

Seminar in International Relations Theory

PLSC 40600

Fall 2019

Time: Wednesday, 1:30-4:20pm

Room: Pick 506

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

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:30-4:00pm (Pick Hall 428). *Sign up at my website:*
<https://austinmcarson.com/teaching/>

Course description

This course is a Ph.D.-level survey of the major scholarly traditions and debates in the field of International Relations. It provides an introduction to the central theoretical approaches including realism, liberalism, and constructivism and their variants. The course also exposes students to more recent non-paradigmatic research programs, reflections on the field's development over time, and the recurring "meta-debates" which underlie many of the differences in applied areas. Seminar discussion will develop students' ability to identify the central arguments advanced by different scholars and critically analyze their positives and negatives. The course is designed to help students prepare for the Department's IR comprehensive exam. Assigned and suggested readings are a starting point for building a student's own comps reading list. The course also features assignments which give students practice answering exam-style questions and simulate the journal review process.

Required texts

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

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

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.

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.

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

Simmons, Beth A. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge UP, 2009.

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

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

The following books have a chunk assigned and you may also want to purchase them. If not, scans will be available. 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.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell UP, 1998.
- Morgenthau, Hans. *Politics Among Nations*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985.
- Pandya, Sonal S. *Trading Spaces: Foreign Direct Investment Regulation, 1970-2000*. Cambridge UP, 2013.
- 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.
- Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell UP, 2015.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

All articles 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 (20%)
- Reviewing simulation (30%)
- Comp exam essay (50%)

Seminar participation (20%). 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. Each student will also serve as discussant for readings several times during the term. Discussants will start seminar discussion of a reading with a very short oral summary. [Sign up for roles](#) throughout the quarter will take place during Week 1. Note: I take student discomfort with participation in a seminar setting seriously. Please meet with me during office hours if you foresee or are struggling with this part of the course.

Reviewing simulation (30%). This assignment has students participate in a simulation of the journal review process taking on several roles. Students will be assigned to groups of three and collectively choose an article from the supplemental reading lists. Each group member will first write a review that engages the substance, outlining necessary revisions and reaching a final judgment. Then each student will switch roles and serve as a journal editor. As editor, they will write an editor's decision letter based on all three reviews from their group explaining how the article needs to be revised for publication. After that, each student will switch a third time, taking on 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. To facilitate all of

this, I will share reviews and decision letters from my own files. Reviews are due by email (sent to group members and me) at **end of Week 5** (midnight, Friday Nov 1); decision letters at **end of Week 6** (midnight, Friday Nov 8), and R&R memos at **end of Week 7** (midnight, Friday Nov 15). All should be written in double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, 1-inch margins with page limits as follows: reviews (4), decision letter (2), R&R memo (4).

Comp exam essay (50%). Students will respond to an essay prompt modeled on the International Relations Ph.D. comprehensive exam. The exam will address an enduring question in IR with a contemporary twist. Students will be sent the essay prompt by email and have eight hours to write. The format is open book/note. Essays are only expected to draw on assigned readings on this syllabus. Students are strongly encouraged to develop a system for managing their notes at the beginning of the quarter. More details, including citation details and strategies for preparing, will be given in class. “Exam” day is **Tuesday, December 10th**. 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.

A note on content

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

Important suggestions

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

Professionalism

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

Email policy

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

Late policy

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

Incompletes policy

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

Academic integrity

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

Disability accommodations

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

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Week 0. Background and Big Picture

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

Required readings

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

Other important work

History of the field & the “Great Debates”

Historiography and Great Debates

- Schmidt, Brian C. “On The History and Historiography of International Relations” in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth A. Simmons eds., *Handbook of International Relations*, 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.

What is the modern international order?

[For overviews of international order, see "International orders and change" in Week 1.]

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.

Nuclear revolution

- Jervis, Robert. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*. Cornell UP, 1989.
- Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Nuclear Revolution: International Politics Before and After Hiroshima*. Cambridge UP, 1981.

