

PS 240: International Relations Theory

Spring 2021

Tuesdays, 9-11:50 AM

Location: Remote

Instructor: David A. Lake

Office Hours: Tuesday, 1:30-3:30 PM

Signup [here](#)

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This course explores major concepts and key research approaches in the field of international relations.

Course requirements:

Written: three five-page papers (each 25% of grade). Each paper will analyze critically one or more of the readings assigned for the week. Students select the readings for each paper. Papers are due 24 hours before the class in which the readings are assigned. Papers will be posted to Canvas and should be read by others in the course before each class. To distribute papers evenly across the weeks, please sign up [here](#).

Class participation (25% of grade): All students are expected to attend every seminar and be prepared to discuss all the readings for that week and participate in the discussion.

Readings:

Readings are available through JSTOR, UCSD library subscription, or other online sources. For most, you will need a VPN connection to UCSD to access.

Week 1 (March 30): Paradigms and Progress in IR

1. Zinnes, Dina. 1980. "[Three Puzzles in Search of a Researcher](#)." *International Studies Quarterly*, 24(3): 315–42.
2. Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1985. "[Toward a Scientific Understanding of International Conflict: A Personal View](#)." *International Studies Quarterly*, 29(2): 121–36.
3. Gaddis, John Lewis. 1992/93. "[International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War](#)." *International Security*, 17(3): 5–58.
4. Schmidt, Brian. 2013. "[On the History and Historiography of International Relations](#)," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons. (Eds.) *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 3–28.
5. Katzenstein, Peter J., Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D. Krasner. 1998. "[International Organization and the Study of World Politics](#)," *International Organization*, 52(4): 645–85.
6. Wæver, Ole. 1998. "[The Sociology of Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations](#)," *International Organization*, 52(4): 687–727.
7. McNamara, Kathleen R. 2009. "[Of Intellectual Monocultures and the Study of IPE](#)," *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 72–84.
8. Kristensen, Peter Marcus. 2018. "[International Relations at the End: A Sociological Autopsy](#)," *International Studies Quarterly*, 62(2): 245–59.

9. Lake, David A. "[Why 'isms' are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress,](#)" *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 465-480; or Lake, "[Theory is dead, long live theory: The End of the Great Debates and the rise of eclecticism in International Relations,](#)" *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(3): 567-587.

Week 2 (April 6): States as Units and the Levels of Analysis Problem in IR

1. Waltz, Kenneth. 1959. [Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis](#). New York: Columbia University Press. Chapters 2, 4, and 6.
2. Singer, J. David. 1961. "[The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations](#)." *World Politics*, 14(1):77-92.
3. Moul, William B. 1973. "[The Level of Analysis Problem Revisited](#)." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 6(3): 494-513
4. Lake, David A., and Robert Powell. 1999. "[International Relations: A Strategic-Choice Approach](#)," in Lake and Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
5. Tilly, Charles. [Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990](#) (New York: Blackwell, 1990), Chapter 3 (pp. 67-95).
6. Hendrik Spruyt, [The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change](#) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), Chapters 2 and 8, pp. 22-33, 154-180.
7. Alesina, Alberto, and Enrico Spolaore, [On the Number and Size of Nations](#), *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (1997): 1027-56.
8. Scott F. Abramson, [The Economics Origins of the Territorial State](#), *International Organization* 71, 1 (2017), pp.97-130.
9. Mark W. Zacher, [The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force](#), *International Organization* 55, 2 (2001), pp.215-250.

Week 3 (April 13): The Environment: Anarchy, Hierarchy, and Sovereignty

1. Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. [Theory of International Politics](#). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press. Chapters 5-8.
2. Bull, Hedley. 1977. [The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics](#). New York: Palgrave. Chapters 1-3.
3. Milner, Helen V. 1991. "[The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique](#)," *Review of International Studies*, 17: 67-85.
4. Powell, Robert. 1994. "[Anarchy in International Relations Theory: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate](#)," *International Organization*, 48(2): 313-44.
5. Henderson, Errol A. 2013. "[Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations,](#)" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 71-92.
6. Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "[Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics](#)," *International Organization*, 46(Spring): 391-425.
7. Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. [Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy](#). Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-2.

