

**Dan Lindley**  
**Graduate Seminar in International Relations Theory**  
**Fall 2017**

POLS60242 - 01 Theories of I.R. W - 3:35P - 6:15P 08/22/2017 12/07/2017 Jenkins and Nanovic Hall B079

This class is a survey of major scholars, themes, and approaches in the study of international relations.

In class, we will discuss the arguments and evidence of many of the readings in this syllabus. After an initial class or two, students will act as presenters and discussants for the readings. This mimics conference appearances.

<https://www3.nd.edu/~dlindley/handouts/LindleyAdviceonAttendingAcademicConferences.htm>  
Come to class prepared with written comments and questions for each reading to be covered.

Students will write a major research paper of 25-35 pages due on the last day of class. The topics are wide-ranging and will be developed in discussion with the professor. Your aim is to produce a potentially publishable paper capable of appearing in a major journal. What do such papers look like? Some survey a literature and propose a new theory or a modification. Some, rarely, invent new paradigms. Some test theories. Some use theories to assess policy problems or explain historical events. Some use history or policy problems to invent new theories. Up to you. But if you postpone planning for this paper, success becomes more difficult.

Grades will be based roughly 40% on participation, 60% on the final paper. I retain discretion in these proportions: Not all students are great participants *and* writers. So long as the student really tries at both, I reserve the right to weight the grade to the student's strengths. However, a full A requires excellence in both.

Here are books for purchase, at the ND bookstore or elsewhere:

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

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001) or the revised edition.

Blainey, Geoffrey, *Causes of War* (Free Press, 1988)

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland, 2010)

Charles L. Glaser, *Theory of Rational International Politics* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University

Press, 2010)

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

Lindley, Dan, *Promoting Peace with Information*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007)

1. Origins and nature of the nation state

- a. Daniel Philpott, "Sovereignty: An Introduction and Brief History," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 2, Transcending National Boundaries (Winter 1995), pp. 353-368 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24357595>
- b. Tilly, Charles, *Coercion, Capital and European States*, (Cambridge, MA, Blackwell, 1992), Chapter 3 "How War Made the State, and Vice Versa." (And, if possible, Chapter 1 as well "Cities and States in World History.")
- c. Ian S. Lustick, "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political "Backwardness" in Historical Perspective," *International Organization* Vol. 51, No. 4 (Autumn, 1997), pp. 653-683 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2703502>
- d. Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7s9d5> Chapters 1 and 8

2. Levels of Analysis

- a. Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man the State and War: a theoretical analysis* (NY, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001 (w/new preface, otherwise 1959). Full pdf version here: (or google it)

<http://euroklinika.com.pl/loadpdf/download/asin=0231125372&type=full>

- b. Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games," *International Organization*, .Vol. 42, No.3, (1988): 424-460; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706785>
- c. Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: the International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 32 , No. 4 (1978): 881-912; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706180>
- d. Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring, 2001), pp. 107-146 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092135>
- e. See also: Allison, Graham, and Zelikow, Philip, *Essence of Decision : Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2 ed., (New York, NY: Addison-Wesley, 1999), 3 segments: pp. 1-142, pp. 143-254, pp. 255-407. The book is the best extant illustration of how theories work as lenses. Imagine each theory to be a lens and note how different facts come into focus with each theory.

3. Political Psychology and the Individual
  - a. Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations*, Series: Analytical Perspectives On Politics (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004), chapters 1 and 3. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.10847>
  - b. Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Apr., 1968), pp. 454-479 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009777>
    - i. Plus: Meg Greenfield, "They Won't...They Can't..." *Newsweek*, June 1 1997, p. 78; and Tim Weiner, "Naivete at the CIA: Every Nation's Just Another U.S." *New York Times*, June 7, 1998. [in online reserves]
  - c. Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar., 1997), pp. 87-112 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2600908>
  - d. Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992) Chapter 1  
[http://jonathanrenshon.com/Teaching/UW/CubanMissile/Analogies%20at%20War\\_19-46.pdf](http://jonathanrenshon.com/Teaching/UW/CubanMissile/Analogies%20at%20War_19-46.pdf)
  - e. "20 Mishaps That Might Have Started Accidental Nuclear War," by Alan F. Philips, M.D., Nuclear Files.org  
<http://nuclearfiles.org/menu/key-issues/nuclear-weapons/issues/accidents/20-mishaps-maybe-caused-nuclear-war.htm> accessed August 22, 2017
  
