

INR 3603: Theories of International Relations

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TTh 2:00-3:15 PM

115 Bellamy Building

Office Hours: T 9:30-11:00,

F 1:30-3:00

Course Description

The primary purpose of this course is to examine theoretical efforts to understand the core concepts, issues, and processes of international relations. This is not a course in current events, although a working knowledge of current events will add substance to some of the readings and topics, and several short assignments will require students to read a newspaper that covers international events. The first segment of the course considers what a "theory" is and how we evaluate theories. Later sections of the course apply this general knowledge to a number of theories of foreign policymaking, international conflict, and international economics. The theories covered are based on a wide range of levels of analysis, and reflect multiple world views.

Upon completion of this course, students should have a strong basic knowledge of theories of international relations and an ability to understand and evaluate theories. The course will require a range of readings, regular attendance and class participation, and efforts to understand and evaluate theories through quizzes, several short papers, and two exams.

Required Texts

Three books are required for this course. Each should be available at either the FSU Bookstore or any Bill's Bookstore location, as well as at online bookstores such as amazon.com and half.com:

- Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997. (Note that we will only be reading one-third of this book for this course, but it is an inexpensive book, and you might find the rest of the book to be useful; the appendix offers good advice on writing college-level papers that can help in almost any course, chapters 3-5 -- despite the author's use of the word "dissertation" -- offer helpful advice on DIS or thesis projects, and chapter 2 offers advice for anybody undertaking a project involving case studies.)
- Phil Williams, Donald M. Goldstein, and Jay M. Shafritz (eds.), *Classic Readings of International Relations*, 3rd edition (2005). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (eds.), *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*, 8th edition (2006). New York: HarperCollins.
- JSTOR: Some readings will be available through JSTOR, an academic journal service. Access is free from any FSU computer (e.g., in FSU computer labs or dorms, or through FSU modem or DSL connections); you can search for individual articles by author or title, or browse by journal name and issue at <<http://www.jstor.org/cgi-bin/jstor/listjournal>>.

Course Requirements

(1) **Examinations:** two noncumulative essay exams are required. The first exam will be given in class on **Tuesday, March 4**; the second exam will be given in the regular class room on **Thursday, April 24, from 7:30-9:30 AM** (the assigned time for the course's final exam). Each

exam will be worth 35% of the total course grade.

(2) **Writing Assignments:** one short writing assignment and one longer paper are required. The short assignment involves the development of a theory of international relations from a current newspaper story, and will be due on either **Tuesday, Feb. 5** (if the student is writing on international conflict) or **Thursday, March 27** (if the student is writing on international economics). The longer paper will involve examining a scholarly article in more depth, and will be due on **Thursday, April 10**. Each paper will be due at the beginning of class (papers turned in once lecture has begun will be assessed a late penalty); the short paper will count for 5% of the total course grade, and the longer paper will count for 15%.

(3) **Preparation, Attendance, and Participation:** Students are required to complete the assigned readings before class, attend class regularly, and participate actively in class discussion. Class preparation will be measured through approximately six to ten (unannounced) quizzes given at the very beginning or ending of class periods, which together will be worth 10% of the total course grade; each student's quiz grade will be determined by dropping the lowest quiz score.

Course Rules

(1) Make-up examinations are given only with **prior** instructor approval and with appropriate documentation, and take place only during final exam week. Note that the documentation must indicate why you could not be in class *at the exact time of the test*. (Also note that standard Thagard notes explicitly state that they are not valid class excuses.)

(2) Failure to complete any paper assignment or failure to take any exam will result in a failing grade for the entire course; a passing grade requires completion of all course requirements. Note that no assignments, documentation, or other items will be accepted after the course's final exam.

(3) Students are required to keep an extra copy of each assignment until the instructor has returned the graded copy of that assignment. Students are also required to keep graded, returned copies of all exams and writing assignments. Failure to do so will invalidate any potential question or protest about assignment or course grades.

