
- (ed.) (1997), *The New Realism: Perspectives on Multilateralism and World Order* (Basingstoke: Macmillan)
- Dufour, Frederick (2008), 'Historical Materialism and International Relations', in Bidet, Jacques and Stathis Kouvelakis (eds.), *Critical Companion to Contemporary Marxism* (Leiden: Brill), chapter 24, pp. 452-70.
- Frieden, Jeffry (2006), *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Norton), chapters 11 & 12.
- Gill, Stephen (1990), *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (Cambridge: CUP)
- (ed.) (1993) *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (Cambridge: CUP)
- (ed.) (1997), *Globalization, Democratization and Multilateralism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan)
- and James Mittelman (eds.) (1997), *Innovation and Transformation in International Studies* (Cambridge: CUP)
- (2008), *Power and Resistance in the New World Order*, 2nd. ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Gilpin, Robert (1987), *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press), chapters 1, 2, 3 & 10.
- (2000), *The Challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in the 21st Century* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press), chapter 2.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1988), *A Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935* (London: Lawrence & Wishart)
- (1998), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (London: Lawrence & Wishart)
- Harvey, David (1989), *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell), part 2.
- (2001), *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (New York: Routledge)
- Keohane, Robert O. (1984), *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press)
- Mann, Michael (1997), 'Has Globalization Ended the Rise and Rise of the Nation-State?', *Review of International Political Economy*, 4:3, pp. 472-96.
- Morton, Adam (2007), *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy* (London: Pluto)
- O'Brien, Patrick Karl and Armand Clesse (eds.) (2002), *Two Hegemonies: Britain 1846-1914 and the United States 1941-2001* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Robinson, William I. (1998), *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Rosenberg, Justin (2000), *The Follies of Globalisation Theory: Polemical Essays* (London: Verso).

- (2005), 'Globalization Theory: A Post Mortem', *International Politics*, 42: 2-74
- Ruggie, John (1982), 'International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order', *International Organization*, 36, pp. 379-415.
- Shilliam, Robert (2004), 'Hegemony and the Unfashionable Problematic of "Primitive Accumulation"', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 33, pp. 59-88.
- Smith, Neil (2003), *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press), chapters 14 & 16.
- Stedman Jones, Gareth (1972), 'The History of US Imperialism', in Robin Blackburn (ed.), *Ideology in Social Science: Readings in Critical Social Theory* (Glasgow: Fontana Collins), pp...
- Teschke, Benno (2008), 'Marxism', in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford; OUP), pp. 173-77.
- Van der Pijl, Kees (1998), *Transnational Classes and International Relations* (London: Routledge).
- Weiss, Linda (1998), *The Myth of the Powerless State* (Ithaca, NJ.: Cornell University Press)

Week 11: Globalisation and the Neo-Imperial Turn

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Are classical Marxist theories of imperialism still useful in understanding the 'neo-imperial turn' in US foreign policy?
- 2) How convincing is an interpretation of the current geopolitical moment in terms of the (Neo-)realist strategic vocabulary of the balance-of-power (i.e., uni-, bi-, or multi-polarity)?
- 3) Where are we today in terms of a critical understanding of the current geopolitical conjuncture – 'hegemony', 'inter-imperial rivalry', 'super-imperialism', 'empire' or non of them?
- 4) Whatever happened to 'globalisation'? Discuss!
- 5) Is the US today an empire?

Core Reading:

- Hardt, Michael and Negri, Antonio (2000), *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), preface and Part 1.
- Leo Panitch and Gindin, Sam (2003), 'Global Capitalism and American Empire', in *Socialist Register 2004*, eds. L. Panitch and C. Leys (London: Merlin Press), pp. 1-42.
- Wood, Ellen (2003), *Empire of Capital* (London: Verso), introduction and chapters 1 & 7.
- Peter Gowan (2004), 'Triumphing Toward International Disaster: The Impasse in American Grand Strategy', *Critical Asian Studies*, 36:1, pp. 3-36.

