

**PS 240: International Relations Theory**  
Winter 2019  
Wednesdays, 3-6 PM  
GPS Dean's Conference Room  
(Dean's Complex Office)

Instructor: David A. Lake  
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This course explores major concepts and key research approaches in the field of international relations.

### **Course requirements:**

*Written: two five-page papers (each 33% of grade).* Each paper will analyze critically one or more of the readings assigned for the week. Students select the readings for each paper. Papers are due before the class in which the readings are assigned.

*Class participation (33% of grade):* All students are expected to attend every seminar and be prepared to discuss all the readings for that week and participate in the discussion.

### **Readings:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Week 1, January 9: Paradigms, Progress, and International Relations**

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

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

Miles Kahler, Inventing International Relations: International Relations Theory after 1945, in Michael W. Doyle and G. John Ikenberry, eds., *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 20-53.

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

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

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

David A. Lake, Theory is Dead, Long Live Theory: The End of the Great Debates and the Rise of Eclecticism in International Relations, *European Journal of International Relations* 19, 3 (2013), pp.567-587.

Peter Marcus Kristensen, International Relations at the End: A Sociological Autopsy,” *International Studies Quarterly* 62, 1 (2018), pp.245-259.

Quan Li, The Second Great Debate Revisited: Exploring the Impact of the Qualitative-Quantitative Divide in International Relations, *International Studies Review* (forthcoming): <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viy009>

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

## **Week 2, January 16: States as Units**

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990* (New York: Blackwell, 1990), Chapter 3 (pp. 67-95).

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), Chapters 2 and 8, pp. 22-33, 154-180.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Endogenizing Geopolitical Boundaries with Agent-Based Modeling, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 99, Supplement 3 (May 14, 2002), 7296-7303.

Alesina, Alberto, and Enrico Spolaore, On the Number and Size of Nations, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (1997): 1027-56.

Scott F. Abramson, The Economics Origins of the Territorial State, *International Organization* 71, 1 (2017), pp.97-130.

Mark W. Zacher, The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force, *International Organization* 55, 2 (2001), pp.215-250.

Philip G. Roeder, *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), Chapters 1 and 2, pp.3-78.

Melissa M. Lee, The International Politics of Incomplete Sovereignty: How Hostile Neighbors Weaken the State, *International Organization* 72, 2 (2018), pp.283-315.

## **Week 3, January 23: The Anarchy Problematique**

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

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

- Helen V. Milner, The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique, *Review of International Studies* 17 (1991), pp.67-85.
- Alexander Wendt, Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics, *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992), pp.391-425.
- Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), Chapter 1, pp.1-42.
- Christian Reus-Smit, The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions, *International Organization* 51, 4 (1997), pp.555-589.
- David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), as much as possible.
- Laura Sjoberg, Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See, *International Theory* 4, 1 (2012), pp.1-38.
- Janice Bially Mattern and Ayse Zarakol, Hierarchies in World Politics, *International Organization* 70, 3 (2016): 623-654.
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Miles Kahler, and Alexander H. Montgomery, Network Analysis for International Relations, *International Organization* 63, 3 (2009), pp.559-592.

#### **Week 4, January 30: Interests**

- Jeffrey Frieden, Actors and Preferences in International Relations, in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp.39-76.
- James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View, in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), pp.52-72. [Note, this is the first edition of the handbook, the essay is not reprinted in the second edition.]
- Jeffrey A. Frieden and Ronald Rogowski, The Impact of the International Economy on National Policies: An Analytical Overview, in Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner, eds., *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.25-47.
- Michael J. Hiscox, Inter-Industry Factor Mobility and the Politics of Trade, *International Organization*, 55, 1 (2001), pp.1-46.
- Benjamin Fordham, Economic Interests and Public Support for American Global Activism, *International Organization* 62, 1 (2008), pp.311-328.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Diana C. Mutz, Support for Free Trade: Self-Interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Out-Group Anxiety, *International Organization* 63, 3 (2009), pp.425-457.
- Ole R. Holsti and James N. Rosenau, The Structure of Foreign Policy Attitudes among American Leaders, *Journal of Politics* 52, 1 (1990), pp.94-125.
- Bruce W. Jentleson, The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force, *International Studies Quarter* 36, 1 (1992), pp.49-73.
- Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis, *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 39-65.

Graham Allison, Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis, *American Political Science Review* 63 (1969), pp.689-718.

Jonathan Bendor and Thomas H. Hammond, Rethinking Allison's Models, *American Political Science Review* 86, 2 (June 1992), pp.301-22.

### **Week 5, February 6: Domestic institutions and international behavior**

Ronald Rogowski, Institutions as Constraints on Strategic Choice, in Lake and Powell, eds. *Strategic Choice*, pp.115-136.

Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapters 1-4 and *one* of the empirical chapters (5-8).

Christina J. Schneider, Public Commitments as Signals of Responsiveness in the European Union, *Journal of Politics* (forthcoming). Available on Schneider's website.

