International Relations Theory

EUI, Fall 2013 v30 August 2013
Time of Class Meetings: Thursday 17:00-19:00
Location: Seminar Room 4 (Badia Fiesolana)
Please register with Maureen Lechleitner (maureen.lechleitner@eui.eu)

Professor Ulrich Krotz
Department of Social and Political Sciences
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute
ulrich.krotz@eui.eu

Purpose: This seminar provides an overview of the discipline of International Relations. The seminar focuses on the main theoretical trajectories and intellectual disagreements that have shaped the discipline especially over the past quarter century, and on the principal theoretical fault lines that define it today. Readings are mostly drawn from key works from the past few decades, but, where relevant, earlier "classic" pieces are included. This seminar is designed for graduate students in International Relations, Political Science, and related disciplines, who desire to develop or consolidate a solid grasp of the International Relations.

Requirements: 1. This is principally a reading and discussion course. Students are expected to come to class fully prepared and to have thoroughly completed the assigned readings before each week's meeting, and actively to participate in class discussions. Regular seminar attendance goes without saying. Required readings will be discussed in class. The "Recommended Supplementary Readings" will not be discussed in class. They are a service to the students and function as a guide for students who want to learn more about a given topic, or who wish to undertake independent research on the issue at hand. When appropriate, the course provider or a participant will present to the seminar a brief summary of work listed under "Recommended Supplementary Readings."

2. Course Participants are asked to write two or more literature critiques of 2-3 pages each (say 1,000-2,000 words or so). These "reaction papers" will introduce the reading(s) and will be discussed in class together with the readings themselves. The authors of these reviews need to send them via e-mail attachment to the other course participants no later than 24 hours before the seminar meetings. Authors will very briefly present their critique papers in seminar, followed by questions and discussions.

Course participants who want to write a "term paper" based on or in association with this course are welcome to do so.

Requirements to be further specified according to students' interests and course enrollment.

Course Outline

1. Introduction and Overview: Beginnings; Evolutions; Views of the Discipline Today
    - Roots, Ancestors, Beginnings
    - Evolution of a Discipline
    - Views of International Relations Today

2. Realism (1): From Classical Realism to Structural Realism
    - Overviews
    - Classical Realism: The Roots of Contemporary Realisms
    - "Neorealism," "Structural Realism"—Waltz's Systemic Materialist Structuralism

3. Realism (2): Realism post-Waltz; Recent Formulations; Varieties of Realism Today
    - Threats and Balancing ("Balance of Threat Realism")
    - "Neoclassical Realism and other Realisms
    - Varieties of Contemporary Realism Competing
    - Views of Realism Today

4. Varieties of Liberalism (1): Overviews; Domestic Groups and Society; Democratic Peace
    - Overviews
    - Domestic Groups and Transnational Society
    - Democratic Peace

5. Varieties of Liberalism (2): International Institutions and World Order; Interdependence; Globalization
    - International Institutions, Liberal World Order, Global Governance
    - Transnationalism and Interdependence
    - Interdependence and Globalization

6. Constructivism (1): Overviews, Roots, Sources, IR
    - Overviews
    - Roots, Sources, Underpinnings of Contemporary Constructivism
    - Constructivism Entering Empirical IR

7. Constructivism (2): Varieties of Constructivism Today
    - Sociological Institutionalism
    - Practices
    - Norms
    - Discourse

8. Domestic Perspectives (1): Overview; Levels-of Analysis; Historical Institutionalist and Rationalist Takes
    - Overview
    - Levels-of-Analysis and all that
    - Domestic Structures, Historical Institutionalist and Such
    - Domestic Structures, Rationalist and Game-Theoretic

9. Domestic Perspectives (2): Varieties of Domestic Analysis; "First Image"
    - Material Interests, Institutional Structures, and Ideas
    - Historical Domestic Construction and Comparative Foreign Policy
    - First Image Reloaded

10. Reprise and Looking Ahead: The Importance of Questions and the World to Come

Week 1 (10 October 2013)
Introduction and Overview: Beginnings; Evolution; Views of the Discipline Today

Roots, Ancestors, Beginnings

Thucydides, *Peleponnesian War* [ca. 404 B.C.], I.20-I.23, Penguin Classic Edition, pp. 46-49. Read carefully.

Evolution of a Discipline

The best concise overview of the evolution of "International Relations" as a discipline or field of study is Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations" (1977/1987), and is listed below under "Background Reading." If you wish, have a look at the piece, although we will not extensively discuss it in this course.