Further Reading:

- Anderson, Perry (2002), 'Force and Consent', *New Left Review*, second series, 17, pp. 5-30.
- (2007), 'Jottings on the Conjuncture', *New Left Review*, II, 48, pp. 5-37.
- Bacevich, Andrew (2002), *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of US Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press)
- Baker, Dean, Gerald Epstein and Robert Pollin (eds.) (1998), *Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Balakrishnan, Gopal, (ed.) (2003), *Debating Empire* (London: Verso).
- Brenner, Robert (2006), 'What is, and What is not, Imperialism?', *Historical Materialism*, 14:4, pp. 79-105 (*this is a thorough critique of David Harvey's 'The New Imperialism'*)
- Bromley, Simon (2003) 'Reflections on Empire, Imperialism and United States Hegemony', *Historical Materialism*, 11:3, pp. 17-68.
- (2008), *American Power and the Prospects for International Order* (Cambridge: Polity Press)
- Callinicos, Alex (2007), 'Does Capitalism Need the States-System?', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 20:4, pp. 533-549.
- See the entire debate in this journal (CRIA) with replies by Adam Morton, Kees van der Pijl, Gonzalo Pozo-Matin and John Hobson.
- Chibber, Vivek (2004), 'The Return of Imperialism to Social Science', *Archives de Europeenes de Sociologie-The European Journal of Sociology*, 45:3, pp. 427-441.
- Colas, Alejandro (2007), *Empire* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- (2008), 'Open Doors and Closed Frontiers: The Limits of American Empire', *European Journal of International Relations*, 14:4, 619-643.
- and Richard Saull (eds.) (2007), *The War on Terrorism and American 'Empire' after the Cold War*, (London: Routledge)
- Cox, Michael (2007), 'Is the United States in Decline – Again?: An Essay', *International Affairs*, 2007, 83(4), pp. 643-54.
- Confer the 'Forum on the American Empire' in *Review of International Studies*, 2004, 30:4 with contributions by Michael Cox, John Ikenberry and Michael Mann
- Drolet, Jean-Francois (2011), *American Neoconservatism: The Politics and Culture of a Reactionary Idealism* (London: Hurst & Company).
- Gowan, Peter (1999), *The Global Gamble: Washington's Faustian Bid for World Dominance* (London: Verso).
- (2001), 'Neo-Liberal Cosmopolitanism', *New Left Review*, II, 11, pp...
- (2003), 'US: UN', *New Left Review*, II, 24, pp. 5-28.
- (2009), 'Crisis in the Heartland', *New Left Review*, II, 55, 5-29.
- (2010), *A Calculus of Power: Grand Strategy in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Verso).
- Halliday, Fred (2002), 'The Pertinence of Imperialism', in Mark Rupert and Hazel Smith (eds.), *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London: Routledge), pp. 75-89.
- Halper, Stefan & Jonathan Clarke (2004), *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and the Global Order* (Cambridge: CUP)
- Harvey, David (2003), *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: OUP).

See the symposium on Harvey's *New Imperialism* in *Historical Materialism*, 2006, 14:4.

- Held, David and Anthony McGrew (eds.), *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Cambridge: Polity Press)
- Hudson, Michael (2003) [1972], *Super Imperialism: The Origin and Fundamentals of U.S. World Dominance*, new edition (London: Pluto)
- Ikenberry, John (2001), 'American Power and the Empire of Capitalist Democracy', in Cox, Michael, Tim Dunne and Ken Booth (2001) (eds.), *Empires, Systems and States: Great Transformations in International Politics* (Cambridge: CUP)
- (ed.) (2002), *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)
- (2006), *Liberal Order and Imperial Ambitions: Essays on American Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press)
- Kiely, Ray (2005), *Empire in the Age of Globalization: US-Hegemony and Neoliberal Disorder* (London: Pluto Press)
- (2007), *The New Political Economy of Development: Globalization, Imperialism, Hegemony* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- (2010), *Rethinking Imperialism* (London: Palgrave).
- Krauthammer, Charles (1990/91) 'The Unipolar Moment', *Foreign Affairs*, 70:1, pp.
- Maier, Charles S. (2006), *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and its Predecessors*, (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press)
- Mann, Michael, (2003), *Incoherent Empire* (London: Verso).
- Mearsheimer, John (2001), *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton)
- Münkler, Herfried (2007), *Empire: The Logic of World Domination from Rome to the US* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

See my review of this book: Benno Teschke (2006), 'Imperial Doxa from the Berlin Republic', *New Left Review*, II, 40, pp. 128-40.

