

# PSC341: Advanced Theories of International Politics

January 17, 2008

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## 1 Front Matter

Advanced Theories of International Politics

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## 2 Introduction

This course is a sequel to the core international relations theory seminar for Ph.D. students with a field in international relations. It is intended to build upon that earlier seminar's general introduction to current theoretical debates in international relations, both (a) introducing new forms of theory, and (b) examining in closer detail how some of the theories discussed in the core seminar have been applied. The purpose of the course is to help Ph.D. students prepare for their comprehensive examinations, and to provide them with a broad understanding of the field that will allow them better to write their dissertations.

The course begins with three introductory classes discussing the origins and nature of states, the state system, and international markets respec-

tively. Here, the intention is to provide students with an understanding of issues that are often taken for granted by IR scholars, but that are in fact anything but ‘natural.’ It then goes on over the next three weeks to examine basic arguments about the role of institutions and hierarchy in the sphere of international relations. The following two weeks provide a *very* brief introduction to basic debates over international political economy and globalization, taking in discussions of domestic institutions and North-South relations along the way. It then provides a similarly brief introduction to debates over security, covering issues of cooperation under anarchy, the balance of power, and rational choice approaches to security questions. The emphasis in both of these subsections of the course is not to provide a comprehensive overview of IPE or security issues (which would be impossible in the time allotted in any event), but to provide some understanding of how debates in these particular areas of inquiry intersect with the field of international relations as a whole. The final classes discuss micro-level forms of constructivism (debates over persuasion, deliberation and argument) and possible forms of change in international relations over the longer term.

### 3 Requirements

Students entering this course are expected either to have taken the earlier core seminar or some very close equivalent to it (if in doubt, they should talk to the instructor). The coursework requirements are fourfold.

(1) In-class participation 20 percent. Students are expected to come to class prepared for discussion, and to engage in debate over the readings. I expect students not only to be able to describe the contents of the readings but also to analyse them critically. I will seek to moderate classroom discussion so as to ensure that all students have a chance to participate (e.g., if necessary I will pass over frequent contributors to debate to ensure that everyone has some opportunity to speak).

(2) Short memo and presentation 20 percent. Each student should sign up to write a short (2-4 page) memorandum critically discussing the readings for one week. This student should ensure that this memorandum is distributed to class on the day before it meets, and should also do a *short* (max. 10-15 minute) presentation at the beginning of class going through the readings. Students shouldn’t sign up to give a presentation and memorandum for week 15. This is an optional class in which those who want to participate can

discuss what's likely to happen next in the international system with the instructor over pizza (obviously, there will be no penalty for those who don't attend this optional class).

(3) A take-home exam, to be scheduled at the end of the semester. This will count for 30 percent of your grade.

(4) A choice between one of the following 2 options:

(a) Three 8-10 page papers (for 10 percent of the grade each, for a total of 30 percent). Students who take this option should write 3 papers, each covering the debate for a particular week's readings. The first of these papers is due by February 28 - it can cover any set of readings in the first five weeks. The second paper is due on March 31 - it can cover any set of readings in the second five weeks. The third paper is due on April 30 - it can cover any set of readings for the final five weeks. Students should *not* provide a mere reading report - they should critically analyze these debates, examining the underlying issues, gaps or absences in the debate etc.

or

(b) A 25-30 page paper, due on the last day of class. This paper should *begin* from one of the debates covered in the readings, but should also incorporate outside research and/or readings. This paper should be of sufficiently high quality to warrant presentation at a professional academic conference or publication in a peer-reviewed academic journal. The paper will count for 30 percent of your grade. If you decide to take this option, you must inform me by email by February 28 at the latest.

## 4 Required Texts

The required texts for this course are:

John Brewer (1990), *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).

James Scott (1998), *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1998).

Alex Wendt (1999), *The Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Karl Polanyi (1944), *The Great Transformation* (New York: The Beacon Press).

John Ikenberry (2001), *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint,*

*and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Normal Angell (1933), *The Great Illusion* (New York: Putnam).

