Seminar in International Relations Theory
PLSC 40600

Fall 2022

Time: Wednesdays, 9:30am-12:20pm

Room: Pick Hall 506

Professor: Austin Carson, Department of Political Science, acarson@uchicago.edu

Office Hours: Tues (3:45-4:45) and Thurs (2:00-3:15pm). *Sign up at this link.*

Course description
This course is a Ph.D.-level survey of the most important theoretical approaches in the field of International Relations (IR). It introduces the main paradigms (i.e., realism, liberalism, and constructivism, all with some subvariants). We also review more recent non-paradigmatic (but theoretically-informed) IR work, including two weeks on the turn to domestic politics. The focus throughout is theory but we will also address a range of substantive empirical areas. Beyond learning these core theoretical areas, we will also reflect on the field's development over time, recurring "meta-debates," and methodological trends. Seminar discussions will help unpack the readings and develop students' ability to identify arguments and critically analyze strengths and weaknesses. The course is especially well-suited for students preparing for our Department's IR comprehensive exam. The assignments are intended to build two skills. First is publishing. An assignment due during the quarter simulates the journal review process and includes examples of reviews and R&R memos from my own files. Second is exam-taking. The final exam take the form of a comprehensive exam, simulating that given to doctoral students. This gives experience with time-limited writing on topics that cut across the field. Throughout the course, I will provide periodic reflections on the process of creating theory, publishing in the discipline, and other aspects of the profession. There is no prerequisite for this course.

A note on other IR-related seminars
This syllabus is designed to avoid duplication of content in our other regularly offered graduate seminars. Please consult other syllabi by our IR faculty for a few specific areas that we do not cover in detail, especially if you plan to take the IR comp exam. The most important omissions here are civil wars and political violence (see seminars by Staniland and Pape), constructivism (Terman), and international political economy (Gulotty). Any sense of a grand "reading list" for the comp exam would include readings from this syllabus and these other syllabi.

Required texts
Beware: there is a heavy reading load for this course!

Portions of the following books are assigned. Editions generally do no matter unless noted.
> Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. Rules For The World: International Organizations In Global Politics. Cornell University Press, 2004.

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

Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination.* Princeton University Press, 2019.

Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Orders After Major Wars.* Princeton UP, 2000.

Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics.* Princeton UP, 1976 or 2017 edition.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics.* Cornell UP, 1998.

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

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

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

Russett, Bruce. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World.* Princeton University Press, 1994.

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.

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

Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence.* Cambridge University Press, 2007.

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

All articles and edited volume chapters should be available through UChicago library resources. It is the class's responsibility to work together to divide labor and scan book chapters for those with two chapters or fewer assigned.

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 (25%)
- Reviewing simulation (30%)
- Comp exam essay (45%)

Seminar participation (25%). Students should come to seminar with all assigned readings completed and try to thoughtfully contribute to discussion each week. Poor performance can be the result of under- or over-participating. I reserve the right to use "cold calling" (randomly and proactively asking individual students for responses). Note: I take seriously student discomfort with the social performance that is seminar participation. It is a difficult skill to master. Please email me or reserve office hours if you are struggling with this part of the course.

Journal article reviewing simulation (30%). Students participate in a simulation of the journal review process from several vantage points. Working in small groups, students will choose an

article from the supplemental reading list. First, you will write a review of the article as if it were in its initial submission stage, engaging the substance of the piece and outlining revisions you think important while reaching a final judgment on whether to publish. Next, each student will switch roles and serve as a journal editor. As editor, they will write an editor's decision letter based on their own and others' reviews in the group, explaining how the article needs to be revised for publication in light of several smart reviews. In a third step, each student will switch again to the role of author. Each will write a revise-and-resubmit memo explaining how they plan to revise to address the problems identified in one of the editor's decision letters. I will share copies of real reviews, editor decision letters, and R&R memos from my own files. Each component will contribute to 10% of the overall grade. Initial reviews are due at **end of Week 5** (midnight, Friday Oct 28); decision letters at **end of Week 6** (midnight, Friday Nov 4); R&R memos at **end of Week 7** (midnight, Friday Nov 11). All of these should be written in double-spaced, Times New Roman 12-point font, 1-inch margins with page limits as follows: reviews (up to 4), decision letter (up to 3), R&R memo (up to 4).

