

GVPT 708A: Seminar in International Relations Theory  
Fall 2023  
Tuesdays 9:30-12:15  
Tydings 1136

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Office hours: Mondays 2-3 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 (30%)**—Students are required to write three 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.

**Research Design (30%)**—Students will be expected to write a 10 page research design that will be due on **December 15**. Students will give presentations on their research design during the last day of class, December 5. Details of this assignment will be given later in the semester.

### **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 29**

#### **Introduction**

### **Week 2: September 5**

#### **Paradigms and progress in IR**

~~Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson, and Michael J. Tierney, "International Relations in the US Academy," *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (2011), pp. 437-464.~~

~~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.~~

~~John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "Leaving Theory Behind: Why Simplistic Hypothesis Testing is Bad for International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 19, 3 (2013), pp. 427-457.~~

~~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 12**

#### **States in the international system; anarchy; hierarchy**

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York, NY: Random House), chapters 5, 6 and 8.

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 19**

##### **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 26**

##### **Rationalist and Non-Rationalist Approaches**

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.

Joshua D. Kertzer, Marcus Holmes, Brad L. LeVeck, and Carly Wayne, "Hawkish Biases and Group Decision Making," *International Organization* 76 (2022), pp. 513-548.

Sijeong Lim and Seiki Tanaka, "Why Costly Rivalry Disputes Persist: A Paired Conjoint Experiment in Japan and South Korea," *International Studies Quarterly*, 66, 4 (December 2022), sqac063, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/isq/sqac063>

## **Week 6: October 3**

### **Domestic Drivers of International Behavior (I): Societal/Public Opinion**

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

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.

Eun A Jo, "Memory, Institutions, and the Domestic Politics of South Korea-Japanese Relations," *International Organization* 76 (Fall 2022), pp. 767-798.

Dara Kay Cohen and Sabrina M. Karim, "Does More Equality for Women Mean Less War? Rethinking Sex and Gender Inequality and Political Violence," *International Organization* 76 (Spring 2022), pp. 414-444.

## **Week 7: October 10**

### **Domestic Drivers of International Behavior (II): State Leaders**

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

Scott Wolford, "The Turnover Trap: New Leaders, Reputation, and International Conflict," *American Journal of Political Science*, 51, 4 (2007), pp. 772-788.

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.

Jonathan Renshon, Allan Dafoe, and Paul Huth, "Leader Influence and Reputation Formation in World Politics," *American Journal of Political Science* 62, 2 (2018), pp. 325-339.

## **Week 8: October 17**

### **Domestic Drivers of International Behavior (III): Political Institutions**

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 24**

#### **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.

Brandon K. Yoder and William Spaniel, "Costly Concealment: Secret Foreign Policymaking, Transparency, and Credible Reassurance," *International Organization* 76 (Fall 2022), pp. 868-900.

### **Week 10: October 31**

#### **Strategic Interaction within States; Two-Level Games; International Drivers of Domestic Outcomes**

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

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.

Rachel Myrick, "Do External Threats Unite or Divide? Security Crises, Rivalries, and Polarization in American Foreign Policy," *International Organization* 75 (Fall 2021), pp. 921-958.

Christina Cottiero and Stephan Haggard, "Stabilizing Authoritarian Rule: The Role of International Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly*, 67, 2 (June 2023), sqad031, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/squad031>

### **Week 11: November 7**

#### **International Institutions**

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

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.

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (2001), pp. 487-515.

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

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.

Dustin Tingley and Michael Tomz, "The Effects of Naming and Shaming on Public Support for Compliance with International Agreements: An Experimental Analysis of the Paris Agreement," *International Organization* 76 (Spring 2022), pp. 445-468.

### **Week 12: November 14**

#### **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.

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 21**

#### **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 28**



## **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.

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

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 5**

### **Presentations**