4. Democratic Peace Theory
  - a. Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace : Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), chapters 1 and 2  
<https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.proxy.library.nd.edu/lib/ndlib-ebooks/detail.action?docID=581651> (google it, go to JSTOR, then look under other institutional options)
  - b. John M. Owen, How Liberals Produces Democratic Peace, *International Security*, Fall 1994, pp. 87-125 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539197>
  - c. Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (Nov. 2003): 585-602; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3593025>
  - d. Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Fall, 1994), pp. 5-49 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539195>
  - e. James D. Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (Sep., 1994), pp. 577-592 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2944796>
  - f. Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary*

*History*, Vol. 18, No. 4, The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars (Spring, 1988), pp. 653-673 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/204819>

5. Constructivism

- a. Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992), pp. 391-425, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>
- b. Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 1, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt5hh13f> See other options, under that link
- c. Clifford Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics* (Cambridge University Press 2012), Chapters 1 and 2; Lindley will distribute pdfs
- d. G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001). Whole book is ordered, but first chapter is here: <http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/samples/prin031/00034681.pdf>
- e. Katzenstein, Peter, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996), chapters 1 and 2. And glance at the TOC to see if anything else might interest you. [https://books.google.com/books?id=bPjkbhKWBOsC&pg=PA7&source=gb\\_toc\\_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=bPjkbhKWBOsC&pg=PA7&source=gb_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false)
- f. Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (1999): 433-468; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2601286>
- g. Ruh Roh.... What it sounds like when constructivism goes bad: <http://www.elsewhere.org/pomo/>

6. Realism

- a. Classical Realism
  - i. Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1993, 7th ed.), chapter 1, Six Principles of Political Realism: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/morg6.htm> ; with helpful prefatory comments that reinforce the role of the individual: [http://www.sisekaitse.ee/public/Valissuhted/ERASMUS/Morgenthau\\_A\\_Realist\\_theory\\_of\\_international\\_politics.pdf](http://www.sisekaitse.ee/public/Valissuhted/ERASMUS/Morgenthau_A_Realist_theory_of_international_politics.pdf)
  - ii. Thucydides, 416 BC, The Melian Dialogue, in Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (New York: Random House, 1951), <http://lygdamus.com/resources/New%20PDFS/Melian.pdf>
  - iii. See also: Carr, E. H. (2001) [1939]. *The Twenty Years' Crisis*:

- 1919–1939. New York: Perennial.
- b. Neo-realism
    - i. Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland, 2010)
      - (1) Kenneth N. Waltz, "International Politics Is Not Foreign Policy", *Security Studies* 6:1 (1996):
  - c. Hegemonic Stability Theory
    - i. Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), read chapters 1 and 2 and skim the rest; in reserves
    - ii. A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), chapters 1 and 2; in reserves
    - iii. Duncan Snidal, The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory, *International Organization*, Vol. 39 , No. 4 (1985): 579-614;
  - d. Polarity
    - i. William Wohlforth, The Stability of a Unipolar World, *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5–41  
<http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/016228899560031>
    - ii. Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Arise," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring 1993), pp. 5–51  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539020>
  - e. What's going on?
    - i. Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall, 1999), pp. 5-55  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539248> or  
<https://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/anybody.pdf>
    - ii. Neoclassical Realism: an attempt to combine different levels of analysis to predict or explain foreign policy. "Focusing on the interaction of the international system and the internal dynamics of states, neoclassical realism seeks to explain the grand strategies of individual states as opposed to recurrent patterns of international outcomes. This book offers the first systematic survey of the neoclassical realist approach. The editors lead a group of senior and emerging scholars in presenting a variety of neoclassical realist approaches to states' grand strategies. They examine the central role of the 'state' and seek to explain why, how, and under what conditions the internal characteristics of states intervene between their leaders' assessments of international threats and opportunities, and the actual diplomatic, military, and foreign economic policies those leaders are likely to pursue." from:  
<https://www.amazon.com/Neoclassical-Realism-State-Foreign-Policy/dp/0521731925>

7. Offensive Realism
  - a. John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001) or the revised edition
    - i. Commentary, Robert Kagan, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/01/why-john-j-mearsheimer-is-right-about-some-things/308839/>
  - b. Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Summer, 1994), pp. 72-107. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539149>
  - c. Eric J. Labs, "Beyond Victory: Offensive Realism and the Expansion of War Aims", *Security Studies* 6:4 (1997): <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09636419708429321>
  - d. Keir A. Lieber, "Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer, 2000), pp. 71-104 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626774>
  
8. Defensive Realism
  - a. Charles L. Glaser, *Theory of Rational International Politics* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010)
  - b. Charles L. Glaser, "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Winter, 1994-1995), pp. 50-90 : <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539079>
  - c. Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Jan., 1978), pp. 167-214, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009958>
  - d. Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Spring, 1998), pp. 5-43: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539239>
    - i. James W. Davis, Jr., Bernard I. Finel, Stacie E. Goddard, Stephen Van Evera, Charles L. Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, "Commentary: Taking Offense at Offense-Defense Theory," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Winter, 1998-1999), pp. 179-206: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539342>
  
