

Dr. Christopher Sprecher
2069 Allen Building
845-1410

Sprecher@polisci.tamu.edu

Office Hours: 11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m., Monday and Wednesday, and by appointment

7:00 p.m.-9:50 p.m.
2064 Allen Building
Monday

POLITICAL SCIENCE 630 ***INTERNATIONAL POLITICS***

The purpose of this course is to familiarize you with many of the broad themes in the international relations research literature, in preparation for advanced training and research in this area. The course is organized around points of common interest to scholars of international relations, such as the underlying nature of the international system, the causes of conflict between states, and possible sources of cooperation between states. The focus is on scholarly research, not current events or policy formulation.

As the readings and class discussions will make clear, there are serious scholarly differences over epistemological, methodological, and policy perspectives in international relations. One of the goals of the class is to assist students in reaching their own positions on these key disciplinary issues. The best way to do this is to write frequently on the topics covered. Such writing forces you to think through what you have read, as well as to be logically consistent in your views on the material.

Required Texts

- David A. Baldwin (1993). *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. *The War Trap*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Morgan, Patrick. 2003. *Deterrence Now*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Most, Benjamin and Harvey Starr. 1989. *Inquiry, Logic and International Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Russett, Bruce and John Oneal. 2001. *Triangulating Peace*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Waltz, Kenneth. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

In addition, there are a number of readings that are from books and journals. Journal articles are available via jstor.org and the TAMU library's electronic data bases. I will

make copies of all book chapters and journal articles available outside my office for copying as well.

Course requirements

Short Papers

Each student is expected to write 5 short papers (approximately 3-5 pages in length) discussing the readings. These must be thoughtful and critical of the research you have read, and not just summaries of the material. The first day of class I will pass out an outline of what I expect in each paper. This counts for a substantial portion of your grade, so be sure to spend time on each one. Each student will also be asked to make five brief (10 minutes or so) in-class presentation on the weekly topics. These presentations are meant to help focus the class discussion on important aspects of the week's readings. Consequently, each presentation will be followed by a period of general class reaction and discussion. The weekly papers and short in-class presentations will count for 35% of the final grade.

Final Paper

A research paper is the final requirement for this course. This should be a substantial effort, empirically based, and approximately 20-30 pages in length. Students are invited to choose any question within the topic area of international relations, broadly construed. Students should observe some general guidelines in selecting their questions and in writing their papers. First, the paper must represent original research. General literature reviews or summaries of other works are not acceptable. Second, the papers must have a theoretical focus. Papers should not address purely policy questions. Third, the paper must be empirical. That is, the paper must include some analysis of current or historical cases, upon which conclusions are drawn. The final paper is worth 40% of your final grade.

Participation

This course is a seminar, not a lecture course. All students are expected to come to each class meeting prepared to discuss the readings. The purpose of the seminar is to engage in informed group discussion: we are not interested in uninformed opinion. This means that students should closely and critically read each book or article on the reading list, and spend time thinking about what each contributes to the topic that week. Class discussion will focus on such issues as the theoretical arguments being made (both explicitly and implicitly), the empirical evidence that is marshaled to test these arguments, weaknesses of the work, and potential directions for future study. Class participation will count for 25% of the final grade.

Monday, Sept. 15

Conceptualizing International Relations

Required Readings

Most, Benjamin and Harvey Starr. 1989. *Inquiry, Logic and International Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press (all).

Singer, J. David. 1961. "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations." *World Politics* 14 (1): 77-92.

Wendt, Alexander. 1987. "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations." *International Organization* 17 (3): 335-70.

Zinnes, Dina. 1980. "Three Puzzles in Search of a Researcher", *International Studies Quarterly* 24 (3): 315-42.

Recommended Readings

Knutsen, Torbjorn. 1992. *A History of International Relations Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Starr, Harvey. 1978. "Opportunity and Willingness as Ordering Concepts in the Study of War." *International Interactions* 4 (4): 363-87.

Monday, Sept. 22

Classical Realism

Required Readings:

Hans J. Morgenthau (1985). *Politics Among Nations*.