(4) All students must treat both the instructor and the other students with respect. This includes showing respect for alternative opinions and points of view, listening when either the instructor or a fellow student is speaking to the class, and refraining from insulting language and gestures.

(5) All students must treat the classroom setting with respect. This includes arriving on time and staying for the entire class (or notifying the instructor in advance if this will not be possible), turning off cell phones and similar devices during class, and refraining from reading, passing notes, talking with friends, and any other potentially disruptive activities.

(6) Failure to abide by these policies will be dealt with in an appropriate manner, which may include a reduction in the course grade.

(7) Any exceptions to these rules are given at the instructor's discretion, only with **prior** approval

where possible, and only under extraordinarily pressing and well-documented circumstances.

(8) The instructor's late paper policies, grading policies, and similar policies and expectations are available at <<http://garnet.acns.fsu.edu/~phensel/teaching.html>>. Failure to visit that web site does not constitute a valid excuse for ignorance of these policies.

(9) The content of this syllabus may be modified by the instructor at any time during the semester if deemed necessary. Any modifications will be announced in class, as well as through Blackboard's class email function, before taking effect.

Americans with Disabilities Act

Students with disabilities needing academic accommodations must (1) register with and provide documentation to the Student Disability Resource Center (SDRC), and (2) bring a letter to the instructor from SDRC indicating that you need academic accommodations. This must be done within the first week of class. For more information about services available to FSU students with disabilities, visit the SDRC (108 Student Services Bldg.) or their web site (<http://www.disabilitycenter.fsu.edu>) or email them at <sdrc@admin.fsu.edu>.

FSU's Academic Honor Policy

The FSU Academic Honor Policy, found at <<http://dof.fsu.edu/honorpolicy.htm>>, outlines the University's expectations for the integrity of students' academic work, the procedures for resolving alleged violations of those expectations, and the rights and responsibilities of students and faculty members throughout the process. Students are responsible for reading the Academic Honor Policy and for living up to their pledge to ". . . be honest and truthful and . . . [to] strive for personal and institutional integrity at Florida State University."

Students must bring possible violations of this honor code to the attention of the instructor as soon as possible, so that the violations -- if any -- may be stopped quickly. Violations include (but are not limited to) the use of unauthorized information on course assignments or examinations, representing another's work or any part thereof (published or unpublished) as one's own, assisting another student in obtaining unauthorized information for course assignments or examinations, and attempting to commit such an offense. A more complete listing of violations can be found in the FSU Academic Honor Policy itself.

Violations will be dealt with in an appropriate manner, consistent with FSU guidelines. Academic penalties may include (but shall not be limited to) a requirement of additional work to provide evidence that the student knows and understands the course material; a lower or failing grade on the assignment or examination in question; and a lower or failing grade for the course. The University may also enforce further disciplinary penalties, such as a formal reprimand, probation, or suspension or dismissal from the University.

Instructor's Web Site

The instructor maintains a web site at <<http://garnet.acns.fsu.edu/~phensel/>> with -- among other things -- teaching policies, solutions to common writing problems, and numerous Internet resources for students of international relations. Students are strongly encouraged to become familiar with this web site during the semester. The on-line version of this syllabus can be found at <<http://garnet.acns.fsu.edu/~phensel/Teaching/inr3603.html>>.

I. INTRODUCTION TO "THEORIES"

1. Tuesday, Jan. 8: Overview of Course
2. Thursday, Jan. 10: What is a Theory?
 - *Van Evera*: pp. 7-17
3. Tuesday, Jan. 15: Evaluating Theories (What is a "Good" Theory?)
 - *Van Evera*: pp. 17-48

