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**PS 137**  
**International Relations Theory**

Fall 2014  
TR 9:30 – 10:45am  
5200 Math Sciences

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**Professor Arthur Stein**

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Office hours: T, Th 11a-12p, and by appt.

**Class web site:** <https://moodle2.sscnet.ucla.edu/course/view/14F-POLSCI137A-1>

**Teaching Assistants:**

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The focus of this course is approaches to the study of international politics, i.e., the different ways in which war and peace have been explained. Although you will learn a great deal about current international issues and about the evolution of international politics, the focus of this course is analytic rather than substantive, on general arguments and how to analyze rather than on specific events and details. As such, the course will teach you how to think in general, in addition to dealing with international politics.

The course is multidisciplinary, and integrates psychology, economics, sociology, history, and geography in the study of international relations. It also draws from all the other subfields of political science, including American and comparative politics, as well as political theory. You will find that the course will help you to pull together quite disparate material from a variety of courses you may have taken.

**Course requirements:** First and foremost, doing the reading and coming to class (lectures and section). Taking this class means voluntarily entering into a social compact with the instructor and fellow students. Being prepared and coming to class are the core obligations. The course will have a midterm, and requires that you write a course paper.

A paper, 12-15 pages in length will be due during finals week. You must clear your topic with your TA by the third week, and preferably sooner. You will be required to submit a draft of the paper or an abstract by the end of the 7th week of the course. The abstract/draft paper will be marked and returned. The revised version will deal with the comments on the first draft as well as include perspectives discussed in the last three weeks. The final version will be submitted through Turnitin.

The point of the paper is to apply the approaches discussed in the course to some current event. You need not pick a case in which the U.S. is a player.

Begin by selecting some issue. Follow the news about it. Read the newspaper. Keep digital copies of useful material so that you will be able to go back and reread them. Remember, you'll be coming across new perspectives each week of the course, so taking notes on what you find in news sources may not provide you with adequate information to deal with a perspective we have not yet covered. Keeping full texts of what you find will allow you to reassess in the light of new material discussed in the intervening weeks.

You might want to start by addressing the following questions: Do the analyses you have read typically focus on one level of analysis more than others? Do debates about the current event reflect alternative levels of analysis or alternative arguments within the same level of analysis?

You may use the levels of analysis to write a critical examination of the sources and consequences of policy. You may, if you prefer, make a theoretically-based policy recommendation, developing an alternative policy rather than explaining an extant one.

It is critically important that you get an early start. It is impossible to make the readings for each week the exact same number of pages. A light week of required readings means a week in which you should be reading for your paper and reading ahead in the course. There are some heavier reading weeks towards the end and they include perspectives you will have to discuss so you will have to do that reading. It is imperative that you have done the reading for the paper by that point.

You should use resources available on the Web. Most news services, including the *Los Angeles Times* (<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/>), the *New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/index.html>), and the *Washington Post* (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/world>) are available on the Web. Some will let you search archives which go back (varying lengths of time). Some now charge for archived articles but you can get these for free from Lexis/Nexis (available electronically through UCLA). Some news magazines are available on the Web.

Some electronic materials, which are not publicly available on the web, are available through UCLA's library (<http://www2.library.ucla.edu/search/eresources.cfm>). Through this link you can get to newspaper articles in Lexis. Also the Expanded Academic ASAP database in the California Digital Library has full text of articles. You need not be at a campus machine to use most of these, but you do have to set up your web browser to use a proxy server. Doing your paper will be made easier and richer using the net, but you will also have to use a library.

Besides the newspapers mentioned above, there are many superb newspapers published overseas in English. A good example is the *Asia Times* (<http://www.atimes.com>). Another is the *Financial Times* (<http://news.ft.com/world>). There are many organizations and institutions that provide analysis both online and in published form. There are current events series, including special issues of *Current History* and the Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association (<http://www.fpa.org/>). Journals that focus on current issues include *Foreign Affairs* (<http://www.foreignaffairs.org>), *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest* (<http://www.nationalinterest.org>), *Washington Quarterly*, and *Orbis*. Other useful sources include Council on Foreign Relations (<http://www.cfr.org/>), Foreign Policy in Focus (<http://www.fpif.org/>). There are now e-newspapers, such as <http://www.globalpost.com/>. Finally, virtually all governments (and even most revolutionary movements) have websites and make documents available online. You can easily get reports, speeches, position papers, background papers online. A good portal for defense and intelligence matters is <http://www.globalsecurity.org/>.