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

Liberalism: economic & political

Eichengreen, Barry. 2008. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton UP.
Frieden, Jeffrey A. *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.
Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, 1989.
Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
Ruggie, John Gerard. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 379–415.

Meta-debates

Ideational vs. material variables

Sørensen, Georg. "The Case for Combining Material Forces and Ideas in the Study of IR." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 5–32.
Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge UP, 1999. Chapter 3.
Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2003. Chapter 4 on stopping power of water.
Tang, Shiping. "International System, Not International Structure: Against the Agent–Structure Problématique in IR." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 483–506.
Deudney, Daniel. "Geopolitics as Theory: Historical Security Materialism." *European Journal of International Relations* 6, no. 1 (March 1, 2000): 77–107.
Deudney, Daniel. *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*. Illustrated edition. Princeton UP, 2008.
Bieler, Andreas, and Adam David Morton. "The Deficits of Discourse in IPE: Turning Base Metal into Gold?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (2008): 103–128.
McNamara, Kathleen R. "Of Intellectual Monocultures and the Study of IPE." *Review of International Political Economy* 16, no. 1 (February 16, 2009): 72–84.
Neumann, Iver B. "The Body of the Diplomat." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 671–95.
Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duvall. "Power in International Politics." *International Organization* 59, no. 01 (2005): 39–75.

Agent vs. structure

Wendt, Alexander E. "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory." *International Organization* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 335–70.
Dessler, David. "What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" *International Organization* 43, no. 3 (Summer 1989): 441–73.
Doty, Roxanne Lynn. "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory." *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (September 1, 1997): 365–92.
Wight, Colin. "They Shoot Dead Horses Don't They?: Locating Agency in the Agent-Structure Problematique." *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 1 (1999): 109–42.
Bieler, Andreas, and Adam David Morton. "The Gordian Knot of Agency-Structure in International Relations: A Neo-Gramscian Perspective." *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 1 (March 1, 2001): 5–35.
Wight, Colin. *Agents, Structures and International Relations: Politics as Ontology*. 1st ed. Cambridge UP, 2006.
Tang, Shiping. "International System, Not International Structure: Against the Agent–Structure Problématique in IR." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 483–506.

Rational choice and other logics of action

Milner, Helen V. "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 759–86.
Fearon, James D., and Alexander Wendt. "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, 2002.

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

Real world relevance

- Desch, Michael. "Technique Trumps Relevance: The Professionalization of Political Science and the Marginalization of Security Studies." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (June 2015): 377–93.
- Avey, Paul C., and Michael C. Desch. "What Do Policymakers Want From Us? Results of a Survey of Current and Former Senior National Security Decision Makers." *ISQ* 58, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 227–46.
- Desch, Michael. "Technique Trumps Relevance: The Professionalization of Political Science and the Marginalization of Security Studies." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (June 2015): 377–93.
- Symposium on Desch's article in *Perspectives on Politics*, 2015.
- Walt, Stephen M. "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8, no. 1 (2005): 23–48.

Week 1. International System I: Structure as Material

The central theme in this opening week is that international structure – defined narrowly as military capabilities, the number of great powers in the system, and the balance among them – is key to understanding war, (in)stability, free trade, and other outcomes. We start with defining levels of analysis and the systemic view. Waltz looms large this week with his focus on recurring balances of power, convergence on the sovereign state that prioritizes retaining relative power, and the stability of bipolarity. Ikenberry provides a contrasting view that great power dominance can be stabilizing depending on the character of a hegemon's postwar institutions. Hui explores why hegemony emerges in the first place and Milner questions the assumption of anarchy.

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.
- 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.
- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Orders After Major Wars*. Princeton UP, 2000. Chapters 2, 3, 6.
- Milner, Helen. "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 1991): 67–85.

Other important work

Levels of analysis

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

Polarity and war proneness

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

Polarity and alliance/balancing

- Claude, Inis. *Power and International Relations*. Random House, 1966. Chapters 1-3.