II. "GRAND THEORIES" OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

4. Thursday, Jan. 17: Realist World Views
 - *Williams, et al.*: Thucydides, "The Peloponnesian War and the Melian Debate"
 - *Williams, et al.*: Hobbes, "Relations among Sovereigns"
 - *Williams, et al.*: Morgenthau, "Six Principles of Political Realism"
 - *Art & Jervis*: Waltz, "The Anarchic Structure of World Politics"
 - *Art & Jervis*: Mearsheimer, "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power"
5. Tuesday, Jan. 22: Idealist/Liberal World Views
 - *Williams, et al.*: Wilson, "The Fourteen Points"
 - *Williams, et al.*: Bull, "The Idea of International Society"
6. Thursday, Jan. 24: Alternative World Views
 - *Williams, et al.*: Krasner, "Two Alternative Perspectives: Marxism and Liberalism"
 - *Art & Jervis*: Tickner, "A Critique of Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism"
 - *Art & Jervis*: Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It"

III. THEORIES OF DECISION MAKING AND FOREIGN POLICY

7. Tuesday, Jan. 29: Rationality and Expected Utility
 - *Williams, et al.*: Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" (Model I only)
8. Thursday, Jan. 31: Alternatives to Rational Processes
 - *Williams, et al.*: Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" (Models II-III)

IV. THEORIES OF CONFLICT AND WAR

9. Tuesday, Feb. 5: Introduction to Conflict / Levels of Analysis
 - *Williams, et al.*: Clausewitz, "War as an Instrument of Policy"
 - *Williams, et al.*: Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations"
10. Thursday, Feb. 7: Individual-Level Theories of Conflict
 - *Williams, et al.*: Jervis, "War and Misperception"
11. Tuesday, Feb. 12: Diversionary Theory
 - *JSTOR*: T. Clifton Morgan and Kenneth N. Bickers, "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, 1 (March 1992): 25-52.

12. Thursday, Feb. 14: Organizational Theory

- *JSTOR*: Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War." *International Security* 9, 1 (Summer 1984): 58-107.

13. Tuesday, Feb. 19: Contentious Issues Theory

- *Williams, et al.*: Pruitt & Snyder, "Motives and Perceptions underlying Entry into War"
- *Art & Jervis*: Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Changes as a Cause of Acute Conflict"

14. Thursday, Feb. 21: Democratic Peace Theory

- *Art & Jervis*: Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs"
- *JSTOR*: Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986." *American Political Science Review* 87, 3 (Sept. 1993): 624-638.

15. Tuesday, Feb. 26: Arms Race Theory

- *Williams, et al.*: Herz, "The Security Dilemma in the Atomic Age"
- *JSTOR*: Michael D. Wallace, "Arms Races and Escalation: Some New Evidence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23, 1 (1979): 3-16.

16. Thursday, Feb. 28: Crisis Bargaining Theory

- *Williams, et al.*: Schelling, "The Manipulation of Risk"
- *JSTOR*: Russell J. Leng and Hugh G. Wheeler, "Influence Strategies, Success, and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23, 4 (1979): 655-684.

17. Tuesday, Mar. 4: MIDTERM EXAM

18. Thursday, Mar. 6: Deterrence Theory

- *Williams, et al.*: Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror"
- *JSTOR*: Paul K. Huth, "Extended Deterrence and the Outbreak of War." *American Political Science Review* 82, 2 (1988): 423-443.

19-20. Tuesday, Mar. 19 - Thursday, Mar. 21: SPRING BREAK

21. Tuesday, Mar. 18: Balance of Power Theory

- *Williams, et al.*: Morgenthau, "The Balance of Power"
- *Art & Jervis*: Walt, "Alliances: Balancing and Bandwagoning"

22. Thursday, Mar. 20: Power Transition Theory

- *Williams, et al.*: Organski, "Criticism of Balance of Power Theory"
- *JSTOR*: Douglas Lemke, "The Continuation of History: Power Transition Theory and the End of the Cold War." *Journal of Peace Research* 34, 1 (1997): 23-36.