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

Ronald Rogowski (1990), *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).

Dani Rodrik (1997), *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics).

Robert Gilpin (1987) *The Political Economy of International Relations* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press)

Susan Sell (2003), *Private Power, Public Law: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Craig Murphy (2002), *Global Institutions, Marginalization and Development* (London: Routledge University Press).

Immanuel Wallerstein (1979), *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

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

Thomas Schelling (1960), *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).

These texts, in addition to the Hirschman text (which is unobtainable at any reasonable price), will be available on short term loan from the Gelman library. I nonetheless recommend that you consider buying as many of them as you reasonably can. They are all core texts that belong in the library of any serious international relations scholar.

## 5 Bibliography

Most of the articles listed below are available via JSTOR or ALADIN if you are using a campus computer (or using your university login for Gelman library from home). A couple are not (notably the Tilly chapter, the Wight chapters, the Katzenstein chapter and the Drezner article) and will be made available via Blackboard.

## 5.1 Introductory Class - January 17

No readings required for this week.

## 5.2 Week 1 - The Origins of States January 24

Hendrik Spruyt (1994), "Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order," *International Organization* 48, 4:527-557.

Charles Tilly (1985), "Warmaking and Statemaking as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In*, Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

John Brewer (1990), *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).

James Scott (1998), *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1998). Chapters 1,2,3.

## 5.3 Week 2 - What Are State Systems Made Of?? - January 31

Martin Wight (1977), *System of States* (Leicester University Press, 1977), chapter 2, "The States System of Hellas" and chapter 3, "Hellas and Persia," pp. 46-109.

Jack Snyder (2002), "Anarchy and Culture: Insights from the Anthropology of War," *International Organization* 56(1):7-45.

Alex Wendt (1999), *The Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Victoria Tin Bor Hui (2004), "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe," *International Organization* 58:175-205

## 5.4 Week 3 - From Hegemony to Hierarchy in the International System - February 7

John Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan (1990), "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," *International Organization* 44(3): 283-315

David Lake (1996), "Anarchy, Hierarchy and the Variety of International Relations." *International Organization* 50(1): 1-33.

Daniel Nexon and Thomas Wright (2007), “What’s at Stake in the American Empire Debate,” *American Political Science Review* 101(2):253-271.

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

Peter Katzenstein (2005), *A World of Regions: Asia And Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press). Chapters 6 and 7 (Linking Regions and Imperium, and The American Imperium in a World of Regions).

## **5.5 Week 4 - Basic theories of international institutions - February 14**

Stephen Krasner (1982), “Regimes and the Limits of Realism: Regimes as Autonomous Variables,” *International Organization* 36(2):497-510.

Friedrich Kratochwil and John Ruggie (1986), “International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State,” *International Organization* 40(4):753-775.

Joseph Grieco (1988), “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 42(3):485-507.

Stephen Krasner (1991), “Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier,” *World Politics* 43:336-66.

James Fearon (1998), “Bargaining, Enforcement and International Cooperation,” *International Organization* 52(2):269-305.

Barbara Koremenos (2005), “Contracting around International Uncertainty,” *American Political Science Review* 99: 549-65.

## **5.6 Week 5 - International institutions and interdependence - February 21**

Normal Angell (1933), *The Great Illusion* (New York: Putnam).

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

John Ruggie (1982). “International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order.” *International Organization* 36(2):379-415.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2004) Chapter Two.

Michael Doyle (1986), "Liberalism in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80(4):1151-1169.

## **5.7 Week 6 - International Political Economy - Four Classic Visions - February 28**

Karl Polanyi (1944), *The Great Transformation* (New York: The Beacon Press).

Albert Hirschman (1945), *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (NBER).

Ronald Rogowski (1990), *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).

Robert Gilpin (1987) *The Political Economy of International Relations* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).

## **5.8 Week 7 - International Political Economy II - The Political Economy of Globalization - March 6**

Dani Rodrik (1997), *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics).