- Panitch, Leo (1996), 'Rethinking the Role of the State',. In J.H. Mittelman (ed.), *Globalization: Critical Reflections* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner), pp. 83-113.
- and Colin Leys (2005), *Socialist Register: The Empire Reloaded* (London: Merlin)
- and Martijn Konings (2008), *The American Empire and the Political Economy of Global Finance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Robinson, William. I. (2002), 'Capitalist Globalization and the Transnationalization of the State', in Mark Rupert and Hazel Smith (eds.), *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London: Routledge), pp. 210-29.
- (2004), *A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class, and State in a Transnational World* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Rupert, Mark (2000), *Ideologies of Globalization: Contending Visions of a New World Order* (London: Routledge)
- Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston (eds.) (2005), *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader* (London: Pluto Press).
- Schwartz, Herman (2000), *States versus Markets: The Emergence of a Global Economy*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave), chapters 13 & 14.
- Teschke, Benno and Hannes Lacher (2007), 'The Changing "Logics" of Capitalist Competition', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 20:4, pp. 565-80.
- van der Pijl, Kees (1984), *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class* (London: Verso).
- (1998) *Transnational Classes and International Relations* (London: Routledge).

—— (2006) *Global Rivalries from the Cold War to Iraq* (London: Pluto Press).
Wood, Ellen (2003), *Empire of Capital* (London: Verso),

See the symposium on Wood's *Empire* in *Historical Materialism*, 15:3, 2007

Week 12: Term Paper Workshop

See blurb for information!

Global Studies Generic Assessment Criteria: Years 2 & 3

Basis on which marks are awarded:

0-19 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is far below the standard required at the current level of your degree programme. It indicates that the work is extremely weak and seriously inadequate. This will be because either the work is far too short, is badly jumbled and incoherent in content, or fails to address the essay title or question asked. It will show very little evidence of knowledge or understanding of the relevant course material and may exhibit very weak writing and/or analytical skills.

20-39 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is below, but at the upper end is approaching, the standard required at the current level of your degree programme. It indicates weak work of an inadequate standard. This will be because either the work is too short, is very poorly organized, or is poorly directed at the essay title or question asked. It will show very limited knowledge or understanding of the relevant course material and display weak writing and/or analytical skills. Essay work will exhibit no clear argument, may have very weak spelling and grammar, very inadequate or absent references and/or bibliography and may contain major factual errors. Quantitative work will contain significant errors and incorrect conclusions.

40-49 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is of an acceptable standard at the current the level of your degree programme. Work of this type will show limited knowledge and understanding of relevant course material. It will show evidence of some reading and comprehension, but the essay or answer may be weakly structured, cover only a limited range of the relevant material or have a weakly developed or incomplete argument. The work will exhibit weak essay writing or analytical skills. It may be poorly presented without properly laid out footnotes and/or a bibliography, or in the case of quantitative work, it may not be possible to follow the several steps in the logic and reasoning leading to the results obtained and the conclusions reached.

50-59 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is of a satisfactory to very satisfactory standard at the current level of your degree programme. Work of

this quality will show clear knowledge and understanding of relevant course material. It will focus on the essay title or question posed and show evidence that relevant basic works of reference have been read and understood. The work will exhibit sound essay writing and/or analytical skills. It will be reasonably well structured and coherently presented. Essay work should exhibit satisfactory use of footnotes and/or a bibliography and in more quantitative work it should be possible to follow the logical steps leading to the answer obtained and the conclusions reached. Arguments and issues should be discussed and illustrated by reference to examples, but these may not be fully documented or detailed.

60-69 A mark in this range is indicative of that the work is of a good to very good standard for the current level of your degree programme. Work of this quality shows a good level of knowledge and understanding of relevant course material. It will show evidence of reading a wide diversity of material and of being able to use ideas gleaned from this reading to support and develop arguments. Essay work will exhibit good writing skills with well-organized, accurate footnotes and/or a bibliography that follows the accepted 'style' of the subject. Arguments and issues will be illustrated by reference to well documented, detailed and relevant examples. There should be clear evidence of critical engagement with the objects, issues or topics being analyzed. Any quantitative work will be clearly presented, the results should be correct and any conclusions clearly and accurately expressed.

70 – 84 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is of an excellent standard for the current level of your degree programme. The work will exhibit excellent levels of knowledge and understanding comprising all the qualities of good work stated above, with additional elements of originality and flair. The work will demonstrate a range of critical reading that goes well beyond that provided on reading lists. Answers or essays will be fluently written and include independent argument that demonstrate an awareness of the nuances and assumptions of the question or title. Essays will make excellent use of appropriate, fully referenced, detailed examples.

85 - 100 A mark in this range is indicative of outstanding work. Marks in this range will be awarded for work that exhibits all the attributes of excellent work but has very substantial elements of originality and flair. Marks at the upper end of the range will indicate that the work is of publishable, or near publishable academic standard.

Please note that separate Guidelines may have been drawn up by each Department.