

**POLS 680:**  
**Theories of International Relations**  
Northern Illinois University  
Fall 2017

**Thursday 12:20 - 3:00 pm | Dusable Hall 464**

**Professor:**

**Dr. Ches Thurber**

*Office:* 414 Zulauf Hall

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*Office Hours:* Mon / Wed 9:00-10:30

**Course Description:**

This course is intended as the graduate-level survey of international relations as a disciplinary subfield of political science. The course traces the evolution of main paradigmatic traditions of realism, liberalism and constructivism (with some attention to their alternatives), explores how those tradition grapple with enduring questions, such as the causes of inter- and intra-state war, economic relations among states, and the development of global governance, and highlights current debates in the field, such as the roles of psychology, domestic politics, and non-state actors in world politics. The course serves as the foundation for preparation for the Ph.D. candidacy exam in international relations. It will also be valuable for those preparing to teach undergraduate IR courses, those looking to broaden their proficiency in the field of political science, and those interested in how the academic field of international relations contributes to important policy debates.

**Course Materials:**

There are no required texts for this course. All materials will be posted on Blackboard. This being said, if you intend to take a comprehensive examination in International Relations, it may be worth your while to purchase some of the books from which we read multiple chapters in this course.

## Evaluation:

1. *Class attendance, preparation and participation: (30%)*

The time we spend in class is for me the most important of this course. As such, punctual attendance is mandatory. But more important than just being present at a desk is that you are actively engaged. I expect that you have done the readings and that you try to participate in discussion each and every class section.

2. *Reading Analyses: (30%)*

For each week, you will be required to draft written summaries on each of the readings. These summaries will be invaluable as you prepare for comps as well as help ensure a high level of discussion in seminar.

3. *Book Review: (40%)*

The main written assignment for this course is a 10-15 page review of three books recently published in a specific area of IR. You should be looking for 3 books published in the last 5 years by the top presses (Cambridge, Cornell, Princeton, Oxford, Columbia) that share a similar theme. You will write a *World Politics* style review in which you both assess the strengths and weaknesses of the books individually, as well as provide a broader analysis of the state of the literature on this subject, its larger contributions to the field of IR, and the opportunities for future research. The point of this exercise is to explore what a good book-length research project looks like (what a good dissertation should aspire to eventually become!) as well as to familiarize yourself with the leading-edge of research in your area of greatest interest.

## Course Policies:

1. Successful completion of this course requires consistent, punctual attendance, completing the readings prior to the start of class, and active participation. If you must miss class due to a conflicting responsibility or an emergency, it is your responsibility to contact me to discuss the situation. I will generally require a short written assignment to be submitted in lieu of class attendance. Any more than 1 absence without prior notification and make-up work will affect your final grade.
2. If you think you need to delay submitting a written assignment, you should talk to me, generally at least two weeks before the due date. Such extensions are never guaranteed, but will be based on university policy, exigency of the circumstances, and timeliness of the request (the earlier the better). Any missed written assignment submitted after the deadline without prior authorization from me will not be accepted and a grade of 0 will be assigned.

3. Plagiarism will not be tolerated and will lead to an F for the course. If you are unsure as to whether your approach for any given assignment may constitute plagiarism, please be sure to double check with the professor prior to handing in your assignment. Political Science department resources pertaining to plagiarism may be found at: <http://www.niu.edu/polisci/audience/plagiarism.shtml>
4. If you need an accommodation for this class, please contact the Disability Resource Center as soon as possible. The DRC coordinates accommodations for students with disabilities. It is located on the 4th floor of the Health Services Building, and can be reached at 815-753-1303 or [drc@niu.edu](mailto:drc@niu.edu). Also, please contact me privately as soon as possible so we can discuss your accommodations. Please note that you will not be required to disclose your disability, only your accommodations.
5. It is my personal policy to allow graduate students to call me by my first name, "Ches." This reflects the idea that I view you all as colleagues-in-training. Please let me know how you prefer to be addressed, both in name and pronoun, if it differs from what is in the college directory. I will make every effort to address you in the way you wish to be addressed. Please try and do the same for your fellow classmates, as well as for other faculty in the department.
6. I am committed to your success in this class – if you feel that you are not performing to your expectations, please come and see me. I am available to answer any questions you may have about course assignments, requirements or content. I generally answer e-mails within 24 hrs on weekdays, and would be happy to schedule an appointment to meet with you if you are unavailable during my posted office hours.

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### Tentative Course Outline:

Updates will be announced in class and posted on the course website.

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#### Week 0 (Aug. 30): APSA Conference - No Class

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#### Week 1 (Sep. 7): Historiography of the Field

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- Brian C. Schmidt, "The Historiography of Academic International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 20, no. 4 (1994): 349–367.
- Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), Introduction.
- Jeffrey A. Frieden and David A. Lake, "International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance," *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 600, no. 1 (2005): 136–56.
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8, no. 1 (June 2005): 23–48.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), Selections.