Views of International Relations Today

"Table of Contents," pp. v-vii, in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002).

"Table of Contents," pp. vii-x, in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

"Table of Contents," pp. v-vii, Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd revised edition (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2013).

Daniel Maliniak, Susan Peterson and Michael J. Tierney, "TRIP Around the World: Teaching, Research, and Policy Views of International Relations Faculty in 20 Countries." Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) Project, The Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA (May 2012)

BACKGROUND and RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Russel H. Fifield, "The Introductory Course in International Relations," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 42, No. 6 (December 1948), pp. 1189-1196.

Frederick Dunn, "The Present Course of International Relations Research," *World Politics* Vol. 2, No. 1 (October 1949), pp. 80-95.

Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," *Daedalus* (Summer 1977), pp. 41-59. Reprinted as Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," in Stanley Hoffmann, ed. *Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 3-24.

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.

Michael W. Doyle, Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism (New York: Norton, 1997).

Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane and Stephen D. Krasner, "*International Organization* and the Study of World Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), pp. 645-685.

Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane and Stephen D. Krasner, eds., *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999).

Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002).

Donald J. Puchala, *Theory and History in International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Susan Peterson and Michael J. Tierney (with Daniel Maliniak), "Teaching and Research Practices, Views on the Discipline, and Policy Attitudes of International Relations Faculty at U.S. Colleges and Universities," Typescript, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA (August 2005 or latest version). Available at http://mjtier.people.wm.edu/intlpolitics/teaching/surveyreport.pdf or http://mjtier.people.wm.edu/intlpolitics/teaching/papers.php (web page Michael Tierney) or uk.

Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson and Michael J. Tierney, "The View from the Ivory Tower: TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in the United States and Canada," College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA (February 2007). Available on College of William and Mary web pages.

Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Gunther Hellmann, "International Relations as a Filed of Study." In International Encyclopedia of Political Science, edited by Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Leonardo Morlino (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2011).

Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd revised edition (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2013).

Week 2
Realism (1): From Classical Realism to Structural Realism

Overview

Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 41-48.

Classical Realism: The Roots of Contemporary Realisms

Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* Second Edition (London: Macmillan, 1946). Read chapter 5 ("The Realist Critique," pp. 63-88) and chapter 6 ("The Limits of Realism," pp. 89-94).

Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* Fifth Revised Edition [or later edition] (New York: Knopf, 1978). Read chapter 1 ("A Realist Theory of International Politics," pp. 1-15), chapter 2 ("The Science of International Politics," pp. 16-25).

<u>"Neorealism," "Structural Realism" – Waltz's Systemic Materialist Structuralism</u>

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1979), skim chapter 1; read very carefully chapters 4-6.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Realism: Overviews and Reflections

Michael Joseph Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

Robert Gilpin, "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism," in Robert O. Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 301-321.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Reflections on "Theory of International Politics:" A Response to My Critics," in Robert O. Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 322-345.

Robert Gilpin, "No one Loves a Political Realist," *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring 1996), pp. 3-26.

Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), Part One.

Robert Jervis, "Realism in the Study of World Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 971-991.

Stefano Guzzini, "The Enduring Dilemmas of Realism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2004), pp. 533-568.

William C. Wohlforth, "Realism," in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 131-149.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Realism: Classic and Influential Statements

Thucydides (2009 [ca. 404 B.C.]) *The Peloponnesian War*, translated by Martin Hammond and with an Introduction by P.J. Rhodes (New York: Oxford University Press).

Niccolò Machiavelli [1513] *The Prince*. Numerous contemporary translations.

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* [1651], edited by Richard Tuck (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially chapter 13 ("Of the Natural Condition of Mankind, as concerning their Felicity, and Misery").

Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), especially chapter 4 ("The Morality of Nations").

Albert O. Hirschman, *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980 [1945]).

Edward Hallett Carr, The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations Second Edition (London: Macmillan, 1946).

Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* Fifth Revised Edition [or later edition] (New York: Knopf, 1978 [first edition 1948]).

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962).

Raymond Aron, *Paix et Guerre entre les Nations*. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1962).

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979).

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Realism: Recent Debates and Open Fights

Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia Univesity Press, 1986).

Joseph S. Nye, "Neorealism and Neoliberalism," *World Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (January 1988), pp. 235-251.