Final exam (45%). Students will respond to an essay prompt modeled on the theory component of our department's Ph.D. comprehensive exam for International Relations. The exam prompt will focus on one enduring question or theme in IR work and students will have 8 hours to complete it. 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 **Monday, December 5th**. 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. Max 12 pages double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, 1-inch margins.

Professionalism
Our seminar will be its own term-long community; we will get to know one another well and co-create our own intellectual culture. This culture should make all of us to feel comfortable participating in developing and rigorously testing our ideas. This means we all must follow basic norms of respectful intellectual exchange. Be professional in all communications, including emails. Comments in class should be respectful of other students even as we disagree. Avoid a confrontational tone. Listen to others to help develop ways to respectfully disagree, as by suggesting a different view rather than forcefully contradicting. An essential component to this environment is one free of acts of sexual misconduct, which encompass a range of conduct from sexual assault to sexual harassment. These 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. I encourage you to come to me with concerns about anyone's professionalism, including your own.

Email policy
Note that due to the very busy quarter structure, I may not read or respond to student emails for 24 hours and do not check email on weekends. Do not expect immediate replies.

Two tips for success
Two tips about staying organized and note-taking in a survey course like this. 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 occasionally look at my old notes from the Autumn 2007 IR field seminar I took at Ohio State!) I highly recommend experimenting with techniques that help you take "forest thinking" notes (i.e. the big picture) as well as "trees thinking" notes (i.e. detailed notes on each reading). I used to use a notes template that included a section at the top of each individual reading for a two-sentence summary as well as a bullet point for "literatures/authors this piece addresses: ___." I also recommend experimenting 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 have used Zotero and Bibtex and recommend both.

Late policy
Deadlines are generally strict; papers/assignments received late will be dropped a full letter grade for each 24-hour period past the deadline. Exceptions include for unexpected illness (including Covid-19) or family emergencies. Advanced communication, to the extent it is possible, is always helpful. This is especially true of incompletes (and, relatedly, "pass/fail" arrangements), which must receive my approval before finals week.

Academic integrity
Language and ideas that are not your own must be properly cited. 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.

Week 0. Background and Big Picture

This is not a real week! Nothing here is assigned. These are for reference only. Topics include writings about the historical evolution of IR as a field, the core features of the modern international order (i.e. sovereignty), and work that attempts to identify recurring issues of debate in IR ("meta-debates"). This material will be useful for comp exam studying purposes and if you think you may want to teach a grad course in 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

<u>History of the field & "Great Debates"</u>

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, 2nd edition (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.

Waever, 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.

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

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

Hamilton, Keith, and Richard Langhorne. The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory, and Administration. 2nd ed. Taylor & Francis, 2011.

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

Spruyt, Hendrik. Ending Empire: Contested Sovereignty and Territorial Partition. Cornell University Press, 2005.

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.

Getachew, Adom. Worldmaking after Empire. Princeton University Press, 2019.

Nuclear weapons / 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.

Lieber, Keir A., and Daryl G. Press. The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution: Power Politics in the Atomic Age. Cornell University Press, 2020.

Green, Brendan Rittenhouse. The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control, and the Cold War. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

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.

Recurring "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.
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.

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

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.

Desch, Michael C. Cult of the Irrelevant: The Waning Influence of Social Science on National Security. Princeton University Press, 2019.