#### Suggested:

- J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics* 14, no. 1 (Oct. 1961): 77–92
- J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), Ch. 1
- Hayward R. Alker and Thomas J. Biersteker, "The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a Future Archeologist of International Savoir Faire," *International Studies Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (June 1984): 121
- Richard Little, "Historiography and International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 25, no. 2 (1999): 291–299
- Ole Waever, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 687–727

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## Week 2 (Sep. 12): The Realist Tradition

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- Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*, 2nd (London: MacMillan / Co., 1946), Chs. 4-5.
- Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 7th (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2006), Ch. 1.
- Kenneth N Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Addison-Wesley, 1979), Chs. 5-6.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton & Company, 2001), Chs. 1-2.
- Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991): 67–85

### Suggested:

- Robert B. Strassler, ed. *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to The Peloponnesian War* (New York, Simon and Shuster, 1996).
- Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (New York: Penguin Classics 1977).
- John H. Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *World politics* 2, no. 1 (1950)
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 02 (Jan. 1978): 167–214
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- Stephen M. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," *International Security* 9, no. 4 (1985): 3
- Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986)
- J. Ann Tickner, "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17, no. 3 (Dec. 1988): 429–440
- Stacie E. Goddard and Daniel H. Nexon, "Paradigm Lost? Reassessing Theory of International Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 1 (Mar. 2005): 9–61

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### Week 3 (Sep. 21): The Liberal Tradition

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- Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence* (Harper Collins, 1977), Ch. 2
- Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (Oct. 1985): 1–24
- Robert O. Keohane, "The Demand for International Regimes," *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 325–355
- Michael W. Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 04 (Dec. 1986): 1151–1169
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, no. 4 (1997): 513–553
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Sovereignty and Power in a Networked World Order," *Stanford Journal of International Law* 40 (2004): 283–328

#### *Suggested:*

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* - Hedley Bull - Google Books (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1977)
- Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence* (Harper Collins, 1977)
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* - Robert O. Keohane - Google Books (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)
- Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions," *World Politics* 38, no. 01 (Oct. 1985): 226–254
- Peter J Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D Krasner, "International Organization and the Study of World Politics," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 645–685
- Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47 (1993): 175–205
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. *A New World Order*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

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#### Week 4 (Sep. 28): The Constructivist Tradition

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*Submit a proposal of the three books you plan to review for the book review assignment*

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391–425
- Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 319–363
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International organization* 52, no. 04 (1998): 887–917
- Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998): 324–348
- Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (1999): 433–468

*Suggested:*

- Adler, Emanuel and Michael Barnett (eds.) (1998). *Security Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adler, Emanuel and Vincent Pouliot (eds.) (2011). *International Practices*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ba, Alice (2009), *[Re]Negotiating East and Southeast Asia: Region, Regionalism, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Acharya, Amitav (2014), *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. London: Routledge.
- Zürn, Michael and Jeffrey T. Checkel (2005), "Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State" *International Organization* 59: pp. 1045-1079.
- Williams, Michael C. (2007), *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of National Security*. New York: Routledge.
- Rosenau, James N. (1986). "Before cooperation: Hegemons, regimes, and habit-driven actors in world politics." *International Organization* 40(4): pp. 849–894.

- Pouliot, Vincent (2008), "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities" *International Organization* 62(2): pp. 257–288.
- Pouliot, Vincent (2010), *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ted Hopf (2002). *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Peter J. Katzenstein, ed. (1996), *The Culture of National Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mitzen, Jennifer (2006). "Ontological security in world politics: State identity and the security dilemma." *European Journal of international relations* 12.3: pp. 341-370.



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### Week 5 (Oct. 5): Race, Gender, and Critical Approaches

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- W E B Dubois, "Worlds of Color," *Foreign Affairs* 3, no. 3 (1925): 423–444
- Zoltán Búzás, "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance," *Security Studies* 22, no. 4 (2013): 573–606
- J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), Preface and Ch. 1.
- Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687–718
- Nicholas Rengger and Ben Thirkell-White, "Still Critical after All These Years? The Past, Present, and Future of Critical Theory in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 33 (2007): 3–24

#### **Suggested:**

- Errol A. Henderson "Hidden in plain sight: racism in international relations theory" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26:1 (2013).
- Robert Knox , "Civilizing interventions? Race, war and international law" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26:1 (2013)
- "Conference Issue: Racialized Realities in World Politics" *Millennium* 45:3 (June 2017) Alexander Anievas, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam, eds. (2014). *Race and Racism in International Relations*. (New York, Routledge 2014)
- Hudson, Valerie M., et al. "The heart of the matter: The security of women and the security of states." *International Security* 33.3 (2009): 745
- Sjoberg, Laura (2016) "What, and Where, is Feminist Security Studies?" *Journal of Regional Security* 11(2): pp; 143-161.
- Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*
- Rose McDermott, "Sex and Death: Gender Differences in Aggression and Motivations for Violence", *International Organization* 69:3 (2015), 753-775.
- Valerie M. Hudson, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett. 2008/09. "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States." *International Security* 33(3): 7-45.
- Laura Sjoberg, "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See," *International Theory* 4:1 (2012), pp.1-38.

