

Faculty of Social Sciences & Cultural Studies
Department of Political Science

Summer Term 2020

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The Struggle for Power - and Peace! The (almost always misunderstood) History of Realism in IR

(Tuesday 16-18, Seminarhaus 101, Alter Steinbacher Weg, ONLINE)

Realism is maybe the most misunderstood and misinterpreted intellectual tradition in (I)nternational (R)elations. There are widely spread but dangerous misunderstandings in IR mainstream textbooks and articles about that tradition: We can „learn“ that realism is an affirmative theory about how to pursue reckless and crude power politics no matter the cost. And that realism and nationalism are kissing cousins, going hand in hand by explaining and trying to make sense of the realist fixation with the nation-state, power competition, and the national interest as the guideline for any state's behaviour in line with a Machiavellian Realpolitik. Or that realism lacks any sense and content of democratic principles, ethics, the rule of law and norms, pluralism and cosmopolitanism. In sum, and simplified, realists are characterized as conservative, backwards-oriented and technocratic companions, to be advocates of pure power politics, and to be nostalgic about an absolutist European 18th and 19th century balance of power order, and to dream of a Cold War stability until today.

Reading original texts *from* realists, it seems that what Michael C. Williams calls the intellectual ignorance is at work and hits the mark: Realists such as Morgenthau are more often cited *than* read. Hence, realism was and still is reduced by its supporters and, in particular, by its opponents to what they like it to be (e.g. the American antipode of liberalism, or a guide for power politics) – or what they like it *not* to be, namely a deeply (European) liberal and progressive, normative and critical tradition!

In this MA seminar, we reread classical realist sources - and deconstruct these misinterpretations and misunderstandings (also by means of new literature about the realist tradition such as Reichwein/Rösch 2020) without (!) forgetting or missing to have a critical and reflexive view on the pitfalls, antagonisms and unescapable but dealable dilemmas of any realist theory in IR. In order to do so, we

- first of all discuss the needs and benefits of **re-reading** the classical realist tradition in IR and learn *how* to re-read, namely by **contextualizing and reconstructing (I)**;
- secondly, we focus on **key realist figures** in the 20th Century history, their **thoughts** and work (including key categories, ideas and the intellectual, institutional and historical and political **contexts** in which they once did spawn out and evolved) and the trajectories of the realist tradition ending up with different realist approaches on the IR theory market **(II)**;
- finally, we ask and evaluate **how much classical is and should be in neo- and neoclassical realism** today, and why it is worth to revisit and rethink the realist tradition in IR **(III)**.

SEMINAR ORGANISATION and REQUIREMENTS:

(1) Participation @ seminar weekly - online via MS Teams;

(2) Reading of the mandatory texts (in StudIP) and Podcasts (ILIAS)

(3) **Take Home Exams:** two excerpts (with at least 1000 and a maximum of 1500 words / 3-4 pages each)

(4) Term paper (at least 3000 and maximal 3500 words / 9-10 pages, to be submitted until 30. September 2020)

You will get **Guides / Fact-Sheets** about how to read a text in political science, how to write an excerpt, and about the formal and content requirements of a term paper.

LITERATURE:

- Alejandro, A. / Jorgensen, K.E. / Reichwein, A. / Rösch, F. / Turton, H. 2017:* Reappraising European IR Theoretical Traditions (*Trends in European IR Theory* series, Vol. 1), London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Arendt, Hannah 1951:* The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Aron, Raymond 1962:* Frieden und Krieg. Eine Theorie der Staatenwelt. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Ash, Michael G. / Söllner, Alfons (eds.) 1996:* Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Emigré German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Behr, Hartmut/Rösch, Felix 2013:* Hans J. Morgenthau: The Concept of the Political. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bell, Duncan 2009:* Political Thought and International Relations. Variations on a Realist Theme. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carr, Edward H. 1939:* The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations. London: First Edition. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Claude, Inis 1962:* Power and International Relations. New York: Random House.
- Craig, Campbell 2003:* Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz. New York: Columbia University.
- Erb, Rainer / Schmidt, Michael (Hg.) 1987:* Antisemitismus und Jüdische Geschichte. Studien zu Ehren von Herbert A. Strauss. Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Autorenverlag.
- Frei, Christoph 2001:* Hans J. Morgenthau: An Intellectual Biography. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Frei, Christoph 1994:* Hans J. Morgenthau – Eine intellektuelle Biographie. Bern: Haupt.
- Greenberg, Ulrich 2014:* The Weimar Century: German Émigrés and the Ideological Foundations of the Cold War, Princeton: University Press.
- Guilhot, Nicholas (ed.) 2011:* The Invention of International Relations Theory: Realism, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the 1954 Conference on Theory. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Haslam, Jonathan 2000:* The Vices of Integrity. E.H. Carr, 1892-1982. London/New York: Verso.
- Herz, John H. 1961:* Weltpolitik im Atomzeitalter. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Herz, John H. 1959:* Politischer Realismus und politischer Idealismus. Eine Untersuchung von Theorie und Wirklichkeit. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain.
- Herz, John H. 1951:* Political Realism and Political Idealism: A Study in Theories and Realities. Chicago: University Press.
- Jones, Charles 1998:* E.H. Carr and international relations. A duty to lie. Cambridge: University Press.
- Jütersonke, Oliver 2010:* Morgenthau, International Law, and Realism. Cambridge: University Press.
- Lang, Anthony F. Jr. / Williams, John (eds.) 2005:* Hannah Arendt and International Relations. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lebow, Richard Ned 2003:* The Tragic Vision of Politics. Ethics, Interests, and Orders. Cambridge: University Press.
- Lobell, Steven E. / Ripsman, Norrin M. / Taliaferro, Jeffrey W. (eds.) 2009:* Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mearsheimer, John 2001:* The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. New York: Norton.
- Menzel, Ulrich 2001:* Zwischen Idealismus und Realismus: die Lehre von den internationalen Beziehungen. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. 1962:* Politics in the Twentieth Century. Vol.1: The Decline of Democratic Politics. Chicago: University Press.
- Ders. 1960:* The Purpose of American Politics. New York: Knopf.
- Ders. 1951:* In Defence of the National Interest. A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy New York: Knopf.
- Ders. 1948:* Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace. First Edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Ders. 1946:* Scientific Man vs. Power Politics. Chicago: University Press.
- Ders. 1934:* La Réalité des Normes; en Particulier des Normes du Droit International. Fondements d'une théorie des normes. Paris: Felix Alcan.
- Ders. 1933:* La notion du 'politique' et la théorie des différends internationaux. Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey (Société Anonyme).