Keith L. Shimko, "Realism, Neorealism, and American Liberalism," *Review of Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 281-301. (Re: neorealism's ideological underpinnings—"liberalizing realism"?)

David A. Baldwin, ed. *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1999), pp. 5-55.

Peter D. Feaver, Gunther Hellmann, Randall L. Schweller, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, William C. Wohlforth, Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Correspondence: Brother, Can You Spare a Paradigm? (Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?)," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2000), pp. 165-193.

Week 3
Realism (2): Realism post-Waltz; Recent Formulations; Varieties of Realism Today

<u>Threats and Balancing ("Balance of Threat Realism")</u>

Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-49).

<u>"Neoclassical" Realism and other Realisms</u>

Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (October 1998), pp. 144-172. (Skim, yet have a close look at the different types of realism presented in the table.)

Varieties of Contemporary Realism Competing

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Realism(s) and Chinese Security Policy in the Post-Cold War Period," in Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 261-318. (Skim, yet note the presentation of different types of realism and the specific hypotheses developed respectively.)

Views on Realism Today

William C. Wohlforth, "Realism," in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 131-149.

Chris Brown, "Realism: Rational or Reasonable?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (July 2012), pp. 857-866.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Realism post-Waltz and Recent Formulations

Barry Posen, The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Reflections on "Theory of International Politics:" A Response to My Critics," in Robert O. Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 322-345.

Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *International Organization*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 137-168.

James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer 1995), pp. 379-415.

Jonathan Kirshner, "Rational Explanation of War?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Autumn 2000), pp. 143-150.

Thomas J. Christensen, Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Stephen G. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1997), pp. 445-477.

Jonathan Kirshner, Currency and Coercion: The Political Economy of International Monetary Power (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

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

John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1994/1995), pp. 5-49.

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York, NY: Norton, 2001).

Colin Elman, "Explanatory Typologies in Qualitative Studies of International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (2005), pp. 293-326.

Jonathan Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers: Financial Caution on the Road to War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

William C. Wohlforth, "Realism," in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 131-149.

Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

World Politics, Vol 61, No. 1, (January 2009), Special Issue on "International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity," edited by G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth.

Samuel J. Barkin, Realist Constructivism: Rethinking International Relations Theory (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Charles Glaser, Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Jonathan Kirshner, "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical Realism and the Rise of China," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March 2012), pp. 53-75.

Week 4
Varieties of Liberalism (1): Overviews; Domestic Groups and Society; Democratic Peace

Overviews

Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 205-212.

Mark W. Zacher and Richard A. Matthew, "Liberal International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands," in Charles W. Kegley, ed. *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 107-150.

Domestic Groups and Transnational Society

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 513-553.

Democratic Peace

David Kinsella, "No Rest for the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (2005), pp. 453-457.

Michael W. Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace*," American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (2005), pp. 463-466.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Liberalism: Overviews and Reflections

Stanley Hoffmann, "Liberalism and International Affairs," in Stanley Hoffmann, ed. *Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 394-417.

Michael W. Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (December 1986), pp. 1151-1169.

Michael W. Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics Revisited," in Charles W. Kegley, ed. *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 83-106.

Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), Part Two.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: Classic and Influential Statements, general

Immanuel Kant, *Zum Ewigen Frieden* (Toward Eternal Piece), 1795.

Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion* (London: W. Heinemann, 1910 [or later edition]).

Ernst B. Haas, The *Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1958).

John Gerard Ruggie, Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, and Phillipe C. Schmitter, "Transformations in World Politics: The Intellectual Contributions of Ernst B. Haas," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 8 (2005), pp. 271-296. (For the purposes here, read carefully pp. 271-281 and 293-294; skim the rest.)

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence* [Latest Edition] (New York: Harper Collins, 1977).

Stephen D. Krasner, ed. *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Robert M. Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1984).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: Domestic Groups and Society

Moravcsik, Andrew, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal International Relations Theory: A Scientific Assessment," in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003) pp. 159-204.

Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Benjamin I. Page, "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (2005), pp. 107-123.

Andrew Moravcsik, “The New Liberalism,” in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 234-254.

Stefan Schirm, “Leaders in Need of Followers: Emerging Powers in Global Governance,” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2010), pp. 197-221.

Stefan Schirm, “Global Politics are Domestic Politics: A Societal Approach to Divergence in the G20,” *Review of International Studies*, May 2013, pp.1-22.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: Democratic Peace

Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol 12, No. 3 (Summer1983), pp. 205-235.

Michael W. Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace*," American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (2005), pp. 463-466.

Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996; for an overview, see especially Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Preface," pp. ix-xxxiii.

Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, *Democracy, Liberalism, and War: Rethinking the Democratic Peace Debate* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001).

Miriam Fendius Elman, *Paths to Peace: Is Democracy the Answer?* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).

Alexander L. George, and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), chapter 2.

Charles Lipson, *Reliable Partners: How Democracies Have Made a Separate Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, “Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (September 1993), pp. 624-638.

James Lee Ray, “Does Democracy Cause Peace?” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 1 (1998).

James Lee Ray, “A Lakatosian View of the Democratic Peace Research Program,” in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003) pp. 205-243.

Dan Reiter and Alam Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Democratic Peace—Warlike Democracies?” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1995), pp. 491-517.

Bruce Russett, Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Spencer R. Weart, *Never at War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: Democratic Peace (Skeptics)

Christopher Layne, “Kant or Cant? The Myth of the Democratic Peace,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 5-49.

David E. Spiro, “Give Democratic Peace a Chance? The Insignificance of the Liberal Peace,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 50-86.

Joanne Gowa, *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Melvin Small and David J. Singer, “The War Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816-1965,” *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1976), pp. 50–69.

Sebastian Rosato, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (2003), pp. 585–602.

Robert Jervis, “Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (2002), pp. 1-14.

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).

Branislav L. Slantchev, Anna Alexandrova, and Erik Gartzke, "Probabilistic Causality, Selection Bias, and the Logic of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (2005), pp. 459-462.

Sebastian Rosato, "Explaining the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (2005), pp. 467-472.

Week 5
Varieties of Liberalism (2):
International Institutions and World Order; Interdependence, Globalization

<u>International Institutions, Liberal World Order, Global Governance</u>

Robert O. Keohane, "Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics," in Robert O. Keohane, ed. *International Institutions and State Power. Essays in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), pp. 1-20.

Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, “The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order,” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (April 1999), pp. 179-196.

G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 01 (2009), pp. 71-87.

<u>Transnationalism and Interdependence; Interdependence and Globalization</u>

Thomas Risse, "Transnational Actors and World Politics," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London, UK: Sage, 2013), pp. 426-452.

Margaret Keck, and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. tbd.

Interdependence and Globalization

Michael Zürn, "From Interdependence to Globalization," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London, UK: Sage, 2013), pp. 401-425. (Skim; uk to present.)

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: Neoliberal and Rationalist Institutionalism

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Judith Goldstein, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter, eds., "Legalization and World Politics, A Special Issue of International Organization," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Summer 2000). Reissued as edited book.

Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, eds., Rational Choice of International Institutions, A Special Issue of International Organization, *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Autumn 2001). Reissued as edited book.

Lisa L. Martin, and Beth A. Simmons, *International Institutions: An International Organization Reader* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001).

Arthur Stein, "Neoliberal Institutionalism," in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 201-221.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: International Institutions and World Order

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 5 (1997), pp. 183-197.

Daniel Deudney, and G. John Ikenberry, "Realism, Structural Liberalism, and the Western Order," in Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999) pp. 103-137.

Lloyd Gruber, Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

G. John Ikenberry, After Victory: *Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Daniel W. Drezner, ed., Locating the Proper Authorities: The Interaction of Domestic and International Institutions (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

Anne-Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, "Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism," *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 04 (2006), pp. 781-810.

Charles A. Kupchan, and Peter L. Trubowitz, "Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States " *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2007), pp. 7-44.

Daniel Deudney, *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Robert O. Keohane, Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik, "Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism," *International Organization*, Vol. 63, No. 01 (2009), pp. 1-31.

G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: Global Governance

Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker, eds., *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Robert O. Keohane, "Governance in a Partially Globalized World: Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 2000," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 95, No. 1 (2001), pp. 1-13.

Joseph S. Nye and John D. Donahue, eds., *Governance in a Globalizing World* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).

James N. Rosenau, "Governance in the Twenty-first Century," *Global Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1995), pp. 13-43.

Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 379-408.

Craig N. Murphy, "Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood." *International Affairs* 76 (October 2000): 789-804.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Liberalism: Transnationalism and Interdependence

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed. Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Especially chapter 1 ("Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Introduction," pp. 3-33) and chapter 9 ("Structures of Governance and Transnational Relations: What Have We Learned?," pp. 280-313).

Matthew Evangelista, "The Paradox of State Strength: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union," *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (1995), pp. 1-38.