- Ann Towns, "The Status of Women as a Standard of 'Civilization'", *European Journal of International Relations* 15:4 (2009), pp. 681-706.
- Elizabeth J. Wood, "Variation in Sexual Violence During War," *Politics & Society*, Vol. 34, No. 3, (2006), pp. 307-342
- R. B. J. Walker, *InsideOutside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- James Der Derian and Michael Shapiro, eds., *InternationalIntertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics*, (Lexington Books, 1989).

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### Week 6 (Oct. 12): Inter-State War

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- Stephen VanEvera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security* 22, no. 4 (1998): 5–43.
- Stuart A. Bremer, "Dangerous Dyads: Conditions Affecting the Likelihood of Inter-state War, 1816-1965," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, no. 2 (1992): 309–341.
- James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49, no. 03 (1995): 379–414.
- Erik Gartzke, "War Is in the Error Term," *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (1999): 567–587.
- Ashley Brett Leeds, "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes," *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 3 (2003): 427–439.

#### *Suggested:*

- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 02 (Jan. 1978): 167–214
- Achen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal. 1989. "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies." *World Politics* 41: 143-169.
- Huth, Paul and Bruce Russett. 1984. "What Makes Deterrence Work: Cases from 1900 to 1980." *World Politics* 36: 496-526.
- Fearon, James D. 1994. "Signaling Versus the Balance of Power and Interests." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38: 236-269.
- Reed, William. 2000. "A Unified Statistical Model of Conflict Onset and Escalation." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 84-93.
- Van Evera, Stephen. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press, 2001
- Copeland, Dale. *The Origins of Major War*. Cornell University Press, 2000.

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### Week 7 (Oct. 19): Intra-State War

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- Harry Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars," *History and Theory* 4, no. 2 (1965): 133.
- Lars-Erik Cederman and Manuel Vogt, "Dynamics and Logics of Civil War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 9 (2017): 1992–2016.
- Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 269–292.
- Paul Staniland, "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders," *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 02 (May 2012): 243–264.
- Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict," *International Security* 33, no. 1 (2008): 7–44.

#### *Suggested:*

- Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Jan. 1970).
- Donald L Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Jan. 1985).
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 01 (Mar. 2003): 75.
- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and grievance in civil war," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (June 2004): 563–595.
- Jeremy M. Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Barbara F Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (July 1997): 335–364.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Halvard Buhaug, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, *Inequalities, Grievance, and Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, Jan. 2013).

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**Week 8 (Oct. 26) : International Political Economy**

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- Susan Strange, "International Economics and International Relations," *International Affairs* 46, no. 2 (Apr. 1970): 304–315
- Robert Gilpin, "The Politics of Transnational Economic Relations," *International Organization* 25 (1971): 398–419
- Peter J Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D Krasner, "International Organization and the Study of World Politics," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 645–685
- Emilie M Hafner-Burton, "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression," *International Organization* 59 (2005): 593–629
- Margaret E Peters, "Trade, Foreign Direct Investment, and Immigration Policy Making in the United States," *International Organization* 68 (2014): 811–844

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**Week 9 (Nov. 2): Institutions and Global Governance (Glas)**

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- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994): 5–49
- Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (1995): 39
- Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (1995): 71
- Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 699–732
- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2001): 487–515
- Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, *Who Governs the Globe?* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Ch. 1

**Suggested:**

- Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (December 1988), 379–396.
- Keohane, Robert O. (1984). *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Peter Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D. Krasner, "International Organization and the Study of World Politics," *International Organization*, 52 4 (Autumn 1998): 645–85.
- John Duffield, 'What are International Institutions?', *International Studies Review*, 9 (2007), pp. 1–22.
- Stephen D. Krasner, ed., *International Regimes*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).
- Christian Reus-Smit, *The Moral Purpose of the State* (Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions," *International Organization* 51/4 (Autumn 1997), 555–590.

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**Week 10 (Nov. 9): Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy**

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- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-level Games," *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (May 1988): 427–460
- Christopher Layne, "Kant or Can't: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19, no. 2 (1994): 5–49
- Bruce Russett et al., "Correspondence: The Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19, no. 4 (1995): 164
- James D. Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes.," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (Sept. 1994): 577–592
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et al., "Testing Novel Implications from the Selectorate Theory of War," *World Politics* 56, no. 93 (2004): 363–88

***Suggested:***

- John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett, "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992," *World Politics* 52, no. 1 (1999): 1–37
- Walt, Stephen M. 1992. Revolution and War. *World Politics* 44: 321-368.
- Snyder and Borghard, The Cost of Empty Threats

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**Week 11 (Nov. 16): Cognition, Emotions, and Leadership**

