

Yale University  
Department of Political Science  
International Security Studies  
Jackson Institute for Global Affairs

**INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

PLSC 695

GLBL 905

Fall 2018

Syllabus

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Seminar: Tuesday 1:30-3:20, Rosenkranz Hall #202, 115 Prospect St.;

Reading Group: Friday 12:00-1:20, Allwin Hall #108, 31 Hillhouse Ave.;

Office Hours: Tuesday 3:30-5:30, Horchow Hall #207, 55 Hillhouse Ave.;

Book here: <https://calendly.com/npmonteiro/office-hours-10-minute-slot/>

**COURSE OUTLINE AND OBJECTIVES**

This course provides a survey of the scholarly literature on international relations (IR) theory and international security at an advanced, graduate level. The central goal of the course is to give students an understanding of the basic workings of the international system, the most important features and dynamics in world politics, and the central problems of international security. Additionally, the course helps prepare doctoral students in political science to conduct research in the field of international security and pass the departmental field exam in IR.

During this semester, we will cover the canonical texts of IR theory and security, addressing debates on issues such as the effectiveness of deterrence, the implications of unipolarity for patterns of inter-state conflict, and the impact of international organizations on security cooperation. The course will provide students with an opportunity to think critically about IR theory and security, assess the state of knowledge in the field, and identify new questions and approaches that can help move the field forward and also formulate knowledge-based policies and strategies.

The assigned readings for the seminar sessions mostly consist of foundational works. At the same time, the course will meet a second time most weeks – on Fridays over lunch 12:00-1:20PM – as a reading group. In each of these sessions, we will analyze a recent work on the same topic we addressed in seminar that week. The point is to connect canonical texts to cutting-edge scholarship and allow students to see how these foundational debates continue to percolate through contemporary problems in the theory and practice of international security.

In the first half of the course we will consider classic works from the several main intellectual traditions in the field – realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The “isms” have somewhat fallen out of favor in the discipline as current research is decidedly more empirical than theoretical; but they nonetheless include the works that still shape at the most fundamental level the contours of “big” IR debates – and that best capture the intuitions of scholars and practitioners. Therefore, every student and practitioner of international security should know these theories and be familiar with the debates that they have sparked in the discipline and the policy world. These debates tend to focus on important substantive questions, such as the causes of war, the implications of hegemony for world peace, the uses and effectiveness of strategies of deterrence, the patterns of balancing and alliance-formation among great powers, or the relationship between domestic regime type and conflict behavior. We will touch on each of these debates, but the literature is vast and should be explored in-depth in more specialized courses. Our strategy for this course is to select a few important books and articles to give us perspective on a large number of important debates in international security and prompt us to reflect on how “big” IR theory can help explain those questions. Throughout the term, we will probe the limits of theories of international relations by analyzing the premises and assumptions on which those theories are based as well as by exploring their empirical limitations. As you do your reading, you should try to identify new questions and empirical strategies to move those literatures forward – as well as new perspectives on the international security problems of our day.

Note for Political Science doctoral students: The IR theory and security literatures are broad and do not fit neatly into a one semester-long course. We will only cover part of the IR reading list for the field exam; the list itself only covers part of the relevant literature. Thus, students who want to specialize in IR need to do independent reading and should see this course as a way to focus on several major themes that are required knowledge for all IR specialists. Students interested in passing the IR field exam will need to supplement their reading beyond what is offered in this course.

Note for Global Affairs masters students: If you are asking yourself whether this course is for you – why you should take a highly abstract seminar in which we will discuss mostly theoretical works about international security – consider this: *everyone has a theory of how the world works whether they know it or not.* More often than not, those who are unaware of what their worldview is are basing their positions on an incoherent theory of world politics; they are also unaware of the full implications and weaknesses of their recommendations and actions. This course will allow you to form your worldview more fully, comparing and contrasting it with alternative views, and furthering your understanding of its strengths and weaknesses. This will give you a considerable advantage over practitioners of international politics who possess only an inchoate worldview.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Requirements are designed differently for (i) first or second-year PhD students who are interested in specializing in IR or would like to have IR as one of their core fields and (ii) Global Affairs M.A. students. We cover a lot of material in a short period of time, so there is a substantial amount of reading each week. Students are expected to read all assigned materials marked as “required” and come to seminars and reading group sessions prepared to discuss them. Requirements include participation in the seminar and reading group discussions, three short reading responses, a book review, and a final exam – a “mock field exam” – (for Political Science doctoral students) or policy brief (for Global Affairs masters students).