Daniel W. Drezner (2005), "Globalization, Coercion and Competition: The Competing Pathways to Policy Convergence," *Journal of European Public Policy* 12:841-859.

Geoffrey Garrett (1998), "Global Markets and National Politics: Collision Course or Virtuous Circle?," *International Organization* 52(4):787-824.

Suzanne Berger (2000), "Globalization and Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3:43-62.

Beth Simmons and Zachary Elkins (2004), "The Globalization of Liberalization: Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy," *American Political Science Review* 98:171-189.

## **5.9 Week 8 - Domestic Theories of International Outcomes - March 13**

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder (1995), "Democratization and the Danger of War," *International Security* 20(Summer):5-38.

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

Andrew Moravcsik (1997), "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51(4):513-33.

Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, "International Market Regulation." To be circulated.

Walter Mattli and Tim Buthe (2003), "Setting International Standards: Technological Rationality or Primacy of Power?," *World Politics* 56(1):1-42.

## **5.10 No Class on March 20 (Spring Break)**

## **5.11 Week 9 - North-South Relations in the World Economy - March 27**

Susan Sell (2003), *Private Power, Public Law: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Craig Murphy (2002), *Global Institutions, Marginalization and Development* (London: Routledge University Press).

Immanuel Wallerstein (1979), *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Section I - Inequalities of Core and Periphery.

Theda Skocpol (1977), "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique," *American Journal of Sociology* 82(5): 1075-9

## **5.12 Week 10 - Conflict and Security - Relative Gains, Cooperation and Conflict - April 3**

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214.

Robert Powell (1991), "Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory," *American Political Science Review* 85:1303-1320.

Kenneth Oye (1985), "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38(1):1-24.

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

Dale Copeland (1996), "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," *International Security* 20(4):5-41.

John Oneal and Bruce Russett (1997), "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985," *International Studies Quarterly* 41(2):267-294.

### **5.13 Week 11 - Conflict and Security - The Balance of Power - April 10**

Wohlforth, William C (1999). "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* 24(1): 5-41.

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

Randall Schweller (1994), "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In," *International Security* 19(1):72-107.

Walt, Stephen M. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of Power," *International Security* 9,4 (1985): 2-43.

Kenneth Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *International Security* 25(1):5-41.

### **5.14 Week 12 - Rationalist Approaches to Security - Communication and Conflict - April 17**

Thomas Schelling (1960), *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).

Erik Gartzke (1999), "War is in the Error Term," *International Organization*, 53: 567-587.

James Fearon (1994), "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *American Political Science Review* 88:577-592.

Kenneth A. Schultz (1999), "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War," *International Organization* 53:233-266.

## **5.15 Week 13 - Communicative Action and Persuasion in World Politics - April 24**

Thomas Risse (2000), ““Let’s Argue!”: Communicative Action in World Politics,” *International Organization* 54(1):1-39.

Frank Schimmelfennig (2001), “The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union,” *International Organization* 55(1):47-80.

Harald Mueller (2004), “Arguing, Bargaining and all that: Communicative Action, Rationalist Theory and the Logic of Appropriateness in International Relations,” *European Journal of International Relations* 10(3):395-435.

Ronald Krebs and Patrick Jackson (2007), “Twisting Tongues and Twisting Arms: The Power of Political Rhetoric,” *European Journal of International Relations* 13(1)35-66.

Jeff Checkel (2001), “Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change,” *International Organization* 55(3):553-88.

## **5.16 Week 14 - What’s Going to Happen Next?? - Optional Class Over Pizza**

Alex Wendt, (2003), “Why a World State is Inevitable: Teleology and the Logic of Anarchy.” *European Journal of International Relations* 9(4):491-542.

John Ruggie (1993), “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations,” *International Organization* 47(1):139-174.

Steven Weber, Naazneen Barma and Ely Ratner, “A World Without the West,” *The National Interest* July/August 2007.

James Caporaso (1996), “The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalia, Regulatory or Post-Modern?,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34(1):29-52.