- Christensen, Thomas J., and Jack Snyder. "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44, no. 02 (1990): 137–68.
- Crawford, Timothy W. "Wedge Strategy, Balancing, and the Deviant Case of Spain, 1940–41." *Security Studies* 17, no. 1 (2008): 1–38.
- Olson, Mancur, and Richard Zeckhauser. "An Economic Theory of Alliances." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 48, no. 3 (August 1966): 266–79.
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Week 2. International System II: Other Kinds of Structure

This week maintains the focus on international structure but widens what we consider as “system” and “structure,” including ideas, culture, complexity, networks, and transnational linkages. Constructivist work on systemic cultures and norms loom large here while work on race and gender – a mix of material and ideational – in the international system is critical. Note that much work in the “Liberalism” camp post-Waltz elevates domestic politics (Weeks 3 & 4) and rejects a focus on the system level. (On formal international organizations, the system, and cooperation, see Week 5.) Duque’s analysis of status illustrates the potential for a network conceptualization of the system while Jervis provides a general defense of the systemic view with his review of complexity.

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Other important work

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System & legitimacy

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Systemic ideas: English School

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

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

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

Required readings

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

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- 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.
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Regime type and coercion: audience cost theory

- Schultz, Kenneth A. *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy*. Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Downes, Alexander B., and Todd S. Sechser. "The Illusion of Democratic Credibility." *International Organization* 66, no. 3 (2012): 457–89.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis." *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 3–42, and the related symposium "Do Audience Costs Exist?" in *Security Studies* (2012, Vol 21, Issue 3).
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Ryan Brutger. "Decomposing Audience Costs: Bringing the Audience Back into Audience Cost Theory." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 234–49.
- Snyder, Jack, and Erica D. Borghard. "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (August 2011): 437–56.
- Kurizaki, Shuhei, and Taehee Whang. "Detecting Audience Costs in International Disputes." *International Organization* 69, no. 04 (September 2015): 949–80.
- Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.
- Levy, Jack S.; Michael K. McKoy, Paul Poast, and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace. "Backing Out or Backing In? Commitment and Consistency in Audience Costs Theory." *American Journal of Political Science*. Forthcoming.
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- Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.
- Trager, Robert F., and Lynn Vavreck. "The Political Costs of Crisis Bargaining: Presidential Rhetoric and the Role of Party." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 3 (2011): 526–45.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. "Looking for Audience Costs." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 1 (February 2001): 32–60.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. "Why We Needed Audience Costs and What We Need Now." *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 369–75.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. "Politicians, the Media, and Domestic Audience Costs." *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (June 2006): 445–77.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67, no. 01 (January 2013): 1–35.
- Tomz, Michael. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61, no. 04 (2007): 821–40.
- Levendusky, Matthew S., and Michael C. Horowitz. "When Backing Down Is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs." *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 02 (2012): 323–38.

Is it economic liberalism / capitalism, not regime type?

- Buzan, Barry. "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case." *International Organization* 38, no. 4 (1984): 597–624.
- Mansfield, Edward D. *Power, Trade, and War*. Princeton UP, 1995.
- Copeland, Dale C. "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." *International Security* 20, no. 4 (1996): 5–41.
- Barbieri, Katherine. "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 1 (1996): 29–49.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Jack S. Levy. "Sleeping with the Enemy: The Impact of War on Trade." *Journal of Peace Research* 36, no. 4 (1999): 463–479.
- Brooks, Stephen G. "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43, no. 5 (October 1, 1999): 646–70.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Gerald Schneider. "Globalization and Peace: Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 36, no. 4 (1999): 387–404.
- Gartzke, Erik, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. "Investing in the Peace: Economic Interdependence and International Conflict." *International Organization* 55, no. 02 (2001): 391–438.
- Brooks, Stephen G. *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict*. Princeton UP, 2005.
- Mansfield, Edward Deering, and Brian M. Pollins. *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate*. University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- McDonald, Patrick J. *The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and International Relations Theory*. Cambridge UP, 2009.
- Schneider, Gerald, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. "The Capitalist Peace: The Origins and Prospects of a Liberal Idea." *International Interactions* 36, no. 2 (May 24, 2010): 107–14.