Margaret Keck, and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Matthew Evangelista, *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).

Thomas Risse, "Transnational Actors and World Politics," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London, UK: Sage, 2002) pp. 255-274.

Richard M. Price, "Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics: Review Article," *World Politics*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (2003), pp. 579-606.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS Globalization (Liberal or else)

Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Suzanne Berger, “Globalization and Politics,” in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3 (2000).

Jeffrey Frieden, Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century, (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007).

Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "World History in a Global Age," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (1995), pp. 1034-1060. (Skim.)

Michael Zürn, Regieren jenseits des Nationalstaats: Denationalisierung und Globalisierung als Chance (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1998).

David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

Yasheng Huang, “Perspectives on Globalization,” Harvard Business School Case, revised version, January 2002 (Product Number: 9-701-048), 17 pp.

Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2003). Especially note chapter 1 (“Five Meanings of Global Civil Society,” pp. 1-14).

Dani Rodrik, One Economics, Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

Duane Swank, Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Michael Zürn, "From Interdependence to Globalization," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London, UK: Sage, 2002), pp. 235-254.

Martin Wolf, *Why Globalization Work*s (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “Globalization: What’s New? What’s Not? (And So What?)” *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 118 (2000), pp. 104-119.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 5 (1997), pp. 183-197.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, “Everyday Global Governance,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 132, No. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 83-90.

Rawi Abdelal, and Adam Segal, "Has Globalization Passed Its Peak?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (2007), pp. 103-111.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Realism-Liberalism: Relative or Absolute Gains

Robert Powell, "The Problem of Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85 (December 1991), pp. 1303-1320.

Robert Powell, "Anarchy in International Relations Theory: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 313-344. (For relative vs. absolute gains, see especially pp. 334-338.)

David A. Baldwin, ed. *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1993). As for the absolute vs. relative gains debate, read especially chapters 1 (Baldwin), 5 (Grieco), 8 (Powell), 11 (Keohane), and 12 (Grieco).

Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1999), pp. 42-63.

Ole Wæver, "The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 149-185.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Realism-Liberalism: Harmony of Interests?

Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* Second Edition (London: Macmillan, 1946). Read chapter 4 ("The Harmony of Interests," pp. 41-62).

Week 6
Constructivism (1): Overviews, Roots, Sources, IR

Overviews

Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics," *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer 1995), pp. 71-81.

Emanuel Adler, "Constructivism," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2013), 112-144.

Constructivism Entering Empirical IR

Peter Katzenstein, "Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 1-32.

Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed. *The Culture of National Security. Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 33-75.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS:
Constructivism: Overviews, Reflections, Philosophical Roots

Peter L. Berger, and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1966).

John R. Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), especially Introduction (pp. xi-xiii) and Chapter 1 (pp. 1-29).

Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1997), pp. 319-363.

John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), pp. 855-885.

Reprinted in John Gerard Ruggie, ed. *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London, UK: Routledge, 1998), and in Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane and Stephen D. Krasner, eds., *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999).

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (January 1998), pp. 324-348.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 4 (2001), pp. 391-416.

Stefano Guzzini, "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 147-182 (2000), Vol. 6, No. 2 (2000), pp. 147-182.

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Social Constructivisms in Global and European Politics: A Review Essay," *Review of* International Studies, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2004), pp. 229-244.

Ian Hurd, “Constructivism,” in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 298-316.

Friedrich Kratochwil, “Sociological Approaches,” in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 444-461.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Constructivism: Major Statements

John Gerard Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations," *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1, Winter (1993), pp. 139-174. Reprinted in revised version as chapter 7 (“Territoriality at Millennium’s End,” pp. 172-197) in John Gerard Ruggie, ed. *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London, UK: Routledge, 1998). Read either.

Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, eds., *State Sovereignty as Social Construct* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Rodney Bruce Hall, National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999).

Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Constructivism: Wendt and All That

Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Forum on Wendt's "Social Theory of International Politics," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (January 2000), pp. 123-180.

Read especially Introduction (pp. 123-124) and contributrions by Keohane (pp. 125-130), Krasner (pp. 131-136), Doty (pp. 137-139), Alker (pp. 141-150), and Smith (pp. 151-163), and Wendt's response to the critics (pp. 165-180).

Friedrich Kratochwil, "Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt's 'Social Theory of International Politics' and the Constructivist Challenge," *Millennium*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2000), pp. 73-101. Read especially carefully pp. 77-78.

