

# **Seminar in International Relations Theory**

*PLSC 40600*

Fall 2017

**Time:** Wednesday, 9:30 am – 12:20 pm

**Room:** Pick Hall 506

**Professor:** Austin Carson, Department of Political Science, [acarson@uchicago.edu](mailto:acarson@uchicago.edu)

**Office hours:** Tues 11am-12pm & Weds 1pm-2pm. Pick Hall 428. Sign up for a slot here: <http://acarson.uchicago.edu/page/office-hours>.

## **Course description**

This course is a Ph.D.-level survey of the major scholarly traditions and debates in the field of International Relations. It provides an introduction to the central theoretical approaches including realism, liberalism, and constructivism and their variants. The course also exposes students to more recent non-paradigmatic research programs, reflections on the field's development over time, and the recurring "meta-debates" which underlie many of the differences in applied areas. Seminar discussion will identify and criticize the central arguments advanced by different scholars in order to assess the relative merits of different theoretical perspectives. The course is designed to help students prepare for the Department's IR general exam. Assigned and suggested readings are a starting point for building a reading list; the course offers practice with answering exam questions; students will exercise modes of critical analysis during seminar important for passing the exam.

## **Required texts**

The following books are assigned in their entirety (or close to it). I recommend purchasing them. Editions generally do no matter unless noted.

Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society*. Columbia UP, 1977.

Finnemore, Martha. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*. Cornell UP, 2004.

Gilpin, Robert. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge UP, 1983.

Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton UP, 1976.

Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton UP, 1984.

Milner, Helen V. *Interests, Institutions, and Information*. Princeton UP, 1997.

Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.

Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages, 1979.

Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge UP, 1999.

The following books are also very influential and have a chunk assigned. You may also want to purchase some/all. Editions generally do no matter unless noted.

Axelrod, Robert. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Basic Books, 1984.

- Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. *Rules For The World: International Organizations In Global Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2004.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell UP, 1998.
- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Orders After Major Wars*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2000.
- Morgenthau, Hans. *Politics Among Nations*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985 [many editions, no specific one is especially important]
- Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. Yale University Press, 1966.
- Simmons, Beth A. *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy during the Interwar Years*. Princeton UP, 1997.
- Tomz, Michael. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries*. Princeton UP, 2007.

All articles should be available through UChicago library resources. It is your responsibility to work with other students in class to divide labor of finding and scanning book chapters for books that are not assigned in their entirety. Please coordinate using [this Google Drive spreadsheet](#).

## Requirements

Students are expected to attend every session and complete the assigned readings. The class grade will be based on the following. More details will be provided in class.

- Seminar participation (35%)
- Review essay (25%)
- Comp exam essay (40%)

*Seminar participation (35%).* In general, students should come to seminar with all assigned readings completed and thoughtfully contribute to discussion each week. Be mindful of over-participating; quality beats quantity. A good rule of thumb is to make three to four quality comments per week. Each student will also lead discussion of specific reading(s) several times during the term. Discussion leaders are expected to kick off discussion of specific readings with an oral summary; specifics vary by week. [Sign up for roles](#) throughout the quarter will take place during Week 1. Grading of summaries will be based on substantive accuracy and clarity of presentation. I will provide a template for slides that students may use. I take student discomfort with verbal contributions in a seminar setting seriously. Please meet with me during office hours to discuss strategies and alternatives if you foresee or are struggling with this part of the course.

*Review essay (25%).* Each student will write a review essay of scholarly work anywhere on this syllabus (assigned or suggested) on a topic of their choice. Students may choose to review either a pair of books or four articles. The review should summarize each entry individually and also compare/contrast among them. The best papers will also identify a promising direction for future research based on points made in their reviewing. Examples of review essays can be found in *Perspectives on Politics, International Organization, and World Politics*; there are also several on this syllabus. Due by email ([acarson@uchicago.edu](mailto:acarson@uchicago.edu)) **end of Week 6** (Friday Nov 3<sup>rd</sup>) at midnight. Max 12 pages, double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, 1-inch margins.

*Comp exam essay (40%).* Students will respond to an essay prompt modeled on the International Relations Ph.D. comprehensive exam. The question will address an enduring question in IR. Students will be sent the essay prompt by email and have eight hours to write. The format is open book/note. Essays are only expected to draw on assigned readings on this syllabus. Students are strongly encouraged to develop a system for managing their notes at the beginning of the quarter. More details, including citation details and strategies for preparing, will be given in class. “Exam” day is **Tuesday, December 5<sup>th</sup>**. I will email the prompt to the class before 8 am; essays are due by 5 pm that day and should be sent as Word or PDF docs to [acarson@uchicago.edu](mailto:acarson@uchicago.edu). Max 12 pages double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, 1-inch margins.

### **A note on content**

This syllabus is designed to avoid duplication of content in other graduate seminars. Those planning to take the Ph.D. comprehensive exam should consult the other syllabi by IR faculty for complete coverage of the field.

### **Important suggestions**

Two tips about staying organized and note-taking. Think long-term about your notes. Experiment with systems that store and organize notes in a way that they can be used for years after. (I still consult my own notes I took in my Autumn 2007 IR field seminar during grad school!) In addition, try to specifically find ways to blend notes on “forest thinking” and “trees thinking.” It is important to have detailed notes on each reading; however, close reading can often obscure the big picture. You might include a step in your notes process that forces you to step back and articulate the big ideas, such as a mandatory five sentence summary for each reading placed above more detailed notes. You should also experiment with reference management systems. These can be an incredible efficiency boon, reducing the time you spend on works cited and helping organize your materials. I use Zotero and Bibtex. I recommend both.

### **Professionalism**

Our seminar will be its own term-long community with an intellectual culture we co-create. My goal is for all of us to feel comfortable participating in developing and rigorously testing our ideas. To ensure this, all of us must follow basic norms of respectful intellectual exchange. Be professional in all communications (including emails). Comments in class should be respectful of other students. Avoid a confrontational tone; respectfully disagree by suggesting a different view rather than forcefully contradicting. Essential to this environment is abstaining from acts of sexual misconduct, which encompass a range of conduct from sexual assault to sexual harassment. These will be treated as violations of the standards of our community and are unacceptable. Other forms of misconduct based on race, religion, or sexual orientation are equally unacceptable. One useful university resource on gender-based misconduct is [here](#).

### **Email policy**

Note that in general I may not read or respond to student emails until the evening; on weekends, I often do not read/respond at all. Do not expect immediate replies.

### **Late policy**

All deadlines are strict. Papers/assignments received late will be dropped a full letter grade for each 24 hours past the deadline.

**Incompletes policy**

While rare, I will consider granting incompletes to students in two situations: 1) under extreme personal/family duress; or, 2) after being convinced that only with extra time can the student execute a particularly ambitious, creative, and promising critical literature review. All incompletes (and, relatedly, “pass/fail” arrangements) must be worked out in advance.

**Academic integrity**

I will strictly follow the University’s policy on academic integrity: “It is contrary to justice, academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit another’s statements or ideas as one's own work.” More details on the policy are [here](#).

**Disability accommodations**

If you need any special accommodations, please provide me with a copy of an Accommodation Determination Letter (provided to you by the Student Disability Services office) as soon as possible so that you may discuss with him/her how your accommodations may be implemented in this course.

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## **Week 0. Background and Big Picture**

This is not a real week! Nothing here is assigned and none will be covered in class. These are for reference only. It includes writings about the historical evolution of IR as a field, debates about the biggest changes that have come to make the modern international order what it is (“core features”), and work that addresses underlying differences which tend to crop up again and again in more specific debates (“meta-debates”). Especially useful for exam studying purposes and/or if you want to teach IR theory in the future.

### **Required readings**

NONE. This is for reference only. Go to Week 1 for the first assigned readings.

### **Other important work**

#### **History of the field & the “Great Debates”**

##### *Historiography and Great Debates*

- Schmidt, Brian C. “On The History and Historiography of International Relations” in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth A. Simmons eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (Sage: 2012), pp. 3-28.
- Schmidt, Brian C. *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations*. SUNY Press, 1998.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich. “History, Action and Identity: Revisiting the ‘Second’ Great Debate and Assessing Its Importance for Social Theory.” *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 5–29.
- Hamilton, Scott. “A Genealogy of Metatheory in IR: How ‘Ontology’ Emerged from the Inter-Paradigm Debate.” *International Theory* 9, no. 1 (March 2017): 136–70.
- Weiss, Jeremy. “E. H. Carr, Norman Angell, and Reassessing the Realist–Utopian Debate.” *The International History Review* 35, no. 5 (2013): 1156–84.
- Lapid, Yosef. “The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era.” *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1989): 235–54.
- Wæver, Ole. “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 687–727.
- Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell UP, 2015. Part II, III, Conclusion.
- Pedersen, Susan. “Destined to Disappear.” *London Review of Books*, October 20, 2016.
- Hobson, John M. *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010*. Cambridge UP, 2012.

##### *Paradigms*

- Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus, and Daniel H. Nexon. “Paradigmatic Faults in International-Relations Theory.” *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2009): 907–30.
- Lake, David A. “Why ‘isms’ Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress.” *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 465–80.
- Maliniak, Daniel, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson, and Michael J. Tierney. “International Relations in the US Academy.” *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 437–64.
- Rathbun, Brian. “Politics and Paradigm Preferences: The Implicit Ideology of International Relations Scholars.” *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (September 1, 2012): 607–22.
- Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. “Leaving Theory Behind: Why Simplistic Hypothesis Testing Is Bad for International Relations.” *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 3 (September 1, 2013): 427–57.
- Dunne, Tim, Lene Hansen, and Colin Wight. “The End of International Relations Theory?” *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 3 (September 1, 2013): 405–25.
- Symposium on the fate of IR theory in *European Journal of International Relations*, 2013.
- Levine, Daniel J., and Alexander D. Barder. “The Closing of the American Mind: ‘American School’ International Relations and the State of Grand Theory.” *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 863–88.

Reiter, Dan. "Should We Leave Behind the Subfield of International Relations?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18, no. 1 (2015): 481–99.