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- Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *The American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (Sept. 1969): 689–718
- Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics* 20, no. 3 (Apr. 1968): 454–479
- Neta C Crawford, "The Passion of World Politics," *International Security* 24, no. 4 (2000): 116–156
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* 34, no. 2 (2009): 119–161
- Emilie M Hafner-Burton et al., "The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations," *International Organization* 71, no. Supplement (2017): S1–S31

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**Nov. 23: Happy Thanksgiving!**

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**Week 12 (Nov. 30): Environment and Health**

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- G Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science* 162, no. 3859 (Dec. 1968): 1243–8
- Thomas Dietz, Elinor Ostrom, and Paul C Stern, "The Struggle to Govern the Commons," *Science* 302 (2003): 1907–1912
- Michael Zürn, "The Rise of International Environmental Politics: A Review of Current Research," *World Politics* 50, no. 4 (1998): 617–649
- Susan Peterson, "Epidemic Disease and National Security," *Security Studies* 12, no. 2 (2002): 43–81
- Caroline Thomas and Martin Weber, "The Politics of Global Health Governance: Whatever Happened to 'Health for All by the Year 2000'?", *Global Governance* 10, no. 2 (2004): 187–205

***Suggested:***

- Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999) or, Thomas Homer-Dixon (1994), "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict" *International Security* 19(1): 5-40.
- Keohane and Victor, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change"
- Steven Bernstein, "Ideas, Social Structure and the Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism," *European Journal of International Relations* 6/4 (December 2000), 464-512.
- Matthew J. Hoffmann (2011) *Climate Governance at the Crossroads: Experimenting with a Global Response After Kyoto*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Steven Bernstein, Michele Betsill, Matthew Hoffmann, Matthew Paterson (2010), "A Tale of Two Copenhagens: Carbon Markets and Climate Governance" *Millenium: Journal of International Studies* 39 (1): 161-173.

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**Week 13 (Dec. 7): Non-State Actors in Global Politics**

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- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998)
- R. Charli Carpenter, "Setting the advocacy agenda: Theorizing issue emergence and nonemergence in transnational advocacy networks," *International Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (Mar. 2007): 99–120
- Sarah S. Stroup and Wendy H. Wong, "The Agency and Authority of International NGOs," *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 1 (Mar. 2016): 138–144
- Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict," *International Security* 33, no. 1 (2008): 7–44

***Dec. 14 11:59PM : BOOK REVIEW ASSIGNMENT DUE***

# POLS 681: International Security

Dr. Ches Thurber

*Spring 2019*

E-mail: [cthurber@niu.edu](mailto:cthurber@niu.edu)  
Office Hours: M/T 9:30-11:00 a.m.  
Office: 414 Zulauf Hall

Web: [www.chesthurber.com](http://www.chesthurber.com)  
Class Hours: Wed 12:30-3:10 p.m.  
Class Room: 464 DuSable

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## Course Description

This course is intended as a graduate-level survey of the literature on war, conflict, security, and peace. It is intentionally broad, attempting to encompass several different “subfields within the subfield.” These sometimes go by different names such as international security, security studies, conflict processes, and peace science. More specifically, this seminar will include the examination of both interstate and civil conflicts as well as bridge quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches. To put it differently, we will read the kinds of articles that are published in journals such as *International Security*, *Security Studies*, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* and the *Journal of Peace Research*. Of course, we will be reading from more general IR (*IO*, *ISQ*, *WP*) and political science journals (*APSR*, *AJPS*, *JoP*, *PoP*) as well. We will examine the various conceptualizations and definitions of conflict, theories about the causes of violence at both the sub-state and interstate levels, and variation in the forms that conflict can take. This is one of the four core courses for preparation for the Ph.D. candidacy exam in international relations and this syllabus (including the recommended readings) constitutes the reading list for the international security portion of the exam. It will also be valuable for those preparing to teach undergraduate courses in international relations and security, those looking to broaden their proficiency in the field of political science, and those interested in how the academic field of security studies contributes to important policy debates.

## Texts

All reading materials for this course will be available on Blackboard.

## Evaluation

*Class attendance, preparation and participation (30%)*: The time we spend in class is for me the most important of this course. As such, punctual attendance is mandatory. But more important than just being present is that you are actively engaged. I expect that you have done the readings and that you try to participate in discussion each and every class section.

*Reading Analyses (20%)*: For each week, you will be required to draft written summaries on each of the readings. These summaries will be invaluable as you prepare for comps as well as help ensure

a high level of discussion in seminar. You may pick five weeks over the course of the semester in which you opt not to complete summaries.

*Final Project (50%):* You will produce a research paper similar in scope to what you might present at a professional academic conference (6k-8k words). It should identify a puzzle in the realm of international security, broadly defined, propose a theoretical explanation, and evaluate that explanation with quantitative and/or qualitative evidence. I welcome you to write this paper in conjunction with another graduate course, *conditional on the approval of the instructor of the other course*. The idea is that this will allow you to double the effort you put into this paper, moving it closer to conference presentation and eventual publication. I am open to modifications of this assignment on an individual basis if doing so would better meet your professional goals. Please contact me as soon as possible to discuss.