- Ders. 1929:** Die internationale Rechtspflege, ihr Wesen und ihre Grenzen. Frankfurter Abhandlungen zum Kriegsverhütungsrecht. Heft 12. Leipzig: Universitätsverlag Robert Noske.
- Navari, Cornelia (ed.) 2018:** Hans J. Morgenthau and the American Experience. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Neacsu, Michaela 2010:** Hans J. Morgenthau's Theory of International Relations: Disenchantment and Re-enchantment. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Radkau, Joachim 1971:** Die deutsche Emigration in den USA: Ihr Einfluss auf die amerikanische Europapolitik 1933-1945. Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitäts-Verlag.
- Reichwein, Alexander (i. E.):** Hans J. Morgenthau und die *Twenty Years' Crisis*. Das realistische Denken eines Emigranten im Lichte seines deutschen Erfahrungshintergrundes. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Reichwein, Alexander / Rösch, Felix (eds.) 2020:** Realism - A distinctively 20th Century European Tradition (*Trends in European IR Theory* series, Vol. 4). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rohde, Christoph 2004:** Hans J. Morgenthau und der Weltpolitische Realismus. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Rohde, Christoph/Troy, Joydok (Hg.) 2015:** Macht, Recht, Demokratie: Zum Staatsverständnis von Hans J. Morgenthau. Baden-Baden: Nomos (Reihe Staatsverständnisse, Band 81).
- Rösch, Felix (ed.) 2015:** Power, Knowledge, and Dissent in Morgenthau's Worldview. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rösch, Felix (ed.) 2014:** Emigré Scholars and the Genesis of IR. A European Discipline in America? Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scheuerman, William E. 2011:** The Realist Case for Global Reform. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Scheuerman, William E. 2009:** Morgenthau – Realism and Beyond. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Schmidt, Brian C. 1998:** The political discourse of anarchy: a disciplinary history of international relations. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Schuett, Robert 2010:** Political Realism, Freud, and Human nature in International Relations. The Resurrection of the Realist Man. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sigwart, Hans-Jörg 2016:** The Wandering Thought of Hannah Arendt. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Michael J. 1986:** Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Srubar, Ilja (Hg.) 1988:** Exil, Wissenschaft, Identität. Die Emigration deutscher Sozialwissenschaftler 1933-1945. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 164-180.
- Tjalve, Vibeke S. 2008:** Realist Strategies of Republican Peace. Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and the Politics of Patriotic Dissent. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979:** Theory of International Politics, New York: MacGraw-Hill.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959:** Man, the State, and War. A theoretical Analysis. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.
- Williams, Michael C. (ed.) 2007:** Realism Reconsidered. The Legacy of Hans J. Morgenthau in International Relations. Oxford: University Press.
- Williams, Michael C. 2005:** The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations. Cambridge: University Press.

SYLLABUS

1. Session (21. April 2020)

Welcome, Organization, Materials, Introduction

I. Re-reading, contextualization, reconstruction

1. Why re-reading Realism?

Mandatory Reading (StudIP):

WILLIAMS, Michael C. 2007: Introduction, in: DERS. (ed.), Realism Reconsidered. The Legacy of Hans J. Morgenthau in International Relations. Oxford: University Press, 1-17.