### Core features of the modern international order

#### *Overviews of the international order*

- Ruggie, John G. "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis." *World Politics* 35, no. 2 (January 1983): 261–85.
- Reus-Smit, Christian. "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions." *International Organization* 51, no. 04 (1997): 555–89.
- Hamilton, Keith, and Richard Langhorne. *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory, and Administration*. 2nd ed. Taylor & Francis, 2011.
- Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson. *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge UP, 2015.
- Symposium on Buzan/Lawson, "Theory, History, and the Global Transformation" in *International Theory*, Vol 8, No 3, November 2016.
- Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. "The Political Authority of Secularism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 10, no. 2 (June 1, 2004): 235–62.
- Phillips, Andrew. *War, Religion and Empire: The Transformation of International Orders*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Reus-Smit, Christian. "Cultural Diversity and International Order." *International Organization* 71, no. 4 (ed 2017): 851–85.

#### *Sovereign state*

- Spruyt, Hendrik. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton UP, 1994.
- Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990 - 1992*. Wiley-Blackwell, 1990.
- Krasner, Stephen D. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton UP, 1999.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations." *International Organization* 47, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 139–74.
- Biersteker, Thomas J., and Cynthia Weber, eds. *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*. Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Reus-Smit, Christian. *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations*. Princeton UP, 1999.
- Osiander, Andreas. "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth." *International Organization* 55, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 251–87.
- Nexon, Daniel H. *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton UP, 2009.
- Branch, Jordan. "Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change." *International Organization* 65, no. 01 (2011): 1–36.

#### *Multilateralism*

- Ruggie, John G. "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution." *International Organization* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 561–98.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. *Power in Concert: The 19th Century Origins of Global Governance*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Schroeder, Paul W. *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848*. Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Orders After Major Wars*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2000.

#### *Nationalism and decolonization*

- Barkin, J. Samuel, and Bruce Cronin. "The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations." *International Organization* 48, no. 1 (1994): 107–30.
- Kahler, Miles. *Decolonization in Britain and France: The Domestic Consequences of International Relations*. Princeton UP, 1984.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. "The End of Empire and the Extension of the Westphalian System: The Normative Basis of the Modern State Order." *International Studies Review* 2, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 65–92.



Macdonald, Paul K. *Networks of Domination: The Social Foundations of Peripheral Conquest in International Politics*. Oxford UP, 2014.

Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. "Race in the Ontology of International Order." *Political Studies* 56, no. 4 (2008): 907–927.

### *Nuclear revolution*

Jervis, Robert. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*. Cornell UP, 1989.

Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Nuclear Revolution: International Politics Before and After Hiroshima*. Cambridge UP, 1981.

Tannenwald, Nina. *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945*. Cambridge UP, 2007.

### *Liberalism: economic & political*

Eichengreen, Barry. 2008. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton UP.

Frieden, Jeffry A. *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.

Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, 1989.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Ruggie, John Gerard. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 379–415.

### Meta-debates

#### *Ideational vs. material variables*

Sørensen, Georg. "The Case for Combining Material Forces and Ideas in the Study of IR." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 5–32.

Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge UP, 1999. Chapter 3.

Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2003. Chapter 4 on stopping power of water.

Tang, Shiping. "International System, Not International Structure: Against the Agent–Structure Problématique in IR." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 483–506.

Deudney, Daniel. "Geopolitics as Theory: Historical Security Materialism." *European Journal of International Relations* 6, no. 1 (March 1, 2000): 77–107.

Deudney, Daniel. *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2008.

Bieler, Andreas, and Adam David Morton. "The Deficits of Discourse in IPE: Turning Base Metal into Gold?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (2008): 103–128.

McNamara, Kathleen R. "Of Intellectual Monocultures and the Study of IPE." *Review of International Political Economy* 16, no. 1 (February 16, 2009): 72–84.

Neumann, Iver B. "The Body of the Diplomat." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 671–95.

Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duvall. "Power in International Politics." *International Organization* 59, no. 01 (2005): 39–75.

#### *Agent vs. structure*

Wendt, Alexander E. "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory." *International Organization* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 335–70.

Dessler, David. "What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" *International Organization* 43, no. 3 (Summer 1989): 441–73.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory." *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (September 1, 1997): 365–92.

Wight, Colin. "They Shoot Dead Horses Don't They?: Locating Agency in the Agent-Structure Problematique." *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 1 (1999): 109–42.

Beiler, Andreas, and Adam David Morton. "The Gordian Knot of Agency-Structure in International Relations: A Neo-Gramscian Perspective." *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 1 (March 1, 2001): 5–35.

Wight, Colin. *Agents, Structures and International Relations: Politics as Ontology*. 1st ed. Cambridge UP, 2006.  
Tang, Shiping. "International System, Not International Structure: Against the Agent–Structure Problématique in IR." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 483–506.

### *Rational choice and other logics of action*

- Milner, Helen V. "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 759–86.
- Fearon, James D., and Alexander Wendt. "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, 2002.
- Keohane, Robert O. "International Institutions: Two Approaches." *International Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1988): 379–96.
- Milner, Helen V. "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 759–86.
- Weingast, Barry R. "A Rational Choice Perspective on the Role of Ideas: Shared Belief Systems and State Sovereignty in International Cooperation." *Politics & Society* 23, no. 4 (1995): 449–64.
- Lake, David A., and Robert Powell. *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton UP, 1999. Chapters by Stein, Frieden, and Morrow.
- Kydd, Andrew H. *International Relations Theory: The Game-Theoretic Approach*. Cambridge UP, 2015. Chapter 1 Introduction.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Janice Gross Stein. "Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Therefore I Deter." *World Politics* 41, no. 2 (January 1989): 208–24.
- Walt, Stephen M. "Rigor or Rigor Mortis?: Rational Choice and Security Studies." *International Security* 23, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 5–48. (See also replies, compiled in *Rational Choice and Security Studies: Stephen Walt and His Critics*, MIT Press, 2000.)
- March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*. 1st ed. The Free Press, 1989.
- Levy, Jack S. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1997): 87–112.
- March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders." *International Organization* 52, no. 04 (1998): 943–69.
- Bates, Robert H., RUI J. P. de Figueiredo, and Barry R. Weingast. "The Politics of Interpretation: Rationality, Culture, and Transition." *Politics & Society* 26, no. 4 (December 1, 1998): 603–42.
- Mercer, Jonathan. "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics." *International Organization* 59, no. 01 (2005): 77–106.
- Sending, Ole Jacob. "Constitution, Choice and Change: Problems with the 'Logic of Appropriateness' and Its Use in Constructivist Theory." *European Journal of International Relations* 8, no. 4 (December 1, 2002): 443–70.
- Risse, Thomas. "'Let's Argue!': Communicative Action in World Politics." *International Organization* 54, no. 01 (2000): 1–39.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. "Goffman Meets IR: Dramaturgical Action in International Community." *International Review of Sociology: Revue Internationale de Sociologie* 12, no. 3 (2002): 417.
- Pouliot, Vincent. "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities." *International Organization* 62, no. 02 (2008): 257–88.
- Ted Hopf, "The Logic of Habit in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 16:4 (2010), pp. 539-561.
- Kornprobst, Markus. "The Agent's Logics of Action: Defining and Mapping Political Judgement." *International Theory* 3, no. 1 (February 2011): 70–104.

### *Real world relevance*

- Desch, Michael. "Technique Trumps Relevance: The Professionalization of Political Science and the Marginalization of Security Studies." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (June 2015): 377–93.
- Avey, Paul C., and Michael C. Desch. "What Do Policymakers Want From Us? Results of a Survey of Current and Former Senior National Security Decision Makers." *ISQ* 58, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 227–46.
- Desch, Michael. "Technique Trumps Relevance: The Professionalization of Political Science and the Marginalization of Security Studies." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (June 2015): 377–93.
- Symposium on Desch's article in *Perspectives on Politics*, 2015.

Walt, Stephen M. "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8, no. 1 (2005): 23–48.

## **Week 1. International System I: Structure as Material Polarity**

The central theme in this opening week is that international structure – defined narrowly as military capabilities, the number of great powers in the system, and the balance among them – is key to understanding war, (in)stability, free trade, and other outcomes. Waltz looms large this week.

### **Required readings**

- Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages, 1979.
- Gilpin, Robert. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge UP, 1983.
- Nexon, Daniel H. "The Balance of Power in the Balance." *World Politics* 61, no. 02 (2009): 330–359.
- Wohlforth, William C. et al. "Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History." *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 2 (2007): 155–185.
- Milner, Helen. "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 1991): 67–85.

### **Other important work**

#### Levels of analysis

- Waltz, Kenneth N. *Man, the State, and War*. Revised. Columbia UP, 2001.
- Singer, J. David. "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations." *World Politics* 14, no. 01 (1961): 77–92.
- Wolfers, Arnold. *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*. The Johns Hopkins UP, 1962. Chapter on actors.
- Onuf, Nicholas. "Levels." *European Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 1 (1995): 35–58.
- Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization*, 32, Autumn 1978, pp. 881-911.

#### Polarity and war proneness

- Snyder, Glenn H, and Paul Diesing. *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in International Crises*. Princeton UP, 1977.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1988, 615–628.
- Hopf, Ted. "Polarity, The Offense Defense Balance, and War." *The American Political Science Review* 85, no. 2 (June 1991): 475–93.
- Schweller, Randall L. *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest*. Columbia UP, 1998.
- Buzan, Barry, Charles Jones, and Richard Little. *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism*. Columbia UP, New York, 1993.
- Miller, Benjamin. "Polarity, Nuclear Weapons, and Major War." *Security Studies* 3, no. 4 (June 1, 1994): 598–649.
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.
- Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. Random House, 1987.
- Wohlforth, William C. *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War*. Cornell UP, 1993.
- Zala, Benjamin. "Polarity Analysis and Collective Perceptions of Power: The Need for a New Approach." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 2–17.

#### Polarity and alliance/balancing

- Claude, Inis. *Power and International Relations*. Random House, 1966. Chapters 1-3.
- Christensen, Thomas J., and Jack Snyder. "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44, no. 02 (1990): 137–68.
- Crawford, Timothy W. "Wedge Strategy, Balancing, and the Deviant Case of Spain, 1940–41." *Security Studies* 17, no. 1 (2008): 1–38.
- Olson, Mancur, and Richard Zeckhauser. "An Economic Theory of Alliances." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 48, no. 3 (August 1966): 266–79.

