

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 240**  
**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY**

Winter 2014

Tuesdays, 9:00 AM-11:50 AM, SSB 104

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**Office hours: Tuesdays 1:30-3:30 and by appointment**

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 before the class in which the readings are assigned.

*Class participation (25% of grade):* All students are expected to attend every seminar, be prepared to discuss all the readings for that week, and participate in the discussion. I will “cold call” students on readings and/or particular arguments; failure to have read the work will count heavily in determining this portion of your grade.

If enrollment in the course is “large,” requirements will be two papers and class participation (33% of grade each).

**Readings:**

Journal articles are available online through the UCSD Library. Some articles from special issues of journals are also available as edited books; in these cases, either version will be fine.

We read enough of the following books to make purchasing them worthwhile. You may want them for your library in any event.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, *Making Human Rights a Reality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

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

David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

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

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1979).

## Week 1, January 7: Paradigms, Progress, and International Relations

Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, "Lessons from Lakatos," in Elman and Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), pp.19-68.

Brian Schmidt, "On the History and Historiography of International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (Second Edition) (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2013), pp.3-28.

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.

Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D. Krasner, "International Organization and the Study of World Politics," *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998), pp.645-685.

Ole Wøever, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998), pp. 687-727.

Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism," *International Organization* 42 (1988), pp.485-507.

Duncan Snidal, "Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 85 (1991), pp.701-726.

Robert Powell, "Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory," *American Political Science Review* 85 (1991), pp.1303-1320.

Kathleen R. McNamara, "Of Intellectual Monocultures and the Study of IPE," *Review of International Political Economy* 16, 1 (2009), pp.72-84.

David A. Lake, "Why Isms are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress," *International Studies Quarterly* 55, 2 (2011), pp.465-480.

David A. 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 (2013), pp.567-587.

David A. Lake and Robert Powell, "International Relations: A Strategic-Choice Approach," in Lake, and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 3-38.

## Week 2, January 14: The Anarchy Problematique

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1979), Chapters 5-7, pp.79-160.

Richard K. Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism," *International Organization* 38, 2 (1984), pp.225-281.

Helen V. Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 17 (1991), pp.67-85.

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992), pp.391-425.
- Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), Chapter 1, pp.1-42.
- Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions," *International Organization* 51, 4 (1997), pp.555-589.
- David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), as much as possible.
- Laura Sjoberg, "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See," *International Theory* 4, 1 (2012), pp.1-38.
- Ann E. Towns, "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion From Below," *International Organization* 66, 2 (2012), pp.179-209.

### **Week 3, January 21: 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. [Note, this is the first edition of the handbook, the essay is not reprinted in the second edition.]
- Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998), pp.919-941.
- Rose McDermott, "Prospect Theory in Political Science: Gains and Loses From the First Decade," *Political Psychology* 25, 2 (2004), pp. 289-312.
- Jonathan Mercer, "Emotional Beliefs," *International Organization* 64, 1 (2010), pp.1-31.
- Anthony C. Lopez, Rose McDermott, and Michael Bang Petersen, "States in Mind: Evolution, Coalitional Psychology, and International Politics," *International Security* 36, 2 (2011), pp.48-83.
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, D. Alex Hughes, and David G. Victor, "The Cognitive Revolution and the Political Psychology of Elite Decision-Making," *Perspectives on Politics* 11, 2 (2013), pp.368-386.
- 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 (2001), pp.1-46.
- Chaim D. Kaufman and Robert A. Pape, "Explaining Costly International Moral Action," *International Organization*, 53, 4 (1999), pp.631-668.

### **Week 4, January 28: 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: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapters 1-4 and *one* of the empirical chapters (5-8).

Bruce Buena de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith, "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 93, 4 (1999), pp.791-807.

Kenneth A. Schultz, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War," *International Organization* 53, 2 ) 1999, pp.233-266.

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

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

Jessica L. Weeks, "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 106, 2 (2012), pp.326-347.

#### **Week 5, February 4: Relations among units: strategic interaction**

James D. Morrow, "The Strategic Setting of Choices: Signaling, Commitment, and Negotiation in International Politics," in Lake and Powell, *Strategic Choice*, pp. 77-114.

Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38, 1 (1985), p.1-24.

James Fearon, "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation," *International Organization*, 52, 2 (1998), pp.269-305.

Randall W. Stone, *Lending Credibility: The International Monetary Fund and the Post-Communist Transition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), Chapters 2 and 4, pp.15-38 and 59-86.

Michael Tomz, *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt across Three Centuries* (Princeton University Press, 2007), Chapters 1, 2 and 9, p.1-36 and 223-241.