Course grades will be determined as follows:

- Participation in seminar and reading group sessions: 20%;
- Three reading responses: 3 x 10% = 30%;
- Book review 20%;
- Plus:
  - For Political Science doctoral students, a final exam: 30%;
  - For Global Affairs masters students, a policy brief: 30%.

Note: In order to receive an overall passing grade, students must receive a passing grade in all four components of the final grade. In other words, failing one component of the course will lead to a failing grade in the overall course.

## DESCRIPTION OF ASSIGNMENTS

Participation: Participation does not mean just attendance. Please strive to be an active participant in the seminar and reading group discussions by bringing to the sessions questions that stem from the readings.

Reading Responses: Each student will write three reading responses, one for each of three weeks of your choice. Reading responses should be reflections on the readings assigned for the seminar that week. They should be 1,000 words long, modeled on correspondence pieces published in the journal *International Security*. These short papers should include an analysis of the arguments made and evidence presented by the authors for the relevant week; questions (and your preliminary answers) with which you were left by the readings; or points of confusion that should be clarified. (You should *not* summarize the readings; assume that everybody else has done the reading as well and understands the basic arguments.) You do not have to discuss all of the readings assigned for the session; you may discuss just one or two pieces, or you can pick a broader range and compare them to each other (or to readings for earlier sessions). Likewise, within each reading you select to engage, you do not have to discuss the whole piece. You may do so, but you may equally well focus on a section, a paragraph, or even a sentence that piqued your interest. Although you are welcome to choose any three sessions in which to write your reaction papers, each student should submit at least one reading response before Fall break – i.e. before the class of October 16th. These papers are due by 5pm on the Monday before the class in which we will discuss the readings. (I read the papers before class so I can work the arguments into our class discussions.) Responses received after the deadline but before the relevant class begins will be dropped one full letter grade. Responses will not be accepted after the seminar has started. Please send me your papers via email attachment in PDF format with the file title following the convention “LASTNAME F2018IS RR1/2/3”.

Book Review: The book review should be 1,200 words long, modeled in the book reviews published in the journal *Perspectives on Politics*. Your review should critically engage one of the books in the list at the end of the syllabus. The review should be analytical, not descriptive. You should dedicate no more than 1/4 of the review to summarizing the book’s argument. The rest of the review should provide a critique or elaboration of one or more arguments in the book. You can focus on theory, empirics, or both, and relate the book to other readings covered in the course or any relevant material on the IR field exam reading list. You should submit the book review to me by 5:00 pm on Tuesday, November 20th. Please send me your review via email attachment in PDF format with the file title following the convention “LASTNAME F2018IS BR”.

Final Exam: The final exam will be similar in structure to the IR field exam, though a narrower range of topics will be covered and students will only be responsible for material covered in the course. This will be a 2-hour, in-class, closed-notes exam. Students will be expected to synthesize the material, think creatively and analytically, and present well-developed arguments. In other words, a sequence of vignettes on each reading based on “memory downloading” without any processing of the information or evidence of thinking will not get you a passing grade. The exam will be given on a day/time to be determined (probably on Tuesday, December 18th; I will confirm the date/time with the Registrar later in the semester).

Policy Brief (*which replaces the final exam for Global Affairs masters students only*): At the end of the semester, master’s students will write a policy brief. These briefs should not be longer than 2,500 words. Students should suggest to me the international security problem on which they would like to write their brief, noting which entity (country government or international organization) they will be advising. The brief should open with a short (1/2-page) statement of the problem, then make a policy recommendation on the first page. The remaining pages should be spent elaborating on the rationale behind the policy, stating its pros and cons, as well as the most obvious available alternatives and their own pros and cons. Please use only in-line author/date citations to save space. Policy briefs should be emailed to me by Thursday, December 13th, at 8:00pm. This deadline is strict. Papers received within the first 24 hours past this deadline will be dropped one full letter grade, to which one further full letter grade will be subtracted for each additional 24-hour period of delay.