Further Reading (some texts are uploaded in StudIP):

LEBOW, Richard Ned 2014: Vorwort, in: STEFFEK, J. / HOLTHAUS, L. (Hg.), *Jenseits der Anarchie. Weltordnungsentwürfe im frühen 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt: Campus, 7-10.
TROY, Jodok 2013: Die „Macht“ des Realismus in den Internationalen Beziehungen: Morgenthau wieder lesen, in: *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 60: 4, 414-429.

Weekly task: read the mandatory text actively → see Guide Wissenschaftliches Lesen & Exzerpt (I suggest to do a rough excerpt for each text; you will need some texts at the end for your term paper).

2. Session (28. April)

2. Why (almost) everything you learned about Realism is wrong!

SCHEUERMAN, William E. 2011: Introduction: Meet the Progressive Realists, in: *The Realist Case for Global Reform*. Cambridge: Polity Press, **1-14** (about Lawyers, Believers, Refugees, Socialists) **and**
SCHEUERMAN, William E. 2011: Why (Almost) Everything You Learned About Realism Is Wrong, in: *The Realist Case for Global Reform*, **15-38**.

GUILHOT, Nicholas 2008: The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of IR Theory, in: *International Political Sociology* 2: 4, 281-304.

HOLTHAUS, Leoni 2014: Treitschke, Hitler und der Realismus - Deutschlandbezüge in den britischen Theorien der Internationalen Beziehungen Anfang und Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts in: STEFFEK, J. / HOLTHAUS, L. (Hg.), *Jenseits der Anarchie. Weltordnungsentwürfe im frühen 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 231-254.

KAUFMAN, Robert G. 2006: Morgenthau's Unrealistic Realism, in: *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 1: 2, 24-38.

MEYER, Karl E. 2001: The Quicksand of Realism, in: *World Policy Journal* 18: 3, 89-99.

WRIGHTSON, Patricia S. 1996: Morality, Realism, and Foreign Affairs: A Normative Realist Approach, in: *FRANKEL, B.* (ed.) 1996: *Realism: Restatement and Renewals*. London: Frank Cass, 354-386.

3. Session (5. May)

3. Intellectual History of IR: reconstruction through contextualization

REICHWEIN, Alexander 2017: Traditions, in: ALEJANDRO, A. et. al. (eds.), *Reappraising European IR Theoretical Traditions (Trends in European IR Theory, Vol. 1)*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, **43-55**.

and

REICHWEIN, Alex 2017: Reconstructing, in: ALEJANDRO, A. et. al. (eds.), *Reappraising European IR Theoretical Traditions*, **83-106**.

LEBOW, Richard N. 2008: Identity and International Relations, in: PUGLIERIN, J. (ed.), *Special Issue: A Universalist in Dark Times: John Herz 1908-2005*, *International Relations* 22: 4, 473-492.

WILLIAMS, Michael C. 2013: In the Beginning: The IR Enlightenment and the Ends of IR Theory, in: *European Journal of International Relations* 19: 3, 647-665.

II. Realist Key Figures and Thoughts in Contexts

For A1-Schein students: Take Home Exam 1: Excerpt (based on two mandatory reading texts of your choice in sessions 4 to 9); → see Guide Wissenschaftl. Lesen & Exzerpt; **Submission until 16. June 2020 (as pdf, via e-mail)**

For A2-Schein students: IF you like to do your **Take Home Excerpt** in the first half of the seminar – GO here, too!

4. Session (12. May)

1. At the beginning, there was (European) international law

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1929: Stresemann als Schöpfer der deutschen Völkerrechtspolitik, in: Die Justiz. Monatsschrift für Erneuerung des Deutschen Rechtswesens, Band 5, Heft 3, **169-176.**

and

STIRK, Peter M. R. 2008: John H. Herz and the International Law of the Third Reich, in: PUGLIERIN, J. (ed.), Special Issue: A Universalist in Dark Times: John Herz 1908-2005, International Relations 22: 4, **427-440.**

or

SYLVEST, Casper 2010: Realism and international law: the challenge of John H. Herz, in: International Theory 2: 3, 410-445.

or

ZAJEC, Olivier 2020: Nicholas Spykman's Interactional Realism: Irony, Social Theory, Political Geography, in: REICHWEIN, A. / RÖSCH, F. (eds.), Realism: A Distinctively 20th Century European Tradition, London: Palgrave Macmillan (**12 pages**).

AMSTRUP, Niels 1978: The "Early" Morgenthau: A Comment on the Intellectual Origins of Realism, in: Cooperation and Conflict 13: 2, 163-175.

EISFELD, Rainer 2014: From the Berlin Political Studies Institute to Columbia and Yale: Ernst Jaeckh and Arnold Wolfers, in: RÖSCH, F. (ed.), Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of IR. A European Discipline in America? Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 113-131.

GRAY, Colin S. 2015: Nicholas John Spykman, the Balance of Power, and International Order, in: Journal of Strategic Studies 38: 6, 873-897.

