

**Political Science 773**  
**International Security and Political Economy**  
**Spring, 2004**

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Office Hours: Weds. 9:00 a.m.- 2:00pm  
**and by appointment.**

**Purpose of Course**

The course is designed for graduate students interested in the ways in which economic growth and decline may affect the power and interests of states, and how economic ties among them may affect security relations. We will work in the interesting nexus between the IPE and Security subfields of International Politics. This course will prepare you not only for general exams in these areas, it will help you identify topics for independent research which you might undertake in 846 or perhaps for your Ph.D. dissertation.

**Student Duties**

- **Readings:** I have designated works as “**Core**” and “**Further Interest**”. “Core” means *required in the week shown*. You will be expected to have read and be ready to discuss these works in the week they are listed. I note works of “Further Interest” for three reasons. You may be very interested in this topic now and wish to go deeper than our “Core” readings. You may later wish to use this syllabus to help with preparation for General Exams. And your research might move into one of these areas. Hence I am making a bargain with you. I have budgeted weekly “Core” readings to be only 100-200 pages, but in return I expect that you will have these readings *completed and contemplated* on time. The quality and quantity of your discussion contributions will reflect this.
  
- **Discussion:** I hope our class meetings entail no more than 40% lecture and has at least 60% discussion. I will offer introductory overviews of each week’s topics, but it will be up to you to animate class discussion which incorporates assigned readings. Your contributions will determine an important portion of your grade. As in my other graduate seminars, I take regular notes on class participation. I note the command of assigned readings that the student demonstrates in her/his discussion comments.
  
- **Writing:** You will write three, five-page literature review papers and one research proposal. The literature review papers will be spread across the three levels of analysis which provide the organizational foundation for the syllabus. *They will be due at the end of week 4, week 7 and week 10; i.e., just as we finish coverage of each level of analysis.* You will also prepare a 10-15 page research proposal on a subject of your choice relevant to one or more of the research communities treated in this course. That proposal will be due during exam week. Further details on these assignments will be given in class. In the five-page literature review papers, students will select a particular research community, identify key debates, the key players and their positions, and offer comment on the direction they believe research should take in this area. For the final research proposal, students will design an original article-length project and explain its relevance to an identifiable research community discussed in this course.

## Basis of Evaluation for Course Grade

Regular Contributions to Class Discussion	40%
Lit Review Papers (3 @ 15% ea.)	45%
End-of-Quarter Research Proposal	15%

## Course Readings

### Week 1: Classical Thinking on the Subject

**Core** (remember, “Core” means required!)

Earle, Edward Meade (1986 [1943]) “Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power” in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 217-261.

Viner, Jacob (1948) “Politics vs Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” *World Politics* 11, 1-29.

Kirshner, Jonathan (1999) “The Political Economy of Realism” in Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno (eds.) *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategy After the Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press. pp.69-102.

...and become familiar with:

Kant, Immanuel (1983 [1796]) “Perpetual Peace” in Ted Humphries (ed.) *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays on Politics, History and Morals*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishers.

Lenin, V.I. (1970 [1915]) *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* New York: International Publishers.

**Further Interest** (Deepen your knowledge now, for Generals, or for your research later)

Carr, Edward Hallett (1966 [1939]) *The 20 Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*. London: Macmillan.

Hirschman, Albert O. (1982 [1945]) *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Rosecrance, Richard. (1986) *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World*. New York: Free Press.

Friedberg, Aaron L. (1991) "The Changing Relationship Between Economics and National Security," *Political Science Quarterly* 106 (2)265-276.

## Major Research Communities Concerned with Security and Political Economy

### *Nation Level of Analysis*

#### **Week 2: Power as an Attribute of Global Actors, Economic Determinants of such “Power” Core**

Morgenthau, Hans J. (1967 [1948]) *Politics Among Nations*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Knopf. Chapter 9, pp. 106-144.

Organski, A.F.K. (1968 [1958]) *World Politics*. New York: Basic Books. Chapters 6-8 pp.101-189. (Read this immediately after Morgenthau, not how he moves toward operational indicators.)

Organski, A.F.K. and Kugler (1980) *The War Ledger*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 2 pp. 64-85 and Appendix 1 pp. 227-233.

Singer, J. David, Stuart A. Bremer and John Stuckey (1972) “Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820-1965,” in Bruce M. Russett (ed.) *Peace, War, and Numbers*, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage (1972) 19-48. REPRINTED in Vasquez and Henahan (eds.) *Scientific Study of War*, Lexington (1991).