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

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

Nominate articles for Week 6 by Friday (Oct 25)

Required readings

- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42:3 (1988), pp. 427-460
- Simmons, Beth A. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge UP, 2009. Chapters 1, 3, 4.
- Guisinger, Alexandra. "Determining Trade Policy: Do Voters Hold Politicians Accountable?" *International Organization* 63, no. 3 (2009): 533–57.
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision Making." *International Organization* 71.S1 (2017): S219-S247.
- 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

Domestic society/sectors and war

- Snyder, Jack L. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. Cornell UP, 1991.
- Milner, Helen V. *Interests, Institutions, and Information*. Princeton UP, 1997.
- Levy, Jack S. "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique." In *Handbook of War Studies*, edited by Manus I. Midlarsky, First Edition. Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Oakes, Amy. "Diversionary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands." *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 431–63.
- Tarar, Ahmer. "Diversionary Incentives and the Bargaining Approach to War." *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 169–88.
- Posen, Barry R. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." *International Security* 18, no. 2 (October 1, 1993): 80–124.
- Sambanis, Nicholas, Stergios Skaperdas, and William C. Wohlforth. "Nation-Building through War." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 2 (2015): 279–96.
- Van Evera, Stephen. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War." *International Security* 18, no. 4 (April 1, 1994): 5–39.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations*. Oxford UP, 2014.

Domestic politics, treaties, and international law

See Week 5.

Domestic politics and nuclear weapons

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

Domestic politics and economic outcomes

(See IPE Week 8)

Leaders

- George, Alexander L. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1969): 190–222.
- Byman, Daniel L., and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In." *International Security* 25, no. 4 (April 1, 2001): 107–46.
- 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.
- Grynawski, 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.

Domestic constructivisms

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

Domestic public opinion (a sampling)

- Hurwitz, Jon, and Mark Peffley. "How Are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model." *The American Political Science Review* 81, no. 4 (December 1987): 1099–1120.
- Shapiro, Robert Y., and Benjamin I. Page. "Foreign Policy and the Rational Public." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 32, no. 2 (June 1, 1988): 211–47.
- Holsti, Ole R. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler. "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." *International Security* 30, no. 3 (Winter 2005): 7–46.
- Hiscox, Michael J. "Through a Glass and Darkly: Attitudes Toward International Trade and the Curious Effects of Issue Framing." *International Organization* 60, no. 03 (July 2006): 755–780.

- Drezner, Daniel W. "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion." *Perspectives on Politics* 6, no. 01 (2008): 51–70.
- Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler. *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*. Princeton UP, 2009.
- Chapman, Terrence L. "Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy." *International Organization* 63, no. 04 (2009): 733–64.
- Baum, Matthew A., and Tim Groeling. "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality." *International Organization* 64, no. 03 (2010): 443–79.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. "Attitudes Toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 01 (2010): 61–84.
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Kathleen M. McGraw. "Folk Realism: Testing the Microfoundations of Realism in Ordinary Citizens." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 245–58.
- Press, Daryl G., Scott D. Sagan, and Benjamin A. Valentino. "Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 01 (February 2013): 188–206.
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 04 (2013): 679–705.
- Kertzer, Joshua D. "Microfoundations in International Relations." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 81–97.

Interdependence

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

Bureaucracy

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

Week 5. Why Cooperate? How Cooperate?

This week highlights early game theory applications that provide a rationale for unitary states to cooperate despite the risks in anarchy. It also features early work on how formal international organizations (IOs, or sometimes “regimes”) can facilitate that cooperation. Finally, it features a cluster of work on how cooperation varies in form. States may cooperate via formally legalized agreements or more informal methods; with different provisions like sunset clauses; and with the help of IOs with a variety of design features. These differences should, in turn, affect the payoffs from cooperation, the incentives to defect, and the likelihood of success. (For reasons of space, three important categories are in “Other important works”: legalization, courts, and skeptics.)