Chapter 1: A Realist Theory of International Politics

Chapter 3: Political Power

Chapters 8-10: National Power

Thucydides (1954). *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Rex Warner. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, pp. 400-408 ("The Melian Dialogue").

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 6 (Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique"; originally published in 1991 *Review of International Studies*)

Alexander Wendt (1992). "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46: 391-425.

Recommended Readings

Carr, Edward Hallett. 1946. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. 2nd ed New York: Harper & Row.

Frankel, Benjamin (ed). 1996. *Roots of Realism*. London: Frank Cass.

Frankel, Benjamin (ed). 1996. *Realism: Restatement and Renewal*. London: Frank Cass.

Vasquez, John and Colin Elman. 2003. *Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Monday, Sept. 29 **Neorealism**

Required Readings

Waltz, Kenneth. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley (all).

Robert Gilpin (1988). "The Theory of Hegemonic War." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, 4 (Spring): 591-613.

Paul Schroeder (1994). "Historical Reality vs Neo-Realist Theory," *International Security* 19, 2 (Summer): 108-148

Elman, Colin, and Miriam Fendius Elman. 2002. "How Not to Be Lakatos Intolerant: Appraising Progress in IR Research." *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (2): 231-262.

Recommended Readings

Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Robert Jervis (1998) Realism and the Study of World Politics. *International Organization* 4 (Autumn) 971-991

John J. Mearsheimer (1990). "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War." *International Security* 15, 1 (Summer):5-56.

Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (2000/01) Security Seeking Under Anarchy. *International Security*. 25 (3/Winter) 128-161.

Monday, Oct. 6

Critiques of Realism/Neorealism

Required Readings

Vasquez, John A. 1997. "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition." *American Political Science Review* 91 (4): 899-912.

Responses to Vasquez by Kenneth Waltz (pp. 913-917), Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder (pp. 919-922), Colin and Miriam Fendius Elman (pp. 923-926), Randal L. Schweller (pp. 927-930), Stephen M. Walt (pp. 931-935) in the same APSR issue (vol. 91, No. 4, December 1997).

Ashley, Richard. 1984. "The Poverty of Neorealism". In, Keohane, *Neorealism and its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kapstein, Ethan B. 1995. "Is Realism Dead? The Domestic Sources of International Politics." *International Organization* 49 (4): 751-774.

Zakaria, Fared. 1992. "Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay." *International Security* 17 (1): 177-198.

Recommended Readings

Wayman, Frank and Paul Diehl (eds). 1994. *Reconstructing Realpolitik*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Keohane, Robert. 1984. *Neorealism and its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Monday, Oct. 13

Neoliberalism's Challenge

Keohane, R. O. (1984) *After Hegemony*. Chapters 1,4 and 11

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 1 (Baldwin, "Neoliberalism, Neorealism, and World Politics")

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 5 (Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism”)

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 12 (Grieco, “Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: The Limits of Neoliberal Institutionalism and the Future of Realist Theory”)

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 7 (Snidal, “Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation”)

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 8 (Powell, “Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory”)

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 10 (Mastanduno, “Do Relative Gains Matter? America’s Response to Japanese Industrial Policy”)

Joseph M. Grieco, Robert Powell, and Duncan Snidal (1993). “Controversies: The Relative-Gains Problem for International Cooperation.” *American Political Science Review* 87: 729-743.

Recommended Readings

Keohane, Robert and Joseph S. Nye (2001). *Power and Interdependence*, third edition. New York: Longman.

Mark W. Zacher and Richard A. Matthew (1995). “Liberal International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands.” In Charles W. Kegley, ed., *Controversies in International Relations Theory*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, pp. 107-150.

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

Monday, Oct. 20

Deterrence

Required Readings

Morgan, Patrick. 2003. *Deterrence Now*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (all).

Achen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal. 1989. “Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies.” *World Politics* 41 (2): 153-169.

Huth, Paul and Bruce Russett. 1990. “Testing Deterrence Theory: Rigor Makes a Difference.” *World Politics*, 42 (3): 466-501.