## Grading Standards

Grades in graduate school are a little bit silly, in my opinion, as you are at the point in your careers where it is your written work itself that matters (and how it is received by a broader scholarly community) more than the grade arbitrarily assigned by a single cantankerous professor. Nevertheless, they can serve as a helpful signaling device for your own self-assessment, for departmental funding decisions, and to admissions committees at PhD programs (for MA students planning to continue on...). While I have outlined a mathematical weighting above, the inherently qualitative nature of class participation and final project evaluation has made me realize that a more generally qualitative statement of grading standards might be more useful. The scheme below is taken from Prof. Kyle Beardsley in the political science department at Duke University with some modifications to adapt to our departmental norms and my own personal views. I think Dr. Beardsley does a really nice job of articulating the attributes of strong graduate-level work in political science.

It may also be helpful to think about the grading distributionally. In the past, I have generally awarded between 1 and 3 straight As per graduate seminar. The modal grade has been an A-, with a few Bs and B+s.

- **A** : *Exceptional Performance*. Consistently outstanding work on all course-related tasks at a level that distinguishes the student from other members of the class. A comprehensive and incisive command of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A frequently demonstrated exceptional capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. The ability to master and integrate large amounts of factual material and abstract theories. An outstanding ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.
- **A-** : *Very Good Performance*. Consistently strong work on all course-related tasks. A command of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A clearly demonstrated capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. Understands well and can integrate the relevant factual and theoretical material central to the course. A strong ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.
- **B+** : *Good Performance*. Solid work on all course-related tasks. A good grasp of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A generally demonstrated capacity for original, creative, critical, and logical thinking. A very good command of factual

and theoretical material, and some capacity to integrate the two. A solid ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

- **B** : *Decent Performance*. Generally consistent work on most course-related tasks. A general understanding of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. Modest evidence of the capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. An acceptable understanding of factual and theoretical material, but limited evidence of the capacity to integrate the two. A basic ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.
- **B-** : *Barely Satisfactory Performance*. Mostly satisfactory work on course-related tasks, but with notable deficiencies. A general understanding of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. Understands at a basic level the facts and theories related to the course, but with clear gaps, errors, or incomplete work. A limited or inconsistent ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.
- **C+/C** : *Inadequate Performance*. Some, but generally insufficient understanding of the basic elements of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. An inability to go beyond a recitation of basic factual material related to the class. Demonstrated weaknesses in the ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.
- **D** : *Unacceptable Performance*. A superficial and inconsistent familiarity with the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. An uneven understanding of basic factual material related to the course; no evidence of fact/theory integration. Demonstrates significant gaps in the ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.
- **F** : *Failure*. A general lack of familiarity with the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. The absence of even a basic understanding of the factual material related to the course.

### Course Policies

- Successful completion of this course requires consistent, punctual attendance, and active participation in both class discussion and class exercises. If you must miss class due to a conflicting responsibility or an emergency, it is your responsibility to contact me to discuss the situation. I will generally require a short written assignment to be submitted in lieu of class attendance. Any more than 1 absence without prior notification and make-up work will affect your final grade.
- All students are expected to adhere to the highest levels of academic integrity. Violations of university, departmental, and disciplinary standards will not be tolerated and will lead to an F for the course.
- If you need an accommodation for this class, please contact the Disability Resource Center as soon as possible. The DRC coordinates accommodations for students with disabilities. It is located on the 4th floor of the Health Services Building, and can be reached at 815-753-1303 or [drc@niu.edu](mailto:drc@niu.edu). Also, please contact me privately as soon as possible so we can discuss your

accommodations. Please note that you will not be required to disclose your disability, only your accommodations.

- It is my personal policy to allow graduate students to call me by my first name, “Ches.” This reflects the idea that I view you all as colleagues-in-training. Please let me know how you prefer to be addressed, both in name and pronoun, if it differs from what is in the college directory. I will make every effort to address you in the way you wish to be addressed. Please try and do the same for your fellow classmates, as well as for other faculty in the department.
- I am committed to your success in this class – if you feel that you are not performing to your expectations, please come and see me. I am available to answer any questions you may have about course assignments, requirements or content. I generally answer e-mails within 24 hrs on weekdays, and would be happy to schedule an appointment to meet with you if you are unavailable during my posted office hours.

## Class Schedule

Students are expected to read the following before Wednesday's class session. This syllabus, including the recommended readings and book list, constitutes the reading list for the subtopic of International Security for the PhD Candidacy exam in IR. An asterisk next to a journal article indicates that the author has expanded the idea into a book, included in the book list at the end of the syllabus. PhD students preparing for the candidacy exam should be familiar with the book as well (and others may wish to take a look at the book as well of course!).