HONIG, Jan Willem 1996: Totalitarianism and Realism: Hans Morgenthau's German Years, in: FRANKEL, B. (ed.), Roots of Realism. London: Frank Cass, 283-313.

JÜTERSONKE, Oliver 2015: Die Krise der deutschen Staatsrechtslehre im Schatten des Rechtspositivismus: Hans J. Morgenthau und die Kelsen'sche Normenlehre, in: ROHDE, C. / TROY, J. (Hg.), Macht, Recht, Demokratie. Zum Staatsverständnis von Hans J. Morgenthau. Baden-Baden: Nomos (Reihe Staatsverständnisse, Band 81), 29-44.

JÜTERSONKE, Oliver 2010: Hans J. Morgenthau in IR, in: Morgenthau, International Law, and Realism. Oxford: University Press, 1-36.

JÜTERSONKE, Oliver: The Image of Law in Politics Among Nations, in: WILLIAMS; M. C. (ed.), Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans J. Morgenthau in International Relations, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 93-117.

MEIERTÖNS, Heiko 2015: Das Völkerrechtsverständnis im Werk von Hans Morgenthau: Wiederentdeckung eines Völkerrechtlers und seiner Lehrer, in: ROHDE, C. / TROY, J. (Hg.), Macht, Recht, Demokratie, 45-72.

SCHEUERMAN, William E. 2009: Radical Roots of Realism, in: Morgenthau – Realism and Beyond. Cambridge: Polity Press, 11-40.

SCHEUERMAN, William E. 2008: Realism and the Left: The Case of Hans J. Morgenthau, in: Review of International Studies 34: 1, 29-51.

STIRK, Peter M. R. 2014: International Law, Émigrés, and the Foundation of International Relations, in: RÖSCH, F. (ed.), Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of IR, 61-80.

5. Session (19. May)

2. Then, there was forced emigration: realist émigrés and knowledge transfer

PUGLIERIN, Jana 2008: Towards Being a 'Traveller between All Worlds', in: DIES. (ed.), Special Issue: A Universalist in Dark Times: John Herz 1908-2005, International Relations 22: 4, **419-425.**

and

RÖSCH, Felix 2014: Introduction - Breaking the Silence: European Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of an American Discipline, Ders. (ed.), Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of IR. A European Discipline in America? Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, **1-18.**

or

RÖSCH, Felix 2020: Policing Intellectual Boundaries? Émigré Scholars, the Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on International Theory, and American International Relations in the 1950s, in: *International History Review* 42: 3, **607-624**.

and

SÖLLNER, Alfons 2014: From International Law to International Relations: Émigré Scholars in American Political Science and International Relations, in: RÖSCH, F. (ed.), *Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of IR*, **197-211** (on Morgenthau, Herz, Karl W. Deutsch, Hans Kelsen).

BEHR, Hartmut / KIRKE, Xander 2014: People on the Move – Ideas on the Move: Academic Cultures and the Problematic of Translatability, in: RÖSCH, F. (ed.), *Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of IR*, 21-39.

CASTELLIN, Luca G. / RÖSCH, Felix 2020: Weimar in America: Central European Émigrés, Classical Realism, or How to Prevent History from Repeating Herself, in: REICHWEIN, A. / RÖSCH, F. (eds.), *Realism: A Distinctively 20th Century European Tradition*, London: Palgrave Macmillan (17 pages).

RAY, Larry / DIEMLING, Maria 2016: Arendt's 'conscious pariah' and the ambiguous figure of the subaltern, in: *European Journal of Social Theory* 19: 4, 503-520.

SÖLLNER, Alfons 1988: Vom Völkerrecht zur Science of International Relations. Vier typische Vertreter der politikwissenschaftlichen Emigration, in: SRUBAR, I. (Hg.), *Exil, Wissenschaft, Identität. Die Emigration deutscher Sozialwissenschaftler 1933-1945*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 164-180.

SÖLLNER, Alfons 1987: Hans J. Morgenthau – ein deutscher Konservativer in Amerika? Eine Fallstudie zum Wissenstransfer durch Emigration, in: ERB, R. / SCHMIDT, M. (Hg.), *Antisemitismus und Jüdische Geschichte. Studien zu Ehren von Herbert A. Strauss*. Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Autorenverlag, 243-266.

6. Session (26. May)

3. Being *americanized and disciplined* (?): the 'Realist Liberalism' pendulum

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1946: The Dilemma of Scientific Man, in: *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*. Chicago: University Press, **1-11**.

DEERS. 1946: The Science of Peace, in: *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*, hier **108-121**.

DEERS. 1946: The Tragedy of Scientific Man, in: *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*, **204-225**.

or (!)