23. Tuesday, Mar. 25: System Structure and Polarity

- *Williams, et al.*: Waltz, "The Stability of a Bipolar World"
- *Williams, et al.*: Deutsch and Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability"

V. THEORIES OF ECONOMICS AND COOPERATION

24. Thursday, Mar. 27: Introduction to IPE

- *Art & Jervis*: Gilpin, "The Nature of Political Economy"

25. Tuesday, April 1: Interdependence & Trade

- *Art & Jervis*: Frankel, "The Globalization of the International Economy"
- *Art & Jervis*: Rodrik, "Trading in Illusions"
- *Art & Jervis*: Micklethwait & Wooldridge. "Why the Globalization Backlash is Stupid"

26. Thursday, April 3: Hegemonic Stability

- *Art & Jervis*: Keohane, "Hegemony and the World Political Economy"
- *Williams, et al.*: Brooks & Wohlforth. "American Primacy in Perspective"

27. Tuesday, April 8: Development & Dependency

- *Williams, et al.*: Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence"
- *Art & Jervis*: Scott, "The Great Divide in the Global Village"

28-29. Thursday, April 10 - Tuesday, April 15: Cooperation Theory

- *Art & Jervis*: Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons"
- *Art & Jervis*: Oye, "The Conditions for Cooperation in World Politics"
- *Art & Jervis*: Keohane, "International Institutions"
- *Williams, et al.*: Axelrod, "The Evolution of Cooperation"

30. Thursday, April 17: Course Wrapup

31. Thursday, April 24: FINAL EXAM, 7:30-9:30 AM (in the regular classroom)

Short Writing Assignment

This course requires a short writing assignment (**2-3 pages of text**, not counting any diagrams or other supplementary materials). You may choose either paper #1a (on conflict) or 1b (on economics); note that these two papers are due at different times (so if you do not turn in #1a when that is due you will need to turn in #1b). You must hand in the news story with your paper, or you will lose points (I need to see the story to evaluate how well you have covered it).

Please note that this requirement of a newspaper story does not allow such items as opinion or editorial pieces, book reviews, or magazine / journal articles. You may xerox an article from a printed newspaper, or you may print out a copy of an article from the Internet; my web site includes links to dozens of online newspapers and other news sources (<http://garnet.acns.fsu.edu/~phensel/news.html>). If you are reading a story and can not find the information that is needed for the assignment, please choose a different story; newspapers usually offer plenty of international stories every day, at least several of which should be appropriate for these assignments.

The purpose of this short assignment is twofold:

(1) These short papers give you the opportunity to apply this course's lessons and think about international relations theoretically, without having to suffer through the (often boring or confusing) academic literature on a subject. These assignments allow you to choose topics (stories) that are more interesting to you than academic expositions on arms race theory or balance of power theory, and they allow you to examine current news stories rather than reading about the past.

(2) These assignments also serve as the introduction to each section of the course, and should help contribute to the quality of class discussion. Each assignment is due on or near the first day that we cover a new section of the course (armed conflict, international economics). As a result, I do not expect you to understand the political science theories on each of these topics. Instead, these papers allow each of you to learn something that is relevant to the topic, which you can bring up in class discussion (e.g., "wow, that theory that you just described fit in very well with my paper" or "hey, that theory seems to be the exact opposite of what I found in my paper, are you sure those theorists knew what they were talking about?")

Grading

It should be noted that each writing assignment has specific requirements that must be addressed; I am **NOT** looking for a simple summary or critique of the article. Remember, the goal of these assignments is to think about world politics theoretically; these writing assignments are more concerned with "how" or "why" questions about the way the world works than they are with "what" questions or summaries of events. In writing these assignments, you will find it helpful to think about how your topic can be generalized theoretically, along the lines of our class discussion about theories -- so you should think about what the outcome/dependent variable is in this story, which causal/independent variable(s) is/are thought to produce this outcome, and how this same relationship might apply in a different situation with different countries.