Musgrave, Paul. "Political Science Has Its Own Lab Leaks." Foreign Policy, July 3, 2021.
https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/07/03/political-science-dangerous-lab-leaks/
[See responses in Duck of Minerva: https://www.duckofminerva.com/category/symposia/lab-leaks-in-political-science]

Week 1. International System I: Overview & Materialist Approaches

Date: Sept 28, 2022

The central theme in this opening week is that the structure of the international system – defined here as material factors like military capabilities, the number of great powers, and the military balance of power – explains patterns of war, (in)stability, free trade, and other outcomes. We start the "levels of analysis," the systemic view. and idea of systemic anarchy. We then cover classic and newer work on the recurrence and stability of material balances of power and different kinds of polarity. We end with a look at another systemic-materialist factor that has been less commonly addressed in IR: empires.

Required readings

Singer, J. David. "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations." World Politics 14, no. 01 (1961): 77–92.

Waltz, Kenneth N. Theory of International Politics. McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages, 1979. [Read all, discussion will focus on Chpt 5-9.]

Milner, Helen. "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." Review of International Studies 17, no. 1 (January 1991): 67–85.

Hui, Victoria Tin-bor. "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe." International Organization 58.1 (2004): 175-205.

Barkawi, Tarak. "Empire and Order in International Relations and Security Studies." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies. 2010. [Available via UChicago Library]

Other important work

Levels of analysis

Waltz, Kenneth N. Man, the State, and War. Revised. Columbia UP, 2001.

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.

Alliance and 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.

Unipolarity, hegemony, empire

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.

Cox, Robert W. "Gramsci, hegemony and international relations: an essay in method." Millennium 12.2 (1983): 162-175.

Clark, Ian. "Towards an English School theory of hegemony." European Journal of International Relations 15.2 (2009): 203-228.

Ikenberry, G. John, and Daniel H. Nexon. "Hegemony Studies 3.0: The Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders." Security Studies 28.3 (2019): 395-421.

See the rest of Security Studies special issue on Hegemony 3.0.

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.

MacDonald, Paul K. "Is Imperial Rule Obsolete?: Assessing the Barriers to Overseas Adventurism." Security Studies 18.1 (2009): 79-114.

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.

Prys, Miriam, and Stefan Robel. "Hegemony, Not Empire." Journal of International Relations and Development 14.2 (2011): 247-279.

Savage, Jesse Dillon. "The Stability and Breakdown of Empire: European Informal Empire in China, the Ottoman Empire and Egypt." European Journal of International Relations 17.2 (2011): 161-185.

Phillips, Andrew, and Jason C. Sharman. "Explaining durable diversity in international systems: State, company, and empire in the Indian Ocean." International Studies Quarterly 59.3 (2015): 436-448.

Sharman, Jason. Empires of the Weak: The Real Story of European Expansion and the Creation of the New World Order. Princeton University Press, 2019.

Getachew, Adom. Worldmaking after Empire. Princeton University Press, 2019.

Hegemonic stability theory

Kindleberger, Charles P. The World in Depression: 1929 - 1939. University of California Press, 1975.

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.

Polarity and trade

[**See also**: Gulotty IPE syllabus]

Krasner, Stephen D. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." World Politics 28, no. 03 (1976): 317–47.

Hirschman, Albert O. National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade. University of California Press, 1945.

Gowa, Joanne. "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and Free Trade." The American Political Science Review 83, no. 4 (December 1989): 1245.

Gruber, Lloyd. "Power Politics and the Free Trade Bandwagon." Comparative Political Studies 34, no. 7 (September 1, 2001): 703–41.

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.

Hobson, John M., and Jason C. Sharman. "The enduring place of hierarchy in world politics: Tracing the social logics of hierarchy and political change." European Journal of International Relations 11.1 (2005): 63-98.

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.

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.

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.

McConaughey, Meghan, Paul Musgrave, and Daniel H. Nexon. "Beyond anarchy: logics of political organization, hierarchy, and international structure." International Theory 10.2 (2018): 181-218.

Pratt, Tyler. "Deference and hierarchy in international regime complexes." International Organization 72.3 (2018): 561-590.

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: Institutions, Ideas, Networks, etc.