Stefano Guzzini, and Anna Leander, eds., *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and His Critics* (New York: Routledge, 2006). (Note especially the chapters by Kratochwil, Suganami, Guzzini and Leander, Cederman and Daase, and Wendt.)

Week 7
Constructivism (2): Varieties of Constructivism Today

<u>Sociological Institutionalism</u>

Martha Finnemore, "Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism," *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 2, (Spring 1996), pp. 325-347.

<u>Practices</u>

Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot, "International Practices," *International Theory*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (February 2011), pp. 1-36.

<u>Norms</u>

Diana Panke and Ulrich Petersohn, "Why International Norms Disappear Sometimes," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (December 2012), pp. 719-742.

<u>Discourse</u>

Anna Holzscheiter, "Between Communicative Interaction and Structures of Signification: Discourse Theory and Analysis in International Relations," *International Studies Perspectives* (2013), pp. 1-21.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Sociological Institutionalism, some major statements

Ronald L. Jepperson, "Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism," in Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

David Strang, "Anomaly and Commonplace in European Political Expansion: Realist and Institutionalist Accounts," *International Organization*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 143-162.

John W. Meyer, John Boli and George M. Thomas, "Ontology and Rationalization in the Western Cultural Account," in W. Richard Scott and John W. Meyer, eds., *Institutional Environments and Organizations: Structural Complexity and Individualism* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994), pp. 9-27.

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas and Francisco O. Ramirez, "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 103, No. 1 (July 1997), pp. 144-181.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Autumn 1999), pp. 699-732.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), chapters 1, 2, and 6 (pp. 1-44 and 156-173).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: International Organization and Social Forms (examples only); Systemic Norms, (Constructivist) Systemic Institutionalization

Richard Price, *The Chemical Weapons Taboo* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Richard Price, and Nina Tannenwald, "Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboos," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security. Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996) pp. 114-152.

John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," in Stephen D. Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 195-231.

Reprinted in John Gerard Ruggie, ed., Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998).

John Gerard Ruggie, "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution," in John Gerard Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters. The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 3-47. Originally published as John Gerard Ruggie, "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (1992), pp. 561-598. Reprinted in revised form in John Gerard Ruggie, ed., *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998). Read any of the three.

John Gerard Ruggie, "NATO and the Transatlantic Security Community," in John Gerard Ruggie, ed. *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), pp. 229-239.

Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State Is Inevitable," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2003), pp. 491-542.

Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Constructivism in IPE

Rawi Abdelal, Mark Blyth and Craig Parsons, eds., Constructing the International Economy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

Rawi Abdelal, *Capital Rules: The Construction of Global Finance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Rawi Abdelal, *National Purpose in the World Economy: Post-Soviet States in Comparative Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Community at the International Level, various

Karl W. Deutsch, Political Community at the International Level: Problems of Definition and Measurement (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954).

Karl W. Deutsch et al, Political Community in the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Emanuel Adler and Michael N. Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Ulrich Krotz, "Parapublic Underpinnings of International Relations: The Franco-German Construction of Europeanization of a Particular Kind," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (2007), pp. 385-417.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: English School, Classic

Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966).

Hedley Bull, "Society and Anarchy in International Relations," in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 35-50.

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), especially chapters 1-3.

Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Martin Wight, *Power Politics* (New York, NY: Holmes & Meier, 1978), chapter 10 ("International Society," pp. 105-112).

Timothy Dunne, *Inventing International Society: A History of the English School* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

Timothy Dunne, "The English School," in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 267-285.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: English School Contemporary Formulations

Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (1997), pp. 555-589.

Barry Buzan, *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Andrew Linklater, and Hidemi Suganami, *The English School of International Relations: A Contemporary Reassessment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Adam Roberts, "Towards a World Community? The United Nations and International Law," in Michael Eliot Howard and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 305-318.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: International Relations and International Law

Friedrich V. Kratochwil, Rules, Norms, and Decisions: On the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Anne-Marie Slaughter, Andrew S. Tulumello and Stepan Wood, "International Law and International Relations Theory: A New Generation of Interdisciplinary Scholarship," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (July 1998), pp. 367-397.

Judith Goldstein, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter, eds., "Legalization and World Politics, A Special Issue of International Organization," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Summer 2000). Reissued as edited book.

Michael Byers, The Role of Law in International Politics: Essays in International Relations and International Law (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Michael Byers, "International Law," in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 612-631.

