

THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Political Science 220A

Fall 2014

W 2-5p, 2121 Bunche

<https://moodle2.sscnet.ucla.edu/course/view/14F-POLSCI220A-1>

Syllabus Vers. 0.9 (Draft, subject to revision)

Professor Arthur Stein

This is a graduate introduction to international relations theory. The course is quite demanding. The readings are varied; they will introduce you not only to schools of thought but also to different methodologies, styles of research, substantive domains, etc. At the end, you will know a lot about international relations theory, but you will also have a good sense of what you don't know. You will be better able to choose the portions of the field you find appealing and the sets of skills you still need to attain in order to specialize in those areas. Although the course is intended as a broad introduction, there are areas that other scholars might emphasize much more. Because the readings focus on alternative theoretical approaches and perspectives, I have not assigned a lot of empirical work that tries to assess relative explanatory power.

There are different things that you may find disappointing. There are too many readings and not enough time adequately to discuss them all. We will never pay enough attention to those approaches you like; we will spend too much time on work you don't like. Some of you will be frustrated by the fact that no one particular approach is pushed in the course—you will want to be told where truth lies rather than be encouraged to tolerate ambiguity and accept the hyperpluralism of the field.

Think of the following questions as you read. What do the authors want to explain? What explains each phenomenon in question? What are the critical concepts? How are cause and effect observed? What kind of research design is employed? From what theoretical perspective does the argument originate? With whom are the authors engaged in debate?

This is an incomplete draft syllabus, changes will be made and you will receive updates. The syllabus includes supplementary material and is intended as a resource.

Course requirements: Participation and two short papers.

I expect you to come to each class session and to come prepared. Your participation is essential for the course to work. Not to prepare is to attempt to ride free on the efforts of others. You may be required to do in-class presentations. In addition, you will be required to write two short papers. They must be completed before the end of the quarter. They must not be submitted two weeks in a row; they must be spaced at least two weeks apart (that way, you will have the benefit of comments on prior papers). And you must not write on the same topic more than once. Note that the two papers entail somewhat different tasks—roughly corresponding to the essential components of scholarship.

Paper #1: 7-10 pages

This paper should be a critical review of one or more items assigned in the course. The critique should deal with theoretical and analytical issues rather than minor methodological ones. Examples: “author A argues that X causes Y but the material in the article make a more compelling case for the reverse causal argument”; “author A argues that X leads to Y but variable Z, which is never discussed (much less controlled for), seems a more important causal factor”; “the concept Y is central to the arguments made by both scholars A and B, yet they use the term in quite distinct senses with compelling consequences for their respective arguments.” An example of a critique I do not want particularly to see: “the author’s measurement of power leaves

something to be desired.” Deal with the heart of an argument.

You are encouraged to write about articles we have not yet discussed in class. DO NOT repeat arguments made in class if you do write about an article after we have discussed it.

Paper #2: 7-10 pages

Lay out an interesting puzzle or question and sketch how one might go about solving or answering it.

Alternatively, take off from one or more pieces you have read to develop a hypothesis of your own. This could be an elaboration, extension, or different application of another’s argument.

I am prepared to accept alternative paper topics, but you must clear them with me in advance.

You should think of yourselves as apprentices learning about a field and its practices. Although your primary focus is on the specific arguments developed in the works you read, you should keep an eye on as much else as possible. In what journals does work appear? Do different styles of work appear in different journals (some day you will be an author thinking about where to submit your work)? Who and what is cited? What distinguishes works you like from those that you don’t? Are there any stylistic devices you like?

Course Topics:

1. Realism
 2. System Structure
 3. Societal Sources of Foreign Policy
 4. Institutions and Decision Making
 5. Individuals and Contexts
 6. Strategic Interaction
 7. Situational Analysis: Evolution, History, and Social Constructivism
 8. * New Foci: Civil War, Terrorism, and Networks
 9. * New Foci: International and Transnational Institutions
- * These are tentative and subject to change

We will read all or most of:

Lake, David A., and Robert Powell, eds. 1999. *Strategic choice and international relations*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.