Date: Oct 5, 2022

This week keeps the systemic focus but considers more carefully non-material factors that operate at a global level. One is global formal institutions (aka "international organizations"; aka "global governance"), especially the set of formal institutions sometimes created after major power wars. A second is constructivist work on systemic ideas. Work on race and gender in the international system – which has material and ideational instantiations – is also an important lens this week. We also analyze Farrell and Newman's influential idea of "weaponized interdependence" as an example of system-as- network.

Required readings

Ikenberry, G. John. After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Orders After Major Wars. Princeton UP, 2000. Chapters 2, 3, 6.

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

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

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

Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." International Security, Vol. 44, No. 1, Summer 2019.

Other important work

International orders and change

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

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.

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.

Ringmar, Erik. "Performing International Systems: Two East-Asian Alternatives to the Westphalian Order." International Organization 66.1 (2012): 1-25.

Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson. The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Symposium on Buzan/Lawson, "Theory, History, and the Global Transformation" in International Theory, Vol 8, No 3, November 2016.

Reus-Smit, Christian. "Cultural Diversity and International Order." International Organization 71.4 (2017): 851-885.

Allan, Bentley B. Scientific cosmology and International Orders. Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Systemic ideas: constructivism

(See also NGOs/advocacy networks, Week 10)

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.

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

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.

System as racial order

*See also: books and syllabi from our own Adom Getachew and Jennifer Pitts on empire, law, and race.

Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. "Race in the Ontology of International Order." Political Studies 56.4 (2008): 907-927.

Bell, Duncan. "Race and International Relations: Introduction." Cambridge Review of International Affairs 26.1 (2013): 1-4.

Bell, Duncan. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." European Journal of International Relations 20.3 (2014): 647-670.

Vitalis, Robert. White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations. Cornell University Press, 2015. Part II, III, Conclusion.

Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law. U of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Henderson, Errol A. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory." Cambridge Review of International Affairs 26, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 71–92.

Lake, David A. "White Man's IR: An Intellectual Confession." Perspectives on Politics 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 1112–22.

Special issue, "Confronting the Global Colour Line: Space, Race and Imperial Hierarchy in World Politics," in Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol 26, 2013.

Anievas, Alexander, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam. Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line. Routledge, 2014.

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.

Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds. Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Krishna, Sankaran. "Race, Amnesia, and the Education of International Relations." Alternatives: Global, Local, Political 26, no. 4 (2001): 401–24.

Barkawi, Tarak. "Decolonising War." European Journal of International Security 1, no. 02 (2016): 199–214.

Búzás, Zoltán I. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." Security Studies 22, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 573–606.

Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. Decolonizing International Relations. Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

Vitalis, Robert. "The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations." Millennium - Journal of International Studies 29, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 331–56.

Hemmer, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." International Organization 56, no. 3 (July 2002): 575–607.

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

Biswas, Shampa. "'Nuclear Apartheid' as Political Position: Race as a Postcolonial Resource?" Alternatives 26, no. 4 (2001): 485–522.

Vucetic, Srdjan. The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations. Stanford University Press, 2011.

System as gendered order

Towns, Ann, and Birgitta Niklasson. "Gender, international status, and ambassador appointments." Foreign Policy Analysis 13.3 (2016): 521-540.

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

Sjoberg, Laura. "Gender, the state, and war redux: Feminist international relations across the 'levels of analysis'." International Relations 25.1 (2011): 108-134.

Tickner, J. Ann. "Hans Morgenthau's principles of political realism: A feminist reformulation." Millennium 17.3 (1988): 429-440.

Sjoberg, Laura, Kelly Kadera, and Cameron G. Thies. "Reevaluating gender and IR scholarship: Moving beyond Reiter's dichotomies toward effective synergies." Journal of Conflict Resolution 62.4 (2018): 848-870.

Tickner, J. Ann. "Gender Research in International Relations." Gender Innovation in Political Science. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019. 153-171.

Reiter, Dan. "The positivist study of gender and international relations." Journal of Conflict Resolution 59.7 (2015): 1301-1326.

Sjoberg, Laura. "Centering security studies around felt, gendered insecurities." Journal of global security studies 1.1 (2016): 51-63.