Note that the specific items mentioned above are examples and should not be treated as a complete or final list. You will learn that the modern problem is too much information and that material has to be filtered and processed.

**Available for purchase at ASUCLA:**

- Steger, Manfred B. 2009. *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stein, Arthur A. 1990. *Why Nations Cooperate: Circumstance and Choice in International Relations*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

**1. Introduction** (Oct. 2, 2014)

**Questions:** What are different approaches to explaining international politics? What are the different questions the field asks? What are the levels of analysis?

Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, pp. 1–15.

**2. War and Individuals** (Oct. 7, 2014)

**Questions:** What is assumed about international politics by choosing to focus on the characteristics of individuals? How does a focus on the characteristics of individuals explain the decision to use force? What are the roots of personality? Does personality always explain foreign policy? Is international conflict a clash of personalities? What are the generational experiences that can shape attitudes and thus foreign policy?

Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, pp. 16–79.

Friedlander, Saul and Raymond Cohen. 1975. The Personality Correlates of Belligerence in International Conflict. *Comparative Politics* 7: 155–186. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/421547>

Etheridge, Lloyd. 1978. Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1898–1968: A Test of Interpersonal Generalization Theory. *American Political Science Review* 72: 434–451. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1954103>

Roskin, Michael. 1974. From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Generational Paradigms. *Political Science Quarterly* 89: 563–588. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2148454>

Beinart, Peter. 2006. The Isolationist Pendulum: Expect a Cyclical U. S. Retreat From World Affairs After the Iraq War. *Washington Post*, 22 January. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/01/20/AR2006012001654.html>

**3. War and Culture** (Oct. 9, 2014)

**Questions:** What is culture? What constitutes a cultural explanation for foreign policy? Are there cultural bases of international conflict?

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Summer): 22–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20045621>

Lewis, Bernard. 1998. Memorandum for the President: What You Should Know about Islam. In *America and the Muslim Middle East: Memos to a President*, edited by Philip D. Zelikow and Robert B. Zoellick, 5–18. Washington, D. C.: The Aspen Institute.

Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. The End of History? *The National Interest*, (Summer): 3–18.

Ajami, Fouad. 2008. The Clash. *New York Times*, January 6.

Muller, Jerry Z. 2008. Us and Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism. *Foreign Affairs*, (March/April): 18–35. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20032578>

Kagan, Robert. 2008. The End of the End of History. *New Republic*, April 23.  
<http://carnegieendowment.org/2008/04/23/end-of-end-of-history/zni>

#### **4. Globalization and Peace** (Oct. 14, 2014) [No lecture: Oct. 16, 2014]

**Questions:** How do economic forces, such as industrialization and modernization, affect foreign policy? Are commerce, economic interdependence, and globalization the bases of peace?

Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, pp. 1–70.

Kaysen, Carl. 1990. Is War Obsolete? *International Security* 14 (Spring): 42–64.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2538750>

#### **5-6. Globalization and Conflict** (Oct. 21 and 23, 2014)

**Questions:** Are the consequences of industrialization always benign? Can economics also be the basis for conflict? What are other implications of modernization and globalization? Do they strengthen nationalism or internationalism? Does the growth of communications (the information superhighway) assure peace?

Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, pp. 71–135.

North, Robert C. 1977. Toward a Framework for the Analysis of Scarcity and Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly* 21 (December): 569–591. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2600191>

Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. 1994. Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence From Cases. *International Security* 19 (Summer): 5–40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539147>

Muller, Jerry Z. 2003. Is Culture Destroying Trade? *The Globalist*, October 6.

#### **7. International Politics and Domestic Political Systems I** (Oct. 28, 2014)

**Questions:** Are there differences in the foreign policies of democracies and dictatorships? Are democracies more peaceful? Toward whom? Why? Is there such a thing as a democratic peace? Does the process of democratization generate international conflict?

Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, pp. 80–123.