- Snyder, Glenn H. "Review: Alliances, Balance, and Stability." *International Organization* 45, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 121–42.
- Schroeder, Paul. "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory." *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 108–48.
- Snyder, Glenn H. *Alliance Politics*. Cornell UP, 1997.
- Walt, Stephen M. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." *International Security* 9, no. 4 (Spring 1985): 3–43.
- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell UP, 1990.
- Morrow, James D. "Arms Versus Allies: Trade-Offs in the Search for Security." *International Organization* 47, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 207–33.
- Reiter, Dan. "Learning, Realism, and Alliances: The Weight of the Shadow of the Past." *World Politics* 46, no. 04 (1994): 490–526.
- Nexon, Daniel H. "The Balance of Power in the Balance." *World Politics* 61, no. 02 (2009): 330–359.
- Wohlforth, William C., Richard Little, Stuart J. Kaufman, David Kang, Charles A. Jones, Victoria Tin-Bor Hui, Arthur Eckstein, Daniel Deudney, and William L. Brenner. "Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History." *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 2 (2007): 155–185.

#### Hegemonic stability theory / economic outcomes

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- Stephen Krasner. 1976. *State Power and the Structure of International Trade*. *World Politics* 28(3): 317-43.
- Charles Kindleberger. 1981. *Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy: Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides*. *International Studies Quarterly* 25(2): 242-254.
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton UP, 1984). Chapter 3 on HST.
- Duncan Snidal. 1985. *The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory*. *International Organization* 39: 579-614.
- Boix, Carles. "Democracy, Development, and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105, No. 04 (2011): 809–828.

#### Unipolarity

- Paul, T. V. "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy." *International Security* 30, no. 1 (2005): 46–71.
- Pape, Robert A. "Soft Balancing against the United States." *International Security* 30, no. 1 (2005): 7–45.
- Ikenberry, G. John, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth. "Unipolarity, State Behavior, and Systemic Consequences." *World Politics* 61, no. 01 (2009): 1–27.
- Wohlforth, William C. "Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War." *World Politics* 61, no. 01 (2009): 28–57.
- Monteiro, Nuno P. "Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful." *International Security* 36, no. 3 (2011): 9–40.
- Monteiro, Nuno P. *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. Cambridge UP, 2014.

#### Empire and IR

- Tin-Bor Hui, Victoria. "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe." *International Organization* 58, no. 01 (2004): 175–205.
- Nexon, Daniel H., and Thomas Wright. "What's at Stake in the American Empire Debate." *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 02 (2007): 253–71.
- Cooley, Alexander, and Daniel H. Nexon. "'The Empire Will Compensate You': The Structural Dynamics of the US Overseas Basing Network." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 04 (2013): 1034–1050.

#### Anarchy/hierarchy

- Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique", in David A Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia UP, 1993) pp. 143-169
- Wendt, Alexander, and Daniel Friedheim. "Hierarchy Under Anarchy: Informal Empire and the East German State." *International Organization* 49, no. 04 (1995): 689–721.
- Ahsan Butt, "Anarchy and Hierarchy in International Relations: Examining South America's War-prone Decade, 1932-1941" *International Organization* 67:3 (2013), pp. 575-607.
- David A. Lake, "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics." *International Security* 32.1 (2007): 47-79.

- Cooley, Alexander, and Hendrik Spruyt. *Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers in International Relations*. Princeton UP, 2009.
- Kim, Moonhawk, and Scott Wolford. "Choosing Anarchy: Institutional Alternatives and the Global Order." *International Theory* 6, no. 1 (March 2014): 28–67.
- Mattern, Janice Bially, and Ayşe Zarakol. "Hierarchies in World Politics." *International Organization* 70, no. 03 (2016): 623–654.

Power transition theories

- Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. Random House, 1987.
- Douglas Lemke and Jacek Kugler, "The Evolution of the Power Transition Perspective" in Lemke and Kugler eds., *Parity and War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) pp. 3-34
- Reiter, Dan. "Exploding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen." *International Security* 20, no. 2 (October 1, 1995): 5–34.
- Lemke, Douglas. "The Continuation of History: Power Transition Theory and the End of the Cold War." *Journal of Peace Research* 34, no. 1 (February 1, 1997): 23–36.
- Copeland, Dale C. *The Origins of Major War: Hegemonic Rivalry and the Fear of Decline*. Cornell UP, 2000.
- Seva Gunitsky, "From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century," *International Organization* 68 (Summer 2014), 561-598.

## **Week 2. International System II: Other Kinds of Structure**

This week maintains the focus on international structure but widens what we consider as “system” and “structure,” including ideas, culture, complexity, networks, and transnational linkages.

*Note: formal international organizations as feature of structure addressed in Weeks 5 and 6.*

### **Required readings**

Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society*. Columbia UP, 1977. Chapters 1, 2, 5-9.

Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge UP, 1999. Chpts 1, 3, 4, 6.

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 04 (1998): 887–917.

Finnemore, Martha. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*. Cornell UP, 2004. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5.

Sjoberg, Laura. “Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn’t See.” *International Theory* 4, no. 1 (March 2012): 1–38.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Miles Kahler, and Alexander H. Montgomery. “Network Analysis for International Relations.” *International Organization* 63.3 (2009), pp. 559- 592.

### **Other important work**

#### Systemic ideas: constructivism overview

Wendt, Alexander. “Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 391–425.

Finnemore, Martha. *National Interests in International Society*. Cornell UP, 1996.

Reus-Smit, Christian. “The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions.” *International Organization* 51, no. 04 (1997): 555–89.

Reus-Smit, Christian. *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations*. Princeton UP, 1999.

Ruggie, John G. “Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis.” *World Politics* 35, no. 2 (January 1983): 261–85.

John G. Ruggie. 1992. *Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution*. *International Organization* 46 (3).

Jepperson, Ronald, Alexander Wendt, and Peter Katzenstein. “Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security.” In *The Culture of National Security*, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein. Columbia UP, 1996.

#### Systemic ideas: constructivism and norms

(See also NGOs/advocacy networks, Week 10)

Cohen, Raymond. “Rules of the Game in International Politics.” *International Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (March 1, 1980): 129–50.

Finnemore, Martha. “Review: Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology’s Institutionalism.” *International Organization* 50, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 325–47.

Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge UP, 1999.

Klotz, Audie. “Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and U.S. Sanctions Against South Africa.” *International Organization* 49, no. 03 (1995): 451–78.

Legro, Jeffrey. *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II*. Cornell UP, 1995.

Price, Richard. “A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo.” *International Organization* 49, no. 01 (1995): 73–103.

Tannenwald, Nina. *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945*. Cambridge UP, 2007.

Susan Hyde, “Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion”, *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2011), pp. 356-369.

Finnemore, Martha. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*. Cornell UP, 2004.

### Systemic ideas: English School

- Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society*. Columbia UP, 1977.
- Buzan, Barry. "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School." *International Organization* 47, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 327–52.
- Buzan, Barry. *From International to World Society?: English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation*. Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Buzan, Barry. "The English School: An Underexploited Resource in IR." *Review of International Studies* 27, no. 03 (2001): 471–488.
- Little, Richard. "Neorealism and the English School: A Methodological, Ontological and Theoretical Reassessment." *European Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 1 (1995): 9–34.
- Little, Richard. "The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 6, no. 3 (2000): 395–422.
- Reus-Smit, Christian. "Imagining Society: Constructivism and the English School." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 4, no. 3 (2002): 487–509.

### System & legitimacy

- Kratochwil, Friedrich, and John Gerard Ruggie. "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State." *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (Autumn 1986): 753–75.
- Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics", *International Organization* 53:2 (1999), pp. 379-408.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Stephen J. Toope. "Alternatives to 'Legalization': Richer Views of Law and Politics." *International Organization* 55, no. 3 (July 1, 2001): 743–58.
- Hurd, Ian. *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council*. Princeton UP, 2007.
- Goddard, Stacie E. "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2011): 110–42.
- Clark, Ian. *Legitimacy in International Society*. OUP Oxford, 2005.
- Bukovansky, Mlada. *Legitimacy and Power Politics: The American and French Revolutions in International Political Culture*. Princeton UP, 2010.

### System complexity

- Robert Jervis, *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton UP, 1998).
- Seva Gunitsky, 'Complexity and Theories of Change in International Politics', *International Theory*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2013), pp. 35–63.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. "Historical Sociology and Systems Theory in International Relations." *Review of International Political Economy* 5, no. 2 (January 1, 1998): 340–53.
- See also 2011 special issue of *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* on "Complexity and the international arena."

### System as network

- Maoz, Zeev. *Networks of Nations: The Evolution, Structure, and Impact of International Networks, 1816-2001*. Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Maoz, Zeev. "Network Polarization, Network Interdependence, and International Conflict, 1816-2002." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 4 (July 1, 2006): 391–411.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Alexander H. Montgomery. "Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 1 (2006): 3–27.
- Kinne, Brandon J. "Network Dynamics and the Evolution of International Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (2013): 766–785.
- Lupu, Yonatan, and Vincent A. Traag. "Trading Communities, the Networked Structure of International Relations, and the Kantian Peace." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 6 (2013): 1011–1042.
- Zhukov, Yuri M., and Brandon M. Stewart. "Choosing Your Neighbors: Networks of Diffusion in International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2013): 271–287.



### **Week 3. The Domestic Turn I: Regime Type and War**

This week covers the most influential disciplinary shift in the last twenty years: the turn to domestic politics. This week focuses on work addressing formal domestic political institutions and outcomes related to interstate conflict, especially Democratic Peace Theory, the democratic advantage thesis, and audience cost theory.

*Note: see also neoclassical realism in the week on realisms (Week 7).*

#### **Required readings**

- Kenneth Schultz, "Domestic Politics and International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth A. Simmons eds., *Handbook of International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Sage: 2012), pp. 478-502.
- Oneal, John R, and Bruce M Russett. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950–1985." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (June 1, 1997): 267–94.
- Owen, John M. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security* 19, no. 2 (1994): 87–125.
- Fearon, James D. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 577–92.
- Gartzke, Erik. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (January 2007): 166–91.
- Weeks, Jessica L. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62, no. 01 (2008): 35–64.