### Week 1 (Jan. 16): Concepts, Theory, and Measurement in the Study of Conflict

- Kenneth N. Waltz *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
- J. David Singer "The 'Correlates of War' Project: Interim Report and Rationale," *World Politics* 24, no. 3 (1972): 243–70.
- Dina A. Zinnes "Three Puzzles in Search of a Researcher," *International Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (September 1, 1980): 315–42.
- Nicholas Sambanis "What Is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 814–58.

#### Recommended Readings

- Johan Galtung "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167–91.
- Rothschild, Emma. 1995. "What Is Security?" *Daedalus* 124 (3) (July 1): 53–98.
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg and Håvard Strand. 2002. "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 5 (Sep., 2002) , pp. 615-637
- Paul Staniland "Armed Politics and the Study of Intrastate Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 4 (July 2017): 459–67.

### Week 2 (Jan. 23): Systemic Explanations

- Robert Jervis "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 02 (January 1978): 167–214.
- Kenneth N. Waltz "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (1988): 615–28. \*
- Douglas Lemke and Suzanne Werner "Power Parity, Commitment to Change, and War," *International Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (June 1, 1996): 235–60.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 03 (September 2010): 415–29.

#### Recommended Readings

- Ted Hopf. 1991. "Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War." *American Political Science Review*, 85(2): 476-493.
- Paul Huth, Christopher Gelpi, and D. Scott Bennett, "The Escalation of Great Power Disputes: Testing Rational Deterrence Theory and Structural Realism," *American Political Science Review*, 87, 3, (1993): 609-623.

- Powell, R. (1996). Stability and the Distribution of Power. *World Politics*, 48(2), 239-267. \*
- Susan G. Sample. 1997. "Arms Races and Dispute Escalation: Resolving the Debate." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 7-22.

### Week 3 (Jan. 30): Information, Credibility, and Commitments

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita "An Expected Utility Theory of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 74, no. 4 (December 1980): 917–31. \*
- James D. Fearon "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49, no. 03 (1995): 379–414.
- Barbara F Walter "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (July 1997): 335–64. \*
- Suzanne Werner "The Precarious Nature of Peace: Resolving the Issues, Enforcing the Settlement, and Renegotiating the Terms," *American Journal of Political Science* 43, no. 3 (July 1999): 912–34.

#### Recommended Readings

- Russell J. Leng "Reciprocating Influence Strategies in Interstate Crisis Bargaining:" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37, no. 1 (March 1993): 3–41.
- D. Scott Bennett and Allan C. Stam. 2000. "A Universal Test of an Expected Utility Theory of War." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 451-480.
- Kydd, A. (2000). Trust, reassurance, and cooperation. *International Organization*, 54(2), 325-357.
- Robert Powell "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization* 60, no. 1 (January 2006): 169–203.

### Week 4 (Feb. 06): Psychology, Leadership, Gender, and Culture

- Elizabeth N. Saunders "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* 34, no. 2 (2009): 119–61. \*
- Valerie M. Hudson et al. "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States | International Security | MIT Press Journals," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 7–45.
- Wendy Pearlman "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings," *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 02 (June 2013): 387–409.
- Emilie M Hafner-Burton et al. "The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations," *International Organization* 71, no. Supplement (2017): S1–S31.

#### Recommended Readings

- Byman, Daniel L. and Kenneth M. Pollack. 2001. Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesmen Back In. *International Security*, 25: 107-146.
- Roger Petersen *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Bar-Tal, Daniel. 2007. "Sociopsychological Foundations of Intractable Conflicts." *American Behavioral Scientist* 50 (11) (July 1): 1430–1453.
- Horowitz, M. C., & Stam, A. C. (2014). How prior military experience influences the future militarized behavior of leaders. *International Organization*, 68(3), 527-559.



### Week 5 (Feb. 13): Domestic Politics and Conflict

- James D. Fearon “Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes.” *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 577–92.
- Jessica L. Weeks “Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 2 (May 2012): 326–47. \*
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith “Domestic Explanations of International Relations,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 15, no. 1 (June 15, 2012): 161–81.
- Alyssa K. Prorok “Leader Incentives and Civil War Outcomes,” *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 70–84.

#### Recommended Readings

- Kenneth A. Schultz “Looking for Audience Costs,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, January 2, 2001.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et al. “Political Institutions, Policy Choice and the Survival of Leaders,” *British Journal of Political Science*, October 2002.
- Hanne Fjelde “Generals, Dictators, and Kings: Authoritarian Regimes and Civil Conflict, 1973—2004,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27, no. 3 (June 17, 2010): 195–218.
- Caitlin Talmadge “The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War,” *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 180–221.

### Week 6 (Feb. 20): Democracy and Conflict

- Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett “Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946–1986,” *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (September 1993): 624–38.
- Joanne Gowa “Democratic States and International Disputes,” *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 411–22.
- Håvard Hegre et al. “Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816–1992,” *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (March 2001): 33–48.
- Sarah McLaughlin Mitchell “A Kantian System? Democracy and Third-Party Conflict Resolution,” *American Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 4 (October 2002): 749–59.