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

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

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

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

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

### **Week 6, February 13: Relations among units: strategic interaction**

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

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

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

Christina J. Schneider and Branislav Slantchev, Abiding by the Vote: Between Groups Conflict in International Collective Action, *International Organization* 67, 4 (2013): 759-796.

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

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

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

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

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

James D. Fearon, Cooperation, Conflict, and the Costs of Anarchy, *International Organization* 72, 3 (2018), pp.523-59.

### **Week 7, February 20: Relations among units: international institutions**

Peter Gourevitch, The Governance Problem in International Relations, in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp.137-164.

Lisa L. Martin and Beth Simmons, Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions, in *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998), pp.729-757.

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

Robert O. Keohane and David G. Victor, The Regime Complex for Climate Change, *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 1 (2011), pp.7-23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

Kenneth W. Abbott, Jessica F. Green, and Robert O. Keohane, Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance, *International Organization* 70, 2 (2016): 247-277.

### **Week 8, February 27: International Change**

Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism, *International Organization*, 60, 4 (2006), pp.781-810.

Zachary Elkins, Andrew T. Guzman, and Beth A. Simmons, Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960-2000, *International Organization*, 60, 4 (2006), pp.811-846.

- Susan D. Hyde, Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion, *American Journal of Political Science* 55, 2 (2011), pp.356-369.
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Katherine Sawyer, Is Self-Determination Contagious? A Spatial Analysis of the Spread of Self-Determination Claims, *International Organization* 71, 3 (2017), pp.585-604. 
- Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunch, Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers, *Perspectives on Politics* 11, 3 (2013), pp.753-768.
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapters 1, 3 and 6, pp.1-38, 79-120, and 199-217.
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, International Norm Dynamics and Political Change, *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998), pp. 887-917.
- R. Charli Carpenter, Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms, *International Organization* 65, 1, (2011), pp.69-102.
- Andrew Moravcsik, The Origins of Human Rights Regimes, *International Organization*, 54, 2 (2000), pp. 217-252.
- Eric Neumayer, Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, 6 (2006), pp. 925-953.
- Christopher J. Fariss, The Changing Standard of Accountability and the Positive Relationship between Human Rights Treaty Ratification and Compliance, *British Journal of Political Science* 48, 1 (2017), pp.239-271.
- Robert Vitalis, The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29, 2 (2000): 331–56.
- Errol Henderson, Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 26, 1 (2013): 71-92.
- Aaron Sampson, Tropical Anarchy: Waltz, Wendt, and the Way We Imagine International Politics, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27, 4 (2002): 429-57.
- David A. Lake, White Man's IR: An Intellectual Confession, *Perspectives on Politics* 14, 1 (2016): 1-11.

### **Week 9, March 6: Transnational Political Violence**

- David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict, *International Security* 21, 2 (1996), pp.41-75
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War, *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (2003), pp. 75-90.
- Rui J. P. de Figueiredo Jr. and Barry R. Weingast, The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict, in Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 261-302.
- Idean Salehyan, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and David E. Cunningham, Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups, *International Organization* 65, 4 (2011), pp.709-744.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, et al., Transborder Ethnic Kin and Civil War, *International Organization* 67, 2 (2013), pp.389-410.

Barbara F. Walter, The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement, *International Organization* 51, 3 (1997), pp.335-364.

Eli Berman and Aila A. Matanock, The Empiricists Insurgency, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18: 443-464.

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, The Strategies of Terrorism, *International Security* 31, 1 (2006), p.49-80.

Robert Pape, The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, *American Political Science Review*, 97, 3 (2003), pp.343-361.

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

### **Week 10, March 13: New Frontiers: The “Individual” Turn in International Relations**

Miles Kahler, Rationality in International Relations, *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998), pp.919-941.

Rose McDermott, Prospect Theory in Political Science: Gains and Loses From the First Decade, *Political Psychology* 25, 2 (2004), pp. 289-312.

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

Michael C. Horowitz and Allan C. Stam, How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders, *International Organization* 68, 3 (2014), pp.527-559.

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

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

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake, and David G. Victor, The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations, *International Organization* 71, S1 (2017), pp.S1-S31.

Brian C. Rathbun, Joshua D. Kertzer, and Mark Paradis, Homo Diplomaticus: Mixed-Method Evidence of Variation in Strategy Rationality, *International Organization* 71, S1 (2017), pp.S3-S60.

A Burcu Bayram, Due Deference: Cosmopolitan Social Identity and the Psychology of Legal Obligation in International Politics, *International Organization* 71, S1 (2017), pp.S137-S163.

Jonathan Renshon, Julia J. Lee, and Dustin Tingley, Emotions and the Micro-Foundations of Commitment Problems, *International Organization* 71, S1 (2017), pp.S189-S218.

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

Janice Gross Stein, The Micro-Foundation of International Relations Theory: Psychology and Behavioral Economics, *International Organization* 71, S1 (2017), pp.S249-S263.