#### **Other important work**

End of the Cold War (i.e. why the domestic turn came when it did)

- Lebow, Richard Ned. "The Long Peace, the End of the Cold War, and the Failure of Realism." *International Organization* 48, no. 2 (1994): 249–77.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War." *International Organization* 48, no. 2 (1994): 185–214.

Overviews of domestic turn

- Peter Trubowitz, "Sectionalism and American Foreign Policy: The Political Geography of Consensus and Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 36:2 (1992), pp. 173-90.
- Milner, Helen. "Review: International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses." *World Politics* 44, no. 3 (April 1992): 466–96.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51, no. 04 (1997): 513–53.

Regime type and war: Democratic Peace Theory and critics

- Doyle, Michael W. "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 04 (1986): 1151–69.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. 1795.
- Maoz, Zeev, and Bruce Russett. "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986." *The American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (1993): 624–38.
- Russett, Bruce. *Grasping the Democratic Peace*. Princeton UP, 1993.
- Russett, Bruce M, and John R Oneal. *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York: Norton, 2001.
- Lake, David A. "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War." *The American Political Science Review* 86, no. 1 (March 1992): 24.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Democratic Peace -- Warlike Democracies? A Social Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Argument." *European Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 4 (December 1, 1995): 491–517.

- Oneal, John R., and Bruce M. Russett. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950–1985." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (June 1, 1997): 267–94.
- Oneal, John R., and Bruce Russett. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885–1992." *World Politics* 52, no. 1 (October 1999): 1–37.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War." *International Organization* 53, no. 02 (1999): 233–66.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace." *The American Political Science Review* 93, no. 4 (December 1999): 791–807.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik. "Back to Kant: Reinterpreting the Democratic Peace as a Macrohistorical Learning Process." *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 01 (2001): 15–31.
- Debs, Alexandre, and H.E. Goemans. "Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 03 (August 2010): 430–445.
- Tomz, Michael, and Jessica Weeks. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (2013): 849–65.
- Weeks, Jessica L. *P. Dictators at War and Peace*. Cornell UP, 2014.
- Forsythe, David P. "Democracy, War, and Covert Action." *Journal of Peace Research* 29, no. 4 (November 1, 1992): 385–95.
- Layne, Christopher. "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace." *International Security* 19, no. 2 (1994): 5–49.
- Owen, John M. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security* 19, no. 2 (1994): 87–125.
- Farber, Henry S., and Joanne Gowa. "Common Interests or Common Polities? Reinterpreting the Democratic Peace." *The Journal of Politics* 59, no. 02 (1997): 393–417.
- Braumoeller, Bear F. "Deadly Doves: Liberal Nationalism and the Democratic Peace in the Soviet Successor States." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (1997): 375–402.
- Finel, Bernard I., and Kristin M. Lord. "The Surprising Logic of Transparency." *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (June 1999): 315–39.
- Gowa, Joanne. *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace*. Princeton UP, 2000.
- Peceny, Mark, Caroline Beer, and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 01 (2002): 15–26.
- Rosato, Sebastian. "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 04 (2003): 585–602.
- (See also: Symposium on Rosato's "Flawed Logic of DPT," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (2005).)
- Owen, John M. "Iraq and the Democratic Peace." *Foreign Affairs*, November 1, 2005.
- Gartzke, Erik. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (January 2007): 166–91.
- Russett, Bruce M. "Democracy, War and Expansion through Historical Lenses." *European Journal of International Relations* 15, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 9–36.
- Downes, Alexander B., and Mary Lauren Lilley. "Overt Peace, Covert War?: Covert Intervention and the Democratic Peace." *Security Studies* 19, no. 2 (2010): 266.
- Bell, Duncan. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 647–70.
- Poznansky, Michael. "Stasis or Decay? Reconciling Covert War and the Democratic Peace." *International Studies Quarterly*, March 1, 2015.
- Schuessler, John M. *Deceit on the Road to War: Presidents, Politics, and American Democracy*. Cornell UP, 2015.
- Regime type and war: other
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Jack Snyder. "Democratization and the Danger of War." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (July 1, 1995): 5–38.
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Jack L. Snyder. "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War." *International Organization* 56, no. 2 (2002): 297–337.
- Ward, Michael D., and Kristian S. Gleditsch. "Democratizing for Peace." *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 1 (March 1, 1998): 51–61.
- Reiter, Dan, and Allan Stam. "Democracy, War Initiation, and Victory." *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 2 (June 1, 1998): 377–89.
- Reiter, Dan, and Allan Stam. "Democracy and Battlefield Military Effectiveness." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, no. 3 (June 1998): 259–77.

Reiter, Dan, and Allan Stam. *Democracies at War*. Princeton UP, 2010.

Downes, Alexander B. "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies?: Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War." *International Security* 33, no. 4 (April 15, 2009): 9–51.

Howell, William G., and Jon C. Pevehouse. *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*. Princeton UP, 2007.

Jack L. Snyder, *Myths of Empire* (Cornell UP, 1993).

Goemans, H. E. "Fighting for Survival: The Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, no. 5 (October 1, 2000): 555–79.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force." *Security Studies* 24, no. 3 (July 3, 2015): 466–501.

Stein, Rachel M. "War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 03 (2015): 556–73.

Croco, Sarah E. "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 03 (2011): 457–77.

Talmadge, Caitlin. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cornell UP, 2015.

Talmadge, Caitlin. "The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War." *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 180–221.

#### Regime type and coercion: audience cost theory

Schultz, Kenneth A. *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy*. Cambridge UP, 2001.

Downes, Alexander B., and Todd S. Sechser. "The Illusion of Democratic Credibility." *International Organization* 66, no. 3 (2012): 457–89.

Trachtenberg, Marc. "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis." *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 3–42, and the related symposium "Do Audience Costs Exist?" in *Security Studies* (2012, Vol 21, Issue 3).

Kertzer, Joshua D., and Ryan Brutger. "Decomposing Audience Costs: Bringing the Audience Back into Audience Cost Theory." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 234–49.

Snyder, Jack, and Erica D. Borghard. "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (August 2011): 437–56.

Kurizaki, Shuhei, and Taehee Whang. "Detecting Audience Costs in International Disputes." *International Organization* 69, no. 04 (September 2015): 949–80.

Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.

Levy, Jack S.; Michael K. McKoy, Paul Poast, and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace. "Backing Out or Backing In? Commitment and Consistency in Audience Costs Theory." *American Journal of Political Science*. Forthcoming.

Baum, Matthew A. "Going Private: Public Opinion, Presidential Rhetoric, and the Domestic Politics of Audience Costs in U.S. Foreign Policy Crises." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 5 (October 2004): 603–31.

Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.

Trager, Robert F., and Lynn Vavreck. "The Political Costs of Crisis Bargaining: Presidential Rhetoric and the Role of Party." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 3 (2011): 526–45.

Schultz, Kenneth A. "Looking for Audience Costs." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 1 (February 2001): 32–60.

Schultz, Kenneth A. "Why We Needed Audience Costs and What We Need Now." *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 369–75.

Slantchev, Branislav L. "Politicians, the Media, and Domestic Audience Costs." *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (June 2006): 445–77.

Weiss, Jessica Chen. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67, no. 01 (January 2013): 1–35.

Tomz, Michael. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61, no. 04 (2007): 821–40.

Levendusky, Matthew S., and Michael C. Horowitz. "When Backing Down Is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs." *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 02 (2012): 323–38.

#### Is it economic liberalism / capitalism, not regime type?

Buzan, Barry. "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case." *International Organization* 38, no. 4 (1984): 597–624.

- Mansfield, Edward D. *Power, Trade, and War*. Princeton UP, 1995.
- Copeland, Dale C. "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." *International Security* 20, no. 4 (1996): 5–41.
- Barbieri, Katherine. "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 1 (1996): 29–49.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Jack S. Levy. "Sleeping with the Enemy: The Impact of War on Trade." *Journal of Peace Research* 36, no. 4 (1999): 463–479.
- Brooks, Stephen G. "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43, no. 5 (October 1, 1999): 646–70.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Gerald Schneider. "Globalization and Peace: Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 36, no. 4 (1999): 387–404.
- Gartzke, Erik, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. "Investing in the Peace: Economic Interdependence and International Conflict." *International Organization* 55, no. 02 (2001): 391–438.
- Brooks, Stephen G. *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict*. Princeton UP, 2005.
- Mansfield, Edward Deering, and Brian M. Pollins. *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate*. University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- McDonald, Patrick J. *The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and International Relations Theory*. Cambridge UP, 2009.
- Schneider, Gerald, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. "The Capitalist Peace: The Origins and Prospects of a Liberal Idea." *International Interactions* 36, no. 2 (May 24, 2010): 107–14.

## **Week 4. The Domestic Turn II: Other IVs and DVs**

This week covers a range of other work focusing on domestic dynamics besides regime type and outcomes besides war. This former includes domestic societal interactions, domestic public opinion, and specific leaders. Outcomes beyond war include trade, international legal compliance, and foreign policy decisions.

### **Required readings**

- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-Level Games."  
International Organization 42:3 (1988), pp. 427-460
- Milner, Helen V. Interests, Institutions, and Information. Princeton UP, 1997. Chapters 2, 5.
- Guisinger, Alexandra. "Determining Trade Policy: Do Voters Hold Politicians Accountable?"  
International Organization 63, no. 3 (2009): 533-57.
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- Saunders, Elizabeth N. Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions. Cornell UP, 2011. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.
- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. "Domestic Institutions beyond the Nation-State: Charting the New Interdependence Approach." World Politics 66, no. 2 (April 2014): 331-63.

### **Other important work**

#### Domestic society/sectors and war

- Snyder, Jack L. Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition. Cornell UP, 1991.
- Levy, Jack S. "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique." In Handbook of War Studies, edited by Manus I. Midlarsky, First Edition. Unwin Hyman, 1989.
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- Tarar, Ahmer. "Diversionary Incentives and the Bargaining Approach to War." International Studies Quarterly 50, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 169-88.
- Posen, Barry R. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." International Security 18, no. 2 (October 1, 1993): 80-124.
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- Van Evera, Stephen. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War." International Security 18, no. 4 (April 1, 1994): 5-39.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations. Oxford UP, 2014.