## **COURSE POLICIES**

Policy on Plagiarism: Please read these elements of the university’s policy on plagiarism.

- You need to cite all sources used for papers, including drafts of papers, and repeat the reference each time you use the source in your written work;
- You need to place quotation marks around any cited or cut-and-pasted materials, IN ADDITION TO footnoting or otherwise marking the source;
- If you do not quote directly – that is, if you paraphrase – you still need to mark your source each time you use borrowed material. Otherwise you have plagiarized;
- It is also advisable that you list all sources consulted for the draft or paper in the closing materials, such as a bibliography or roster of sources consulted;
- You may not submit the same paper, or substantially the same paper, in more than one course. If topics for two courses coincide, you need written permission from both instructors before either combining work on two papers or revising an earlier paper for submission to a new course.

It is a Yale policy that all cases of academic dishonesty be reported to the chair of the Executive Committee.

Policy on Electronic Devices: The use of any electronic devices, including laptop computers, tablets, and phones is not allowed during seminar sessions. *All cell phones must be turned off*. Please use pen and paper to take notes. I do this in your own interest, as the use of electronic devices appears to hinder students’ ability to understand complex conceptual issues. On this, see:

- Pam A. Mueller & Daniel M. Oppenheimer, “The Pen is Mightier than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand over Laptop Note Taking,” *Psychological Science*, Vol. 25, No. 6 (2014), pp. 1159-1168;
- Darren Rosenblum, “Leave Your Laptops at the Door to My Classroom,” *The New York Times*, January 2, 2017;
- Cindy May, “Students are Better Off without a Laptop in the Classroom,” *Scientific American*, July 11, 2017.

Deadlines: While all deadlines will be strictly enforced, I know that emergencies and illnesses might arise during the term. If that happens to be the case, please let me know as early as possible so that we can work out alternative arrangements for you to complete your work within a reasonable period of time.

## READINGS

The following books are required for purchase:

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006);
- Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Cooperation and Competition* (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);
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005 [1984]);
- Robert O. Keohane, editor, *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986);
- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014 [2001]);
- Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014);
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002);
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000[1966]);
- Steven Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001[1999]);
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010 [1979]).

All other readings will be made available in PDF format on the course website on the Canvas server, under the “Files” tab. The readings for each session are listed in the order you should do them.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **Week 1 – September 04: *The History, Philosophy, and Sociology of IR***

#### **Required:**

- Ole Wæver, “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in IR,” *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), pp. 687-727;
- Brian Schmidt, “On the History and Historiography of International Relations’, in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, editors, *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 3-22;
- Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, “Between Utopia and Reality: The Practical Discourses of International Relations,” in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, editors, *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 3-40.

#### **Recommended:**

- Miles Kahler, “Inventing International Relations: International Relations Theory after 1945,” in Michael W. Doyle and G. John Ikenberry, editors, *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), pp.20-53;
- Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2011);
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “Leaving Theory Behind: Why Simplistic Hypothesis Testing Is Bad for International Relations,” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2013), pp. 427-457;
- Nuno P. Monteiro and Keven G. Ruby, “IR and the False Promise of Philosophical Foundations,” *International Theory*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2009), pp. 15-48, plus the roundtable on this article on Vol. 1, No. 3, including the authors’ response, “The Promise of Foundational Prudence;”
- Colin Wight, “Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations,” in Carlsnaes, Risse, and Simmons, editors, *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002).

### **Reading group meeting, September 07:**

- Ido Oren, “A Sociological Analysis of the Decline of American IR Theory,” *International Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2016), pp. 571-596;
- Peter Marcus Kristensen, “International Relations at the End: A Sociological Autopsy,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No. 2 (2018), pp. 245-259.