Stein, Arthur A. 1990. *Why nations cooperate: circumstance and choice in international relations*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Key international relations journals you should be aware of:

International Interactions
International Organization
International Security
International Studies Quarterly
International Theory (2009-)

Journal of Conflict Resolution
Journal of Peace Research
Review of International Studies
Security Studies
World Politics

Also worthy of periodic attention:

<i>Armed Forces and Society</i>	<i>International Negotiation (1996-)</i>
<i>Australian Journal of International Affairs</i>	<i>International Peacekeeping</i>
<i>British Journal of Politics</i>	<i>International Politics</i>
<i>and International Relations</i>	<i>International Relations</i>
<i>Bulletin of Atomic Scientists</i>	<i>International Studies Perspectives</i>
<i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i>	<i>International Studies Review</i>
<i>Chinese Journal of International Politics</i>	<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>
<i>Civil Wars</i>	<i>Journal of European Integration</i>
<i>Conflict</i>	<i>Journal of Genocide Research</i>
<i>Conflict Management and Peace Science</i>	<i>Journal of International Affairs</i>
<i>Conflict, Security & Development (2001-)</i>	<i>Journal of Military Ethics (2002-)</i>
<i>Cooperation and Conflict</i>	<i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i>
<i>Defense and Peace Economics</i>	<i>Journal of Transatlantic Studies</i>
<i>Democracy and Security</i>	<i>Journal of World-System Research</i>
<i>Diplomacy and Statecraft</i>	<i>Millennium</i>
<i>Economics of Peace and Security Journal</i>	<i>National Identities</i>
<i>Ethics and International Affairs</i>	<i>Nationalities Papers</i>
<i>Ethics and Global Politics</i>	<i>Nations and Nationalism</i>
<i>Ethnicities</i>	<i>Nonproliferation Review</i>
<i>European Journal of International Relations</i>	<i>Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology</i>
<i>European Security</i>	<i>Peace Review</i>
<i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i>	<i>Perspectives on Terrorism</i>
<i>Geopolitics and International Boundaries</i>	<i>Review</i>
<i>Global Governance</i>	<i>Review of International Organizations</i>
<i>Global Change, Peace and Security</i>	<i>Review of International Political Economy</i>
<i>Global Review of Ethnopolitics</i>	<i>Security Dialogue</i>
<i>Global Society</i>	<i>Small Wars and Insurgencies</i>
<i>Harvard International Review</i>	<i>Studies in Conflict and Terrorism</i>
<i>Human Security Journal</i>	<i>Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism (2001-)</i>
<i>Intelligence and National Security</i>	<i>Terrorism and Political Violence</i>
<i>International Affairs</i>	<i>World Trade Review</i>
<i>International Journal</i>	
<i>International Journal of Intelligence</i>	
<i>and CounterIntelligence</i>	

More primarily policy oriented journals, include:

<i>Adelphi Papers</i>	<i>Survival</i>
<i>Bulletin of Atomic Scientists</i>	<i>The Round Table</i>
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	<i>Washington Quarterly</i>
<i>Foreign Policy</i>	<i>World Affairs</i>
<i>The National Interest</i>	<i>World Economy</i>
<i>Orbis</i>	<i>World Policy Journal</i>
<i>Strategic Studies Quarterly</i>	<i>The World Today</i>

International relations articles also appear in general political science journals, which you should monitor periodically:

<i>Administrative Science Quarterly</i>	<i>Philosophy and Public Affairs</i>
<i>American Political Science Review</i>	<i>Policy Sciences</i>
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i>	<i>Political Analysis</i>
<i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>	<i>Political Geography</i>
<i>Australian Journal of Political Science</i>	<i>Political Geography Quarterly</i>
<i>British Journal of Political Science</i>	<i>Political Psychology</i>
<i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>
<i>Comparative Politics</i>	<i>Political Science Quarterly</i>
<i>Comparative Political Studies</i>	<i>Political Studies</i>
<i>Economics and Politics</i>	<i>Politics and Economics</i>
<i>International Political Science Review</i>	<i>Politics and Society</i>
<i>Journal of Democracy</i>	<i>Polity</i>
<i>Journal of Global History (2006-)</i>	<i>Public Choice</i>
<i>Journal of Politics</i>	<i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i>
<i>Journal of Theoretical Politics</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of Political Science</i>
<i>Negotiation Journal</i>	
<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>	

Articles of interest to students of international relations also appear in journals in other fields and subfields including