Reviews due by midnight Friday (Nov 1). Email to group members, Carson

The vote for articles in Week 6 is today

Required readings

- Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton UP, 1984. Chapters 4, 5, 6.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. “The Rational Design of International Institutions.” *International Organization* 55, no. 04 (2001): 761–99.
- Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. “Introduction: Legalization and World Politics.” *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (July 1, 2000): 385–99.
- Koremenos, Barbara. “Contracting around International Uncertainty.” *The American Political Science Review* 99, no. 4 (November 1, 2005): 549–65.
- Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. “The Disclosure Dilemma: Nuclear Intelligence and International Organizations.” *American Journal of Political Science* 63.2 (2019): 269–285.

Other important work

Early game theory & rationality of cooperation

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

Institutions facilitate interstate cooperation

- Martin, Lisa L., and Beth A. Simmons. "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 729–57.
- Haas, Ernst B. *The Uniting of Europe*. Stanford UP, 1958.
- Deutsch, Karl Wolfgang, Sidney A. Burrell, and Robert A. Kann. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton UP, 1957.
- Haas, Ernst B. *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Stanford UP, 1964.
- Claude, Inis L. "Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations." *International Organization* 20, no. 3 (Summer 1966): 367–79.
- Keohane, Robert O. "Review: The Functional Theory of Politics by David Mitrany." *The American Political Science Review* 72, no. 2 (June 1978): 805–6.
- Keohane, Robert O. "International Institutions: Two Approaches." *International Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1988): 379–96.
- Douglass North & Barry Weingast. 1989. *Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in 17th-Century England*. *The Journal of Economic History* 49(4): 803–832.
- Milgrom, Paul R., Douglass C. North, and Barry R. Weingast. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics and Politics* 2, no. 1 (1990): 1–23.
- Douglass North, 1990. *Institutions and a Transaction-Cost Theory of Exchange*. In Alt & Shepsle. James Alt & Kenneth Shepsle, eds. 1990. *Perspectives on Positive Political Economy*. Cambridge.
- Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, chaps. 1 & 2.
- Martin, Lisa L. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46, no. 04 (1992): 765–92.
- Martin, Lisa L. *Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions*. Princeton UP, 1993.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 39–51.
- Keohane, Robert O. "International Relations and International Law: Two Optics." *Harvard International Law Journal* 38 (1997): 487.
- Axelrod, Robert, and Robert O. Keohane. "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (October 1985): 226–54.
- Lipson, Charles. "International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs." *World Politics* 37, no. 01 (1984): 1–23.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 39–51.

Compliance

- Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47, no. 02 (1993): 175–205
- Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements*. Harvard UP, 1995.
- Dai, Xinyuan. "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism." *International Organization* 59, no. 02 (2005): 363–98.
- Downs, George W., and Michael A. Jones. "Reputation, Compliance, and International Law." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2002): S95–114.
- Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 379–406.
- Simmons, Beth. "Treaty Compliance and Violation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, no. 1 (2010): 273–96.
- Simmons, Beth A. "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs." *The American Political Science Review* 94, no. 4 (December 2000): 819–35.
- Von Stein, Jana. "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 04 (2005): 611–22.
- McLaughlin Mitchell, Sara, and Paul R. Hensel. "International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (October 1, 2007): 721–37.
- Tallberg, Jonas. "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (July 2002): 609–43.

Institutional design and rational cooperation

- Arthur Stein. 1982. *Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World*. *International Organization*.