#### Domestic politics and nuclear weapons

- Solingen, Etel. "The Domestic Sources of Regional Regimes: The Evolution of Nuclear Ambiguity in the Middle East." International Studies Quarterly 38, no. 2 (June 1, 1994): 305-37.
- Knopf, Jeffrey W. "Domestic Sources of Preferences for Arms Cooperation: The Impact of Protest." Journal of Peace Research 35, no. 6 (November 1998): 677-95.
- Solingen, Etel. Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East. Princeton UP, 2007.
- Hymans, Jacques E. C. Achieving Nuclear Ambitions: Scientists, Politicians, and Proliferation. Cambridge UP, 2012.
- Hymans, Jacques E. C. The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions and Foreign Policy. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

#### Domestic politics and economic outcomes

(See IPE Week 8)

### Leaders

- George, Alexander L. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1969): 190–222.
- Byman, Daniel L., and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In." *International Security* 25, no. 4 (April 1, 2001): 107–46.
- Saunders, Elizabeth. "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision-Making." *International Organization*, forthcoming.
- Jervis, Robert. "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 153–79.
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions*. Cornell UP, 2011.
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34, no. 2 (September 30, 2009): 119–61. doi:10.1162/isec.2009.34.2.119.
- Grynaviski, Eric. "Brokering Cooperation: Intermediaries and US Cooperation with Non-State Allies, 1776–1945." *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 691–717.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew and Michael C. Horowitz. 2015. "When Leaders Matter: Rebel Experience and Nuclear Proliferation." *Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 72–87.

### Domestic constructivisms

- Katzenstein, Peter J. *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*. Cornell Univ Pr, 1996.
- Barnett, Michael N. "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East." In *The Culture of National Security*, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein. Columbia UP, 1996.
- Bukovansky, Mlada. "American Identity and Neutral Rights from Independence to the War of 1812." *International Organization* 51, no. 2 (1997): 209–43.
- Kaufmann, Chaim D., and Robert A. Pape. "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade." *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 631–68.
- Hopf, Ted. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities & Foreign Policies*, Moscow, 1955 and 1999. Cornell UP, 2002.
- Jennifer Mitzen, 2006. "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma", *European Journal of International Relations* 12:3, pp. 341–370.
- Legro, Jeffrey. *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II*. Cornell UP, 1995.
- Legro, Jeffrey. "Military Culture and Inadvertent Escalation in World War II." *International Security* 18, no. 4 (April 1, 1994): 108–42.
- Kier, Elizabeth. *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrines Between the Wars*. Princeton UP, 1997.
- Krebs, Ronald R. *Fighting for Rights: Military Service and the Politics of Citizenship*. Cornell UP, 2006.

### Domestic public opinion (a sampling)

- Hurwitz, Jon, and Mark Peffley. "How Are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model." *The American Political Science Review* 81, no. 4 (December 1987): 1099–1120.
- Shapiro, Robert Y., and Benjamin I. Page. "Foreign Policy and the Rational Public." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 32, no. 2 (June 1, 1988): 211–47.
- Holsti, Ole R. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler. "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." *International Security* 30, no. 3 (Winter 2005): 7–46.
- Hiscox, Michael J. "Through a Glass and Darkly: Attitudes Toward International Trade and the Curious Effects of Issue Framing." *International Organization* 60, no. 03 (July 2006): 755–780.
- Drezner, Daniel W. "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion." *Perspectives on Politics* 6, no. 01 (2008): 51–70.
- Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler. *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*. Princeton UP, 2009.
- Chapman, Terrence L. "Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy." *International Organization* 63, no. 04 (2009): 733–64.
- Baum, Matthew A., and Tim Groeling. "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality." *International Organization* 64, no. 03 (2010): 443–79.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. "Attitudes Toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 01 (2010): 61–84.

- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Kathleen M. McGraw. "Folk Realism: Testing the Microfoundations of Realism in Ordinary Citizens." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 245–58.
- Press, Daryl G., Scott D. Sagan, and Benjamin A. Valentino. "Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 01 (February 2013): 188–206.
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 04 (2013): 679–705.
- Kertzer, Joshua D. "Microfoundations in International Relations." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 81–97.

### Interdependence

- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S Nye Jr. *Power and Interdependence*. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1977.
- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham Newman. "The New Interdependence Approach: Theoretical Development and Empirical Demonstration." *Review of International Political Economy* 23, no. 5 (Sept 2016): 713–36.
- See special issue of *Review of International Political Economy* (2016, Volume 23, Issue 5) on the "The New Interdependence Approach."

### Bureaucracy

- Allison, Graham. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 1st Edition. Little, Brown and Company, 1971.
- Allison, Graham T., and Morton H. Halperin. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications." *World Politics* 24 (1972): 40–79.
- Krasner, Stephen D. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)." *Foreign Policy*, no. 7 (1972): 159–79.
- Welch, David A. "The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect." *International Security* 17, no. 2 (1992): 112–46.
- Bendor, Jonathan, and Thomas H. Hammond. "Rethinking Allison's Models." *American Political Science Review* 86, no. 2 (June 1992): 301–22.
- Horowitz, Michael C. *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

## **Week 5. Why Cooperate? Rational Cooperation among States**

The unifying theme of all “Liberalisms” is that, under certain conditions, states have a rational interest in cooperating rather than fighting. This week focuses on early applications of game theory that helped shed light on unitary states’ rational interest in cooperation under anarchy, as well as the factors that shape that interest (i.e. iteration; discount rate). It also features early work on formal international institutions (often called “regimes” at that point) facilitating that cooperation.

### **Required readings**

- Axelrod, Robert. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Basic Books, 1984. Chpts 1, 4, 9.
- Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. “Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?” *International Organization* 50, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 379–406.
- Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton UP, 1984. Chapters 1, 4, 5, 6.
- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Orders After Major Wars*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2000. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 6.
- Mearsheimer, John J. “The False Promise of International Institutions.” *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994-1995): 5–49.
- Simmons, Beth A. “International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs.” *The American Political Science Review* 94, no. 4 (December 2000): 819–35.

### **Other important work**

#### Early game theory & rationality of cooperation

- Snyder, Glenn H, and Paul Diesing. *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in International Crises*. Princeton UP, 1977.
- Kenneth Oye. 1985. *Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies*, *World Politics* 38: 1-24.
- R. Harrison Wagner, “The Theory of Games and the Balance of Power,” *WP* 38:4 (July 1986): 546- 576
- Downs, George W., and David M. Rocke. “Tacit Bargaining and Arms Control.” *World Politics* 39, no. 3 (April 1987): 297–325.
- Axelrod, Robert, and Douglas Dion. “The Further Evolution of Cooperation.” *Science* 242, no. 4884 (December 9, 1988): 1385–90.
- Kenneth Oye. 1985. *Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies*, *World Politics* 38: 1-24.
- Lipson, Charles. “International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs.” *World Politics* 37, no. 01 (1984): 1–23.
- Keohane, Robert O. “Reciprocity in International Relations.” *International Organization* 40, no. 1 (Winter 1986): 1–27.
- Martin, Lisa L. “Interests, Power, and Multilateralism.” *International Organization* 46, no. 04 (1992): 765–92.
- Milner, Helen. “Review: International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses.” *World Politics* 44, no. 3 (April 1992): 466–96.
- Morrow, James D. “Modeling the Forms of International Cooperation: Distribution Versus Information.” *International Organization* 48, no. 03 (1994): 387–423.

#### Institutions facilitate interstate cooperation

- Haas, Ernst B. *The Uniting of Europe*. Stanford UP, 1958.
- Deutsch, Karl Wolfgang, Sidney A. Burrell, and Robert A. Kann. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton UP, 1957.
- Haas, Ernst B. *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Stanford UP, 1964.
- Claude, Inis L. “Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations.” *International Organization* 20, no. 3 (Summer 1966): 367–79.



- Keohane, Robert O. "Review: The Functional Theory of Politics by David Mitrany." *The American Political Science Review* 72, no. 2 (June 1978): 805–6.
- Keohane, Robert O. "International Institutions: Two Approaches." *International Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1988): 379–96.
- Douglass North & Barry Weingast. 1989. *Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in 17th-Century England*. *The Journal of Economic History* 49(4): 803–832.
- Milgrom, Paul R., Douglass C. North, and Barry R. Weingast. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics and Politics* 2, no. 1 (1990): 1–23.
- Douglass North, 1990. *Institutions and a Transaction-Cost Theory of Exchange*. In Alt & Shepsle. James Alt & Kenneth Shepsle, eds. 1990. *Perspectives on Positive Political Economy*. Cambridge.
- Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, chaps. 1 & 2.
- Martin, Lisa L. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46, no. 04 (1992): 765–92.
- Martin, Lisa L. *Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions*. Princeton UP, 1993.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 39–51.
- Keohane, Robert O. "International Relations and International Law: Two Optics." *Harvard International Law Journal* 38 (1997): 487.
- Axelrod, Robert, and Robert O. Keohane. "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (October 1985): 226–54.
- Lipson, Charles. "International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs." *World Politics* 37, no. 01 (1984): 1–23.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 39–51.

#### Compliance

- Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47, no. 02 (1993): 175–205.
- Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements*. Harvard UP, 1995.
- Dai, Xinyuan. "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism." *International Organization* 59, no. 02 (2005): 363–98.
- Downs, George W., and Michael A. Jones. "Reputation, Compliance, and International Law." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2002): S95–114.
- Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 379–406.
- Simmons, Beth. "Treaty Compliance and Violation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, no. 1 (2010): 273–96.
- Von Stein, Jana. "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 04 (2005): 611–22.
- McLaughlin Mitchell, Sara, and Paul R. Hensel. "International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (October 1, 2007): 721–37.
- Tallberg, Jonas. "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (July 2002): 609–43.

#### Critique: relative gains and distributional uncertainty

- Grieco, Joseph M. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* 42, no. 03 (1988): 485–507.
- Snidal, Duncan. "Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation." *The American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3 (September 1, 1991): 701–26.
- Stephen Krasner. 1991. *Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier*. *World Politics*
- Terry Moe. 2005. *Power and Political Institutions*. *Perspectives on Politics* 3(2): 215–33.