Lebow, Richard Ned and Janice Stein. 1990. "Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable." *World Politics* 42 (4): 336-69.

Recommended Readings

Danilovic, Vesna. 2001. "The Sources of Threat Credibility in Extended Deterrence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (3): 341-369.

Huth, Paul. 1988. *Extended Deterrence and the Prevention of War*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

---. 1990. "The Extended Deterrence Value of Nuclear Weapons." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 34 (2): 270-90.

---. 1994. "When do States Take on Extended Deterrence Commitments?" in Francis Wayman and Paul Diehl, eds. *Reconstructing Realpolitik*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Huth, Paul and Bruce Russett. 1984. "What Makes Deterrence Work?" *World Politics*, 36 (3): 496-526.

---. 1988. "Deterrence Failure and Crisis Escalation", *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1): 29-45

---. 1993. "General Deterrence between Enduring Rivals: Testing three Competitive Models." *American Political Science Review* 87 (1): 61-73.

Zagare, Frank C. 1987. *The Dynamics of Deterrence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

---. 1990. "Rationality and Deterrence." *World Politics* 42 (3): 238-60.

Zagare, Frank and D. Marc Kilgour. 2002. *Perfect Deterrence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Monday, Oct. 27

Critical Theory/Constructivism

Required Readings

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

Ted Hopf (1998). "The Promise of Constructivism in IR Theory." *International Security* 23 (Summer): 171-200.

Recommended Readings

Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane (1993). "Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework." In Goldstein and Keohane, eds., *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 3-30.

J. Ann Tickner (1997). "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, 4 (December): 611-632.

International Studies Quarterly debate on feminism and IR: volume 42, 1 (March), pp. 193-210 (articles by Robert O. Keohane, Marianne H. Marchand, and J. Ann Tickner)

Monday, Nov. 3 The Democratic Peace

Russett, Bruce and John Oneal. 2001. *Triangulating Peace*. New York: W.W. Norton (all).

Chan, Steve (1997) In Search of Democratic Peace: Problems and Promise. *Mershon International Studies Review*. 41 (1) 59-92.

Layne, Christopher (1994). Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace *International Security*. 19 (2).

Maoz, Zeev and Bruce Russett. "Normative and structural causes of democratic peace, 1946-1986." *American Political Science Review* 87 (September 1993): 624-638.

Recommended Readings

Benoit, Kenneth. 1996. "Democracies Really Are More Pacific (in General)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40,4:636-657.

Chan, Steve. "Mirror, mirror on the war...are democratic states more pacific?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28 (1984): 617-648.

Levy, Jack. "Domestic politics and war." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (Spring 1988).

Rummel, R.J. "Libertarianism and International Violence." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 27 (March 1983): 27-71

Russett, Bruce. *Controlling the Sword: The Democratic Governance of National Security*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

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

Schweller, Randall. "Domestic structure and preventative war: are democracies more pacific?" *World Politics* 44 (January 1992): 235-69.

Small, M. and J. D. Singer. "The War Proneness of Democratic Regimes, 1816-1965." *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 1 (Summer 1976): 50-69.

Weede, Eric. "Democracy and War Involvement." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28 (1984): 649-664.

Weede, Erich. "Some simple calculations on democracy and war involvement." *Journal of Peace Research* 29 (4, 1992): 377-383.

Monday, Nov. 10

Rational Choice and International Politics

Required Readings

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. *The War Trap*. New Haven: Yale University Press (all).

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1988). "The Contribution of Expected Utility Theory to the Study of International Conflict." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, 4 (Spring): 629-652.

Stephen Majeski and David Sylvan. 1984. "Simple Choices and Complex Calculations: A Critique of The War Trap" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28,2: 316-340. (plus reply from Bueno de Mesquita)

Stephen M. Walt (1999). "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies." *International Security* 23: 5-48. Also responses by Bueno de Mesquita and Morrow, Martin, Niou and Ordeshook, Powell, Zagare, and reply by Walt (pp. 56-130).