<i>American Economic Review</i>	<i>Journal of Conflict Studies</i>
<i>American Journal of International Law</i>	<i>Journal of Contemporary History</i>
<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>	<i>Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization</i>
<i>American Psychologist</i>	<i>Journal of Economic Literature</i>
<i>American Sociological Review</i>	<i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i>
<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>	<i>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i>
<i>Annual Review of Psychology</i>	<i>Journal of International Development</i>
<i>Annual Review of Sociology</i>	<i>Journal of Law and Economics</i>
<i>Chicago Journal of International Law</i>	<i>Journal of Legal Studies</i>
<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>	<i>Journal of Mathematical Sociology</i>
<i>Complexity</i>	<i>Journal of Military History</i>
<i>Contemporary European History</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>Critical Review</i>	<i>Journal of National Security Law and Policy</i>
<i>Diplomatic History</i>	<i>Journal of Political Economy</i>
<i>Daedalus</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of Economics</i>
<i>Development and Change</i>	<i>Philosophy and Public Affairs</i>
<i>Economic Journal</i>	<i>Rationality and Society</i>
<i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>	<i>Social Networks</i>
<i>Games and Economic Behavior</i>	<i>Stanford Journal of International Law</i>
<i>International and Comparative Law Quarterly</i>	<i>Synthese</i>
<i>International History Review</i>	<i>The Manchester School</i>
<i>International Social Science Journal</i>	<i>The World Economy</i>
<i>Journal of Cold War Studies</i>	<i>Theory and Decision</i>
	<i>Theory and Society</i>

Articles of interest to students of international relations also appear in journals that cover regions including

British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
China Security (2003-)
International Journal of Middle East Studies
International Relations of Asia-Pacific
Iranian Studies
Journal of Asian Studies
Journal of European Integration
Journal of Islamic Studies

Journal of Latin American Studies
Journal of Slavic Military Studies
Korean Journal of Defense Analysis (1989-)
Middle East Policy
Modern Asian Studies
Pacific Review
Post-Soviet Affairs
Third World Quarterly

Note that many journals you might not suspect carry international relations articles and even devote special issues to international relations topics. Examples include: Special issue on "Formal analysis in international relations," *Synthese* 76 (August 1988); Special issue on "International monetary cooperation, domestic politics, and policy ideas," *Journal of Public Policy* 8 (July-December 1988).

There has been a huge explosion of new data sets in the last decade, and many are available on the web. But also consult, among others:

Banks, Arthur S., and Robert B. Textor. 1963. *A cross-polity survey*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.
 Cioffi-Revilla, Claudio. 1990. *The scientific measurement of international conflict: handbook of datasets on crises and wars, 1495-1988 A. D.* Boulder: L. Rienner.
 Donelan, M. D., and M. J. Grieve. 1973. *International disputes: case histories 1945-1970*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
 Mitchell, B. R. 1975. *European historical statistics, 1750- 1970*. New York: Columbia University Press.
 Naroll, Raoul, Vern L. Bullough, and Frada Naroll.

1974. *Military deterrence in history: a pilot cross-historical survey*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Russett, Bruce, Hayward Alker, Karl Deutsch, and Harold Lasswell. 1964. *World handbook of political and social indicators*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Singer, J. David, and Melvin Small. 1972. *The wages of war 1816-1965: a statistical handbook*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Taylor, Charles, and Michael Hudson. 1972. *World handbook of political and social indicators*. 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Always be on the lookout for reviews of the literature. Most fields have annuals that publish just review essays, see *Annual Review of Political Science*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *Annual Review of Psychology*, and *Annual Review of Sociology*.

Special issues of journals, such as the 50th anniversary issues of *International Organization* and *World Politics*, typically contain review essays of the field. The American Political Science Association has also published multiple editions of *The state of the discipline* which contain review essays. There are also useful essays in encyclopedias and periodic reference volumes, for example: *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*, and *The new Palgrave: a dictionary of economics*, eds. John Eatwell, Murray Milgate, Peter Newman (New York: Stockton Press, 1987). Handbooks are a good source of review essays,

Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse-Kappen and Beth A. Simmons, eds. 2002. *Handbook of international relations*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
 Gurr, Ted Robert, ed. 1980. *Handbook of political conflict: theory and research*. New York: The Free Press.
 Midlarsky, Manus I., ed. 1989. *Handbook of war*

studies. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

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

Tetlock, Philip, Jo Husbands, Robert Jervis, Paul Stern, and Charles Tilly, eds. 1989. *Behavior, society, and nuclear war*, vol. 1. New York: Oxford University Press, for the National Research Coun-

cil of the National Academy of Sciences.

—, eds. 1991. *Behavior, society, and nuclear war*, vol. 2. New York: Oxford University Press, for the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences.