## **Week 6. How to Cooperate? Variation in Design of Institutions**

This week shifts the focus to the various ways states can, including different features of formal international organizations, treaties, and international law that influence gains/losses. The central themes are: 1) explaining why international organizations and other institutions vary so much in form, and 2) identifying how specific features of international organizations, interstate treaties, and international law influence states' rational incentives to cooperate. Some works abandon the unitary state model by incorporating domestic political dynamics (a la Weeks 3 and 4).

*NOTE: review essays due by Friday midnight of this week (Nov 3)*

### **Required readings**

- Mitchell, Ronald B. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48, no. 3 (July 1, 1994): 425–58.
- Martin, Lisa L., and Beth A. Simmons. "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 729–57. [Only introduction section and "How Institutions Matter"]
- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, no. 1 (February 1998): 3–32.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55, no. 04 (2001): 761–99.
- Koremenos, Barbara. "Contracting around International Uncertainty." *The American Political Science Review* 99, no. 4 (November 1, 2005): 549–65.
- Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. "The Concept of Legalization." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 401–19.

### **Other important work**

#### Institutional design and rational cooperation

- Arthur Stein. 1982. *Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World*. International Organization.
- Lipson, Charles. "Why Are Some International Agreements Informal?" *International Organization* 45, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): 495–538.
- Fearon, James D. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation." *International Organization* 52, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 269–305.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. "Rational Design: Looking Back to Move Forward." *International Organization* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 1051–82.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. *The Rational Design of International Institutions*. Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Koremenos, Barbara. "Can Cooperation Survive Changes in Bargaining Power? The Case of Coffee." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. s1 (January 1, 2002): S259–83.
- Koremenos, Barbara. "Loosening the Ties That Bind: A Learning Model of Agreement Flexibility." *International Organization* 55, no. 02 (2001): 289–325.
- Dai, Xinyuan. "Information Systems in Treaty Regimes." *World Politics* 54, no. 4 (July 2002): 405–36.
- Gilligan, Michael J., and Leslie Johns. "Formal Models of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15, no. 1 (2012): 221–43.

#### Power and design

- Gruber, Lloyd. *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Tallberg, Jonas. "The Agenda-Shaping Powers of the EU Council Presidency." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 1–19.

- Stone, Randall W. *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*. Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Kilby, Christopher. "Informal Influence in the Asian Development Bank." *The Review of International Organizations* 6, no. 3–4 (September 1, 2011): 223–57.
- Carnegie, Allison. *Power Plays: How International Institutions Reshape Coercive Diplomacy*. Cambridge UP, 2015.
- Carnegie, Allison. "States Held Hostage: Political Hold-Up Problems and the Effects of International Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 01 (February 2014): 54–70.

#### International law and legalization

- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 421–56.
- Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Introduction: Legalization and World Politics." *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (July 1, 2000): 385–99..
- Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. "The Concept of Legalization." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 401–19.
- Kahler, Miles. "Conclusion: The Causes and Consequences of Legalization." *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 661–83.
- Guzman, Andrew T. *How International Law Works*. Oxford UP US, 2008.
- Simmons, Beth. 2000. *International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs*. *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 819-35.
- Guzman, Andrew T. "Reputation and International Law." *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 34 (2006): 379.
- Simmons, Beth A. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge UP, 2009.
- Koremenos, Barbara. "The Continent of International Law." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 4 (August 1, 2013): 653–81.
- Goldstein, Judith L., and Lisa Martin. "Legalization, Trade Liberalization, and Domestic Politics: A Cautionary Note." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 603–32.
- Kim, Moonhawk. "Costly Procedures: Divergent Effects of Legalization in the GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement Procedures." *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 657–86.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Stephen J. Toope. "Alternatives to 'Legalization': Richer Views of Law and Politics." *International Organization* 55, no. 3 (July 1, 2001): 743–58.
- Koremenos, Barbara. *The Continent of International Law: Explaining Agreement Design*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

#### International courts

- Alter, Karen J. "Who Are the 'Masters of the Treaty'? European Governments and the European Court of Justice." *International Organization* 52, no. 01 (1998): 121–47.
- Carrubba, Clifford J. "Courts and Compliance in International Regulatory Regimes." *Journal of Politics* 67, no. 3 (2005): 669–689.
- Hawkins, Darren. "Explaining Costly International Institutions: Persuasion and Enforceable Human Rights Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (2004): 779–804.
- Staton, Jeffrey K., and Will H. Moore. "Judicial Power in Domestic and International Politics." *International Organization* 65, no. 03 (2011): 553–87.
- Lupu, Yonatan. "Best Evidence: The Role of Information in Domestic Judicial Enforcement of International Human Rights Agreements." *International Organization* 67, no. 03 (2013): 469–503.
- Alter, Keren J. *The New Terrain of International Law: Courts, Politics, Rights*. Princeton UP, 2014.

#### WTO (lots on this IO in particular)

- Busch, Marc L., and Eric Reinhardt. "Bargaining in the Shadow of the Law: Early Settlement in GATT/WTO Disputes." *Fordham International Law Journal* 24 (2001 2000): 158.
- Steinberg, Richard H. "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." *International Organization* 56, no. 02 (2002): 339–74.
- Rosendorff, B. Peter. "Stability and Rigidity: Politics and Design of the WTO's Dispute Settlement Procedure." *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 03 (2005): 389–400.
- Davis, Christina L., and Sarah Blodgett Bermeo. "Who Files? Developing Country Participation in GATT/WTO Adjudication." *The Journal of Politics* 71, no. 03 (2009): 1033–49.

- Busch, Marc L., and Krzysztof J. Pelc. "The Politics of Judicial Economy at the World Trade Organization." *International Organization* 64, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 257–79.
- Davis, Christina L. *Why Adjudicate?: Enforcing Trade Rules in the WTO*. Princeton UP, 2012.
- Johns, Leslie, and Krzysztof J. Pelc. "Who Gets to Be In the Room? Manipulating Participation in WTO Disputes." *International Organization* 68, no. 03 (June 2014): 663–699.

#### Constructivist alternatives

- Finnemore, Martha. "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy." *International Organization* 47, no. 4 (October 1, 1993): 565–97.
- Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53, no. 04 (1999): 699–732.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2001): 487–515.
- Checkel, Jeffrey T. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." *International Organization* 55, no. 03 (2001): 553–88.
- Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. *Rules For The World: International Organizations In Global Politics*. Cornell UP, 2004.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2007.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. "Governing Together: Global Governance as Collective Intentionality." In *Arguing Global Governance: Agency, Lifeworld, and Shared Reasoning*, edited by Corneliu Bjola and Markus Kornprobst, 52–66. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. *Power in Concert: The 19th Century Origins of Global Governance*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Pouliot, Vincent. "Hierarchy in Practice: Multilateral Diplomacy and the Governance of International Security," *European Journal of International Security*, Vol. 1, part 1, pp. 5–26.

## **Week 7. Varieties of Realism**

This week returns to themes from Week 2. “Realism” is the reference point for all IR theory for good reason: it is the oldest, most coherent theoretical paradigm in the discipline. Yet “Realism” is, in reality, a motley crew. We review some of the diversity in realist theory, focusing on classic texts that preceded Waltz’s *Theory of International Politics* and debates within realism that followed it. One method of formalizing realism, the bargaining model of war, is also introduced.

### **Required readings**

- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.
- Glaser, Charles L. “Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help.” *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994): 50–90.
- Schweller, Randall L. “Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing.” *International Security* 29, no. 2 (October 1, 2004): 159–201.
- Walt, Stephen M. “Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power.” *International Security* 9, no. 4 (Spring 1985): 3–43.
- Fearon, James D. “Rationalist Explanations for War.” *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 379–414.

### **Other important work**

#### General histories of realism

- Haslam, Jonathan. *No Virtue Like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations Since Machiavelli*. Yale UP, 2002.
- Bell, Duncan. *Political Thought and International Relations: Variations on a Realist Theme*. Oxford UP, 2008.
- Bew, John. *Realpolitik: A History*. Oxford UP, 2015.

#### Classical realisms and reinterpretations

- Thucydides, Rex Warner, and Moses I. Finley. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Penguin Classics, 1972.
- Carr, E. H. *The Twenty Years’ Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Morgenthau, Hans, and Kenneth Thompson. *Politics Among Nations*. 6th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985.
- Morgenthau, Hans. *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*. Univ of Chicago Press, 1946.
- Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (Scribner, 1932).
- Williams, Michael C. “Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization* 58, no. 04 (2004): 633–65.
- Williams, Michael C. *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*. Cambridge UP, 2005.
- Guilhot, Nicolas. *The Invention of International Relations Theory: Realism, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the 1954 Conference on Theory*. Columbia UP, 2011.
- Babik, Milan. “Realism as Critical Theory: The International Thought of E. H. Carr.” *International Studies Review* 15, no. 4 (2013): 491–514.
- Inboden, William C. “The Prophetic Conflict: Reinhold Niebuhr, Christian Realism, and World War II.” *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 49–82.
- Deudney, Daniel H. *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2008.

#### Offensive vs. defensive realism (incl security dilemma)

- Schweller, Randall L. “Neorealism’s Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?” *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (1996): 90–121.
- Brooks, Stephen G. “Dueling Realisms.” *International Organization*, 1997, 445–477.
- Schweller, R. L. “Realism and the Present Great Power System: Growth and Positional Conflict over Scarce Resources.” In *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War*, edited by E. Kapstein and M. Mastanduno, 28–57. Columbia UP, 1999.

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- Rosato, Sebastian. "The Inscrutable Intentions of Great Powers." *International Security* 39, no. 3 (January 1, 2015): 48–88.
- Glaser, Charles L. *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton UP, 2010.
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- Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January 1, 1978): 167–214.
- Glaser, Charles L. "Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models." *World Politics* 44, no. 4 (July 1992): 497–538. doi:10.2307/2010486.
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- Kydd, Andrew. "Game Theory and the Spiral Model." *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (April 1997): 371–400.
- Jervis, Robert. "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3, no. 1 (January 1, 2001): 36–60.
- Montgomery, Evan Braden. "Breaking Out of the Security Dilemma: Realism, Reassurance, and the Problem of Uncertainty." *International Security* 31, no. 2 (October 1, 2006): 151–85.
- Booth, Ken, and Nicholas Wheeler. *Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation, and Trust in World Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Tang, Shiping. "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis." *Security Studies* 18, no. 3 (September 18, 2009): 587–623.
- Glaser, Charles L. *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton UP, 2010.