Recommended Readings

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman (1992). *War and Reason*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Nicholson, Michael. 1992. *Rationality and the Analysis of International Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Monday, Nov. 17
Opinion and Force

Domestic Politics and International Relations I: Public

Required Readings

Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. "Death-Watch and Scapegoat Wars." In Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*. New York: Free Press, Ch. 5 (pp. 68-86).

DeRouen, Karl, Jr. 1995. "The Indirect Link: Economics, Politics, and Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39(3): 671-696.

DeRouen, Karl, Jr. 2000. "Presidents and the Diversionary Use of Force: A Research Note." *International Studies Quarterly* 44: 317-339.

James, Patrick, and John Oneal. 1991. "The Influence of Domestic and International Politics on the President's Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35: 307-332.

Levy, Jack S. 1989. "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique." In Manus I. Midlarsky, ed. *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, pp. 259-288

Ostrom, Charles W., and Brian L. Job. 1986. "The President and the Political Use of Force." *American Political Science Review* 80 (2): 541-566.

Recommended Readings

Fordham, Benjamin. 1998a. "The Politics of Threat Perception and the Use of Force: A Political Economy Model of U.S. Uses of Force, 1949-1994." *International Studies Quarterly* 42: 567-590.

Fordham, Benjamin. 1998b. "Partisanship, Macroeconomic Policy, and U.S. Uses of Force, 1949-1994." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41: 255-282.

Morgan, T. Clifton, and Kenneth Bickers. 1992. "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36: 25-52.

Morgan, T. Clifton, and Christopher Anderson. 1999. "Domestic Support and Diversionary External Conflict in Great Britain, 1950-1992." *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 799-814.

Sprecher, Christopher and Karl DeRouen, Jr. 2002. "Israeli Military Actions and Internalization-Externalization Processes" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46, 2 , pp. 244-259

Prins, Brandon and Christopher Sprecher. 1999. "Institutional Constraints, Political Opposition, and Interstate Dispute Escalation: Evidence from Parliamentary Systems, 1946-1990," *Journal of Peace Research*, 36, 3, pp. 271-287.

Monday, Nov. 24
Institutions Matter

Domestic Politics and International Relations II:

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 11 (Keohane, “Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge after the Cold War”).

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

Gowa, Joanne. (1989). "Rational Hegemons, Excludable Goods, and Small Groups: An Epitaph for Hegemonic Stability Theory." *World Politics* 41, 3 (April): 307-324

John Mearsheimer (1994/1995). "The False Promise of Institutions." *International Security* 19, 3: 5-49.

Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin (1995). "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20, 1 (Summer)

Recommended Readings

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

Peter Haas (1989). “Do Regimes Matter? Epistemic Communities and Mediterranean Pollution Control.” *International Organization* 43, 3: 377-403

Monday, Dec.1

International Cooperation

Robert Jervis (1978). "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30 (January): 167.

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 3 (Lipson, “International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs)

Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*: chapter 4 (Axelrod & Keohane, “Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions)

Kenneth Oye (1986). "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies." In Oye, ed., *Cooperation Under Anarchy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-24.

Stein, Arthur. 1993. "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World." In *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, edited by David A. Baldwin. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 116-140.

Recommended Readings

Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books

Goldstein, Joshua and John Freeman. 1990. *Three Way Street*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Keohane, Robert O. 1986. "Reciprocity in International Relations." *International Organization* 40 (1): 1-27

Stephen D. Krasner (1983). "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables." In Krasner, ed., *International Regimes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 1-21

Susan Strange (1982), "Cave! Hic Dragoness!: A Critique of Regime Analysis." *International Organization* 36, 2 (Spring).

Monday, Dec. 8

IR Theory and its (continuing) Relevance

Required Readings

George, Alexander. 1993. *Bridging the Gap: Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, Introduction, chapter 1.

John Lewis Gaddis (1992/93). "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War." *International Security* 17: 5-58.

Jentleson, Bruce (2002). "The Need for Praxis: Bringing Policy Relevance Back In." *International Security*. 26 Pp.169-183

Recommended Readings

Nincic, Miroslav and Joseph Leggold, (eds). 2000. *Being useful: policy relevance and international relations theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.