

Core Graduate Course in International Relations

POL-GA 1751

Spring 2016

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita

Monday 4-5:50

Seminar Room 217, 19 West 4th Street.

Office hours: Tuesday 9-12, 2-4, or whenever my door is open.

The core graduate course in international relations is designed to explore the main issues and research strategies in the study of international relations. Despite the “core” nature of this class I do not intend it to be a survey of the entire field. I believe that it is simply impossible to cover all the pertinent questions in international relations in a single class. Rather than superficially skim many topics, we shall examine a limited set of problems and focus on the theories and methods used to tackle them. It is much better to take your intuitions about how the world works and develop them in a scientific manner than it is to recall what everyone has previously said on a topic. Good questions pursued in an appropriate way make for good research! Knowing everything that has been written in the past does not!

I have limited the number of readings each week. I want us to focus on the key concepts in the arguments made, the logic used, the falsifiability of these arguments and how they are or could be tested. There is a strong focus on articles by people at NYU and the sort of topics they research: I make no apology for this. First, I believe that these are some of the most important developments in the field. Second, this is the material I can most effectively teach. Third, it helps NYU students identify the research interests and methodological approaches of the NYU faculty.

Students are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the week’s readings, with special emphasis on the way in which hypotheses are developed, the fundamental elements of research design, and with ideas about how the research questions in the readings might be better examined or about future directions in research on the topic under discussion. Critiques of the reading assignments should focus on any problems in logic or evidence and should offer concrete and feasible ideas about how to improve on the research. Students will be assigned to lead the discussion of the readings.

Each student will write one short paper (about 5 pages) and one longer paper (whatever length is appropriate to convey the motivation, develop the research design, and provide either formal proofs or empirical tests of key propositions). The two papers can be on the same or on different topics. The short paper should focus on situating an original research idea within its relevant literature. The short paper should discuss the research design, the structure of the theory if original, data sources if relevant, and present preliminary tests of one or more hypotheses using data available for downloading from the web or other sources. The final, longer paper should derive hypotheses either from arguments in the literature or from an original model and provide careful statistical analyses of testable claims that follow from the argument. This paper should not simply be a rehash of research by others, but a significant original research undertaking.

The readings are predominately articles. However, in addition I am assigning Robert Powell's *In the Shadow of Power* (Princeton University Press, 1999) and Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph Siverson and James Morrow's *The Logic of Political Survival* (MIT Press, 2003).

If students have specific research interests then please let me know ASAP and we can potentially substitute them into the syllabus.

January 23: Introduction to key conceptions

James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* (Summer 1995) Erik Gartzke, "War is in the Error Term," *International Organization* 53(1999):567-88. Coletta and Gartzke, "Correction: Testing War in the Error Term" *IO* Spring 2003. Robert Powell, "War as a Commitment Problem," *IO* 2006; Powell 1999 chapt. 1.

January 30: System Structure and Conflict: Neo-Realism and Power Transition

Powell, Chapter 2; Emerson Niu and Peter Ordeshook, "A Theory of the Balance of Power in International Systems," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 30 (Dec. 1986):685-715; Powell, Robert. 1994. "Anarchy in International Relations Theory: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate," *International Organization* 48 (2): 313-344; Milner, Helen V. 1998. "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics." *International Organization* 52 (Autumn): 759-86; Powell, chapters 3 and 4.

Recommended Reading: A.F. K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger*, pp. 13-63; Woosang Kim and James Morrow, "When do Shifts in Power Lead to War?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 1992; Kenneth Waltz, "Evaluating Theories," *APSR* (December 1997); John Vasquez et al, "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs," *APSR* (December 1997); Jack Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," *Annual Review of Political Science* (1998).

February 6: Nature of War

Wagner, R. Harrison. "Bargaining and War," *American Journal of Political Science* 44,3(2000):469-484; Smith "Fighting Battles, Winning Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* June 1998 Vol. 42, No. 3, pp.301-320; Branislav Slantchev 2003. "The Power to Hurt: Costly Conflict with Completely Informed States," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97, No. 1 February 2003; Smith and Stam 2004. "Bargaining and the Nature of War," *JCR* Vol. 48 No. 6, December 2004 783-813; Suzanne Werner, "The Precarious Nature of Peace: Resolving the Issues, Enforcing the Settlement, and Renegotiating the Terms," *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (July 1999): 912-934.

February 13: Deterrence and Alliances

Fearon, "Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs," *Journal*

of Conflict Resolution 41(1997):68-90; Alastair Smith, "Alliance Formation and War," *International Studies Quarterly* (December 1995); Morrow, James D. 1994. "Alliances, Credibility and Peacetime Costs," *JCR* 38(2):270-297; Morrow, "Alliances and Asymmetry," *American Journal of Political Science* 35(1991):904-33; Morrow, "Arms Versus Allies," *International Organization* 47(1993):207-233.

Recommended Readings:

Paul Huth and Bruce Russett, "What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980," *World Politics* 36 (July 1984): 496-526; Paul Huth, "Deterrence and International Conflict," *Annual Review of Political Science* (1999). Leeds, "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes," *American Journal of Political Science*, 47,3(2003):427-439; Benson, Brett V., Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher W. Ramsay. "Inducing deterrence through moral hazard in alliance contracts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.2 (2014): 307-335.