HERZ, John H. 1959: Der realistische Liberalismus in den internationalen Beziehungen, in: *Politischer Realismus und politischer Idealismus. Eine Untersuchung von Theorie und Wirklichkeit*. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, **217-243**.

and

BOOTH, Ken 2008: Navigating the 'Absolute *Novum*': John H. Herz's *Political Realism and Political Idealism*, in: PUGLIERIN, J. (ed.), *Special Issue: A Universalist in Dark Times: John Herz 1908-2005*, *International Relations* 22: 4, **510-526**.

or

PUGLIERIN, Jana 2015: „Wedding of Paradoxes“. John H. Herz' liberaler Realismus zwischen Utopie und Realität, in: ROHDE, C / TROY, J. (Hg.), *Macht, Recht, Demokratie: Zum Staatsverständnis von Hans J. Morgenthau*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, **219-237**.

BEHR, Hartmut 2018: Scientific Man and the New Science of Politics, in: NAVARI, C. (ed.), *Hans J. Morgenthau and the American Experience*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 27-54.

HERZ, John H. 1951: *Political Realism and Political Idealism: A Study in Theories and Realities*. Chicago: University Press.

PUGLIERIN, Jana 2011: *John H. Herz. Leben und Denken zwischen Idealismus und Realismus, Deutschland und Amerika*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.

PUGLIERIN, Jana / HACKE, Christian 2007: John H. Herz: Balancing Utopia and Reality, in: *International Relations* 21: 3, 367-382.

SCHEUERMAN, William E. 2007: Was Morgenthau a Realist? Revisiting Scientific Man Vs. Power Politics, in: *Constellations* 14: 4, 506-530.

SYLVEST, Caspar 2020. John Herz and the Purposes of Realism in: REICHWEIN, A. / RÖSCH, F. (eds.), *Realism: A Distinctively 20th Century European Tradition*, London: Palgrave Macmillan (20 pages).

SYLVEST, Caspar 2008: John H. Herz and the Resurrection of Classical Realism, in: PUGLIERIN, J. (ed.), *Special Issue: A Universalist in Dark Times: John Herz 1908-2005*, *International Relations* 22: 4, 441-455.

7. Session (2. June)

4. The normative realists: ethics, pluralism, democracy and *die Moderne*

LEBOW, Richard N. 2011: German Jews and American Realism, in: *Constellations* 18: 4, 545-566.

RÖSCH, Felix 2013a: Realism as social criticism: The thinking partnership of Hannah Arendt and Hans Morgenthau, in: *International Politics* 50: 6, 815-829.

KLUSMEYER, Douglas 2005: Hannah Arendt's Critical Realism: Power, Justice, and Responsibility, in: LANG, A. F. Jr. / WILLIAMS, J. (eds.), *Hannah Arendt and International Relations. Readings across the Lines*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 113-178.

LEBOW, Richard N. 2018: The purpose of American Politics, in: NAVARI, C. (ed.), *Hans J. Morgenthau and the American Experience*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 95-114.

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1960: *The Purpose of American Politics*. New York: Knopf.

RAY, Larry / DIEMLING, Maria 2016: Arendt's 'conscious pariah' and the ambiguous figure of the subaltern, in: *European Journal of Social Theory* 19: 4, 503-520.

RÖSCH, Felix 2017: Unlearning modernity: A realist method for critical international relations?, in: *Journal of International Political Theory* 13: 1, 81-99

RÖSCH, Felix 2013b: Pouvoir, puissance, and politics: Hans Morgenthau's dualistic concept of power? in: *Review of International Studies* 40: 2, 349-365.

RÖSCH, Felix 2013c: Entpolitisierung in der Moderne. Zur Zentralität des Begriffs des Politischen im Denken Hans J. Morgenthau, in: *Zeitschrift für Politik* 60: 4, 430-450.

RÖSCH, Felix 2013d: The Human Condition of Politics: Considering the Legacy of Hans J. Morgenthau for International Relations, in: *Journal of International Political Theory* 9: 1, 1-21

8. Session (9. June)

5. The critical, reflexive realists as public intellectuals: political interventions

MOLLOY, Sean 2020: Realism and reflexivity: Morgenthau, academic freedom and dissent, in: *European Journal of International Relations* 26: 2, 321-343.

PAYNE, Rodger A. 2007: Neorealists as Critical Theorists: The Purpose of Foreign Policy Debate, in: *Perspectives on Politics* 5: 3, 503-514.

COZETTE, Muriel 2008: Reclaiming the critical dimension of realism: Hans J. Morgenthau on the ethics of scholarship, in: *Review of International Studies* 34: 1, 5-27

GREENBERG, Udi 2015: From the League of Nations to Vietnam: Hans J. Morgenthau and Realist Reform of International Relations, in: *The Weimar Century: German Émigrés and the Ideological Foundations of the Cold War*, Princeton: University Press, 211-255.

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1977: The Pathology of American Power, in: *International Security* 1: 3, 3-20.

DETS. 1968: U.S. Misadventure in Vietnam, in: *Current History* 54: 317, 29-35.

DETS. 1967: To Intervene or Not to Intervene, in: *Foreign Affairs* 45: 3, 425-436.