Feierabend, Ivo K. 1962. Expansionist and Isolationist Tendencies of Totalitarian Political Systems: A Theoretical Note. *Journal of Politics* 24 (November): 733–742. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2128045>

- Andreski, Stanislav. 1980. On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 3 (December): 3–10.
- Layne, Christopher. 1994. Kant or Cant: the Myth of the Democratic Peace. *International Security* 19 (Fall): 5–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539195>
- Gat, Azar. 2005. The Democratic Peace Theory Reframed: the Impact of Modernity. *World Politics* 58 (1): 73–100. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40060125>
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 1995. Democratization and the Danger of War. *International Security* 20 (Summer): 5–38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539213>
- Kaplan, Robert D. 1997. Was Democracy Just a Moment? *The Atlantic*, December.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2006. After Neoconservatism. *New York Times*, February 19.
- Gat, Azar. 2007. The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers. *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August): 59–69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20032415>

## 8. International Politics and Domestic Political Systems II (Oct. 30, 2014)

**Questions:** Can a cooperative or conflictual foreign policy be explained by the stability or instability of the regime? Do state/society relationships (weak versus strong state) explain foreign policy? What are the consequences of failed states?

- Krasner, Stephen D. 1978. Policy-making in a Weak State. In *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 55–90.
- Mayer, Arno. 1969. Internal Causes and Purposes of War in Europe, 1870–1956. *Journal of Modern History* 41 (September): 291–303. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1899384>
- Gordon, Michael. 1974. Domestic Conflict and the Origins of the First World War. *Journal of Modern History* 46 (June): 191–226. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1877519>
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1994. Hypotheses on Nationalism and War. *International Security* 18 (Spring): 5–39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539176>
- Patrick, Stewart. 2006. Weak States and Global Threats: Fact Or Fiction? *The Washington Quarterly* 29: 27–53.
- Roy, Olivier. 2012. The transformation of the Arab world. *Journal of Democracy* 23(3): 5-18.

## 9. Levels of Analysis Redux (Nov. 4, 2014) [Midterm: Nov. 6, 2014]

**Question:** What is the debate between reductionism and structuralism all about?

**10. Structural Realism** (Nov. 11, 2014)

**Questions:** What is a structural or systemic argument? What are the assumptions of such arguments in international politics?

Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, pp. 159–238.

Orme, John. 1997-98. The Utility of Force in a World of Scarcity. *International Security* 22 (Winter): 138–167. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539360>

**11. Balance of Power, Polarity, and Polarization** (Nov. 13, 2014)

**Questions:** What is the balance of power? How do we know when a balance of power exists? What does a balance of power explain? How would we evaluate balance-of-power theory against historical data? Are bipolar or multipolar worlds more stable?

Haas, Ernst. 1953. The Balance of Power: Prescriptions, Concepts or Propaganda?. *World Politics* 5 (July): 442–477. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009179>

Sabrosky, Alan Ned. 1975. From Bosnia to Sarajevo: A Comparative Discussion of Interstate Crises. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 19 (March): 3–24. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/173447>

Deutsch, Karl and J. David Singer. 1964. Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability. *World Politics* 16 (April): 390–406. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009578>

Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War. *International Security* 15 (Summer): 5–56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2538981>

**12. Hegemonic Stability** (Nov. 18, 2014)

**Questions:** What is hegemonic stability theory? Is hegemonic stability theory applicable only to economic issues or also security ones? What is the relationship between balance-of-power theory and hegemonic stability theory? What are the implications of unipolarity? Is the current “unipolar moment” stable or is it momentary?

Organski, A. F. K. 1968. The Power Transition. In *World Politics*, 338–376. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.  
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Dobson, William J. 2006. The Day Nothing Much Changed. *Foreign Policy* no. 156 (September/October): 22–25. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25462079>

Haass, Richard N. 2008. The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance? *Foreign Affairs*, (May/June): 44–56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20032650>

Ikenberry, G. John, Michael Mastanduno and William C. Wohlforth. 2009. Introduction: Unipolarity, state behavior, and systemic consequences. *World Politics* 61(1): 1-27.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40060219>

Monteiro, Nuno P. 2011. Unrest assured: why unipolarity is not peaceful. *International Security* 36(3): 9-40.

Layne, Christopher. 2012. This time it's real: The end of unipolarity and the Pax Americana. *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 203-213.

### 13. Structural Balance (Nov. 20, 2014)

**Questions:** What is structural balance theory? How are the conceptions of balance and stability in structural balance theory different from those in balance of power theory?

Harary, Frank. 1961. A Structural Analysis of the Situation in the Middle East. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 5 (June): 167–178. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/172784>

### 14. Structure: Geopolitics and Technology (Nov. 25, 2014) [Thanksgiving: Nov. 27, 2014]

**Questions:** What geopolitical factors explain foreign policy choices and involvement in war? What technological factors explain foreign policy choices and involvement in war? Can international stability be explained by the nature of weapons systems?