—, eds. 1993. *Behavior, society, and international conflict*, vol. 3. New York: Oxford University Press, for the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences.

Weingast, Barry R. and Donald A. Wittman, eds. 2006. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

The following is a list of twentieth-century classics in the field.

You will be surprised at how many of them you've neither been asked to read nor have even heard of. Some of the more recent items may, of course, not stand the test of time and disappear from future lists of such classics. Note that some of the following are by economists, sociologists, and historians, not political scientists.

Allison, Graham T. 1971. *Essence of decision: explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Angell, Norman. 1910. *The great illusion: a study of the relation of military power in nations to their economic and social advantage*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Aron, Raymond. 1967. *Peace and war: a theory of international relations*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The evolution of cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.

Boulding, Kenneth E. 1962. *Conflict and defense: a general theory*. New York: Harper & Row.

Bozeman, Adda B. 1960. *Politics and culture in international history*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Bull, Hedley. 1977. *The anarchical society: a study of order in world politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Carr, E. H. 1940. *The twenty years' Crisis, 1919-1939: an introduction to the study of international relations*. London: Macmillan.

Claude, Inis L. Jr. 1962. *Power and international relations*. New York: Random House, Inc.

Cooper, Richard N. 1968. *The economics of interdependence: economic policy in the Atlantic community*. New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by McGraw-Hill.

Deutsch, Karl W., Sidney A. Burrell, Robert A. Kann, Maurice Jr. Lee, Martin Lichterman, Raymond E. Lindgren, Francis L. Loewenheim, and Richard W. Van Wagenen. 1957. *Political community and the North Atlantic area: international organization in the light of historical experience*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.

Gilpin, Robert. 1975. *U.S. power and the multina-*

tional corporation: The political economy of foreign direct investment. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Haas, Ernst. 1964. *Beyond the nation state: functionalism and international organization*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Herz, John H. 1951. *Political realism and political idealism: a study in theories and realities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

—. 1959. *International politics in the atomic age*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Hinsley, F. H. 1963. *Power and the pursuit of peace: theory and practice in the history of relations between states*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1945. *National power and the structure of foreign trade*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Hoffmann, Stanley. 1965. *The state of war: essays on the theory and practice of international politics*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1961. *The common defense: strategic programs in international politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

—. 1957. *The soldier and the state: the theory and politics of civil-military relations*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and misperception in international politics*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

—. 1989. *The meaning of nuclear revolution: statecraft and the prospect of Armageddon*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press.

Kaplan, Morton A. 1957. *System and process in international politics*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

- Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. 1978. *Between power and plenty: foreign economic policies of advanced industrial states*. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Kennan, George Frost. 1951. *American diplomacy, 1900-1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kennedy, Paul M. 1989. *The rise and fall of the great powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye. 1977. *Power and interdependence: world politics in transition*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Kissinger, Henry A. 1973. *A world restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the problems of peace, 1812-22*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Krasner, Stephen D., ed. 1983. *International regimes*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Moon, Parker Thomas. 1926. *Imperialism and world politics*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. 1948. *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Olson, Mancur. 1982. *The rise and decline of nations: economic growth, stagflation, and social rigidities*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and coalitions: how trade affects domestic political alignments*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.
- Rosecrance, Richard N. 1963. *Action and reaction in world politics: international systems in perspective*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- . 1986. *The rise of the trading state: commerce and conquest in the modern world*. New York: Basic Books.
- Russell, Frank M. 1936. *Theories of international relations*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.
- Schelling, Thomas C. 1960. *The strategy of conflict*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Snyder, Glenn H., and Paul Diesing. 1977. *Conflict among nations: bargaining and decision making in international crises*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.
- Spykman, Nicholas. 1942. *America's strategy in world politics: the United States and the balance of power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Staley, Eugene. 1935. *War and the private investor: a study in the relations of international politics and international Private Investment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Steinbruner, John D. 1974. *The cybernetic theory of decision: new dimensions of political analysis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. *The modern world-system I: capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Academic Press.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *Man, the state and war: a theoretical analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1979. *Theory of international politics*. Menlo Park, California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Wolfers, Arnold. 1962. *Discord and collaboration: essays on international politics*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Wright, Quincy. 1942. *A study of war*. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Then there are classics that do not address, but are essential for, international relations. This list specifically excludes diplomatic histories which typically are essential works for scholars of international politics.

