

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 240/IRGN 254
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY**

Fall 2009

Monday, 12:00 PM-2:50 PM

Erik Gartzke

SSB 104

Email: gartzke@ucsd.edu

Office hours: Tuesdays, 10-12 PM

This course is designed for first year Ph.D. students. It explores major concepts and key research approaches in the field of international relations.

The following books are available for purchase on-line and at the UCSD bookstore.

Lars-Erik Cederman, *Emergent Actors in World Politics: How States and Nations Develop and Dissolve* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Robert Powell, *In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1979).

Copies of these books are also on reserve at the IR/PS library. All other readings are available on e-reserves at the UCSD Library. Reading the "additional reading" is not required.

Course requirements:

Written: three five-page papers (each 25% of grade). Each paper will analyze one or more of the readings assigned for the week. Students select the readings for each paper. Papers are due before the class in which the readings are discussed.

Class participation (25% of grade): based on leadership of and participation in seminar discussions.

One or more seminar participants will introduce each week's topic and readings. You should not write a paper on readings that you present in class.

Keep your presentation brief—at most ten minutes per person. Use handouts or PowerPoint if you wish, but only as a supplement to your presentation. In your presentation, approach all readings critically: a summary of the reading will not suffice. If possible, connect the readings in different weeks.

I. September 28: Introduction: International relations, politics, and paradigms

Brian Schmidt, "On the History and Historiography of International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), pp.3-22.

Miles Kahler, "Inventing International Relations: International Relations Theory after 1945," in Michael W. Doyle and G. John Ikenberry, eds., *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 20-53.

Ole Wøever, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations," pp. 687-727; Helen V. Milner, "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics," pp. 759-786; John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," pp. 855-885; all in *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998) [Also available in Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D. Krasner, eds., *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics*].

*R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State*, chapter 1 (especially pp. 12-52)

*David A. Lake and Robert Powell, "International Relations: A Strategic-Choice Approach," in Lake, and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, pp. 3-38.

UNITS AND THEIR PREFERENCES

II. October 5: The units of international relations: states and other international actors

*Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, chapter 5.

*R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State*, chapter 3, esp. pp. 118-129

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 22-33, 154-180

Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 1-42.

- Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions," *International Organization* 51, 4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 555-89.
- Hein Goemans, "Bounded Communities: Territoriality, Territorial Attachment, and Conflict," in Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter, eds., *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 25-61.
- Robert H. Jackson, "Quasi-states, Dual Regimes, and Neoclassical Theory: International Jurisprudence and the Third World," *International Organization* 41, 4 (Autumn 1987), pp. 519-549.
- Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in Katzenstein, ed., *Culture and National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 33-75.
- Kal Raustiala, "States, NGOs, and International Environmental Institutions," *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, 4 (December 1997), pp. 719-740.

III. October 12: Preferences and perceptions: individuals, groups and beliefs

- *Jeffrey Frieden, "Actors and Preferences in International Relations," in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp. 39-76.
- James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), pp.52-72.
- Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 919-941.
- Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics* 20, 3 (April 1968), pp. 454-79.
- Arthur A. Stein, "When Misperception Matters," *World Politics* 34, 4 (July 1982), pp. 505-526.
- Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, 1 (March 1997), pp. 87-112.
- Ronald Rogowski, Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade, *American Political Science Review*, 81, 4 (December 1987), pp. 1121-1137; OR
- Jeffrey A. Frieden and Ronald Rogowski, "The Impact of the International Economy on National Policies: An Analytical Overview," in Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner, eds., *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 25-47.
- Michael J. Hiscox, "Inter-Industry Factor Mobility and the Politics of Trade," *International Organization*, 55, 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 1-46.

Chaim D. Kaufman and Robert A. Pape, "Explaining Costly International Moral Action," *International Organization*, 53, 4 (Autumn 1999), pp. 631-668.

Additional reading:

Michael J. Hiscox, *International Trade and Political Conflict*

IV. October 19: Domestic institutions and international behavior

*Ronald Rogowski, "Institutions as Constraints on Strategic Choice," in Lake and Powell, eds. *Strategic Choice*, pp. 115-136.

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review* 63 (1969), pp. 689-718.

Jonathan Bendor and Thomas H. Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review* 86, 2 (June 1992), pp. 301-22.

*Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information*, chapters 1-4, 9 and one of the remaining chapters (5-8)

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), pp. 215-272, 405-460.

Fiona McGillvray and Alastair Smith, "The Impact of Leadership Turnover and Domestic Institutions on International Cooperation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (5) (October 2005), pp. 639-660.

Kenneth A. Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 57-115, 231-246.

Peter F. Cowhey, "Domestic Institutions and the Credibility of International Commitments: Japan and the United States," *International Organization* 47, 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 299-326.