Friedrich V. Kratochwil, "How Do Norms Matter?," in Michael Byers, ed. *The Role of Law in International Politics: Essays in International Relations and International Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 35-68.

Christian Reus-Smit, ed., *The Politics of International Law* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Shirley V. Scott, ed., *International Law and Politics: Key Documents* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006). (Note especially Table of Contents.)

Shirley V. Scott, *The Political Interpretation of Multilateral Treaties* (Leiden ; Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 2004).

Shirley V. Scott, *International Law in World Politics: An Introduction* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

Nicholas J. Wheeler, "The Kosovo Bombing Campaign," in Christian Reus-Smit, ed. *The Politics of International Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 189-216.

Beth A. Simmons, and Richard H. Steinberg, *International Law and International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Constructivism post-Wendt, some recent formulations

Lars Erik Cederman, and Christopher Daase, "Endogenizing Corporate Identities: The Next Step in Constructivist IR Theory," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2003), pp. 5-35.

Nina Tannenwald, "Ideas and Explanation: Advancing the Theoretical Agenda," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2005), pp. 13-42.

Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Jeffrey T. Checkel, ed., *International Institutions and Socialization in Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Ulrich Krotz, "Parapublic Underpinnings of International Relations: The Franco-German Construction of Europeanization of a Particular Kind," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (2007), pp. 385-417.

Rawi Abdelal, *Capital Rules: The Construction of Global Finance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott, eds., *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Rosemary Foot and Andrew Walter, “Global Norms and Major State Behavior: The Case of China and the United States, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 19 (June 2013), pp. 329-352.

Week 8
Domestic Perspectives (1): Overview, Levels-of-Analysis, Historical Institutionalist and Rationalist Takes

Overview

Kenneth A. Schultz, “Domestic Politics and International Relations,” in Thomas Risse, "Transnational Actors and World Politics," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2013), pp. 478-502.

Levels-of-Analysis and all that

J. David Singer, “The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations,” *World Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (October 1961), pp. 77-92.

Reprinted in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, eds., *The International System: Theoretical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 77-92. Read either.

Domestic Structures, Historical Institutionalist and Such

Marc R. DeVore, “Modern Democracies and Military Power,” Book Prospectus, August 2013 (uk to distribute).

Domestic Structures, Rationalist and Game-Theoretic

Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1988), pp. 427-460. (Skim.)

Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Benjamin I. Page, "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (2005), pp. 107-123.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS:
Domestic Structures, Second Image, Second Image Reversed: Overviews, Reflections, Discussions

Matthew Evangelista, "Domestic Structure and International Change," in Michael W. Doyle and G. John Ikenberry, eds., *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 202-228.

James D. Fearon, “Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1998), pp. 289-313.

Jeffry Frieden and Ronald Rogowski, “The Impact of the International Economy on National Policies: An Analytic Overview,” in Robert Keohane and Helen Milner (eds.), *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*, pp. 25-47.

Peter Gourevitch, "Domestic Politics and International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002), pp. 309-328.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Levels of Analysis

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959). Skim chapters 2-3 for major themes, read chapters 4 and 6.

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 13-31.

Nicholas Onuf, "Levels," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1995), pp. 35-58.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Domestic Structures, Historical

Peter J. Katzenstein, ed. *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), chapters 1 and 9.

Peter J. Katzenstein, "Same War-Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism," *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (2003), pp. 731-760.

Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Colin Dueck, “Neoclassical Realism and the National Interest: Presidents, Domestic Politics, and Major Military Intervention,” in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), chapter 5 (pp. 139-169).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Domestic Structures, Rationalist-Game Theoretic

Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam, *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

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

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Public Opinion

Benjamin E. Goldsmith and Yusaku Hoiuchi, “In Sear for Soft Power: Does Foreign Public Opinion Matter for U.S. Foreign Policy?” *World Politcs*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (July 2012), pp. 555-585.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Second Image Reversed

Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Autumn 1978), pp. 881-912.

Peter J. Katzenstein, *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Bureaucratic Politics

Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (September 1969), pp. 689-718.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important?" *Foreign Policy*, No. 7 (1972), pp. 159-179.

Jack S. Levy, “Organizational Routines and the Causes of War,” *Internatinal Studies Quarterly* (June 1986), pp. 193-222.

Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 79-99.

Jonathan Bendor and Thomas Hammond, “Rethinking Allison’s Models,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 86, No. 2 (June 1992), pp. 301-322.