Eichenberg, Richard C. Gender, War, and World Order: A Study of Public Opinion. Cornell University Press, 2019.

System as network

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

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.

Duque, Marina G. "Recognizing International Status: A Relational Approach." International Studies Quarterly 62.3 (2018): 577-592.

System complexity

Robert Jervis, System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life (Princeton UP, 1998).

Gunitsky, Seva. "Complexity and theories of change in international politics." International Theory 5.1 (2013): 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 & 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.

Hierarchy (non-material)

See readings in "Anarchy/Hierarchy" in Week 1 that emphasize ideational and institutional sources of hierarchy.

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.

Week 3. The Domestic Turn I: Regime Type in IR

Date: Oct 12, 2022

This is the first of two weeks on the most influential theoretical trend in IR in the last twenty years: models of domestic politics. This week focuses on work addressing *formal* domestic institutions, specifically theories of the significance of regime type (i.e. democracy and various non-democratic forms). This variable has been linked to interstate conflict (as in Democratic Peace Theory) as well as war performance, coercion (including audience cost theory), interstate cooperation, and economics.

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

Required readings

Russett, Bruce. Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World. Princeton University Press, 1994. Chapters 1, 2, 4.

Reiter, Dan, and Allan Stam. Democracies at War. Princeton University Press, 2010. Chapt 2, 3.

Fearon, James D. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." The American Political Science Review 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 577–92.

Weeks, Jessica L. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." International Organization 62, no. 01 (2008): 35–64.

Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements." International Organization 56.3 (2002): 477-513.

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

Kenneth Schultz, "Domestic Politics and International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth A. Simmons eds., Handbook of International Relations, 2nd edition (Sage: 2012), pp. 478-502.

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

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.

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.

Owen, John M. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." International Security 19, no. 2 (1994): 87–125.

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 Russet. "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.

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.

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.

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

Regime type and coercion: audience cost theory
[See also: my Recent Debates in IR syllabus]

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.

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[See also: Gulotty IPE syllabus]

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Week 4. Why and How Do States Cooperate?

Date: Oct 19, 2022

This week steps away from domestic politics to focus on why states rationally cooperate despite anarchy and how international institutions (both organizations and law) help them do it. We start with a relatively institution-free context. sovereign debt, to see how reputational concerns can sustain cooperative promises. We then tackle Keohane's classic statement of how international institutions lower the costs and risks of cooperation and the "Rational Design" school which analyzed how various institutional feature affect this process. We conclude with discussion of newer research on arms control and the difficulty of cooperation.

> (Note: we do not read some classic critiques of the significance of institutions and cooperation by Mearsheimer and Downs Rocke & Barsoom, but those taking the comp exam should familiarize themselves.)

Required readings

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Other important work

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Institutions facilitate interstate cooperation

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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.

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Koremenos, Barbara. "Loosening the Ties That Bind: A Learning Model of Agreement Flexibility." International Organization 55, no. 02 (2001): 289–325.

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Carrubba, Clifford J. "Courts and Compliance in International Regulatory Regimes." Journal of Politics 67, no. 3
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Hawkins, Darren. "Explaining Costly International Institutions: Persuasion and Enforceable Human Rights Norms."
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Staton, Jeffrey K., and Will H. Moore. "Judicial Power in Domestic and International Politics." International
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Lupu, Yonatan. "Best Evidence: The Role of Information in Domestic Judicial Enforcement of International Human
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Alter, Keren J. The New Terrain of International Law: Courts, Politics, Rights. Princeton UP, 2014.

IOs, international law, and trade
[See also: Gulotty IPE syllabus]
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Steinberg, Richard H. "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the
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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.

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International Organization 64, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 257–79.

Davis, Christina L. Why Adjudicate?: Enforcing Trade Rules in the WTO. Princeton UP, 2012.

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International Organization 68, no. 03 (June 2014): 663–699.

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.

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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
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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.

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Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." International Organization 53, no. 04 (1999): 699–732.