- Diamond, Jared. 1997. *Guns, germs, and steel: The fates of human societies*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Elster, Jon. 1978. *Logic and society: contradictions and possible worlds*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- . 1979. *Ulysses and the Sirens: studies in rationality and irrationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Festinger, Leon. 1964. *Conflict, decision, and dissonance*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, voice, and loyalty: responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Kelley, Harold H., and John W. Thibaut. 1978. *Interpersonal relations: a theory of interdependence*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

- Landes, David S. 1998. *The wealth and poverty of nations: why some are so rich and some so poor*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- North, Douglass C. 1981. *Structure and change in economic history*. New York: Norton.
- Olson, Mancur Jr. 1965. *The logic of collective action: public goods and the theory of groups*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Schelling, Thomas C. 1978. *Micromotives and macrobehavior*. New York: Norton.
- Walzer, Michael. 1977. *Just and unjust wars*.

Selected international relations publications by current UCLA political science faculty:

- Denardo, James. 1995. *The amateur strategist: intuitive deterrence theories and the politics of the nuclear arms race*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johns, Leslie. 2006. Knowing the unknown: executive evaluation and international crisis outcomes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(2): 228-252.
- _____. 2007. A servant of two masters: Communication and the selection of international bureaucrats. *International Organization* 61(2): 245-275.
- _____ with Michael Gilligan and B. Peter Rosendorff. 2010. Strengthening International Courts and the Early Settlement of Disputes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (1): 5-38.
- _____. 2012. Courts as Coordinators: Endogenous Enforcement and Jurisdiction in International Adjudication. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56 (2):257-289.
- Larson, Deborah Welch. 1985. *Origins of containment: a psychological explanation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 1997. *Anatomy of mistrust: U.S.-Soviet relations during the Cold War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- _____, co-ed. 2003. *Good Judgment in foreign policy: theory and application*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- O'Neill, Barry. 1999. *Honor, symbols, and war*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Pagden, Anthony. 1993. *European encounters with the new world: from Renaissance to Romanticism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- _____. 1995. *Lords of all the world: Ideologies of empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- _____. 2001. *Peoples and empires: a short history of European migration, exploration, and conquest from Greece to the present*. New York: Modern Library.
- _____. 2008. *Worlds at War: The 2,500-Year Struggle Between East and West*. New York: Random House.
- Rapoport, David C. 1984. Fear and trembling: terrorism in three religious traditions. *American Political Science Review* 78 (3): 658-677.
- _____, ed. 1988. *Inside terrorist organizations*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rapoport, David C. and Yonah Alexander, eds. 1982. *The Rationalization of terrorism*. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America.
- _____, eds. 1989. *The Morality of terrorism: religious and secular justifications*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and coalitions: how trade affects domestic political alignments*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. How do natural resources influence civil war? Evidence from thirteen cases. *International Organization* 58(1): 35-67.
- _____. 2004. What do we know about natural resources and civil war? *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 337-356.
- _____. 2006. A closer look at oil, diamonds, and civil war. *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 265-300.
- Spiegel, Steven L. 1972. *Dominance and diversity: the international hierarchy*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- _____. 1985. *The other Arab-Israeli conflict: making America's Middle East policy, from Truman to Reagan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stein, Arthur A. 1980. *The nation at war*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- _____. 1990. *Why nations cooperate: circumstance and choice in international relations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- _____, co-ed. 1993. *The domestic Bases of grand strategy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- _____, co-ed. 2006. *No More states?: globalization,*

- national self-determination, and terrorism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. 1980. *Reparation in world politics: France and European economic diplomacy, 1916-1923*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- _____. 1991. *History and strategy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 1999. *A constructed peace: the making of the European settlement, 1945-1963*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- _____, ed. 2003. *Between empire and alliance: America and Europe during the Cold War*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- _____. 2005. *The craft of international history: a guide to method*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Trager, Robert F. 2010. Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy: How Communication Matters. *American Political Science Review* 104 (2): 347-368.
- _____. 2011. Multidimensional Diplomacy. *International Organization* 65(3): 469-506.
- _____. 2012. Long-Term Consequences of Aggressive Diplomacy: European Relations After Austrian Crimean War Threats. *Security Studies* 21 (2): 232-65.
- _____ and Dessislava P. Zagorcheva. 2005. Deterring terrorism: It can be done. *International Security* 30 (3): 87-123.
- _____ and Lynn Vavreck. 2011. The Political Costs of Crisis Bargaining: Presidential Rhetoric and the Role of Party. *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (3): 526-545.
- Treisman, Daniel. 2004. Rational appeasement. *International Organization* 58(2): 345-373.
- Wilkinson, David O. 1969. *Comparative foreign relations: framework and methods*. comparative foreign relations series. Belmont, CA: Dickenson Pub. Co.
- _____. 1975. *Revolutionary civil war: the elements of victory and defeat*. Palo Alto, CA: Page-Ficklin Publications.
- _____. 1980. *Deadly quarrels: Lewis F. Richardson and the statistical study of war*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