#### Recommended Readings

- Michael W. Doyle “Liberalism and World Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 04 (December 1986): 1151–69.
- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder. 1995. “Democratization and the Danger of War.” *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1. (Summer, 1995), pp. 5–38.
- Dan Reiter and Allen C. Stam (1998). “Democracy, war initiation, and victory.” *American Political Science Review*, 377–389.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et al. “An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace,” *American Political Science Review*, December 1999.

### Week 7 (Feb. 27): Organizing Warfighting

- Allan R. Millett, Williamson Murray, and Kenneth H. Watman “The Effectiveness of Military Organizations,” *International Security* 11, no. 1 (Summer 1986): 37–71.

- Paul Staniland “Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia,” *International Security* 37, no. 1 (July 2012): 142–77. \*
- Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson “Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War,” *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (July 2013): 418–32.
- Caitlin Talmadge “Different Threats, Different Militaries: Explaining Organizational Practices in Authoritarian Armies,” *Security Studies* 25, no. 1 (2016): 111–41.

#### *Recommended Reading*

- Jeremy M. Weinstein *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge Univ Pr, 2007).
- Wendy Pearlman *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Alec Worsnop “Who Can Keep the Peace? Insurgent Organizational Control of Collective Violence,” *Security Studies* 26, no. 3 (July 2017): 482–516.
- Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson and Sherry Zaks “Militant and Rebel Organization(S),” *Comparative Politics*, 2018, forthcoming.

#### **Week 8 (Mar. 06): Civil-Interstate Conflict Nexus**

- Stephen M Walt “Revolution and War,” *World Politics* 44, no. 3 (April 1992): 321–68.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch “Transnational Dimensions of Civil War,” *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 3 (May 2007): 293–309.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Idean Salehyan, and Kenneth Schultz “Fighting at Home, Fighting Abroad: How Civil Wars Lead to International Disputes,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, no. 4 (August 2008): 479–506.
- Kelly M. Greenhill *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010).

#### *Recommended Readings*

- Kurt Dassel and Eric Reinhardt “Domestic Strife and the Initiation of Violence at Home and Abroad,” *American Journal of Political Science* 43, no. 1 (January 1999): 56.
- Clayton L. Thyne “Cheap Signals with Costly Consequences: The Effect of Interstate Relations on Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 6 (December 2006): 937–61.
- Idean Salehyan “The Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54, no. 3 (June 2010): 493–515.
- David E. Cunningham and Douglas Lemke “Combining Civil and Interstate Wars,” *International Organization* 67, no. 03 (July 2013): 609–27.

#### **Week 9 (Mar. 13): Spring Break**

#### **Week 10 (Mar. 20): Nuclear Weapons**

- Kenneth N. Waltz “The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better: Introduction: The Adelphi Papers: Vol 21, No 171,” *The Adelphi Papers* 21, no. 171 (1981).
- Scott D. Sagan “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb,” *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1997): 54.

- Nina Tannenwald “The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use,” *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (1999): 433–68. \*
- Mark S. Bell and Nicholas L. Miller “Questioning the Effect of Nuclear Weapons on Conflict,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, August 19, 2013.

#### Recommended Readings

- Scott D. Sagan “The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons,” *International Security* 18, no. 4 (1994): 66–107.
- Nicholas L. Miller “The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions,” *International Organization* 68 (Autumn 2014): 913–44.
- Vipin Narang “Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation: How States Pursue the Bomb,” *International Security* 41, no. 3 (Winter 2017): 110–50.
- Rupal N. Mehta and Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark “The Benefits and Burdens of Nuclear Latency,” *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (September 1, 2017): 517–28.

#### Week 11 (Mar. 27): Ethnic Conflict

- Errol A. Henderson “Culture or Contiguity: Ethnic Conflict, the Similarity of States, and the Onset of War, 1820-1989,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, no. 5 (October 1997): 649–68.
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75–90.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min “Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?: New Data and Analysis,” *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (January 2010): 87–119.
- Elaine K Denny and Barbara F Walter “Ethnicity and Civil War,” *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (March 2014): 199–212.

#### Recommended Reading

- Donald L Horowitz *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985).
- Barry Posen “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27–47.
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin “Explaining Interethnic Cooperation,” *American Political Science Review* 90, no. 04 (December 1996): 715–35.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch “Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison,” *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (2011). \*

#### Week 12 (Apr. 03): Terrorism

- Martha Crenshaw “The Causes of Terrorism,” *Comparative Politics* 13, no. 4 (July 1981): 379–99.
- R.A. Pape “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 03 (2003): 343–61. \*
- Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter “The Strategies of Terrorism,” *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 49–80.
- Max Abrahms “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security* 32, no. 2 (Autumn 2006): 42–78.