8. Lake, David A. 2009. [*Hierarchy in International Relations*](#). Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-2.
9. Mattern, Janice Bially, and Ayşe Zarakol. 2016. "[Hierarchies in World Politics](#)," *International Organization*, 70(3): 623-54.

Week 4 (April 20): Conflict with States as Unitary Actors

1. James D. Morrow, "[The Strategic Setting of Choices: Signaling, Commitment, and Negotiation in International Politics](#)," in Lake and Powell, *Strategic Choice*, pp. 77-114.
2. Morgenthau, Hans J. 1949. [*Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*](#). New York: Knopf. Chapters 1-3, 9-15, 19-20. (Note: chapter numbers vary by edition.)
3. Jervis, Robert. 1978. "[Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma](#)." *World Politics*, 30(2): 167-214.
4. Glaser, Charles. 1997. "[The Security Dilemma Revisited](#)." *World Politics*, 50(1): 171-201.
5. Gilpin, Robert. 1988. "[The Theory of Hegemonic War](#)." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18(4): 591-614.
6. James, Patrick. 1995. "[Structural Realism and the Causes of War](#)." *Mershon International Studies Review*, 39(2): 181-208.
7. Fearon, James D. 1995. "[Rationalist Explanations for War](#)." *International Organization*, 49(3): 379-414.
8. Powell, Robert. 2002. "[Bargaining Theory and International Conflict](#)," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5: 1-30.
9. Wagner, R. Harrison. 2007. [*War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*](#). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [Chapters 3-5](#).
10. Leventoğlu, Bahar, and Branislav L. Slantchev. 2007. "[The Armed Peace: A Punctuated Equilibrium Theory of War](#)," *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(4): 755-71.

Week 5 (April 27): Cooperation with States as Unitary Actors & International Institutions

1. Peter Gourevitch, "[The Governance Problem in International Relations](#)," in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp.137-164.
2. Slantchev, Branislav L. 2005. "[Territory and Commitment: The Concert of Europe as Self-Enforcing Equilibrium](#)," *Security Studies*, 14(4): 565-606.
3. Keohane, Robert O. 1984. [*After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*](#). Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters. 4-6.
4. Kenneth A. Oye. 1985. "[Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies](#)," *World Politics* 38(1): 1-24.
5. James Fearon. 1998. "[Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation](#)," *International Organization*, 52(2): 269-305.
6. George W. Downs, David M. Roache, and Peter N. Barsoom, [Is the Good News About Compliance Good News About Cooperation?](#) *International Organization* 50 (3), pp.397-406.

7. Virginia Page Fortna, [Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace](#), *International Organization* 57, 2 (2003), pp.337-372.
8. Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, [Hard and Soft Law in International Governance](#), *International Organization* 54, 3 (2000), pp. 421-456.
9. Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "[The Rational Design of International Institutions](#)," *International Organization* 55(4): 761-799.

Week 6 (May 4): Preferences, Interest Aggregation, and Foreign Policy

1. Frieden, Jeffrey A. 1999. "[Actors and Preferences in International Relations](#)," in Lake and Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 2, pp. 39-76.
2. Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. "[Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics](#)," *International Organization*, 51(4): 513-53.
3. Benjamin Fordham, [Economic Interests and Public Support for American Global Activism](#), *International Organization* 62, 1 (2008), pp.311-328.
4. Edward D. Mansfield and Diana C. Mutz, [Support for Free Trade: Self-Interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Out-Group Anxiety](#), *International Organization* 63, 3 (2009), pp.425-457.
5. Frieden, Jeffrey A., and Ronald Rogowski. 1996. "[The Impact of the International Economy on National Policies: An Analytical Overview](#)," in Keohane, Robert O., and Helen V. Milner, eds. *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2, pp. 25-47.
6. Ole R. Holsti and James N. Rosenau, [The Structure of Foreign Policy Attitudes among American Leaders](#), *Journal of Politics* 52, 1 (1990), pp.94-125.
7. Baum, Matthew A., and Philip B.K. Potter. 2008. "[The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis](#)," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11: 39-65.
8. Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. "[The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics](#)," *International Organization*, 32(4): 881-912.
9. Doyle, Michael W. 1986. "[Liberalism and World Politics](#)," *American Political Science Review* 80(4): 1151-1169.
10. Milner, Helen V. 1997. [Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations](#). Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 2-4.