#### Balance of threat vs. power

- Kaufman, Robert G. "'To Balance or To Bandwagon?' Alignment Decisions in 1930s Europe." *Security Studies* 1, no. 3 (March 1, 1992): 417–47.
- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell UP, 1987.
- Wohlforth, William C. *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War*. Cornell UP, 1993.

#### Neoclassical realism

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- Christensen, Thomas J. *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton UP, 1996.
- Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51, no. 01 (1998): 144–72.
- Zakaria, Fareed. *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. Princeton UP, 1999.
- Schweller, Randall L. "The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism." In *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, edited by Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman. The MIT Press, 2003.
- Schweller, Randall L. *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2006.
- Christensen, Thomas J. *Worse Than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Problems of Coercive Diplomacy in Asia*. Princeton UP, 2011.

#### Bargaining model of war

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. "The Costs of War: A Rational Expectations Approach." *The American Political Science Review* 77, no. 2 (1983): 347–57.

- Bueno De Mesquita, Bruce, and David Lalman. "Reason and War." *The American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (1986): 1113–29.
- Gartzke, Erik. "War Is in the Error Term." *International Organization* 53, no. 03 (1999): 567–87.
- Kirshner, Jonathan. "Rationalist Explanations for War?" *Security Studies* 10, no. 1 (2000): 143–150.
- Wagner, R. Harrison. "Bargaining and War." *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 3 (July 2000): 469–84.
- Goemans, H. E. *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War*. Princeton UP, 2000.
- Reiter, Dan. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 01 (2003): 27–43.
- Smith, Alastair, and Allan C. Stam. "Bargaining and the Nature of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 1, 2004): 783–813.
- Powell, Robert. "Bargaining and Learning While Fighting." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (April 1, 2004): 344–61.
- Powell, Robert. "War as a Commitment Problem." *International Organization* 60 (2006): 169–203.
- Tarar, Ahmer. "Diversionary Incentives and the Bargaining Approach to War." *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 169–88.
- Leventoglu, Bahar, and Ahmer Tarar. "Does Private Information Lead to Delay or War in Crisis Bargaining?\*" *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 533–53.
- Reiter, Dan. *How Wars End*. Princeton UP, 2009.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. "Feigning Weakness." *International Organization* 64, no. 3 (2010): 357–88.
- Weisiger, Alex. *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts*. Cornell UP, 2013.
- Debs, Alexandre, and Nuno P. Monteiro. "Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War." *International Organization FirstView* (2013): 1–31.
- Lindsey, David. "Military Strategy, Private Information, and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (December 1, 2015): 629–40.

## **Week 8. International Political Economy**

This week addresses the politics of economic transactions across borders. The dominant focus is on trade in goods. This includes a large literature on the determinants of trade openness as well as studies of the role of treaties/IOs. It also features work on monetary policy, sovereign debt, and foreign direct investment.

*Note: See Prof. Bobby Gulotty's seminar on IPE for more. You may also consider Prof. Paul Poast's seminar on IPE and security.*

### **Required readings**

- Krasner, Stephen D. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics* 28, no. 03 (1976): 317–47.
- Rogowski, Ronald. "Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade." *The American Political Science Review* 81, no. 4 (December 1987): 1121–37.
- Simmons, Beth A. *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy during the Interwar Years*. Princeton UP, 1997. Chapters 1, 2, 4, 7.
- Tomz, Michael. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries*. Princeton UP, 2007. Chapters 1, 2, 3.
- Pandya, Sonal S. *Trading Spaces: Foreign Direct Investment Regulation, 1970-2000*. Cambridge UP, 2013. Chapters 1, 3.

### **Other important work (see Gulotty syllabus for more)**

#### Trade (see also Domestic Turn II)

- Cohen, Benjamin J. 2008. *International Political Economy: An Intellectual History*. Princeton UP.
- Gilpin, Robert. 2001. *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton UP.
- Milner, Helen V. *Resisting Protectionism: Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade*. Princeton UP, 1988.
- Adserà, Alícia, and Carles Boix. "Trade, Democracy, and the Size of the Public Sector: The Political Underpinnings of Openness." *International Organization* 56, no. 02 (2002): 229–62.
- Alt, James E., and Michael Gilligan. "The Political Economy of Trading States: Factor Specificity, Collective Action Problems and Domestic Political Institutions." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 2, no. 2 (1994): 165–192.
- Ardanaz, Martin, M. Victoria Murillo, and Pablo M. Pinto. "Sensitivity to Issue Framing on Trade Policy Preferences: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *International Organization* 67, no. 02 (2013): 411–437.
- Busch, Marc L. "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade." *International Organization* 61, no. 04 (2007): 735–61.
- Carnegie, Allison. *Power Plays: How International Institutions Reshape Coercive Diplomacy*. Cambridge UP, 2015.
- Davis, Christina L. "International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Trade Liberalization." *The American Political Science Review* 98, no. 1 (February 1, 2004): 153–69.
- . *Why Adjudicate?: Enforcing Trade Rules in the WTO*. Princeton UP, 2012.
- Gilligan, Michael J. *Empowering Exporters: Reciprocity, Delegation, and Collective Action in American Trade Policy*. University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Goldstein, Judith. *Ideas, Interests, and American Trade Policy*. Cornell UP, 1993.
- . "International Law and Domestic Institutions: Reconciling North American 'Unfair' Trade Laws." *International Organization* 50, no. 4 (October 1, 1996): 541–64.
- Goldstein, Judith L., and Lisa Martin. "Legalization, Trade Liberalization, and Domestic Politics: A Cautionary Note." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 603–32.
- Gowa, Joanne. "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and Free Trade." *The American Political Science Review* 83, no. 4 (December 1989): 1245.
- Gowa, Joanne, and Soo Yeon Kim. "An Exclusive Country Club: The Effects of the GATT on Trade, 1950–94." *World Politics* 57, no. 04 (2005): 453–78.



- Gruber, Lloyd. "Power Politics and the Free Trade Bandwagon." *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 7 (September 1, 2001): 703–41.
- Haftel, Yoram Z. "From the Outside Looking In: The Effect of Trading Blocs on Trade Disputes in the GATT/WTO." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2004): 121–142.
- Hart, Jeffrey A., and Aseem Prakash. "Strategic Trade and Investment Policies: Implications for the Study of International Political Economy." *World Economy* 20, no. 4 (1997): 457–476.
- Hirschman, Albert O. *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*. University of California Press, 1945.
- Hiscox, Michael J. "Class Versus Industry Cleavages: Inter-Industry Factor Mobility and the Politics of Trade." *International Organization* 55, no. 01 (2001): 1–46.
- Hiscox, Michael J. "The Magic Bullet? The RTAA, Institutional Reform, and Trade Liberalization." *International Organization* 53, no. 04 (1999): 669–98.
- Lipson, Charles. "The Transformation of Trade: The Sources and Effects of Regime Change." *International Organization* 36, no. 02 (1982): 417–55.
- Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. "Free to Trade: Democracies, Autocracies, and International Trade." *American Political Science Review*, 2000, 305–321.
- Milgrom, Paul R., Douglass C. North, and Barry R. Weingast. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics and Politics* 2, no. 1 (1990): 1–23.
- Milner, Helen V. 1997. *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton UP.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. Princeton: Princeton UP.
- Stephan, Paul B. "Sheriff or Prisoner the United States and the World Trade Organization." *Chi. J. Int'l. L.* 1 (2000): 49.
- Stone, Randall W. *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*. Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Verdier, Daniel. "Democratic Convergence and Free Trade." *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1998): 1–24.
- . "The Politics of Trade Preference Formation: The United States from the Civil War to the New Deal." *Politics & Society* 21, no. 4 (December 1, 1993): 365–92.

#### Legalization

- Busch, Marc L., Eric Reinhardt, and Gregory Shaffer. "Does Legal Capacity Matter? A Survey of WTO Members." *World Trade Review* 8, no. 04 (2009): 559–77.
- Goldstein, Judith L., and Lisa Martin. "Legalization, Trade Liberalization, and Domestic Politics: A Cautionary Note." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 603–32.
- Kahler, Miles. "Conclusion: The Causes and Consequences of Legalization." *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 661–83.
- Kim, Moonhawk. "Costly Procedures: Divergent Effects of Legalization in the GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement Procedures." *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 657–86.

#### Monetary policy

- Eichengreen, Barry. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. 2nd ed. Princeton UP, 2008.
- Broz, J. Lawrence. "Political System Transparency and Monetary Commitment Regimes." *International Organization* 56, no. 04 (2002): 861–87.
- Bearce, David H. "Societal Preferences, Partisan Agents, and Monetary Policy Outcomes." *International Organization* 57, no. 02 (2003): 373–410.
- Keefer, Philip, and David Stasavage. "Checks and Balances, Private Information, and the Credibility of Monetary Commitments." *International Organization* 56, no. 04 (2002): 751–74.
- Bernhard, William, and David Leblang. "Political Parties and Monetary Commitments." *International Organization* 56, no. 4 (October 2002): 803–30.
- Keefer, Philip, and David Stasavage. "The Limits of Delegation: Veto Players, Central Bank Independence, and the Credibility of Monetary Policy." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 407–23.

#### Foreign investment

- Pandya, Sonal S. "Labor Markets and the Demand for Foreign Direct Investment." *International Organization* 64, no. 3 (July 2010): 389–409.

Elkins, Zachary, Andrew T. Guzman, and Beth A. Simmons. "Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960–2000." *International Organization* 60, no. 04 (2006): 811–46.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld, and David G. Victor. "Predictability versus Flexibility: Secrecy in International Investment Arbitration." *World Politics* 68, no. 3 (June 23, 2016): 413–53.

Other frameworks/approaches

Oatley, Thomas. 2011. "The Reductionist Gamble: Open Economy Politics in the Global Economy." *International Organization* 65(02): 311–41.

Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. 2010. "Making Global Markets: Historical Institutionalism in International Political Economy." *Review of International Political Economy* 17(4): 609–38.