- Lipson, Charles. "Why Are Some International Agreements Informal?" *International Organization* 45, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): 495–538.
- Fearon, James D. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation." *International Organization* 52, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 269–305.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. "Rational Design: Looking Back to Move Forward." *International Organization* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 1051–82.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. *The Rational Design of International Institutions*. Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Koremenos, Barbara. "Can Cooperation Survive Changes in Bargaining Power? The Case of Coffee." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. s1 (January 1, 2002): S259–83.
- Mitchell, Ronald B. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48, no. 3 (July 1, 1994): 425–58.
- Koremenos, Barbara. "Loosening the Ties That Bind: A Learning Model of Agreement Flexibility." *International Organization* 55, no. 02 (2001): 289–325.
- Dai, Xinyuan. "Information Systems in Treaty Regimes." *World Politics* 54, no. 4 (July 2002): 405–36.
- Gilligan, Michael J., and Leslie Johns. "Formal Models of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15, no. 1 (2012): 221–43.

Power and design

- Gruber, Lloyd. *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Tallberg, Jonas. "The Agenda-Shaping Powers of the EU Council Presidency." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 1–19.
- Stone, Randall W. *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*. Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Kilby, Christopher. "Informal Influence in the Asian Development Bank." *The Review of International Organizations* 6, no. 3–4 (September 1, 2011): 223–57.
- Carnegie, Allison. *Power Plays: How International Institutions Reshape Coercive Diplomacy*. Cambridge UP, 2015.
- Carnegie, Allison. "States Held Hostage: Political Hold-Up Problems and the Effects of International Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 01 (February 2014): 54–70.

International law and legalization

- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, no. 1 (February 1998): 3–32.
- Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. "The Concept of Legalization." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 401–19.
- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 421–56.
- Kahler, Miles. "Conclusion: The Causes and Consequences of Legalization." *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 661–83.
- Guzman, Andrew T. *How International Law Works*. Oxford UP US, 2008.
- Simmons, Beth. 2000. *International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs*. *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 819-35.
- Guzman, Andrew T. "Reputation and International Law." *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 34 (2006): 379.
- Koremenos, Barbara. "The Continent of International Law." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 4 (August 1, 2013): 653–81.
- Goldstein, Judith L., and Lisa Martin. "Legalization, Trade Liberalization, and Domestic Politics: A Cautionary Note." *International Organization* 54, no. 03 (2000): 603–32.
- Kim, Moonhawk. "Costly Procedures: Divergent Effects of Legalization in the GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement Procedures." *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 657–86.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Stephen J. Toope. "Alternatives to 'Legalization': Richer Views of Law and Politics." *International Organization* 55, no. 3 (July 1, 2001): 743–58.
- Koremenos, Barbara. *The Continent of International Law: Explaining Agreement Design*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

International courts

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

Specific IOs: WTO

- Busch, Marc L., and Eric Reinhardt. "Bargaining in the Shadow of the Law: Early Settlement in GATT/WTO Disputes." *Fordham International Law Journal* 24 (2001 2000): 158.
- Steinberg, Richard H. "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." *International Organization* 56, no. 02 (2002): 339–74.
- Rosendorff, B. Peter. "Stability and Rigidity: Politics and Design of the WTO's Dispute Settlement Procedure." *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 03 (2005): 389–400.
- Davis, Christina L., and Sarah Blodgett Bermeo. "Who Files? Developing Country Participation in GATT/WTO Adjudication." *The Journal of Politics* 71, no. 03 (2009): 1033–49.
- Busch, Marc L., and Krzysztof J. Pelc. "The Politics of Judicial Economy at the World Trade Organization." *International Organization* 64, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 257–79.
- Davis, Christina L. *Why Adjudicate?: Enforcing Trade Rules in the WTO*. Princeton UP, 2012.
- Johns, Leslie, and Krzysztof J. Pelc. "Who Gets to Be In the Room? Manipulating Participation in WTO Disputes." *International Organization* 68, no. 03 (June 2014): 663–699.

Constructivist alternatives

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

Skeptics

- Downs, George W., David M. Roake, and Peter N. Barsoom. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 379–406.
- Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994-1995): 5–49.

Grieco, Joseph M. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* 42, no. 03 (1988): 485–507.

Snidal, Duncan. "Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation." *The American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3 (September 1, 1991): 701–26.