Week 7 (May 11): Leaders as Units of Analysis and the Assumption of Rationality

1. Giacomo Chiozza and H.E. Goemans. 2004. [International Conflict and the Tenure of Leaders: Is War Still Ex Post Inefficient?](#) *American Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 604-619.
2. Horowitz, Michael C., and Allan C. Stam. 2014 "[How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders](#)," *International Organization*, 68(3): 527-59.
3. Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2009. "[Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy](#)," *International Security*, 34(2): 119-61.

4. Miles Kahler. 1998. "[Rationality in International Relations](#)," *International Organization*, 52(4) 919-41.
5. Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake, and David G. Victor, [The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations](#), *International Organization* 71, S1 (2017), pp.S1-S31.
6. Rose McDermott. 2004. "[Prospect Theory in Political Science: Gains and Loses From the First Decade](#)," *Political Psychology*, 25(2): 289-312.
7. Brian C. Rathbun, Joshua D. Kertzer, and Mark Paradis, [Homo Diplomaticus: Mixed-Method Evidence of Variation in Strategy Rationality](#), *International Organization* 71, S1 (2017), pp.S3-S60.
8. Janice Gross Stein. 2017. "[The Micro-Foundation of International Relations Theory: Psychology and Behavioral Economics](#)," *International Organization* , 71(S1): S249-63.
9. Keren Yarhi-Milo. 2013. "[In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries](#)," *International Security*, 38(1): 7-51.

Week 8 (May 18): No Class

Week 9 (May 25): Domestic Institutions/Organizations and International Behavior

1. Rogowski, Ronald. 1999. "[Institutions as Constraints on Strategic Choice](#)," in Lake and Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 4, pp. 115-36.
2. Allison, Graham T. 1969. "[Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis](#)," *American Political Science Review*, 63(3): 689-718. (With some [background on the crisis](#)).
3. Bendor, Jonathan, and Thomas H. Hammond. 1992. "[Rethinking Allison's Models](#)," *American Political Science Review*, 86(2): 301-22.
4. Fey, Mark, and Hein E. Goemans. 2007. "[Risky but Rational: War as an Institutionally Induced Gamble](#)," *The Journal of Politics*, 71(1): 35-54.
5. Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, et al. 1999. "[An Institutional Explanation for the Democratic Peace](#)," *American Political Science Review*, 93(4): 791-807.
6. Weeks, Jessica. 2012. "[Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict](#)," *American Political Science Review*, 106(2): 326-47.
7. Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "[Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games](#)," *International Organization*, 42(3): 427-60.
8. Leventoğlu, Bahar, and Ahmer Tarar. 2005. "[Prenegotiation Public Commitment in Domestic and International Bargaining](#)," *American Political Science Review*, 99(3): 419-33.

Week 10 (June 1): International Change

1. Kahler, Miles. 1999. "[Evolution, Choice, and International Change](#)," in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp.165-196.
2. Abbott, Kenneth W., Jessica F. Green, and Robert O. Keohane, 2016. [Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance](#), *International Organization* 70(2): 247-277.

3. Lake, David A. (forthcoming). "[The Organizational Ecology of Global Governance](#)," *European Journal of International Relations*
4. Simmons, Beth A., Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, 2006. "[Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism](#)," *International Organization*, 60(4): 781-810.
5. Elkins, Zachary, Andrew T. Guzman, and Beth A. Simmons, 2006. "[Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960-2000](#)," *International Organization*, 60(4): 811-846.
6. Hyde, Susan D. 2011. "[Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion](#)," *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 356-369.
7. Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998. "[International Norm Dynamics and Political Change](#)," *International Organization* 52(4): 887-917.
8. Buzas, Zoltan I. 2013. [The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance \(1902-1923\)](#), *Security Studies* 22(4):573-606.
9. Buzas, Zoltan I. 2021. [Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order](#), *International Organization* 75(2).
10. Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula, 1996. [Race and Self-Determination in International Law](#), in Grovogui, *Sovereigns, Quasi-Sovereigns, and Africans*. Minneapolis, MI: University of Minnesota Press: 43-76.
11. Hanania, Richard, and Robert Trager, 2020. "[The Prejudice First Model and Foreign Policy Values: Racial and Religious Bias Among Conservatives and Liberals](#)," *European Journal of International Relations* 27(1): 204-231.