### **Week 2 – September 11: *Key Concepts: Power and Levels of Analysis***

#### **Required:**

- David A. Baldwin, “Power and International Relations,” in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, editors, *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage Publications, Ltd., 2002);
- Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, “Power in International Politics,” *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2005), pp. 39- 75;
- J. David Singer, “The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations,” *World Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1961), pp. 77-92;

- Peter Gourevitch, “The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics,” *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1978), pp. 881-912;
- Robert Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games,” *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No.3, (1988), pp. 424-460.

**Recommended:**

- Robert Jervis, “Perception and the Level of Analysis Problem,” in *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 13-31;
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001 [1959]).

**Reading group meeting, September 14:**

- Steven E. Lobell, “A Granular Theory of Balancing,” *International Studies Quarterly*, forthcoming (2018), pp. 1-13.

**Week 3 – September 18: Key Concepts: Anarchy and the Security Dilemma**

**Required:**

- Robert Jervis, “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1978), pp. 167-214;
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010 [1979]), chapters 5-6;
- Glenn H. Snyder, “The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics,” *World Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (1984), pp. 461-495;
- Charles L. Glaser, “The Security Dilemma Revisited,” *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1997), pp. 171-201;
- Randall L. Schweller, “Neorealism’s Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?” *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1996), pp. 90-121.

**Recommended:**

- David A. Lake, “Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of IR,” *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1996), pp. 1-33;
- Jonathan Mercer, “Anarchy and Identity,” *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (1995), pp.229-252;
- Helen Milner, “The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique,” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1991), pp. 67-85;
- Jennifer Mitzen and Randall L. Schweller, “Knowing the Unknown Unknowns: Misplaced Certainty and the Onset of War,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2011), pp. 2-35;
- Shiping Tang, “The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (2009), pp. 587-623.

**No reading group meeting, September 21.**

**ISS RESEARCH WORKSHOP**

**Week 4 – September 25: Rationalism, Realism, and the Balance of Power**

**Required:**

- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014 [2001]), chapters 1-5 plus, if you have time, 6-9;
- Robert O. Keohane, editor, *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), chapters 6-7 plus, if you have time, 8-9;
- Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Cooperation and Competition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), chapters 1-4 plus, if you have time, 5-8;
- Robert Gilpin, *War & Change in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), chapters 1-2.

**Recommended:**

- Deborah Boucoyannis, “The International Wanderings of a Liberal Idea, or Why Liberals Can Learn to Stop Worrying and Love the Balance of Power,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (2007), pp. 703-727;
- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), chapters 1, 5;
- E. H. Carr, *The Twenty-Years’ Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (New York: Palgrave 2001[1946]);
- Lars-Erik Cederman, *Emergent Actors in World Politics: How States and Nations Develop and Dissolve* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapters 1, 4;
- Victoria Tin-bor Hui, “Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe,” *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (2004), pp. 175-205;
- David A Lake and Robert Powell, editors, *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999);
- Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948);
- Paul Schroeder, “Historical Reality vs. Neorealist Theory,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1994), pp. 108-148;
- Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987);
- William C. Wohlforth et al., “Testing Balance of Power Theory in World History,” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2007), pp. 155-185.

**Reading group meeting, September 28:**

- James D. Fearon, “Cooperation, Conflict, and the Costs of Anarchy,” *International Organization*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (2018), pp. 523-559.

**Week 5 – October 02: Liberalism and Domestic Institutions**

**Required:**

- Andrew Moravcsik, “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,” *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (1997), pp. 513-553;
- Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapter 1;



- John Oneal and Bruce Russett, “The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992,” *World Politics*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (1999), pp. 1-37;
- Sebastian Rosato, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (2003), pp. 585-602;
- Kevin Narizny, “Anglo-American Primacy and the Global Spread of Democracy: An International Genealogy,” *World Politics*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (2012), pp. 341-373;
- Patrick J. McDonald, “Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace,” *International Organization*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (2015), pp. 557-588.

**Recommended:**

- John M. Owen, “How Liberalism Produces the Democratic Peace,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1994), pp. 87-125;
- Alexandre Debs and Hein E. Goemans, “Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 104, No. 3 (2010), pp. 430-445.