An incomplete list of UCLA PhDs in international relations:

- Max Abrahms (Ph.D., 2010), Northeastern University
- Juliann Allison (Ph.D., 1995), (SUNY, Binghamton), University of California, Riverside
- Gitty Amini (Ph.D., 2001), University of LaVerne
- Joslyn Barnhart (Ph.D., 2013), Wesleyan University
- Mark R. Brawley (Ph.D., 1989), McGill University
- Lawrence Broz (Ph.D., 1993), (Harvard University, New York University) University of California, San Diego
- Daniela Campello (Ph.D., 2008), Princeton University
- Rupen Cetinyan (Ph.D., 1998), (University of Pittsburgh)
- Kerry Chase (Ph.D., 1998), (Tufts University), Brandeis University
- Martha Cottam (Ph.D., 1983), Washington State University
- Katja Favretto (Ph.D., 2009), University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Judith Goldstein (Ph.D., 1983), Stanford University
- Julia Gray (Ph.D., 2007), (University of Pittsburgh) University of Pennsylvania
- Sandra Halperin (Ph.D., 1991), (University of Pittsburgh), Sussex University
- Mary Hampton (Ph.D., 1993), University of Utah
- Cynthia Hody (Ph.D., 1986), University of Maryland, Baltimore County
- Shale Horowitz (Ph.D., 1996), University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
- Koji Kagotani (Ph.D., 2010) (Trinity College, Dublin)
- Neil Joeck (Ph.D., 1986), Lawrence Livermore Laboratory
- Alan Kessler (Ph.D., 1999), (University of Texas, Austin)
- Jennifer Kibbe (Ph.D., 2002), Franklin & Marshall College
- Shuhei Kurizaki (Ph.D., 2007), (Texas A & M University), Waseda University
- Fred Lawson (Ph.D., 1982), Mills College

- Jeffrey W. Legro (Ph.D., 1992), (University of Minnesota), University of Virginia
- Peter Li (Ph.D., 2004),
- Karen T. Litfin (Ph.D., 1992), University of Washington
- Steven Lobell (Ph.D., 1997), (University of Northern Iowa) University of Utah
- Charles Mahoney (Ph.D., 2011), California State University, Long Beach
- Elizabeth Matthews (Ph.D., 2002), Rochester Institute of Technology
- Espen Moe (Ph.D., 2004), Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Social Research AS
- Jeannette Money (Ph.D., 1991), (LSU), University of California, Davis
- Robert Pahre (Ph.D., 1990), (University of Rochester, University of Michigan), University of Illinois
- Paul Papayoanou (Ph.D., 1992), (University of California, San Diego)
- T. V. Paul (Ph.D., 1991), McGill University
- Brian Potter (Ph.D., 1997), Tulane University
- Philip B. K. Potter (Ph.D., 2009), Ford School, University of Michigan
- Christopher Rudolph (Ph.D., 2001), American University
- Maria Sampanis (Ph.D., 1996), California State University, Sacramento
- Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey (Ph.D., 1991), London School of Economics
- Zachary Selden (Ph.D., 1995), University of Florida
- Lars Skålnes (Ph.D., 1993), University of Oregon
- Etel Soligen (Ph.D., 1987), University of California, Irvine
- Cherie Steele (Ph.D., 1995), (University of Vermont), Wesleyan Univ.
- Roland Stephen (Ph.D., 1995), North Carolina State University
- Adam Stulberg (Ph.D., 1996), Georgia Institute of Technology
- Andrea Talentino (Ph.D., 1998), (Tulane University) Drew University
- Jennifer Taw (Ph.D., 1999), Claremont McKenna College
- Peter G. Thompson (Ph.D., 2003), (James Madison College at Michigan State University) National Defense University
- Jana Von Stein (Ph.D., 2006), University of Michigan
- Katja Weber (Ph.D., 1992), (Lehigh University), Georgia Institute of Technology
- Melissa Willard (Ph.D. 2011), University of Vermont
- Kristen P. Williams (Ph.D., 1998), Clark University