DETS. 1963: The Impotence of American Power, in: *Commentary* 36: 5, 384-386.

DETS. 1951: The Moral Dilemma in Foreign Policy, in: *Yearbook of World Affairs* 5, 12-36.

MYERS, Robert J. 1997: Hans Morgenthau's Realism and American Foreign Policy, in: *Ethics & International Affairs* 11, 253-270.

RAFSHOON, Ellen Glaser 2001: A Realist Moral Opposition to War: Hans J. Morgenthau and Vietnam, in: *Peace & Change* 26: 1, 55-77.

REICHWEIN, Alex 2016: The Responsibility of the Intellectuals in Times of Political Crisis, in: Med Andre Ord. Studieblad, Institute for Statskundskab, Kobenhavn Universitet, No. 9 (November 2016, <http://medandreord.dk/the-responsibility-of-the-intellectuals-in-times-of-political-crisis/>).

REICHWEIN, Alex 2015: Morgenthau, Vietnam und die Sorge um Amerika: Zum Staats- und Demokratieverständnis eines "ziemlich deutschen" liberalen Realisten, in: ROHDE C. / TROY, J. (Hg.), Macht, Recht, Demokratie: Zum Staatsverständnis Hans J. Morgenthau. Baden Baden: Nomos (Reihe Staatsverständnisse, Band 81), 95-139.

RÖSCH, Felix 2017: Unlearning modernity: A realist method for critical international relations?, in: Journal of International Political Theory 13: 1, 81-99

SEE, Jennifer W. 2001: A Prophet without Honor: Hans Morgenthau and the War in Vietnam, 1955-1965, in: Pacific Historical Review 70, 419-448.

ZAMBERNARDI, Lorenzo 2010: The impotence of power: Morgenthau's critique of American intervention in Vietnam, in: Review of International Studies 37: 3, 1-22.

9. Session (16. June)

6. The Good, the Bad – and the Ugly? Carr, Schmitt and *Das Politische*

BATTISTELLA, Dario 2020: Edward H. Carr & Carl Schmitt: Interwar Realism's Not So Strange Bedfellows, in: REICHWEIN, A. / RÖSCH, F. (eds.), Realism: A Distinctively 20th Century European Tradition, London: Palgrave Macmillan (15 pages).

and

CHANDLER, David 2008: The Revival of Carl Schmitt in International Relations: The Last Refuge of Critical Theorists?, in: Millennium. Journal of International Studies 37: 1, 27-48.

BABIK, Milan 2013: Realism as Critical Theory: The International Thought of E. H. Carr", in: International Studies Review 15: 4, 491-514.

BEHR, Hartmut / RÖSCH, Felix 2013: Contextualization of "The Concept of the Political", in: Hans J. Morgenthau: The Concept of the Political. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 15-32.

DIES. 2013: Morgenthau's Twofold Concept of Power, in: Hans J. Morgenthau: The Concept of the Political. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 47-79.

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CARR, Edward Hallett 1939: The Realist Critique, in: The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations. London: First Edition. Palgrave Macmillan, 62-83.

DEARS. 1939: The Harmony of Interests, in: The Twenty Years' Crisis, 42-61.

DEARS. 1939: Utopia and Reality, in: The Twenty Years' Crisis, 12-24.

COX, Michael 2001: Introduction, in: E.H. CARR, The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations. London: Reissued with a New Introduction and additional material by M. Cox. Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave, ix-lviii.

JONES, Charles 1996: E. H. Carr: Ambivalent Realist, in: BEER, F. / HARRIMAN, R. (eds.), Post-Realism. The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations, East Lansing (MI): Michigan State University Press, 95-119.

KOSKENNIEMI, Martti 2004: International Law as Political Theory: How to Read Nomos der Erde?. in: Constellations 11: 4 492-511.

MEARSHEIMER, John 2005: E. H. Carr vs. Idealism: The Battle Rages On, in: International Relations 19 2, 139-152.

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1948: The Political Science of E. H. Carr, in: World Politics 1: 1 127-134.

PICHLER, Hans-Karl 1998. The godfathers of 'truth': Max Weber and Carl Schmitt in Morgenthau's theory of power politics, in: Review of International Studies 24: 2, 185-200.

RÖSCH, Felix 2018: Morgenthau in Europe: Searching for the Political, in: NAVARI, C. (ed.), Hans J. Morgenthau and the American Experience, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-25.

RÖSCH, Felix 2016: Crisis, Values, and the Purpose of Science: Hans Morgenthau in Europe, in: Ethics & International Affairs 30: 1, 23-31.

RÖSCH, Felix 2013c: Entpolitisierung in der Moderne. Zur Zentralität des Begriffs des Politischen im Denken Hans J. Morgenthau, in: Zeitschrift für Politik 60: 4, 430-450.