**Reading group meeting, October 05:**

- Roseanne W. McManus and Keren Yarhi-Milo, “The Logic of ‘Offstage’ Signaling: Domestic Politics, Regime Type, and Major Power-Protégé Relations,” *International Organization*, Vol. 71, No. 4 (2017), pp. 701-733.

**Week 06 – October 09: Liberalism and International Institutions**

**Required:**

- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005 [1984]), chapters 1, 4-6;
- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations,” *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (1999), pp. 699-732;
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), chapters 1-3 and, if you have time, chapter 7;
- John Gerard Ruggie, “International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order,” *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (1982), pp. 379-415;
- George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom, “Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?” *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (1996), pp. 379-406.

**Recommended:**

- Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, revised edition (New York: Basic Books, 2006 [1984]), chapter 1 and, if you have time, 2-4;
- James D. Fearon, “Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation,” *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (1998), pp. 269-305;
- Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, “The Rational Design of International Institutions,” *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (2001), pp. 761-799;

- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (2001), pp. 487-515;
- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1994/95), pp. 5-93;
- Alexander Wendt, "Driving with the Rearview Mirror: On the Rational Science of Institutional Design," *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (2001), pp. 1019-1049.

**Reading group meeting, October 12:**

- G. John Ikenberry, "The End of the Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 1 (2018), pp. 7-23;
- Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "The Resilient Order," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (2018).

**Week 7 – October 16: Constructivism, Identity, Norms, and Rhetoric**

**Required:**

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (1992), pp. 391-42;
- James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, editors, *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 53-72;
- Peter J. Katzenstein, editor, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), chapters 1-2;
- Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2006), pp. 341-370;
- Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, editors, *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chapters 1-2;
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), pp. 887-918.

**Recommended:**

- Martha Finnemore, *National Interests and International Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996);
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004);
- Stacie E. Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the Balance of Power," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2008), pp. 110-142;
- Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (1999), pp. 379-408;
- Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999);
- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), 943-969;
- Vincent Pouliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010);

- Thomas Risse, “‘Let’s Argue!’: Communicative Action in World Politics,” *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (2000), pp. 1-39;
- John Gerard Ruggie, “Neoliberalism and the Social Constructivist Challenge,” *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), pp. 855-885;
- Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapters 6-8.

*No reading group meeting, October 19.*

### **Week 8 – October 23: Leaders and Individuals in International Security**

#### **Required:**

- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), chapters 3, 6;
- Jack S. Levy, “Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1997), pp. 87-112;
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, “Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy,” *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2009), pp. 119-161;
- Joshua D. Kertzer, Kathleen M. McGraw, “Folk Realism: Testing the Microfoundations of Realism in Ordinary Citizens,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (2012), pp. 245-258;
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, “In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries,” *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2013), pp. 7-51;
- Michael C. Horowitz and Allan C. Stam, “How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders,” *International Organization*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (2014), pp. 527-559.

#### **Recommended:**

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2003);
- Carol Cohn, “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals,” *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1987), pp. 667-718;
- Allan Dafoe and Devin Caughey, “Honor and War: Southern US Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation,” *World Politics*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (2016), pp. 341-381;
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), chapters 1-2;
- Rose McDermott, “Sex and Death: Gender Differences in Aggression and Motivations for Violence,” *International Organization*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (2015), pp. 753-775;
- Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

#### **Reading group meeting, October 26:**

- Stacie E. Goddard and Ronald R. Krebs, “Rhetoric, Legitimation, and Grand Strategy,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2015), pp. 5-36.

**Week 09 – October 30: The Causes of War**

**Required:**

- Steven Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001[1999]);
- James Fearon, “Rationalist Explanations for War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (1995), pp. 379-414;
- Robert Powell, “War as a Commitment Problem,” *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (2006), pp. 169-203;
- Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro, “Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (2014), pp. 1-31;
- Stephen Walt, “Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies,” *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1999), pp. 5-48 plus if you have time, responses in Vol. 24, No. 2: 56-73 and 97-106.