To receive an A or A- grade (4.5 or 5 of the possible 5 points), your paper must cover an appropriate news story (which must be handed in along with your paper), and must address each portion of the assignment appropriately. Failure to do so (such as not generalizing the theory, not diagramming the theory, or not choosing an appropriate newspaper story) will result in a

correspondingly lower grade. Failing to turn in a copy of the newspaper article itself will also be penalized heavily, as this leaves me unable to evaluate how well you adapted the arguments laid out in the article.

Assignment #1a: International Conflict (Due Tuesday, February 5)

The first alternative for the short paper should focus on a news article that was published in the past month and deals with some war, crisis, or other form of armed conflict that is occurring somewhere in the world. The emphasis in this assignment should be on the cause(s) of this case of conflict: what factor(s), situation(s), or decision(s) does the author of the article see as being responsible for the outbreak of the conflict? Be sure to choose a case of international conflict, involving at least one nation-state on each side; a civil war or other conflict involving non-state actors (such as conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, who do not have their own state) would be inappropriate. You should also be sure to choose a case involving the threat or use of militarized force; political disagreement or economic conflict would not be appropriate.

In writing this paper, you should think back to the beginning of the course when we talked about what a theory is, particularly when we referred to cause-and-effect relationships and when we discussed how to diagram theories.

- (1) What is/are the causal variable(s) that the author sees as leading to the outcome/effect (the outbreak or escalation of conflict)? Remember, the purpose of this paper is to translate this specific story into a political science theory, so you will be graded based on how well you cover the author's arguments rather than on how "good" or complete the theory is; don't try to add your own ideas to the theory because that will keep this paper from addressing the author's thoughts.
- (2) What is the causal process by which these variables worked in this particular case? Beyond describing this process verbally, you should illustrate the process with a diagram showing the cause-and-effect relationship (like the ones we have seen in class).
- (3) Generalize this specific case's causal process into a theory that could be used to explain international conflict elsewhere in the world. You should both describe this process verbally and provide a causal diagram, which should correspond perfectly with the pieces of the specific causal diagram for this case (including all of the same components in the causal diagram, but with specific details such as country names changed to make the theory relevant to other cases).

An example might involve a story about the 1990-1 Gulf War involving Iraq, Kuwait, the United States, and nearly thirty other countries. A paper on this story should point out that the author blames a combination of Iraq's historical territorial dispute with Kuwait, Kuwait's alleged policy of stealing Iraqi oil from under their border, and badly managed diplomacy by the United States that failed to convince Iraq that other countries would oppose an invasion of Kuwait (or whichever other factors the author used to explain the war).

Another example might involve a story about a crisis between Canada and Spain over fishing boats in the ocean near Canadian waters, in which Canadian ships fired at or seized a Spanish fishing boat. A paper on this story should point out that the author blames the difficulties in determining ownership of the ocean or the resources that it contains, a long-running dispute between Canadian and Spanish fishermen over fishing rights near the Canadian maritime border, and domestic politics in one or both countries (which make it important for the leaders on both sides to stand firm in support of their position).

Assignment #1b: International Economics (Due Thursday, March 27)

The second alternative should focus on a news article that was published in the past month and deals with an international economic problem somewhere in the world. This article can cover a problem within the United States, in some other country, or a truly multinational situation affecting an entire region or international organization; the important thing is that it should be a situation that involves some economic problem with an international dimension (i.e., an international cause and/or effect).

The emphasis in this assignment should be on either the cause(s) of the economic problem itself or the cause(s) of a solution to it; either of these emphases should follow an outline very similar to assignment #1a:

- (1) What is the outcome/effect described by the article, and what is/are the cause(s) that the author sees as leading to this outcome/effect?
- (2) What is the causal process by which these causes worked in this particular case? Beyond describing this process verbally, you should illustrate the process with a diagram showing the cause-and-effect relationship.
- (3) Generalize this specific case's causal process into a theory that could be used to explain international economics somewhere else in the world. Again, you should both describe this process verbally and provide a causal diagram, which should correspond perfectly with the specific causal diagram for this case (but with all names changed to be more general).