Scott D. Sagan, *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Bruce G. Blair, *The Logic of Accidental Nuclear War* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1993).

Richard E. Neustadt, *Report to JFK : The Skybolt Crisis in Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla Clapp, and Arnold Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Critique of all the Above

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1979), chapter 2 (“Reductionist Theories,” pp. 18-37).

Week 9
Domestic Perspectives (2): Varieties of Domestic Analysis; "First Image"

Material Interests, Institutional Structures, Ideas

Stefan Schirm, Domestic Material Interests, Institutional Structures, and Ideas (new article; uk to distribute).

Historical Domestic Construction and Comparative Foreign Policy

Ulrich Krotz, History and Foreign Policy in France and Germany (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2014), Preface, Table of Contents, and Introduction (uk to distribute).

First Image Reloaded

Daniel Byman, and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (2001), pp. 107-146. Skim.

Andrew Parasiliti, Daniel Byman, and Kenneth M. Pollack, "The First Image Revisited," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2001), pp. 166-169. Skim.

Robert Jervis, "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" Security Studies, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2013), pp. 153-179.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Domestic Construction

Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

Elizabeth Kier, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997). [OR Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1995), pp. 65-93; OR Kier in Katzenstein, ed., 1996].

John Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (New York: Basic Books, 1989 [Paperback edition, 1990; Reprint edition, 1996]). In the 1996 Reprint Edition, read "Preface to the Paperback Edition" (pp. ix-xii), and "Foreword to the 1996 Reprint: An Outline of the Argument" (pp. xiii-xv).

John Gerard Ruggie, "The Past as Prologue? Interests, Identity, and American Foreign Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 4, Spring (1997), pp. 89-125. Reprinted in revised version as chapter 8 ("Interests, Identity, and American Foreign Policy," pp. 203-228) in John Gerard Ruggie, ed. *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London, UK: Routledge, 1998).

Rodney Bruce Hall, National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

Rawi Abdelal, *National Purpose in the World Economy: Post-Soviet States in Comparative Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS: Leadership, Psychology, and Other First Image Inquiries

Alexander L. George, and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princetown: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Alexander L. George, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1980).

Richard Ned Lebow, *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

Robert Jervis, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein, *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), especially chapter 1.

Alexander L. George, *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993).

Alexander L. George, *On Foreign Policy: Unfinished Business* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006).

James M. Goldgeier, "Psychology and Security," *Security Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Summer 1997), pp. 137-166.

James Goldgeier and Philip Tetlock, “Psychological Approaches,” in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 462-480.

Rose McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics : Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004).

Rose McDermott, *Presidential Leadership, Illness, and Decision Making* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Rose McDermott, “Psychological Approaches to Identity: Experimentation and Application,” in Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott, eds., *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 345-367.

Daniel Byman, and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (2001), pp. 107-146.

Andrew Parasiliti, Daniel Byman, and Kenneth M. Pollack, "The First Image Revisited," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2001), pp. 166-169.

Stephen G. Walker, "Role Identities and the Operational Codes of Political Leaders," in Margaret G. Hermann, ed., *Advances in Political Psychology* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004) pp. 71-106.

Week 10
Reprise and Looking Ahead: The Importance of Questions and the World to Come

National Intelligence Council (NIC) (2008), Washington, D.C., "Global Trends 2025: A World Transformed," (NIC 2008-003) (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, November 2008).
Skim pp. iv-v, "Executive Summary" (pp. vi-xiii), "Introduction: A Transformed World" (pp. 1-5), and as much as you please or interests you from the rest of the document.

National Intelligence Council (NIC) (2012) *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds* (NIC 2012-001) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).
Read Prelims, "Executive Summary" (pp. i-xiv), the Table of Contents, "Introduction: A Transformed World" (pp. 1-5), and as much as you please or interests you from the rest of the document.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Max Weber, *Politik als Beruf* [Politics as a Vocation] (see best English translation).

Max Weber, *Wissenschaft als Beruf* [Science as a Vocation] (see best English translation).

Bruce W. Jentleson, "Global Insights: The John Holmes Memorial Lecture: Global Governance in a Copernican World," *Global Governance* Vol. 18 (2012), pp. 133-148.

Rawi Abdelal and Ulrich Krotz, "Disjoining Partners: Europe and the American Imperium," in *Power in a Complex Global System* edited by Bruce Jentleson and Louis Pauly (New York: Routledge, forthcoming).