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

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

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

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

Branislav L. Slantchev, "Borrowed Power: Debt Finance and the Resort to Arms," *American Political Science Review* 106, 4 (2012), pp.787-809.

**Week 6, February 11: 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 (1998), pp.729-757.

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Chapters 5 and 6, pp.65-109.

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

Virginia Page Fortna, "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization* 57, 2 (2003), pp.337-372.

Kenneth Abbott et al., "The Concept of Legalization," *International Organization* 54, 3 (2000), pp.401-419.

Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance," *International Organization* 54, 3 (2000), pp. 421-456.

Miles Kahler, "The Causes and Consequences of Legalization," *International Organization* 54, 3 (2000), pp.661-683.

Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, "The Rational Design of International Institutions" *International Organization* 55, 4 (2001), pp.761-799.

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

Christina Schneider and Johannes Urpelainen, "Distributional Conflict Between Powerful States and International Treaty Ratification," *International Studies Quarterly* 57, 1 (2013), pp.13-27.

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

**Week 7, February 18: Evolution, Networks, and Diffusion**

Miles Kahler, "Evolution, Choice, and International Change," in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp. 165-196.

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.

- Lars-Erik Cederman, Endogenizing Geopolitical Boundaries with Agent-Based Modeling, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 99, Supplement 3 (May 14, 2002), 7296-7303.
- Miles Kahler, "Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance," in Kahler, ed., *Networked Politics: Agency, Power and Governance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp.1-20.
- Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, "Varieties of Cooperation: Government Networks in International Security," in Kahler, ed., *Networked Politics: Agency, Power and Governance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp.194-227.
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Miles Kahler, and Alexander H. Montgomery, "Network Analysis for International Relations," *International Organization* 63, 3 (2009), pp.559-592.
- Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, "Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism," *International Organization*, 60, 4 (2006), pp.781-810.
- Zachary Elkins, Andrew T. Guzman, and Beth A. Simmons, "Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960-2000," *International Organization*, 60, 4 (2006), pp.811-846.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward, "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization," all in *International Organization*, 60, 4 (2006), pp.991-933.
- Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunch, "Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers," *Perspectives on Politics* 11, 3 (2013), pp.753-768.

### **Week 8, February 25: Transnational Political Violence**

- David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," *International Security* 21, 2 (1996), pp.41-75
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "'Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,'" *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (2003), pp. 75-90.
- 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.
- Idean Salehyan, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and David E. Cunningham, Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups, *International Organization* 65, 4 (2011), pp.709-744.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, et al., "Transborder Ethnic Kin and Civil War," *International Organization* 67, 2 (2013), pp.389-410.
- Kenneth A. Schultz, "The Enforcement Problem in Coercive Bargaining: Interstate Conflict over Rebel Support in Civil Wars," *International Organization* 64, 2 (2010), pp.281-312.
- Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, 3 (1997), pp.335-364.
- Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, The Strategies of Terrorism, *International Security* 31, 1 (2006), p.49-80.
- Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, 97, 3 (2003), pp.343-361.

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization," *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 1 (2007), pp.364-381.

Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), Chapters 2-4, pp.26-100.

### **Week 9, March 4: International Normative Change**

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapters 1, 3 and 6, pp.1-38, 79-120, and 199-217.

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

R. Charli Carpenter, Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms, *International Organization* 65, 1, (2011), pp.69-102.

Andrew Moravcsik, "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes," *International Organization*, 54, 2 (2000), pp. 217-252.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, *Making Human Rights a Reality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), Chapters 1-8, pp.1-150.

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

### **Week 10, March 11: New Frontiers: The "Individual" Turn in International Relations**

Giacomo Chiozza and H.E. Goemans, *Leaders and International Conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Chapters 1-3, pp.1-90.

Elizabeth N. Saunders, "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* 34, 2 (2009), pp.119-161.

Keren Yarhi-Milo, "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries," *International Security* 38, 1 (2013), pp.7-51.

Dustin H. Tingley and Barbara F. Walter, "The Effect of Repeated Play on Reputation Building: A Experimental Approach," *International Organization* 65, 2 (2011), pp.343-365.

Megumi Naoi and Ikuo Kume, "Explaining Mass Support for Agricultural Protectionism: Evidence from a Survey Experiment During the Global Recession," *International Organization* 65, 4 (2011), pp.771-795.

Geoffrey P.R. Wallace, "International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study," *International Organization* 67, 1 (2013), pp.105-140.

Michael G. Findley, Daniel L. Nielson, and J.C. Sharman, "Using Field Experiments in International Relations: A Randomized Study of Anonymous Incorporation," *International Organization* 67, 4 (2013), pp.657-693.