**Recommended:**

- Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1973);
- Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000);
- Erik Gartzke, “War is in the Error Term,” *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (1999), pp. 567-587;
- Jonathan Kirshner, “Rationalist Explanations for War?” *Security Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2000), pp. 143-150;
- David A. Lake, “Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War,” *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (pp. 7-52);
- Jack S. Levy, “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 139-165;
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983);
- Jack Snyder, “Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984,” *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984): 108-146;

**Reading group meeting, November 02:**

- Joslyn Barnhart, “Status Competition and Territorial Aggression: Evidence from the Scramble for Africa,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2016), pp. 385-419;  
OR
- Andrew Q. Greve and Jack S. Levy, “Power Transitions, Status Dissatisfaction, and War: The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (2018), pp. 148-178.

**Week 10 – November 06: The Nuclear Revolution**

**Required:**

- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), chapter 1;
- Glenn H. Snyder, “The Balance of Power and the Balance of Terror,” in Paul Seabury, editor, *Balance of Power* (San Francisco, CA: Chandler Publishing Co., 1965), pp. 184-201;

- Scott D. Sagan, “Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of the Bomb,” *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1996-97), pp. 54-86;
- Nuno P. Monteiro and Alexandre Debs, “The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation,” *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2014), pp. 7-51;
- Nina Tannenwald, “The Nuclear Taboo,’ The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use,” *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (1999), pp. 433-468;
- Etel Solingen, *Nuclear Logics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), chapters 1-2;
- Matthew Kroenig, “Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Crisis Outcomes,” *International Organization*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (2013), pp. 141-171;
- Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, “Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail,” *International Organization*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (2013), pp. 173-195.

**Recommended:**

- Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro, “Conflict and Cooperation on Nuclear Nonproliferation,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, forthcoming in 2017;
- John Mueller, “The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World,” *International Security*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1988), pp. 55-79;
- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), chapters 1-2.

**Reading group meeting, November 09:**

- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, “The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence,” *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2017), pp. 9-49.

**Week 11 – November 13: Coercion, Crisis Bargaining, and Signaling**

**Required:**

- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000[1966]), chapters 1-3;
- James Fearon, “Signaling vs. the Balance of Power and Interests,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (1994), pp. 236-69;
- James Fearon, “Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1997), pp. 68-90;
- Kenneth A. Schultz, “Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (1998), pp. 829-844;
- Robert Powell, “Nuclear Brinkmanship, Limited War, and Military Power,” *International Organization*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (2015), pp. 589-626.

**Recommended:**

- James D. Fearon, “Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (1994), pp. 577-592;
- Robert Jervis, *The Logic of Images in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989);
- Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

*No reading group meeting, November 16.*

**Week 12 – November 27: Military Effectiveness**

**Required:**

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), chapters 1, 3-4 and choose one of 5-9;
- Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), Introduction & chapter 1;
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), chapters 1-3;
- Alexander B. Downes, "How Smart and Tough are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2009), pp. 9-51, including correspondence with Reiter and Stam in Vol. 34, No. 2.

**Recommended:**

- Michael Beckley, "The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia: How China's Neighbors Can Check Chinese Naval Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2017), pp. 78-119;
- Eliot A. Cohen, "Toward Better Net Assessment: Rethinking the European Conventional Balance," *International Security*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1988), pp. 50-89; plus exchange with Mearsheimer and Posen in Vol. 13, No. 4 (1989), pp. 54-89;
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson III, "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* Vol. 63, No. 1 (2009): 67-106;
- Allan R. Millet, Williamson Murray, and Kenneth H. Watman, "The Effectiveness of Military Organizations," *International Security*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1986), pp. 37-71;
- Caitlin Talmadge, "Would China go Nuclear? Assessing the Risk of a Chinese Nuclear Escalation in a Conventional War with the United States," *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2017), pp. 50-92.

**Reading group meeting, November 30:**

- Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich, "Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese Antiaccess/Area Denial, U.S. AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2016), pp. 7-48.

**Week 13 – December 04: Hegemony and U.S. Grand Strategy**

**Required:**

- William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1999), pp. 5-41;
- Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), read entire book;
- Barry R. Posen, "Command of the Commons: The Foundation of U.S. Hegemony," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Summer 2003), pp. 5-46.

**Recommended:**

- Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), chapter 4;
- Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, “Don’t Come Home, America: The Case Against Retrenchment,” *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2012/13), pp. 7-51;
- David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011);
- Barry Posen, “Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (2013), pp. 116-128;
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “The Case for Offshore Balancing,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (July/August 2016), pp. 70-83.