Dougherty, James E. and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. 1981. Environmental Theories. In *Contending Theories of International Relations: a Comprehensive Survey*, 54–83. New York: Harper & Row.

Van Evera, Stephen. 1998. Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War. *International Security* 22 (Spring): 5–43. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539239>

Van Creveld, Martin. 2007. War and Technology. *Footnotes*, The Newsletter of the Foreign Policy Research Center, 12 (25), Oct.

### 15-16. The Problem of International Cooperation in Realism and Liberalism (Dec. 2 and Dec. 4, 2014)

**Questions:** Is strategic interaction another level of analysis? Are conflict and cooperation products of the strategic setting (and what explains that)? Why are the strategic settings (or games) of prisoners' dilemma and chicken the focus of so much attention and what do they teach us about international politics and the nature of international conflict and cooperation? What are the requisites of cooperation in international politics? Is misperception the source of conflict in international politics?

Stein, *Why Nations Cooperate*, pp. 3–111, 113–145, 151–169, 172–210.

### 17. The Future: The Promise of International Institutions and the Challenge of Terrorism

(Dec. 9, 2014)

**Questions:** What are the prospects for international politics? What do the different theories discussed in the course imply about the future? Does the growth of international institutions portend a transformation of world politics? What are the implications of the growing importance of subnational actors? What is terrorism about and what are its implications?

Huntington, Samuel P. 1973. Transnational Organizations in World Politics. *World Politics* 25 (April): 333–368. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010115>

Mearsheimer, John J. 1994-9. The False Promise of International Institutions. *International Security* 19 (Winter): 5–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539078>

Posen, Barry R. 2001-02. The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics. *International Security* 26 (Winter): 39–55. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092088>

Wright, Robert and Robert Kaplan. 2001. Mr. Order Meets Mr. Chaos. *Foreign Policy* no. 124 (May/June): 50–60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3183190>

Schmitt, Eric and Thom Shanker. 2008. U.S. Adapts Cold-War Idea to Fight Terrorists. *New York Times*, March 18.

### 18. Conclusion (Dec. 11, 2014)

**Questions:** Are we witnessing the end of war? Or the transformation of war?

What have you learned? What do you still not know but know that you do not know? Can we combine competing perspectives on how the world works (and specifically, about international politics)? How should we handle theories at different levels of analysis? Are our models too general or ethnocentric? Can they deal with culturally distinctive conditions? What are the intellectual frontiers for the field? How do we react to the ambiguities and uncertainties associated with the current state of knowledge?

Mueller, John. 2009. War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment. *Political Science Quarterly* 124 (2): 297-321.

Goldstein, Joshua. 2011. Think Again: War. *Foreign Policy* Sept/Oct.

Mello, Patrick A. 2010. In search of new wars: The debate about a transformation of war. *European Journal of International Relations* 16(2): 297-309.

### ON WRITING:

Write **well-organized paragraphs** that tackle single thoughts. Each **should have a topic sentence that presents the point you want to make** or introduces a body of material. **The topic sentence should cover all the material in the paragraph.** There should be no material in the paragraph not covered by the topic sentence. If there is: throw it out, or rewrite the topic sentence, or split the paragraph into two or more paragraphs. You can then read the topic sentences to see if their order makes sense or if you need to rearrange the paragraphs. Make your case clear by writing discrete paragraphs, each introduced by an explicit point or statement of topic that is followed by explication, elaboration, or evidence linked explicitly to your point.

Read your paper before turning it in. Your spell checker (which you should use) is not enough. Moreover, even though you are turning in a “first draft,” it should, in fact, be at least a second draft.

**Rules of Citation:** You must cite all quotes, paraphrases, and IDEAS from other works. If you present an argument that has previously been offered elsewhere, you must cite it unless it is conventional, or at least common, wisdom. Check style sheets to find out how to cite web pages. Style sheets are available online. A classic published example is *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, by Kate L. Turabian (The book is popularly referred to as Turabian). Or, you may substitute the longer and more expensive *Chicago Manual of Style* (the bible of publishers and copy editors). Portions of these are also available online.

You might also want to read a little book before you begin writing, *The Elements of Style*, by William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White. It is short, cheap, and delightful. It is an excellent introduction to issues of basic grammar and style. There are many other good books, including Joseph M. Williams and Joseph Bizup, *Style: Lessons in Clarity and Grace*, 11th ed.

**Procedures:** Turn in the commented-upon first draft *with your final draft*. The final version is to be submitted through Turnitin.

**KEEP A COPY OF YOUR PAPER**