SCHEUERMAN, William 2007. Carl Schmitt and Hans Morgenthau: Realism and Beyond, in: WILLIAMS, M. C. (ed.), *Realism Reconsidered*, 62-92.
SCHMITT Carl 1996/1932: *The Concept of the Political*, Expanded Edition by G. Schwab. Chicago (IL): University of Chicago Press.
SCHMITT Carl 1932/33: USA und die völkerrechtlichen Formen des modernen Imperialismus, in *Frieden oder Pazifismus? Arbeiten zum Völkerrecht und zur internationalen Politik 1924-1978*. Herausgegeben mit einem Vorwort und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Günter MASCHKE, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 2005, 349-377.
WILSON, Peter 2001: Radicalism for a Conservative Purpose: The Peculiar Realism of E. H. Carr, in: *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 30: 1, 123–136.

DEADLINE Submission for Take Home Exam 1: first excerpt (A1 students, maybe A2 students)

III. What we can learn from classics: the classical in neo- & neoclassical realism

For A1-Schein students: Take Home Exam 2: excerpt (based on two mandatory reading texts of your choice in sessions 10 to 13); → see Guide Wissenschaftl. Lesen & Exzerpt; Submission until 14. July (as pdf, via e-mail)

For A2-Schein students: IF you like to do your Take Home Excerpt in the second half of the seminar – GO from here on!

10. Session (23. June)

1. The Waltzian turn in IR Realism: Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1990: Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory, in: *Journal of International Affairs* 44: 1, 21-37.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1959: Introduction, in: *Man, the State, and War. A theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-15.

BEHR, Hartmut / HEATH, Amelia 2009: Misreading in IR Theory and Ideology Critique: Morgenthau, Waltz, and Neo-Realism, in: *Review of International Studies* 35: 2, 327-349.

CAMPBELL, Craig 2003: Hans Morgenthau's Cold War, in: *Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz*. New York: Columbia University, 74-53.

DEBS. 2003: The Waltzian Turn, in: *Glimmer of a New Leviathan*, 117-136.

LITTLE, Richard 2007: Kenneth N. Waltz's *Theory of International Politics*, in: *The balance of power in international relations*, 167-212.

MASALA, Carlo 2005: Kenneth N. Waltz: Einführung in seine Theorie und Auseinandersetzung mit seinen Kritikern. Mit einem Vorwort von John J. Mearsheimer und einem Nachwort von Kenneth N. Waltz. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

TALIAFERRO, Jeffrey 2001: Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited, in: *International Security* 25: 3, 128-161.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1988: The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory, in: *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18: 4, 615-628.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1979: Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power, in: *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 102-128.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1959: The Third Image: International Conflict and International Anarchy, in: *Man, the State, and War. A theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 159-186.

DEBS. 1959: The Second Image: International Conflict and the Internal Structure of States, in: *Man, the State, and War*, 80-123.

DEBS. 1959: Conclusion, in: *Man, the State, and War*, 224-239.

11. Session (30. June)

2. Back to the Future? Realists after the Cold War: public interventionists, again

MEARSHEIMER, John 2014: Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault. The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin, in: *Foreign Affairs* 93: 5, 77-89

MEARSHEIMER, John 2005: Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq war: Realism versus neoconservatism, in: *openDemocracy*, 1-7.

MEARSHEIMER, John / WALT, Stephen S. 2003: An Unnecessary War, in: *Foreign Policy* 134, 50-59.

FALK, Richard 2004: Hans Morgenthau on Two Wars of America in Vietnam and Iraq, in: MAZUR, G.O (ed.), *One Hundred Year Commemoration to the Life of Hans Morgenthau (1904-2004)*. New York: Semenko Foundation, 27-37.

GILPIN, Robert 2005: War is Too important to be Left to Ideological Amateurs, in: *International Relations* 19: 1, 5-18.

MASALA, Carlo 2011: Warum (Neo-)Realisten (meistens) keinen Krieg mögen, in: *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, Sonderband 4, 253-269.

MEARSHEIMER, John 2005: Hans Morgenthau und der Irakkrieg: Realismus versus Neokonservatismus, in: *Merkur* 59, 836-844.

MEARSHEIMER, John 2001: Anarchy and the Struggle for Power, in: *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 29-54.

MEARSHEIMER, John 1990: Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War, in: *International Security* 15: 1, 5-56.

MEARSHEIMER, John 1990: Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War, in: *Atlantic Monthly*, August 1990, <https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/politics/foreign/mearsh.htm>.

RYNNING, Stan 2015: The false promise of continental concert: Russia, the West and the necessary balance of power, in: *International Affairs* 91: 3, 539-552.

RYNNING, Stan / RINGSMOSE, Jens 2008: Why Are Revisionist States Revisionist? Reviving Classical Realism as an Approach to Understand International Change, in: *International Politics* 45: 1, 19-39.

SNYDER, Glenn H. 2002: Mearsheimer's World-Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay, in: *International Security* 27: 1, 149-173.