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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 5. The Domestic Turn II: Beyond Regime Type

Date: Oct 26, 2022

In the second of two weeks on domestic politics in IR theory, we move beyond regime type (Week 3) to a range of other domestic dynamics. This includes domestic society, public opinion, cultural values/norms, the role domestic leaders, the role of experts, and domestic bureaucracy. Outcomes these domestic factors are linked to include war, trade, monetary policy, bargaining, compliance, and foreign policy decisions. Note that some of the work in this week reverses the causal arrow emphasis in arguing international factors shape domestic activity.

Reviews due by midnight Friday (Oct 28).
*Email to group members & acarson@uchicago.edu**

Background [not assigned but useful to know]

Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-Level Games." International Organization 42:3 (1988), pp. 427-460

Gourevitch, Peter. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." International Organization 32.4 (1978): 881-912.

Required readings

Simmons, Beth A. Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy during the Interwar Years. Princeton UP, 1997. Chapters 1, 2, 4, 7.

Guisinger, Alexandra. "Determining Trade Policy: Do Voters Hold Politicians Accountable?" International Organization 63, no. 3 (2009): 533–57.

Kier, Elizabeth. "Culture and Military Doctrine: France Between the Wars." International security 19.4 (1995): 65-93.

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Other important work

Domestic society/sectors

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Weiss, Jessica Chen. Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in Chinas Foreign Relations. Oxford UP, 2014.

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[See also: Gulotty IPE syllabus]

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Milner, Helen V. Resisting Protectionism: Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade. Princeton UP, 1988.

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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.

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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.

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.

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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.

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Legro, Jeffrey. "Military Culture and Inadvertent Escalation in World War II." International Security 18, no. 4 (April 1, 1994): 108–42.

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Krebs, Ronald R. Fighting for Rights: Military Service and the Politics of Citizenship. Cornell UP, 2006.

Morrison, James Ashley. "Shocking Intellectual Austerity: The Role of Ideas in the Demise of the Gold Standard in Britain." International Organization 70.1 (2016): 175-207.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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.

Leaders
[See also: my Recent Debates in IR syllabus]
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.

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

Dafoe, Allan, and Devin Caughey. "Honor and War: Southern US Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation." World Politics 68, no. 02 (2016): 341–381.

Jervis, Robert. "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" Security Studies 22, no. 2 (2013): 153–79.

Horowitz, Michael C., and Allan C. Stam. "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders." International Organization 68, no. 03 (2014): 527–559.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions. Cornell University Press, 2011.

Horowitz, Michael C., Allan C. Stam, and Cali M. Ellis. Why Leaders Fight. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Horowitz, Michael, Rose McDermott, and Allan C. Stam. "Leader Age, Regime Type, and Violent International Relations." Journal of Conflict Resolution 49, no. 5 (October 1, 2005): 661–85.

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.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision Making." International Organization 71.S1 (2017): S219-S247.

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.

Art, Robert J. "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique," Policy Sciences 4 (1973) pp. 467-90.

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.

Snyder, Jack. "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984." International Security 9.1 (1984): 108-146.

Kier, Elizabeth. "Culture and Military Doctrine: France Between the Wars." International security 19.4 (1995): 65-93.

Wilcox, Lauren. "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive." Security Studies 18.2 (2009): 214-240.

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."

Week 6. Realisms

Date: Nov 2, 2022

"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. If we had more time, we would look at some of the classic texts that preceded Waltz's *Theory of International Politics*. Given constraints, we will focus on some of the most famous debates within realism that followed the 1979 book. Our analysis will include the bargaining model of war (not always associated with Realism but should be).
Note: see also John Mearsheimer's seminar on realism.

*Editor decision letters due midnight Friday (Nov 4).
Email to acarson@uchicago.edu*

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.

Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." World Politics 51, no. 01 (1998): 144–72.

Fearon, James D. "Rationalist Explanations for War." International Organization 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 379–414.