*No reading group meeting, December 07.*

## **Books for Review**

(Note: The following list is indicative, not exhaustive. It consists of interesting work published over the last decade; there's much more, so you should feel free to cast your net more broadly and make other suggestions.)

- Karen J. Alter, *The New Terrain of International Law: Courts, Politics, Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013);
- Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, *War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015);
- Michael Beckley, *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018);
- Clifford Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012);
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *America Abroad: Why the Sole Superpower Should Not Pull Back from the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016);
- Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014);
- Bear F. Braumoeller, *The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013);
- Tim Büthe and Walter Mattli, *The New Global Rulers: The Privatization of Regulation in the World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011);
- Barry Buzan and George Lawson, *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015);
- Allison Carnegie, *Power Plays: How International Institutions Reshape Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015);
- Austin Carson, *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018);
- Jonathan D. Caverley, *Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2014);
- Victor D. Cha, *Powerplay: The Origins of the American Alliance System in Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016);
- Benjamin J. Cohen, *Currency Power: Understanding Monetary Rivalry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015);
- Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014);
- Neta C. Crawford, *Accountability for Killing: Moral Responsibility for Collateral Damage in America's Post-9/11 Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014);
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011);
- Christina L. Davis, *Why Adjudicate? Enforcing Trade Rules in the WTO* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012);
- Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro, *Nuclear Politics: The Strategic Causes of Proliferation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017);
- David M. Edelstein, *Over the Horizon: Time, Uncertainty, and the Rise of Great Powers* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017);
- Tanisha M. Fazal, *Wars of Law: Unintended Consequences in the Regulation of Armed Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018);



- Kelly M. Greenhill, *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010);
- Eric Grynaviski, *Constructive Illusions: Misperceiving the Origins of International Cooperation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014);
- Seva Gunitsky, *Aftershocks: Great Power and Domestic Reforms in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017);
- Emilie Hafner-Burton, *Making Human Rights a Reality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013);
- Todd Hall, *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015);
- Ted Hopf, *Reconstructing the Cold War: The Early Years, 1945-1958* (New York: Oxford University Press 2012);
- Andrew Hurrell, *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008);
- Michael C. Horowitz, *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010);
- Susan D. Hyde, *The Pseudo-Democrat's Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011);
- G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011);
- Leslie Johns, *Strengthening International Courts: The Hidden Costs of Legalization* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015);
- David C. Kang, *American Grand Strategy and East Asian Security in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Joshua D. Kertzer, *Resolve in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016);
- Ronald R. Krebs, *Narrative and the Making of US National Security* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015);
- Sarah E. Kreps, *Coalitions of Convenience: United States Military Interventions after the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011);
- Patrick J. McDonald, *The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, The War Machine, and International Relations Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009);
- Paul K. MacDonald, *Networks of Domination: The Social Foundations of Peripheral Conquest in International Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014);
- Helen V. Milner and Dustin Tingley, *Sailing the Water's Edge: The Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015);
- Jennifer Mitzen, *Power in Concert: The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Global Governance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013);
- Vipin Narang, *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014);
- Daniel H. Nexon, *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009);
- Miroslav Nincic, *The Logic of Positive Engagement* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011);
- John M. Owen IV, *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510-2010* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010);
- Aaron Rapport, *Waging War, Planning Peace: U.S. Noncombat Operations and Major Wars* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015);
- Brian C. Rathbun, *Diplomacy's Value: Creating Security in 1920s Europe and the Contemporary Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014);

- Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016);
- Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011);
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011);
- Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013);
- Kathryn Sikkink, *Evidence for Hope: Making Human Rights Work in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017);
- Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014);
- Randall W. Stone, *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011);
- Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015);
- Shiping Tang, *The Social Evolution of International Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013);
- Alexander Thompson, *Channels of Power: The UN Security Council and U.S. Statecraft in Iraq* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009);
- J. Ann Tickner, *A Feminist Voyage Through International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014);
- Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015);
- Jessica L.P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014);
- Alex Weisiger, *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013);
- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014);
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).