Stephen Krasner. 1991. *Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier*. *World Politics*

Terry Moe. 2005. *Power and Political Institutions*. *Perspectives on Politics* 3(2): 215-33.

Week 6. [Special Week] The Past and Present of IR

This week we step back and reflect on the history and present of IR. It features two specific themes. First, we get a taste of the long history of IR as a discipline and its origins. This includes learning about how specific individuals, organizations, and institutions – including the University of Chicago – have shaped who is in the discipline and what we have come to see as mattering in it. Second, we will vote and read two new articles from 2019 which give a sampling of the latest in theoretically-informed IR research.

Editor decision letters due midnight Friday (Nov 8). Email to group members, Carson

Required readings

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.

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

Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell UP, 2015. Chapters TBD.

Two 2019 publications, selected by student vote

Other important work

See readings in Week 0 for more on the history of IR as a field.

Week 7. Realisms

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

R&R memos due by midnight Friday (Nov 15). Email to group members, Carson

Required readings

- Morgenthau, Hans, and Kenneth Thompson. *Politics Among Nations*. 7th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005. Chapters TBD.
- 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.
- Babik, Milan. “Realism as Critical Theory: The International Thought of E. H. Carr.” *International Studies Review* 15, no. 4 (2013): 491–514.
- Inboden, William C. “The Prophetic Conflict: Reinhold Niebuhr, Christian Realism, and World War II.” *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 49–82.
- Deudney, Daniel H. *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*. 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." Edited by Jack Snyder. *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 8. International Political Economy

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

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

Required readings

- Krasner, Stephen D. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics* 28, no. 03 (1976): 317–47.
- Simmons, Beth A. *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy during the Interwar Years*. Princeton UP, 1997. Chapters 1, 2, 4, 7.
- Tomz, Michael. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries*. Princeton UP, 2007. Chapters 1, 2, 3.
- Pandya, Sonal S. *Trading Spaces: Foreign Direct Investment Regulation, 1970-2000*. Cambridge UP, 2013. Chapters 1, 3.
- Oatley, Thomas. "The Reductionist Gamble: Open Economy Politics in the Global Economy." *International Organization* 65.2 (2011): 311-341.

Other important work (see Gulotty syllabus for more)

Trade (see also Domestic Turn II)

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

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

Legalization

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

Monetary policy

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

Foreign investment

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

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

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

Other frameworks/approaches

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

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

Week 9. Intentions: Signals, Perceptions, and Inferences

This week's work addresses a fundamental problem in social and political life: understanding others' intentions. I include related topics such as how states *express* their intentions, how other states *perceive* intentions, and processes of image manipulation. Relevant research has appeared under the auspices of signaling theory, audience and audience costs, perceptions and misperceptions, and includes work on reputation, status, and emotion.

Note: some signaling-related work appears in weeks on domestic politics and realisms.

Note 2: see my older PLSC 40605 "Recent Debates" syllabi for work on the impact of race and emotions on perceptions in IR.

Required readings

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

Other important work

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

Costly signalling and other signals

- Schelling, Thomas. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Jervis, Robert. *The Logic of Images in International Relations*. Columbia UP, 1970.
- 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.
- Kydd, Andrew. "Trust Building, Trust Breaking: The Dilemma of NATO Enlargement." *International Organization* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 801–28.
- Sagan, Scott D., and Jeremi Suri. "The Madman Nuclear Alert: Secrecy, Signaling, and Safety in October 1969." *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 150–83.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. "Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises." *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 4 (December 1998): 829–44.
- Hyde, Susan D. "Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (April 1, 2011): 356–69.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "Tying Hands Behind Closed Doors: The Logic and Practice of Secret Reassurance." *Security Studies* 22, no. 3 (2013): 405–35.
- Wolford, Scott. "Showing Restraint, Signaling Resolve: Coalitions, Cooperation, and Crisis Bargaining." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 144–56.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew, and Todd S. Sechser. "Signaling Alliance Commitments: Hand-Tying and Sunk Costs in Extended Nuclear Deterrence." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 4 (October 1, 2014): 919–35.
- Glaser, Charles L. *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton UP, 2010.