Goddard, Stacie E., and Daniel H. Nexon. "The Dynamics of Global Power Politics: A Framework for Analysis." Journal of Global Security Studies 1.1 (2015): 4-18.

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.

Babík, 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. 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.

Taliaferro, Jeffrey W. "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited." International Security 25, no. 3 (January 1, 2001): 128–61.

Lieber, Keir A. "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory." International Security 32, no. 2 (September 28, 2007): 155–91.

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.

Fiammenghi, Davide. "The Security Curve and the Structure of International Politics: A Neorealist Synthesis." International Security 35, no. 4 (March 18, 2011): 126–54.

Tang, Shiping. "Fear in International Politics: Two Positions." International Studies Review 10, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 451–71.

Herz, John H. "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma." World Politics 2, no. 2 (January 1, 1950): 157–80.

Jervis, Robert. Perception and Misperception in International Politics. Princeton UP, 1976. Chapter on deterrence vs. spiral model.

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.

Glaser, Charles L. "The Security Dilemma Revisited." World Politics 50, no. 1 (1997): 171–201.

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

Walt, Stephen M. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." International Security 9, no. 4 (Spring 1985): 3–43.

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

Zakaria, Fareed. "Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay." International Security 17, no. 1 (1992): 177–98.

Christensen, Thomas J. Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958. Princeton UP, 1996.

Schweller, Randall L. "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing." International Security 29, no. 2 (October 1, 2004): 159–201.

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.

Leventoğlu, 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 7. Perceptions and Communication

Date: Nov 9, 2022

This week focuses on a range of work that broadly addresses how states communicate and perceive one another. Readings in previous weeks (Fearon and Weeks on audience costs; Glaser on costly signaling) have addressed how leaders and states express their intentions. We focus here on how outsiders understand other states and the role of organizational bias, psychology, race, and secrecy (i.e. misrepresentation) in that process. A final assigned reading critiques the very notion that great powers can learn about intentions from intentional or unintentional signals.

> Note: we will not have time to address related literatures like reputation, learning, analogies, and emotion. See the "Other important work" section, i.e. literatures on. Note also that signaling material appears in other weeks. My "Recent Debates" syllabi have more on race, psych, secrecy, etc.

R&R memos due by midnight Friday (Nov 11).
Email to acarson@uchicago.edu*

Background [not assigned but useful to know]

Schelling, Thomas. The Strategy of Conflict. Harvard University Press, 1960.

Schelling, Thomas C. Arms and Influence. Yale University Press, 1966.

Required readings

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

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.

Búzás, Zoltán I. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." Security Studies 22.4 (2013): 573-606.

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.

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.

Fearon, James D. "Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs." The Journal of Conflict Resolution 41, no. 1 (February 1997): 68–90.

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.

Sartori, Anne E. "The Might of the Pen: A Reputational Theory of Communication in International Disputes." International Organization 56, no. 01 (2002): 121–49.

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.

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.

Kurizaki, Shuhei. "Signaling and Perception in International Crises: Two Approaches." Journal of Theoretical Politics 28.4 (2016): 625-654.

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 Pre, 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.

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.

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.

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

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

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

Colaresi, Michael P. Democracy Declassified: The Secrecy Dilemma in National Security. Oxford University Press, USA, 2014.

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.

McManus, Roseanne W., and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "The Logic of "Offstage" Signaling: Domestic Politics, Regime Type, and Major Power-Protégé Relations." International Organization 71.4 (2017): 701-733.

Spaniel, William, and Michael Poznansky. "Credible Commitment in Covert Affairs." American Journal of Political Science 62.3 (2018): 668-681.

Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. "The Spotlight's Harsh Glare: Rethinking Publicity and International Order." International Organization 72.3 (2018): 627-657.

O'Rourke, Lindsey A. Covert Regime Change: America's Secret Cold War. Cornell University Press, 2018.

Carson, Austin. Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics. Princeton University Press, 2018.

Poznansky, Michael. "Feigning Compliance: Covert Action and International Law." International Studies Quarterly 63.1 (2019): 72-84.