Books that were UCLA dissertations

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- Broz, J. Lawrence (Ph.D., 1993)
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- bastards”: Saddam Hussein’s strategic view of the United States. *Diplomatic History* 36 (3): 625-659.
- Potter, Philip B. K. 2007. Does experience matter? American presidential experience, age, and international conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(3): 351-378.
- Baum, Matthew A. and **Philip B. K. Potter**. 2008. The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 39-65.
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- Larson, Deborah Welch and **Alexei Shevchenko**. 2003. Shortcut to Greatness: The New Thinking and the Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy. *International Organization* 57 (Winter): 771-109.
- Rosecrance, Richard and **Jennifer Taw**. 1990. Japan and the theory of international leadership. *World Politics* 42: 184-209.
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- _____. 2012. Security, Two Diplomacies, and the Formation of the U.S. Constitution: Review, Interpretation, and New Directions for the Study of the Early American Period. *Diplomatic History* 36: 77-117.
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Background: theory and methodology in international relations and the history of the field

The field of international relations tends to be quite self-conscious about the nature of theory and science and thus many international relations courses begin with a session on theory. We won’t, but the kinds of questions you should be able to answer, include: What is a theory? How do we select cases for study? What is selection bias? Does all theorizing imply counterfactuals? What is the role of counterfactuals and thought experiments in the development of science? What constitutes a systemic or structural argument? Is reductionism inherently bad? Is there a level of analysis problem in international relations? What is implicated in the choice between qualitative and quantitative methods? What is the relationship between theory and history? What is process tracing?

The field also has a history. Is the field driven by changing historical events and contexts or is it theory- or method-driven? Some references:

Qualitative methods: case studies:

George, Alexander L. 1979. Case studies and theory development. In *Diplomacy: new approaches in history, theory, and policy*. ed. Paul Gordon Lauren, 43-68. New York: Free Press. Especially pp. 54-68. This article is invariably cited as justification by anyone doing cases studies in international relations.

George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences*. BCSIA studies in international security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Necessary and sufficient:

Goertz, Gary and Harvey Starr, eds. 2002. *Necessary conditions: theory, methodology, and applications*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Levy, Jack S. and Gary Goertz. 2007. *Explaining war and peace: case studies and necessary condition counterfactuals*. New York: Routledge.

Braumoeller, B.F. and G. Goertz. 2000. The methodology of necessary conditions. *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 844-858.

Qualitative methods:

- Gerring, J. and R. McDermott. 2007. An experimental template for case study research. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 688-701.
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- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Singer, J. David. 1961. The level-of-analysis problem in international relations. *World Politics* 14: 77-92. Reprinted in *The international system*, ed. Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, pp. 77-92.

Counterfactuals:

- Fearon, James D. 1991. Counterfactuals and hypothesis testing in political science. *World Politics* 43: 169-195.
- Tetlock, Philip and Aaron Belkin. 1996. *Counterfactual thought experiments in world politics: logical, methodological, and psychological perspectives*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
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Case selection:

- McKeown, Timothy J. 1999. Case studies and the statistical worldview: review of King, Keohane, and Verba's *Designing social Inquiry: scientific inference in qualitative research*. *International Organization* 53: 161-
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Selection bias:

- Achen, Christopher H., and Duncan Snidal. 1989. Rational deterrence theory and comparative case studies. *World Politics* 41: 143-69. This essay is followed by ones by George and Smoke (1989), Jervis (1989), Lebow and Stein (1989), and Downs (1989). A discussion of selection bias in international relations.
- Collier, David and James Mahoney. 1996. Insights and pitfalls: Selection bias in qualitative research. *World Politics* 49 (1): 56-91.
- Von Stein, Jana. 2005. Do treaties constrain or screen? Selection bias and treaty compliance. *American Political Science Review* 99: 611-622.
- Ashworth, Scott, Joshua D. Clinton, Adam Meirowitz and Kristopher W. Ramsay. 2008. Design, inference, and the strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 269-273.

History and how to of the field:

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- Holsti, K. J. 1998. Scholarship in an era of anxiety: the study of international politics during the Cold War. *Review of International Studies* 24, Special Issue (December): 17-46.
- Kahler, Miles. 1997. Inventing international relations: international relations theory since 1945. In *New thinking in international relations theory*, edited by Michael W. Doyle and G. John Ikenberry, 20-53. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Quantitative methods:

Beck, N., G. King and L.C. Zeng. 2000. Improving quantitative studies of international conflict: A conjecture. *American Political Science Review* 94: 21-35.