February 20: Presidents Day

February 27: Individual Leaders and Audience Costs

James Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *American Political Science Review* (September 1994); Peter Partell and Glenn Palmer, "Audience Costs and Interstate Crises: An Empirical Assessment of Fearon's Model of Dispute Outcomes," *International Studies Quarterly*, June 1999; Kenneth Schultz, "Looking for Audience Costs," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* February 2001; Smith, Alastair. 1998. "International Crises and Domestic Politics." *American Political Science Review* 92(3):623-638; Ashworth and Ramsay 2010, Should Audiences Cost? Optimal Domestic Constraints in International Crises

March 6: Leader survival and leader choice

Snyder, Jack and Erica D. Borghard. 2011. *The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound*. APSR;
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita; Randolph M. Siverson. 1995. War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability *American Political Science Review* Vol. 89, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 841-855;
Bueno de Mesquita et al 2003. *Logic of political survival* chapter 9; Henk E. Goemans and Giacomo Chiozza, "International Conflict and the Tenure of Leaders: Is War Still Ex Post Inefficient," *AJPS* (July 2004); H. Goemans. 2008. Which Way Out? The Manner and Consequences of Losing Office. *JCR* 52(6):771-794.

Recommended: *Logic of Political Survival*, Chapter 3.

March 13: Spring Recess

March 20: Institutional Differences in Leader Choice.

Bueno de Mesquita et al, "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace," *Chapter 6*, *Logic of Political Survival*; McGillivray and Smith. 2008. *Punishing the Prince*. Princeton University Press, theory chapter and experiment chapter.

March 27: Assessment of the Democratic Peace

Ray, "Does Democracy Cause Peace?," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1(1998):27-46; Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986." *American Political Science Review*, (September 1993); Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97(2003):585-602; Ward and Gleditsch, "Democratizing for Peace," *American Political Science Review* 92(1998):51-62; Henk E. Goemans "Fighting for Survival: The Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (October 2000); Christopher Gelpi and Joseph Grieco, "Democracy, Leadership Tenure, and the Targeting of Militarized Challenges," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* December, 2001; BdM2S2, "Testing Novel Implications from the Selectorate Theory of War," *World Politics* 56 (April 2004), 363-88; Slantchev, Branislav L., Anna Alexandrova, Erik Gartzke. "Probabilistic Causality, Selection Bias, and the Logic of the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 99, No. 3, pp. 459-62, August, 2005.

April 3: Institutions, Leader and Bargaining

Powell, Robert. "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2002, pp. 1-30; Clare, Joe. "Hawks, Doves, and International Cooperation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.7 (2014): 1311-1337; Wolford, Scott. "Incumbents, successors, and crisis bargaining Leadership turnover as a commitment problem." *Journal of Peace Research* 49.4 (2012): 517-530; Tiernay, Michael. "Killing Kony leadership change and civil war termination." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2013); Croco, Sarah E. "The decider's dilemma: leader culpability, war outcomes, and domestic punishment." *American Political Science Review* 105.03 (2011): 457-477.

Recommended Readings:

On paying for war:

Shea, Patrick E. "Financing Victory Sovereign Credit, Democracy, and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.5 (2014): 771-795; Flores-Macias, Gustavo A., and Sarah E. Kreps. "Political Parties at War: A Study of American War Finance, 1789–2010." *American Political Science Review* 107.04 (2013): 833-848; Schultz, Kenneth A., and Barry R. Weingast. "The democratic advantage: institutional foundations of financial power in international competition." *International Organization* 57.01 (2003): 3-42; Horowitz, Michael C., and Matthew S. Levendusky. "Drafting support for war: conscription and mass support for warfare." *The Journal of Politics* 73.02 (2011): 524-534.

April 10: Foreign Aid as a Tool of Domestic and Foreign Policy

BdM and Smith, "A Political Economy of Aid," *International Organization*, Spring 2009; Alberto Alesina and David Dollar. 2000 "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?" *Journal of Economic Growth*, March 2000, 5(1), pp. 33—63; BdM and Smith, "The Pernicious Consequences of UN Security Council Membership," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2010; Omar Bashir and Darren Lim, "Misplaced Blame," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, forthcoming; Dreher, Axel; Vreeland, James Raymond (2011): Buying votes and international organizations, Discussion Papers, Center for European

Governance and Economic Development Research, No. 123; Jablonski, Ryan. 2014. How Aid Targets Votes: the impact of electoral incentive on foreign aid distribution. *World Politics*. 66(2): 293-330.

April 17: Civil War Issues

Fearon and Laitin. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90,4(1996):715-735; 75-90; Lake and Rothchild. "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," *International Security* 21,2(1996):41-75; Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*. 51,3(1997):335-364; Lyall, Jason. 2008. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." Households in Conflict Working Paper No.44 (January 2008) (http://www.princeton.edu/~jlyall/Artillery_Final.pdf);

Recommended Reading: Regan, "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46,1(2002):55-73; Fearon and Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97,1(2003):

April 24: Terrorism

Kydd, Andrew and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56(2):263-296; Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, 2005. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence." *International Organization* 59(1):145-176; Rosendorff, Peter and Todd Sandler. 2004. "Too Much of a Good Thing? The Proactive Response Dilemma." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(4). Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. "Politics and the Suboptimal Provision of Counterterror." *International Organization* 61(1):9-36; Robert Powell. "Allocating Defensive Resources with Private Information about Vulnerability," *APSR* 2007;

May 1: Conflict and Institutional Change

Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, "Political Survival and Endogenous Institution Change," *Comparative Political Studies*, February 2009; BdM and George Downs, "Intervention and Democracy," *International Organization* 60, 3 (July 2006):627-49; Georgy Egorov, Sergei Guriev, and Konstantin Sonin, "Why Resource-poor Dictators Allow Freer Media," *American Political Science Review* November 2009; Doyle and Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94,4(2000):779-801.

May 8: Student Research Presentations (we might need to arrange additional time for this)