12. Session (7. July)

3. Back to the roots: towards a more *classical* Neoclassical Realism

REICHWEIN, Alex 2020: Neoclassical Realism and Statecraft: Toward a Normative Foreign Policy Theory, in: *International Studies Review*, Forum: Rethinking Neoclassical Realism at Theory's End (with G. Meibauer, L. Desmæle, T. Onea, N. Kitchen, M. Foulon & J. Sterling-Folker) (Online First, <https://academic.oup.com/isr/advance-article-abstract/doi/10.1093/isr/viaa018/5782294>).

BATTISTELLA, Dario 2012: Raymond Aron: a neoclassical realist before the term existed? in: KUNZ, B./TOJE, A. (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism in European Politics. Bringing Power Back In*. Manchester: University Press, 117-137.

REICHWEIN, Alex 2012: The tradition of neoclassical realism, in: KUNZ, B. / TOJE, A. (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism*, 30-60.

SMITH, Keith 2017: A reassessment of E.H. Carr and the realist tradition: Britain, German-Soviet Relations and neoclassical realism, in: *International Politics* 54: 2, 89-103.

TALIAFERRO, Jeffrey W. / LOBELL, Steven E. / RIPSAN, Norrin M. 2009: Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy, in: DIES. (ed.), *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: University Press, 1-41.

13. Session (14. July)

4. Nearly forgotten...*the* (one and only) classic?

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1954: The Six Principles of Political Realism, in: Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace. First Edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, **3-15**.
JÜTERSONKE, Oliver 2013: Politics Among Nations: Ein Klassiker des klassischen Realismus?, in: Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft 60: 4, **452-460**.
CRISTOL, Jonathan 2009: Morgenthau vs. Morgenthau? „The Six Principles of Political Realism” in Context, in: American Foreign Policy Interests 31, 238-244.
FREI, Christoph 2018: Politics Among Nations. A Book for America, in: NAVARI, C. (ed.), Hans J. Morgenthau and the American Experience. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 55-74.

DEADLINE Submission for Take Home Exam 2: second excerpt (for A1 students), Maybe First excerpt for A2 students)

5. Not forgotten...but no time in the Corona-seminar: the French men

ARON, Raymond 1968 [1966]: Peace and War: A theory of international relations. New York: Praeger (chapter).

STEWART, Iain 2018: From Pétain to Pinochet: Raymond Aron, Henry Kissinger, and the Problem of Political Realism, in: The Tocqueville Review 39: 2, **15–33**.

CLAUDE, Inis 1966: Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations, in: International Organization 20: 3, **367-379**.

HOFFMANN, Stanley 1959: International relations: The long road to theory. World Politics 11: 3, 346–77.

STULLEROVA, Kamilla 2020: The Germans and the Frenchmen: Hoffmann’s and Aron’s Critiques of Morgenthau, in: REICHWEIN, A. / RÖSCH, F. (eds.), Realism: A Distinctively 20th Century European Tradition, London: Palgrave Macmillan (**13 pages**).

ARON, Raymond 1962: Dialektik des Friedens und des Krieges, in: Frieden und Krieg. Eine Theorie der Staatenwelt, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 182-209.

ARON, Raymond 1962: PRAXEOLOGIE: Die Antinomien des diplomatisch-strategischen Handelns, Textausschnitt: Auf der Suche nach einer Moral: Idealismus und Realismus, in: Frieden und Krieg, 665-703.

BATTISTELLA, Dario 2012: Raymond Aron: a neoclassical realist before the term existed? in: KUNZ, B. / TOJE, A. (eds.), Neoclassical Realism in European Politics. Bringing Power Back In. Manchester: University Press, 117-137.

CLAUDE, Inis 1962: Collective Security, in: Power and International Relations, New York: Random House, 94-149.

DAVIS, Reed 2008: An uncertain trumpet: reason, anarchy and Cold War diplomacy in the thought of Raymond Aron, in: Review of International Studies 34, 645-668.

HASSNER, Pierre 2007: Raymond Aron: Too Realistic to Be a Realist?, in: Constellation 14: 4, 498-505.

LÖWENTHAL, Richard 1962: Geleitwort zu Raymond Arons Krieg und Frieden, in: Aron, Raymond, Eine Theorie der Staatenwelt, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, I-XIII.

OPPERMANN, Matthias 2013: Machtanbetung oder Klugheit? Die realistische Schule der internationalen Beziehungen, in: GROSSHEIM, M. / HENNECKE, H.-J. (Hg.), Staat und Ordnung im konservativen Denken. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 286-306.

STEINMETZ-Jenkins, Daniel 2018: Stanley Hoffmann’s Critique of Hans Morgenthau’s Political Realism, in: The Tocqueville Review 39: 2: 63–76.

For A1-Schein students: Term paper (Hausarbeit) → see Guide Die Hausarbeit; Submission until 30th September 2020 (as pdf, via e-mail)

It is **compulsory** that students speak with me about the Hausarbeits project **in advance** (at the end of the seminar, from July on) in my office/consultation hour (via Skype or MS Teams, if still necessary).