

GVPT 708A: Seminar in International Relations Theory
Fall 2022
Tuesdays 9:30-12:15
Tydings 1136

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Office hours: Tuesdays 1-2PM or by appointment.

This seminar introduces students to key theoretical, methodological, and substantive concerns in international relations scholarship. The course is designed as the core seminar for Ph.D. students enrolled in the Government and Politics graduate program who have chosen international relations as one of their areas of specialization. The course will be conducted in seminar format; students are expected to be prepared to discuss the readings in class each week.

Course Requirements:

Response Papers (60%)—Students are required to write four papers (approximately 4 pages in length) that respond to the readings for a particular week. (On the weeks that students write papers, they will also be expected to help lead class discussion.) I will say more about this requirement during the first class.

Class Participation (40%)—Please do readings in advance and be prepared to discuss in class.

Readings:

Most of the readings are articles or electronic book chapters that are available through the UMD library webpage. However, there are two books that students might wish to consider purchasing, as we will be reading multiple chapters from each:

David A. Lake and Robert Powell. 1999. *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 0691026971

Kenneth N. Waltz. (first published 1979; new edition 2010). *Theory of International Politics*. (Original edition: New York, NY: Random House; new edition: Waveland PR INC) ISBN (of new edition): 1577666704

I have requested that the library place both of these books in its one-day course reserves.

Schedule:

Week 1: August 30

Introduction

Week 2: September 6

Paradigms and progress in IR

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.

Peter J. Katzenstein and Nobuo Okawara, "Japan, Asia-Pacific Security, and the Case for Analytical Eclecticism," *International Security* 26, 3 (2001/2002), pp. 153-185.

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.

Quan Li, "The Second Great Debate Revisited: Exploring the Impact of the Qualitative-Quantitative Divide in International Relations," *International Studies Review* 21 (2019), pp. 447-476.

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 3: September 13

States in the international system; anarchy; hierarchy

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York, NY: Random House), chapters 5-7.

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 (1992), pp. 391-425.

Laura Sjoberg, "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See," *International Theory* 4, 1 (2012), pp. 1-38.

David A. Lake, "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations," *International Organization* 50, 1 (1996), pp. 1-34

Week 4: September 20

Preferences

Jeffrey Frieden, Actors and Preferences in International Relations, in Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice*, pp. 39-76.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, 4 (1997), pp. 513-553.

Ronald Rogowski, "Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade," *American Political Science Review* 81, 4 (1987), pp. 1121-1137.

Michael J. Hiscox, "Inter-Industry Factor Mobility and the Politics of Trade," *International Organization*, 55, 1 (2001), pp. 1-46.

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.

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

Week 5: September 27

Rationality

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

Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, 1 (1997), pp. 87-112.

Jonathan Mercer, "Emotional Beliefs," *International Organization* 64, 1 (2010), pp. 1-31.

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. S32-S60.

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

Week 6: October 4

Audience Costs, Public Opinion, and International Behavior

Michael Tomz, "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61, 4 (2007), pp. 821-840.

Kai Quek and Alastair Iain Johnston, "Can China Back Down?: Crisis De-escalation in the Shadow of Popular Opposition," *International Organization* 42, 3 (2017/2018), pp. 7-36.

Jessica Chen Weiss, "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China," *International Organization* 67 (2013), pp. 1-35.

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), pp. 39-65.

Alexandra Guisinger, "Determining Trade Policy: Do Voters Hold Politicians Accountable?" *International Organization* 63, 3 (2009), pp. 533-557.

Week 7: October 11

State Leaders and International Behavior

Giacomo Chiozza and H.E. Goemans, "International Conflict and the Tenure of Leaders: Is War Still *Ex Post* Inefficient?" *American Journal of Political Science* 48, 3 (2004), pp. 604-619.

Sarah Croco, "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment," *American Political Science Review* 105, 3 (2011), pp. 457-477.

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.

Week 8: October 18

Domestic Institutions and International Behavior

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

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.

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.

Helen V. Milner and Keiko Kubota, "Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in Developing Countries," *International Organization* 59, 1 (2005), pp. 107-143.

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

Week 9: October 25

Strategic Interaction between States

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), pp. 1-24.

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

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

Stacie E. Goddard, "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60, 1 (2006), pp. 35–68.

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

Week 10: November 1

Strategic Interaction within States; Two-Level Games

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

Idean Salehyan, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and David E. Cunningham, "Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups," *International Organization* 65, 4 (2011), pp. 709-744.

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (2003), pp. 75-90.

Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, "Actor fragmentation and civil war bargaining: How internal divisions generate civil conflict," *American Journal of Political Science* 57, 3 (2013), pp. 659-672.

Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, "Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict," *International Security* 33, 1 (2008), pp. 7-44.

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

Week 11: November 8

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," *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998), pp. 729-757.

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

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

George Downs, David Rocke, and Peter Barsoom, "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50, 3 (1996), pp. 379-406.

Todd Allee and Paul Huth, "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings as Domestic Political Cover," *American Political Science Review* 100, 2 (2006), pp. 219-234.

Allison Carnegie, "States Held Hostage: Political Hold-Up Problems and the Effects of International Institutions," *American Political Science Review* 108, 1 (2014), pp. 54-70.

Week 12: November 15

Economic Interdependence

Patrick J. McDonald, "The Purse Strings of Peace," *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 3 (2007), pp. 569-582.

David A. Baldwin, "The Sanctions Debate and the Logic of Choice," *International Security* 24, 3 (1999/2000), pp. 80-107.

Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu, "Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I Was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence," *International Security* 36, 4 (2012), pp. 115-150.

Daniel W. Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics," *International Security* 34, 2 (2009), pp. 7-45.

Christina L. Davis and Sophie Muenier, "Business as Usual? Economic Responses to Political Tensions," *American Journal of Political Science* 55, 3 (2011), pp. 628-646.

Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman, "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion," *International Security* 44, 1 (2019), pp. 42-79.

Week 13: November 22

International Change; Diffusion

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.

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

Jennifer Hadden and Lorien Jasney, "The Power of Peers: How Transnational Advocacy Networks Shape NGO Strategies on Climate Change," *British Journal of Political Science* 49, 2 (2019), pp. 637-659.

Week 14: November 29

The Rise of China

Alastair Iain Johnston, "China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations," *International Security* 44, 2 (2019), pp. 9-60.

Jessica Chen Weiss and Jeremy L. Wallace, "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order," *International Organization* 75 (2021), pp. 635-664.

Scott L. Kastner, Margaret M. Pearson, and Chad Rector, "Invest, Hold-up, or Accept? China in Multilateral Governance," *Security Studies* 25, 1 (2016), pp. 142-179.

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Inevitable Rivalry: American, China, and the Tragedy of Great-Power Politics," *Foreign Affairs* 100, 6 (2021), pp. 48-59.

G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?", *Foreign Affairs* 87, 1 (2008), pp. 23-37.

Jonathan Kirshner, "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical Realism and the Rise of China," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, 1 (2012), pp. 53-75.

Week 15: December 6

The War in Ukraine

Daniel Triesman, "Putin Unbound: How Repression at Home Presaged Aggression Abroad," *Foreign Affairs*, 101, 3 (2022), pp. 40-53.

Lawrence Freedman, "Why War Fails: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and the Limits of Military Power," *Foreign Affairs* 101, 4 (2022), pp. 10-23.

A few additional articles relating to Ukraine will be added later.