## **Week 9. Intentions: Signals, Perceptions, and Inferences**

This week's work addresses a fundamental problem in relations among states: understanding others' intentions. This includes how states express their preferences/intentions/goals, how other states perceive one another, and how states manipulate both. Topics include images, signals, audiences, inferences, and (mis)perceptions. On the reception side, it includes work on the role of perceived reputation and status in assessments as well as the psychological, emotional, bureaucratic, and learning dynamics that can influence inferences.

*Note: see also signaling in DPT and domestic politics in Weeks 3-4; defensive vs. offensive realism debates are also relevant (Week 7). Also see my PLSC 40605 "Recent Debates" syllabus for weeks on impact of race and emotions on perceptions.*

### **Required readings**

- Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. Yale University Press, 1966. Chapters 1, 3, 4.
- Fearon, James D. "Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, no. 1 (February 1997): 68–90.
- Sartori, Anne E. "The Might of the Pen: A Reputational Theory of Communication in International Disputes." *International Organization* 56, no. 01 (2002): 121–49.
- Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton UP, 1976. Chapters 1, 6, 8.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries." *International Security* 38, no. 1 (2013): 7–51.
- Rosato, Sebastian. "The Inscrutable Intentions of Great Powers." *International Security* 39, no. 3 (January 1, 2015): 48–88.

### **Other important work**

- Jervis, Robert. "Signaling and Perception: Drawing Inferences and Projecting Images." In *Political Psychology*, edited by Kristen Renwick Monroe, 293–312. Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum, 2002.
- Spence, Michael. "Job Market Signaling." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 87, no. 3 (August 1, 1973): 355–74.
- Schelling, Thomas. *Arms and Influence*. New Ed. Yale UP, 1966.

### **Costly signalling and other signals**

- Schelling, Thomas. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Jervis, Robert. *The Logic of Images in International Relations*. Columbia UP, 1970.
- Morrow, James D. "The Strategic Setting of Choices: Signaling, Commitment, and Negotiation in International Politics." In *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, edited by David A. Lake and Robert Powell. Princeton UP, 1999.
- Kydd, Andrew. "Trust Building, Trust Breaking: The Dilemma of NATO Enlargement." *International Organization* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 801–28.
- Sagan, Scott D., and Jeremi Suri. "The Madman Nuclear Alert: Secrecy, Signaling, and Safety in October 1969." *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 150–83.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. "Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises." *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 4 (December 1998): 829–44.
- Hyde, Susan D. "Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (April 1, 2011): 356–69.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "Tying Hands Behind Closed Doors: The Logic and Practice of Secret Reassurance." *Security Studies* 22, no. 3 (2013): 405–35.
- Wolford, Scott. "Showing Restraint, Signaling Resolve: Coalitions, Cooperation, and Crisis Bargaining." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 144–56.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew, and Todd S. Sechser. "Signaling Alliance Commitments: Hand-Tying and Sunk Costs in Extended Nuclear Deterrence." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 4 (October 1, 2014): 919–35.

- Glaser, Charles L. *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton UP, 2010.
- Carson, Austin, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret." *Security Studies* 26, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 124–56.
- Goddard, Stacie E. "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2011): 110–42.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. "Reading Habermas in Anarchy: Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Public Spheres." *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 03 (2005): 401–17.
- Herrmann, Richard K., and Michael P. Fischerkeller. "Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive-Strategic Research after the Cold War." *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 415–50.
- Herrmann, Richard K., James F. Voss, Tonya Y. E. Schooler, and Joseph Ciarrochi. "Images in International Relations: An Experimental Test of Cognitive Schemata." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (1997): 403–33.
- O'Neill, Barry. *Honor, Symbols, and War*. University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Williams, Michael C. "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2003): 511–531. doi:10.1046/j.0020-8833.2003.00277.x.

### Reputation

- Mercer, Jonathan. *Reputation and International Politics*. Cornell UP, 1996.
- Downs, George W., and Michael A. Jones. "Reputation, Compliance, and International Law." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2002): S95–114.
- Guisinger, Alexandra, and Alastair Smith. "Honest Threats: The Interaction of Reputation and Political Institutions in International Crises." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 2 (April 2002): 175–200.
- Miller, Gregory D. "Hypotheses on Reputation: Alliance Choices and the Shadow of the Past." *Security Studies* 12, no. 3 (2003): 40.
- Press, Daryl. *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2005).
- Guzman, Andrew T. "Reputation and International Law." *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 34 (2006): 379.
- Tomz, Michael. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries*. Princeton UP, 2007.
- Gillies, Alexandra. "Reputational Concerns and the Emergence of Oil Sector Transparency as an International Norm." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2010): 103–26.
- Miller, Gregory D. *The Shadow of the Past: Reputation and Military Alliances Before the First World War*. Cornell UP, 2012.
- Weisiger, Alex, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Politics." *International Organization* 69, no. 02 (March 2015): 473–495.

### Perceptions and misperceptions

- Wohlforth, William C. *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War*. Cornell UP, 1993.
- George, Alexander L. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1969): 190–222.
- Herrmann, Richard K. *Perceptions and Behavior in Soviet Foreign Policy*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.
- Jervis, Robert. "Political Psychology: Some Challenges and Opportunities." *Political Psychology* 10, no. 3 (September 1989): 481–93.
- Herrmann, Richard. "The Empirical Challenge of the Cognitive Revolution: A Strategy for Drawing Inferences about Perceptions." *International Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (June 1, 1988): 175–203.
- Herrmann, Richard K., and Michael P. Fischerkeller. "Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive-Strategic Research after the Cold War." *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 415–50.
- Herrmann, Richard K., James F. Voss, Tonya Y. E. Schooler, and Joseph Ciarrochi. "Images in International Relations: An Experimental Test of Cognitive Schemata." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (1997): 403–33.
- Levy, Jack S. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1997): 87–112.
- Rathbun, Brian C. "Uncertain about Uncertainty: Understanding the Multiple Meanings of a Crucial Concept in International Relations Theory." *International Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2007): 533–57.

David M. Edelstein, "Managing Uncertainty: Beliefs about Intentions and the Rise of Great Powers," *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Autumn 2002).

McDermott, Rose. "The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science." *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 04 (December 2004): 691–706.

Mitzen, Jennifer, and Randall L. Schweller. "Knowing the Unknown Unknowns: Misplaced Certainty and the Onset of War." *Security Studies* 20, no. 1 (2011): 2–35.

Hall, Todd, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "The Personal Touch: Leaders' Impressions, Costly Signaling, and Assessments of Sincerity in International Affairs." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (Sept 1, 2012): 560–73.

Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries." *International Security* 38, no. 1 (2013): 7–51.

Yarhi-Milo, Keren. *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations*. Princeton UP, 2014.

#### Secrecy, deception, misrepresentation

Meirowitz, Adam, and Anne E. Sartori. "Strategic Uncertainty as a Cause of War." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 4 (December 2008): 327–52.

Slantchev, Branislav L. "Feigning Weakness." *International Organization* 64, no. 3 (2010): 357–88.

Carson, Austin. "Facing Off and Saving Face: Covert Intervention and Escalation Management in the Korean War." *International Organization* 70, no. 01 (2016): 103–131.

Carson, Austin, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret." *Security Studies* 26, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 124–56.

Schuessler, John M. *Deceit on the Road to War: Presidents, Politics, and American Democracy*. Cornell UP, 2015.

———. "The Deception Dividend: FDR's Undeclared War." *International Security* 34, no. 4 (2010): 133–65.

Mearsheimer, John J. *Why Leaders Lie: The Truth about Lying in International Politics*. Oxford UP, USA, 2011.

#### Learning, analogies, metaphors, use of history

Khong, Yuen Foong. *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton UP, 1992.

Levy, Jack S. "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield." *International Organization* 48, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 279–312.

Bennett, Andrew. *Condemned to Repetition?: The Rise, Fall, and Reprise of Soviet-Russian Military Interventionism, 1973-1996*. MIT Press, 1999.

Paris, Roland. "Kosovo and the Metaphor War." *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no. 3 (September 1, 2002): 423–50.

## **Week 10. Beyond States: Firms, NGOs, Rebels, IOs**

Another big innovation in the last two decades is a range of research that gives agency to non-state actors. This includes everything from scientists and the environment to lawyers and human rights to IOs addressing traditional security. A theme throughout these disparate research programs is the causal importance of actors besides the state such as firms, non-governmental advocacy groups and networks, and international organizations and their bureaucrats.

*Note: See Prof. Paul Staniland's seminar on civil wars for more on rebel/insurgent groups.*

### **Required readings**

- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 1, 2003): 75–90.
- Pape, Robert A. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 343–361.
- Avant, Deborah D. *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*. Cambridge UP, 2005. Chapters 1, 2, 3.
- Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. *Rules For The World: International Organizations In Global Politics*. Cornell UP, 2004. Chapters 1, 2.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell UP, 1998. Chapters 1, 3.

### **Other important work**

End of the Cold War (i.e. why the non-state turn came when it did)

- Evangelista, Matthew. *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War*. Cornell UP, 2002.
- Evangelista, Matthew. "The Paradox of State Strength: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union." *International Organization* 49, no. 01 (1995): 1–38.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S Nye Jr. *Power and Interdependence*. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1977.
- Ashley, Richard K. "The Poverty of Neorealism." *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 225–86.
- Jackson, Patrick Thadeus, and Daniel H. Nexon. "Relations Before States: Substance, Process and the Study of World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 3 (September 1, 1999): 291–332.
- Avant, Deborah D., Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds. *Who Governs the Globe?* 1st ed. Cambridge UP, 2010.

### Rebels/insurgents

See Staniland syllabus.

### Terrorism

- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31, no. 1 (July 1, 2006): 49–80.
- Abrahms, Max. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31, no. 2 (October 1, 2006): 42–78.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan, and Eric S. Dickson. "The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 2 (2007): 364–381.
- Crenshaw, Martha. "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay." *Security Studies* 16, no. 1 (2007): 133–62.
- Johnston, Patrick B. "Does Decapitation Work?: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns." *International Security* 36, no. 4 (2012): 47–79.
- Mueller, John, and Mark G. Stewart. "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11." *International Security* 37, no. 1 (July 1, 2012): 81–110.
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**Comp "exam" is Tuesday, December 5<sup>th</sup>**  
**Prompt emailed out by 8 am, essay due by 5 pm**  
**Send to [acarson@uchicago.edu](mailto:acarson@uchicago.edu)**