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

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Learning, analogies, metaphors, use of history

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

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

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

- 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.
- 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.
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Other important work

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

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- Jackson, Patrick Thadeus, and Daniel H. Nexon. "Relations Before States: Substance, Process and the Study of World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 3 (September 1, 1999): 291-332.
- Avant, Deborah D., Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds. *Who Governs the Globe?* 1st ed. Cambridge UP, 2010.

Rebels/insurgents

See Staniland syllabus!

Terrorism

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- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31, no. 1 (July 1, 2006): 49-80.
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- Crenshaw, Martha. "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay." *Security Studies* 16, no. 1 (2007): 133-62.
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- Mueller, John, and Mark G. Stewart. "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11." *International Security* 37, no. 1 (July 1, 2012): 81-110.
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- Shapiro, Jacob N. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton UP, 2013.

Private sector for-profit actors

(See also Gulotty IPE syllabus)

- Avant, Deborah D. *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*. Cambridge UP, 2005. Chapters 1, 2, 3.
- Percy, Sarah. *Mercenaries: The History of a Norm in International Relations*. OUP Oxford, 2007.
- Percy, Sarah V. "Mercenaries: Strong Norm, Weak Law." *International Organization* 61, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 367–97.
- Abrahamsen, Rita, and Michael C. Williams. "Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics." *International Political Sociology* 3, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 1–17.
- Green, Jessica F. *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton UP, 2013.
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- Schäferhoff, Marco, Sabine Campe, and Christopher Kaan. "Transnational Public-Private Partnerships in International Relations: Making Sense of Concepts, Research Frameworks, and Results." *International Studies Review* 11, no. 3 (September 1, 2009): 451–74.

NGO/Advocacy/Norms

See also: Week 2 supplemental readings.

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- 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.
- Carpenter, R. Charli. "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms." *International Organization* 65, no. 01 (2011): 69–102.
- 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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- Murdie, Amanda M., and David R. Davis. "Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (March 1, 2012): 1–16.
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IOs as independent actors

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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.

- Nielson, Daniel L., and Michael J. Tierney. "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *International Organization* 57, no. 02 (2003): 241–76.
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- Johnson, Tana. "Institutional Design and Bureaucrats' Impact on Political Control." *The Journal of Politics* 75, no. 1 (January 1, 2013): 183–97.
- Johnson, Tana. *Organizational Progeny: Why Governments Are Losing Control Over the Proliferating Structures of Global Governance*. Oxford UP, 2014.
- Johnson, Tana, and Johannes Urpelainen. "International Bureaucrats and the Formation of Intergovernmental Organizations: Institutional Design Discretion Sweetens the Pot." *International Organization* 68, no. 1 (January 2014): 177–209.

Diplomats & practices

- Adler, Emanuel, and Vincent Pouliot. "International Practices." *International Theory* 3, No. 01 (Feb 2011): 1–36.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Vincent Pouliot. "Power in Practice: Negotiating the International Intervention in Libya." *European Journal of International Relations*, January 29, 2014
- Bueger, Christian, and Frank Gadinger. "The Play of International Practice." *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 449–60, and the symposium on Bueger and Gadinger's article.
- Adler, Emanuel, and Vincent Pouliot. *International Practices*. Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Pouliot, Vincent. *International Pecking Orders: The Politics and Practice of Multilateral Diplomacy*. Cambridge UP, 2016.
- Pouliot, Vincent. *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*. Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Neumann, Iver B. *At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry*. Cornell UP, 2012.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. *Opting Out of the European Union: Diplomacy, Sovereignty and European Integration*. Cambridge UP, 2014.

Mock comp final exam is Tuesday, December 10th
Prompt emailed out by 8 am, essay due by 5 pm
Send to acarson@uchicago.edu