One example might involve a story that discusses the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on American workers in a certain industry. In this case, the best approach to the story would be a focus on the cause(s) of the problem, such as the availability of cheaper labor that is qualified to work in that particular industry in either Mexico or Canada. Such a paper should identify the causes laid out by the author, as well as the causal process by which they work. It would then attempt to generalize this specific argument to show how similar processes might work in another part of the world, with an emphasis on regional integration generally rather than NAFTA and North America specifically.

Another example might involve a story on the relative economic success of Singapore or Chile -- or the lack of success of Ghana or Albania. For this story, a good approach would be to identify the cause(s) that the author blames for Ghana's or Albania's relative poverty and lack of development, or the cause(s) that the author praises for Singapore's or Chile's success in the world economy. As with the first example, such a paper should identify the causes laid out by the author and the causal process by which they work, and should then attempt to generalize this into a theory of international economics that could be applied to other cases elsewhere in the world.

Longer Writing Assignment

Assignment #2: Evaluating Published Research (Due Thursday, April 10)

The longer writing assignment must be 6-10 pages long. The goal here is to evaluate the theory that is presented and tested in a published article on international relations, rather than simply identifying a theoretical argument from a newspaper story. For this assignment, the student must choose one article on international relations that was published ten years ago -- i.e., in 1998 -- in one of four scholarly journals: the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *International Studies Quarterly*, or *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (all four are available online through JSTOR, as well as at Strozier library in printed form) -- note that students may not choose any article written or co-written by Dr. Hensel. The chosen article must develop one or more testable hypotheses, which must then be tested statistically (quantitatively); any article that does not develop and test hypotheses in this fashion is not appropriate and can not produce a passing grade on this assignment. The article can cover any type of international relations question -- international conflict, trade, development, etc.; please ask the instructor if you are not sure whether a particular article is appropriate.

This assignment involves three sections: (1) identifying the theory and hypotheses being examined and tested, (2) discussing the test that is used, and (3) evaluating the theory in light of the types of considerations discussed by Van Evera. For the **first section**, you must identify the specific hypotheses being tested in the article, and you must summarize the theoretical logic that the author uses to produce and justify these hypotheses. (Note that you may quote the hypotheses directly from the article, being sure to give appropriate credit via footnotes or another citation format, but your summary of the theoretical logic should be in your own words.) You must also draw a causal diagram to explain how this theory is thought to work.

For the **second section** of this assignment, you must explain how the author tests the article's hypotheses. This will involve describing a variety of details:

- Which cases are used for testing? (all countries from 1816-1992, all Middle Eastern dyads from 1948-1980, 1000 randomly selected U.S. voters, etc.)
- How does the author measure each variable mentioned in the hypotheses, and which data sets are used to measure each variable? (Correlates of War war data or militarized dispute data, Freedom House or Polity III democracy data, Gallup polls, etc.)
- Which statistical methods are used? (regression, logit, Heckman probit, chi-square tables, etc.)
- What are the results of these statistical tests, and what does the author conclude from them about the hypotheses?
- Do these measures and methods seem to be appropriate for testing these hypotheses, and is the author justified in drawing his/her conclusions?

The **third section** of this assignment will involve evaluating the theory from the first section. Van Evera (on pp. 17-21) lists seven attributes that he considers useful criteria to use in evaluating theories, and there are certainly other possible criteria that he does not discuss. You must choose four criteria -- note that these do not have to be limited to those discussed by Van Evera -- to use in evaluating the theory from this article. For each of these four criteria, explain what is required to be a "good" theory and justify why this is appropriate, and then apply it to this article. Based on these four criteria, then, how "good" is this theory? (*Do not forget to hand in the article itself with your paper; there is a two-letter grade penalty for failing to do so!*)