Smith, Gregory L. "Secret but Constrained: The Impact of Elite Opposition on Covert Operations." International Organization 73.3 (2019): 685-707.

Krcmaric, Daniel. "Information, Secrecy, and Civilian Targeting." International Studies Quarterly 63.2 (2019): 322-333.

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 8. Non-State Actors in World Politics

Date: Nov 16, 2022

Work on IR theory in the last two decades has increased attention to a variety of non-state actors. This includes scientific and other expert communities, human rights organizations, economic firms, rebel groups, diplomats, and international organizations (understood as agentic actors). A shift away from states has been accompanied by a shift in substantive focus as well. Work on non-state actors has led to more empirical attention to the natural environment, human rights, diplomacy, civil war, arms control, and foreign direct investment.

> Note: See Staniland's seminar on civil wars for more on rebel/insurgent groups, Pape's militant power politics for civil war and terrorism, and my "Recent Debates" for leaders.

Required readings

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Cornell UP, 1998. Chapters 1, 3.

Weinstein, Jeremy. Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Chapters 1, 2.

Kim, In Song, and Iain Osgood. "Firms in Trade and Trade Politics." Annual Review of Political Science 22 (2019): 399-417.

Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. Rules For The World: International Organizations In Global Politics. Cornell UP, 2004. Chapter 2.

Allan, Bentley B. "Producing the Climate: States, Scientists, and the Constitution of Global Governance Objects." International Organization 71.1 (2017): 131-162.

Other important work

Context: end of the Cold War

[Note: this is one key reason the field of IR opened to understanding non-state actors 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.

Avant, Deborah D., Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds. Who Governs the Globe? Cambridge UP, 2010.

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.

NGO/Advocacy/Norms

See also: Week 2 supplemental readings.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics." International Social Science Journal 51, no. 159 (March 1, 1999): 89–101.

Carpenter, R. Charli. "Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Nonemergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks." International Studies Quarterly 51, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 99–120.

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Price, Richard. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." International Organization 52, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 613–44.

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See Staniland and Pape syllabi!

Firms as actors
[See also: Gulotty IPE syllabus]

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IOs as independent actors

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Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Vincent Pouliot. "Power in Practice: Negotiating the International Intervention in Libya." European Journal of International Relations, January 29, 2014

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Week 9. Reflections & New Directions

Date: Nov 30, 2022

This week we step back and reflect on what the IR canon is and how we got here. Doing so requires learning about the long history of IR as a discipline. This includes learning about how specific individuals, organizations, and institutions – including the University of Chicago – have shaped who is in the discipline and what questions have been considered most important for IR theory. We will also engage with works that identify substantive blindspots in IR theory and consider how IR theory might evolve if things like decolonization or gender hierarchies are made front-and-center. Finally, we will engage the question of whether theory in our discipline is on the decline – and if so, why.

Required readings

Experimental psychology in IR

Choose one article from the 2017 special issue of *International Organization* on "The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations." (Note: as you read, consider what theoretical assumptions and claims are important to the piece in addition to experimental findings.)

Emotions in IR

Hutchison, Emma, and Roland Bleiker. "Theorizing Emotions in World Politics." International Theory 6.3 (2014): 491-514.

Infrastructure in IR

Carson, Austin and Stacie Goddard. "Infrastructures of Power Politics." Working Manuscript.

Gatekeeping and funding in IR

Guilhot, Nicolas. "The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of IR Theory." International Political Sociology 2.4 (2008): 281-304.

Pedersen, Susan. "Destined to Disappear." London Review of Books, October 20, 2016. [Note: this is a review of Vitalis, Robert. White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations. Cornell UP, 2015.]

Is theory dead in IR?

Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen Walt. "Leaving Theory Behind: Why Simplistic Hypothesis Testing is Bad for International Relations." European Journal of International Relations 19: 427-457.

Mock comp final exam is Monday, December 5th
Prompt emailed out by 8 am, essay due 5 pm
Send to acarson@uchicago.edu