#### Recommended Readings

- Audrey Kurth Cronin “How Al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups,” *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 7–48.
- Erica Chenoweth “Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity,” *The Journal of Politics* 72, no. 01 (January 2010): 16–30.
- Jessica Stanton “Terrorism in the Context of Civil War,” *Journal of Politics* 75, no. 4 (October 2013): 1009–22.
- Virginia Page Fortna “Do Terrorists Win? Rebels’ Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes,” *International Organization* 69 (2015/ed): 519–56.

### Week 13 (Apr. 10): Harming Civilians: Repression, Predation, and Genocide

- Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr “Toward Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides: Identification and Measurement of Cases Since 1945,” *International Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (September 1, 1988): 359–71.
- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War,” *American Political Science Review* 100, no. 03 (August 2006).
- Christian Davenport “State Repression and Political Order,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (January 2007): 1–23.
- Dara Kay Cohen “Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009),” *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (August 2013): 461–77. \*

#### Recommended Readings

- Benjamin Valentino “Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killing and Genocide,” *Security Studies* 9, no. 3 (March 1, 2000): 1–59.
- Elisabeth Jean Wood “Variation in Sexual Violence During War,” *Politics & Society* 34, no. 3 (September 2006): 307–42.
- Jason Lyall “Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 3 (February 2009): 331–62.
- H. Zeynep Bulutgil “Social Cleavages, Wartime Experience, and Ethnic Cleansing in Europe,” *Journal of Peace Research*, September 8, 2015.
- Emily Hencken Ritter and Courtenay R. Conrad “Preventing and Responding to Dissent: The Observational Challenges of Explaining Strategic Repression,” *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 1 (February 2016): 85–99.

### Week 14 (Apr. 17): Civil Resistance

- Timur Kuran “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989,” *World Politics* 44, no. 1 (October 1991): 7–48.
- Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security* 33, no. 1 (2008): 7–44. \*
- Charles Butcher and Isak Svensson “Manufacturing Dissent: Modernization and the Onset of Major Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 2 (July 2016): 311–39.
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Marianne Dahl, and Anne Frugé “Strategies of Resistance: Diversification and Diffusion,” *American Journal of Political Science*, April 2017.

#### Recommended Readings

- Mark R. Beissinger “Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions,” *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 02 (May 2007): 259–76.
- Erica Chenoweth and Jay Ulfelder “Can Structural Conditions Explain the Onset of Nonviolent Uprisings?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 2 (2017): 298–324.
- David E Cunningham et al. “Words and Deeds: From Incompatibilities to Outcomes in Anti-Government Disputes,” *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 4 (July 2017): 468–83.
- Thurber, Ches. “Social Ties and Civil Resistance.” *International Studies Quarterly*, Forthcoming.

#### Week 15 (Apr. 24): Intervention, Resolution, and Aftermath

- Barbara F. Walter “Designing Transitions from Civil War,” *International Security* 24, no. 1 (1999): 127–55. \*
- Virginia Page Fortna “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War,” *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 269–92. \*
- Monica Duffy Toft “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security* 34, no. 4 (April 2010): 7–36. \*
- Lisa Hultman, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon “United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War,” *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no. 4 (October 2013): 875–91.

#### Recommended Readings

- Patrick M. Regan “Choosing to Intervene: Outside Interventions in Internal Conflicts,” *The Journal of Politics* 60, no. 3 (August 1, 1998): 754–79.
- Doyle, M. W., & Sambanis, N. (2000). International peacebuilding: A theoretical and quantitative analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 779-801.
- Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. 2003. Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict. *International Security*, 79-109.
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen, “Making and Keeping Peace,” *International Organization* (2005): 261-292.

#### Week 16 (May. 01): Decline of War?

- John Mueller “War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 297-321, 124, no. 2 (2009).
- Nils Petter Gleditsch et al. “The Forum: The Decline of War,” *International Studies Review* 15 (2013): 396–419. \*
- Tanisha Fazal “Dead Wrong?: Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War’s Demise,” *International Security* 39, no. 1 (Summer 2014): 95–125.
- Therése Pettersson and Kristine Eck “Organized Violence, 1989-2017,” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 4 (2018): 535–47.

**Final Papers Due: Monday 5/6 at 5pm.**

## Book List

The following is a list of books that doctoral students preparing for candidacy exams should be familiar with. They are linked in some way to a journal article already on the syllabus, which should provide a solid overview of the author's theoretical argument. However, students should be familiar with the book, including expansions of the theory and empirics, and be prepared to make references to the books where appropriate in an exam answer.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita *The War Trap* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

Lars-Erik Cederman, Halvard Buhaug, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch *Inequalities, Grievance, and Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

Dara Kay Cohen *Rape During Civil War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

Virginia Page Fortna *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Robert A. Pape *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).

Steven Pinker *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York: Viking, 2011).

Robert Powell *In the Shadow of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Elizabeth N. Saunders *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

Paul Staniland *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

Nina Tannenwald *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Monica Duffy Toft *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Barbara F Walter *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Kenneth N Waltz *Theory of International Politics* (Addison-Wesley, 1979).

Jessica L. Weeks *Dictators at War and Peace* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).