Box-Steffensmeier, J. M., D. Reiter and C. Zorn. 2003. Nonproportional hazards and event history analysis in international relations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(1): 33-53.

Sprinz, Detlef F. and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias. 2004. *Models, numbers, and cases: methods for studying international relations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

1 Realism

What are realism and neorealism? What are offensive and defensive realism? What is assumed? What is explained? What is not being explained? Are they explanatory theories or normative injunctions? What is meant by anarchy? What does it imply? What is the role of intention? What constitutes change? What kind of empirical work can be done to assess these arguments (i.e., what is the research program)? Does economics provide an appropriate analogue for these theories? What do they say about the economy? Is realism a theory of war, peace, or both? Are some arguments specific to security and others to foreign economic policy?

Levy, Jack S. 1998. The causes of war and the conditions of peace. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 139-165. Skim

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Stein, Arthur A. 1990. *Why nations cooperate: circumstance and choice in international relations*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 3-24.

Walt, Stephen M. 1985. Alliance formation and the balance of power. *International Security* 9: 3-43. Skim

Axelrod, Robert. 1981. The emergence of cooperation among egoists. *American Political Science Review* 75: 306-18.

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Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. The false promise of international institutions. *International Security* 19 (Winter): 5-49. Skim

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Brooks, Stephen G. 1997. Dueling realisms. *International Organization* 51 (Summer): 445-477.

2 System structure

What is a system? What is a systems theory? Cannot a systems theory also be a theory of foreign policy? Are there alternative ways to characterize international systems or structures than by their balances of power? Compare hegemonic and balance of power arguments. How can scholars characterize the same historical period as both hegemonic and bipolar? What is the difference between assuming an anarchic international system and an international society? What does the anarchy assumption entail? What is the liberal alternative?

- Jervis, Robert. 1979. Systems theories and diplomatic history. In *Diplomacy: new approaches in history, theory, and policy*, ed. Paul Gordon Lauren, 212-44. New York: Free Press.
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3 Societal sources of foreign policy

These articles focus on society and its impact on foreign policy. How is society characterized? Is it a whole or composed of pieces? Along what lines is society divided? What are the societal factors emphasized in the articles? What are the roots of the interests of different subdivisions? Whose interests does policy reflect when society is divided? What are the links between society and the state? Where is government in these models? Are studies of societal sources the sound of one hand clapping (i.e., do they ignore the inter-state component of foreign policy and international relations)? Do these articles provide comparable explanation of security and foreign economic policy? Can all the factors discussed be applied in both domains? Are domestic sources more important in one domain than another? Why?

Kurth, James R. 1979. The political consequences of the product cycle: industrial policy and political outcomes. *International Organization* 33 (Winter): 1-34.

Katzenstein, Peter. 1977. Conclusion: domestic structures and strategies of foreign economic policy. *International Organization* 31 (Autumn): 879-920.

Gordon, Michael. 1974. Domestic conflict and the origins of the First World War. *Journal of Modern History* 46 (June): 191-226.

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Fearon, James D. 1994. Domestic political audiences and the escalation of international disputes. *American Political Science Review* 88 (September): 577-92.

Trager, Robert, F. and Lynn Vavreck. 2011. The political costs of crisis bargaining: Presidential rhetoric and the role of party. *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 526-545.

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Farrell, Theo. 1998. Culture and military power. *Review of International Studies* 24 (July): 407-16.

Owen, John M., IV. 2002. The foreign imposition of domestic institutions. *International Organization* 56, no. 2 (Spring): 375-409.

4 Institutions and decision making

Is there a decision making theory? Is process a description or an explanation? What are the works contrasting process with? Why the need to focus on process rather than purpose? What does it mean for outcomes to be dependent upon process or to be determined by process? Why is the state being disaggregated? Does disaggregating the state require the shift to a decision making approach? Does disaggregating the state require abandoning the rational actor model? Are process arguments about imperfect information or decentralization? What are the relevant actors? Is there a theory of institutions? If we explain foreign policy by use of decision making models, what is the basis for distinguishing international relations as a subfield (i.e., what makes foreign policy different than other policy domains)? Is foreign policy a different issue area? Why? Don't all domestic policies have foreign consequences?

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