J. Lawrence Broz, "Political System Transparency and Monetary Commitment Regimes," *International Organization*, 56, 4 (Autumn 2002), pp. 861-887.

Additional reading:

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith, "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 93 (December 1999), pp. 791-807.

Edward D. Mansfield, Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorf, "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements," *International Organization*, 56, 3 (Summer 2002), pp. 477-514.

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War," *International Organization*, 56, 2 (Spring 2002),

- pp. 297-338 [also Edward C. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, *Electing to Fight* (2005)].
- Lisa L. Martin, *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*.
- Fiona McGillivray and Alastair Smith. *Punishing the Prince: A Theory of Interstate Relations, Political Institutions, and Leader Change*.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- Kenneth A. Schultz, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform: Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War," *International Organization* 53 (Spring 1999) pp. 233-266.
- Kenneth A. Schultz and Barry A. Weingast, "The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition," *International Organization*, 57, 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 3-42.

RELATIONS AMONG UNITS

V. October 26: Relations among units: bargaining, strategic interaction, and alliance formation

- *James D. Morrow, "The Strategic Setting of Choices: Signaling, Commitment, and Negotiation in International Politics," in Lake and Powell, *Strategic Choice*, pp. 77-114.
- James Fearon, "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation," *International Organization*, 52, 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 269-305.
- Randall W. Stone, *Lending Credibility: The International Monetary Fund and the Post-Communist Transition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp.15-38 and 59-86.
- Michael Tomz, *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt across Three Centuries* (Princeton University Press, 2007), p.1-36 and 223-241.
- *Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 116-128 and 161-170.
- Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp.1-49 and 147-180.

Additional reading:

- Christopher Gelpi, *The Power of Legitimacy: Assessing the Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining*.
- Daniel Treisman, "Rational Appeasement," *International Organization*, 58, 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 345-373.

VI. November 2: Relations among units: explaining war

Interstate war

Jack S. Levy, "War and Peace," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), pp.350-368.

James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization*, 49 (1995), pp. 379-414.

Eric Gartzke, "War is in the Error Term," *International Organization*, 53, 3 (Summer 1999), pp. 567-587.

*Robert Powell, *In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics*, chapters 1, 3, 4, and 5.

*R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State*, chapters 4 and 5

Internal Conflict

David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," *International Security* 21, 2 (Fall 1996), pp.41-75

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "'Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,'" *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (February 2003), pp. 75-90.

Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, 3 (Summer 1997), pp.335-364.

Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace?: International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly*, 48 (2004) pp. 269-292.

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, The Strategies of Terrorism, *International Security* 31, 1 (Summer 2006): 49-80.

Additional reading: interstate war

D. Scott Bennett and Allan C. Stam, *The Behavioral Origins of War*

Lars-Erik Cederman, "Modeling the Size of Wars," *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (February 2003), pp. 135-150.

Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*

Robert Jervis, "War and Misperception," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*, pp. 101-126.

Robert Powell, "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization*, 60, 1 (Winter 2006), pp. 169-203.

Branislav L. Slantchev, "The Power to Hurt: Costly Conflict with Completely Informed States," *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (February 2003), pp. 123-133.

Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *International Security*, 29, 4 (Spring 2005), pp. 5-49.

Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security*, 22, 4 (Spring 1998), pp. 5-43.

R. Harrison Wagner, "Bargaining and War," *American Journal of Political Science* 44, 3 (July 2000), pp.469-484.

Additional reading: internal conflict

- James D. Fearon and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review*, 90 (1996), pp. 715-735.
- Rui J. P. de Figueiredo Jr. and Barry R. Weingast, "The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict," in Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 261-302.
- Matthew Krain, "International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides," *International Studies Quarterly*, 49, 3 (September 2005), pp. 363-387.
- David A. Lake, "International Relations Theory and Internal Conflict: Insights from the Interstices," *International Studies Review*, 5, 4 (December 2003), pp. 81-89.
- Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, 97, 3 (August 2003), pp. 343-361.

VII. November 9: Relations among units: international institutions

- *Peter Gourevitch, "The Governance Problem in International Relations," in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp. 137-164.
- Lisa L. Martin and Beth Simmons, "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions," in *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 729-757.
- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders," *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 943-969.
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp.65-109.
- Kenneth Abbott et al., "The Concept of Legalization," pp. 401-419; Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance," pp. 421-456; Miles Kahler, "The Causes and Consequences of Legalization," all in *International Organization* 54, 3 (Summer 2000). [Also available in Judith Goldstein, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter, eds., *Legalization and World Politics*].
- Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, "The Rational Design of International Institutions" and "Rational Design: Looking Back to Move Forward," *International Organization* 55, 4 (Autumn 2001), pp.761-799, pp. 1051-1082 and one of the following: B. Peter Rosendorff and Helen V. Milner, "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions," pp. 829-857; James D. Morrow, "The Institutional Features of Prisoners of War Treaties," pp. 971-991; OR John E. Richards, "Institutions for Flying: How States Built a Market in International Aviation Services," pp. 993-1017.