9. Conflict
  - a. Blainey, Geoffrey, *Causes of War* (Free Press, 1988)
  - b. James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer, 1995), pp. 379-414, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706903>
  - c. Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, Volume 35, 1993 - Issue 1 <http://web.mit.edu/SSP/people/posen/security-dilemma.pdf>
  - d. Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 6 (November/December 1994), pp. 20-33. [in online reserves]

10. Liberalism and Cooperation
  - a. Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)
  - b. Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Oct., 1985), pp. 1-24, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010349> (Full Oye *Cooperation Under Anarchy* book was a volume of *World Politics*, Oct 1985. TOC and links here: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i308734>)
  - c. Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions," *World Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Oct., 1985), pp. 226-254, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010357>
  - d. Robert Jervis, "From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation," *World Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Oct., 1985), pp. 58-79 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010351>
  - e. Robert O. Keohane, Joseph S. Nye, Jr, "Review: Power and Interdependence Revisited" *International Organization*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Autumn, 1987), pp. 725-753: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706764>
  - f. Charles Lipson, "International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs," *World Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Oct., 1984), pp. 1-23 : <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010304>
  - g. Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer, 1988), pp. 485-507 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706787>
  
11. Institutions
  - a. Stephen D. Krasner, editor, *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), based on a special volume of *International Organization* , Vol 36, No. 2 Spring 1982: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.nd.edu/stable/i346124>
    - i. Stephen D. Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2, *International Regimes* (Spring, 1982), pp.185-205 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706520>
    - ii. Robert O. Keohane, "The Demand for International Regimes," *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2, *International Regimes* (Spring, 1982), pp.325-355 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706525>
    - iii. See also Stein, Jervis, Strange, Ruggie, among others.
  - b. Lindley, Dan, *Promoting Peace with Information*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007) We'll read through the Concert of Europe, perhaps one UN chapter, and the conclusion.
  - c. John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Winter, 1994-1995), pp. 5-49 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539078>

- i. And responses:
  - (1) Keohane and Martin <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539214>
  - (2) Kupchan and Kupchan <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539215>
  - (3) Ruggie <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539216>
  - (4) Wendt <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539217>
  - (5) Mearsheimer reply <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539218>

12. International Law

- a. Kenneth W. Abbott, Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal, "The Concept of Legalization," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (2000): 401-419;
- b. Karen J. Alter *The New Terrain of International Law* chapters:
  - i. Karen J. Alter, book chapter 1 "The New Terrain of International Law: Courts, Politics, Rights," from, Princeton University Press. (2014) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5hhs2t.7>
  - ii. Karen J. Alter, book chapter 2 "International Courts Altering Politics" from *The New Terrain of International Law*, Princeton University Press. (2014) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5hhs2t.8>
- c. Hafner-Burton, E. "A social science of human rights," *Journal of Peace Research*, 2015, vol. 51, #2, pp. 273-286.  
<https://www3.nd.edu/~ggoertz/grdir/Hafner-Burton2014.pdf>
- d. See also, special issue of IO on Legalization, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i324470> including:
  - i. Kenneth W. Abbott, Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter and Duncan Snidal, "The Concept of Legalization," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3, Legalization and World Politics (Summer, 2000), pp. 401-419 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2601339>

13. Globalization and the Future

- a. Latest Global Trends: *National Intelligence Council Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*, Dec. 2012:  
[https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/GlobalTrends\\_2030.pdf](https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/GlobalTrends_2030.pdf)
- b. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 22-49: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20045621>
- c. Fukuyama, Francis (Summer 1989). "The End of History?". *The National Interest* (16): 3-18. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184> or <https://ps321.community.uaf.edu/files/2012/10/Fukuyama-End-of-history-article.pdf>
- d. John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer, 1990), pp. 5-56



- <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2538981> or  
<http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0017.pdf>
- e. Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe after the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Winter, 1990-1991), pp. 7-57;  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2538906>

Things you are not getting any or much of in this course, though more in some discussions:

1. English school
2. Environment/Climate change approaches
3. Feminist approaches
4. LGBT approaches
5. Racial approaches
6. Identity approaches
7. Non-Western approaches
8. Marxist, dependency approaches
9. IR and policy relevance/debates
10. IR and methods debates
11. Aspects of post-positivism
12. Aspects of normative approaches
13. Securitization approaches
14. TBD.... unknown unknowns