Ian Hurd, "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003," *International Organization*, 59, 3 (Summer 2006), pp. 495-526.

Additional reading:

George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom, "Is the Good News About Compliance Good News About Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50 (3), pp. 397-406.

George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom, "Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism," *International Organization*, 52, 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 397-419.

Michael J. Gilligan, "Is There a Broader-Deeper Tradeoff in International Multilateral Agreements?," *International Organization*, 58, 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 459-484

Barbara Koremenos, "Contracting Around International Uncertainty," *American Political Science Review*, 99, 4 (November 2005), pp. 549-565.

Beth Simmons, "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs," *American Political Science Review*, 94 (4), pp. 819-834.

FROM UNIT TO SYSTEM

VIII. November 16: Anarchy, hierarchy, and networks

*Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 102-116 and 138-160.

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, 30 (1978), pp. 167-214.

Alex Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992), 391-425.

Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp.19-47 and 339-349.

David A. Lake, *Entangling Relations: American Foreign Policy in its Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 17-77.

*Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, chapters 1 and 6

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Alexander H. Montgomery, "Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50, 1 (February 2006), pp. 3-27.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Miles Kahler, and Alexander H. Montgomery, "Network Analysis for International Relations," *International Organization* (forthcoming, Summer 2009)

Additional reading:

Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," in Kenneth A. Oye, ed., *Cooperation under Anarchy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp.1-24.
 Anne-Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)

IX. November 23: Environments and outcomes

- *Miles Kahler, Evolution, Choice, and International Change," in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp. 165-196.
- *Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp.170-193.
- *Lars-Erik Cederman, *Emergent Actors in World Politics: How States and Nations Develop and Dissolve*, chapters 1-3.
- Eric Gartzke and Quan Li, "War, Peace, and the Invisible Hand," *International Studies Quarterly*, 47, 4 (December 2003), pp. 561-586.
- Jon C. Pevehouse, "Democracy from the Outside In? International Organizations and Democratization," *International Organization*, 56, 3 (Summer 2002), pp. 515-549.
- Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, "Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism," Zachary Elkins, Andrew T. Guzman, and Beth A. Simmons, "Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960-2000," Chang Kil Lee and David Strang, "The International Diffusion of Public-Sector Downsizing: Network Emulation and Theory-Driven Learning," and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward, "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization," all in *International Organization*, 60, 4 (Fall 2006), pp. 781-846, 883-933.

Additional reading:

- Charles Boehmer, Erik Gartzke, and Timothy Nordstrom, "Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?," *World Politics*, 57 (October 2004), pp. 1-38.
- Geoffrey Garrett, "Global Markets and National Politics: Collision Course of Virtuous Circle?" *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 787-824.
- Kristian Gleditsch, *All International Politics is Local*.
- Edward D. Mansfield, *Power, Trade, and War*.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Brian M. Pollins, editors, *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict*.
- Jon C. Pevehouse, *Democracy From Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*.
- Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*
- Gerald Schneider, Katherine Barbieri, and Nils Petter Gleditsch, editors, *Globalization and Armed Conflict*.

X. November 30: International normative change: causes and consequences

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 887-917.

Neta Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 82-130, 387-398.

David A. Lake and Wendy Wong, "The Politics of Networks: Interests, Power, and Human Rights Norms," in Miles Kahler, ed., *Networked Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2009)

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework," Frank Schimmelfennig, "Strategic Calculation and International Socialization," and Alastair Iain Johnston, "Conclusions and Extensions: Toward Mid-Range Theorizing and Beyond Europe," *International Organization*, 59, 4 (Fall 2005), pp. 801-826, pp. 827-860, and pp. 1013-1044.

*Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, chapter 3. Andrew Moravcsik, "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes," *International Organization*, 54, 2 (Spring 2000), pp. 217-252.

Eric Neumayer, "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, 6 (2006), pp. 925-953.

Judith Kelley, "Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Nonsurrender Agreements," *American Political Science Review*, 101, 3 (August 2007), pp. 573-589.

Emilie Hafner-Burton, "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Arrangements Influence Government Repression," *International Organization*, 59, 3 (2005), pp. 593-629.

Additional reading:

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and James Ron, "Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact through Qualitative and Quantitative Eyes," *World Politics*, 61, 2 (April 2009)

Oona Hathaway, "Do Human Rights Treaties Make A Difference?" *Yale Law Journal*, 111, pp. 1935-2042.

Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions," *International Organization*, 58, 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 425-458.

Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds., *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).