#### ***Further Interest***

Merritt, Richard L. and Dina A. Zinnes (1988) “Validity of Power Indices” *International Interactions*. 14:2 pp. 141-151.

Kugler, Jacek and Martina Arbetman (1989) “Choosing Among Measures of Power” in Richard Stoll and Michael D. Ward (eds.) *Power in World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynn Reiner Publishers. pp. 49-77.

Mansfield, Edward D. (1994). *Power, Trade, and War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zakaria, Fareed. (1998) *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America’s World Role*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

#### *And on the Subject of Resource Mobilization and War:*

Christensen, Thomas J.(1996) *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Resource Mobilization, and the Sino-American Rivalry, 1947-1958*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Stein, Arthur (1980) *The Nation at War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

#### **Week 3: Economic Growth, Economic Fluctuations and Conflict**

**Core**

- Pollins, Brian M. Pollins and Randall L. Schweller (1999) "Linking the Levels: The Long Wave and Shifts in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1790-1993" *American Journal of Political Science*, v. 43, no. 2 (April) pp.431-464.
- Doran, Charles F. (2003) "Economics, Philosophy of History and the 'Single Dynamic' of Power Cycle Theory: Expectations, Competition, and Statecraft" *International Political Science Review* 4:1 (January) pp. 13-49.
- Houweling, Henk and Jan G. Siccama (1991) "Power Transitions and Critical Points as Predictors of Great Power War: Toward a Synthesis" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35: pp. 642-658.

**Further Interest**

- Choucri, Nazli and Robert C. North (1975) *Nations in Conflict: National Growth and International Violence*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co.
- Robert Gilpin (1981) *War and Change in World Politics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Blainey, Geoffrey (1973) *The Causes of War*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.
- Kennedy, Paul (1987) *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict, 1500-2000*. New York: Random House.

**Week 4: Slow Growth, Decline and Diversionary War**

**Core**

- Levy, Jack (1989) "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique" in Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Levy, Jack (1987) "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War" *World Politics* . 40: pp. 82-107.
- Russett, Bruce M. (1990) "Economic Decline, Electoral Pressure and the Initiation of Interstate Conflict" in Charles S. Gochman and Alan Ned Sabrosky (eds.) *Prisoners of War: Nation States in the Modern Era*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

**Further Interest (state of current research on this subject)**

- DeRouen, Karl (1995) "The Indirect Link: Politics, the Economy, and the Use of Force" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* [get rest of citation]

Leeds, Brett Ashley and David Davis (1997) "Domestic Political Vulnerability and International Disputes" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* [get rest of citation]

DeRouen, Karl (2000) "Presidents and the Diversionary Use of Force: A Research Note" *International Studies Quarterly* [get rest of citation]

[First, short literature review paper due.]

### ***Relational Level of Analysis***

#### **Week 5: Economic Interdependence and Interstate Armed Conflict**

##### ***Core***

Polachek, Solomon W. 1980. Conflict and Trade. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24:55-78.

Pollins, Brian M. 1989b. Does Trade Still Follow the Flag? *American Political Science Review* 83:465-80.

Gowa, Joanne, and Edward D. Mansfield. 1993. Power Politics and International Trade. *American Political Science Review* 87:408-20.

Mansfield, Edward D., and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2000. Trade Blocs, Trade Flows, and International Conflict. *International Organization* 54:775-808.

Oneal John R. and Bruce M. Russett. 1997. The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985. *International Studies Quarterly* 41:267-94.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Brian M. Pollins (2001) "The Study of Interdependence and Conflict: Recent Advances, Open Questions, and Directions for Future Research", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45:6 (December) pp. 834-859.

##### ***Further Interest***

Mansfield, Edward D. and Brian M. Pollins (eds.) (2003) *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Barbieri, Katherine (2003) *The Liberal Illusion: Does Trade Promote Peace?* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Oneal, John and Bruce M. Russett (2001) *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. Boston: Norton and Co.

Gowa, Joanne. (1994) *Allies, Adversaries, and International Trade*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

## **Week 6: Economic Sanctions and Coercive Diplomacy**

### ***Core***

Kirshner, Jonathan (1997) "The Microfoundations of Economic Sanctions" *Security Studies* 6:3 (Spring) pp. 32-64.

Elliot, Kimberly Ann and Gary Hufbauer (1994) " 'New' Approaches to Economic Sanctions" in Arnold Kanter and Linton F. Brooks (ed.) *U.S. Intervention Policy for the Post-Cold War World*. New York: Norton. pp. 132-158.

Pollins, Brian M.(1994) "Cannons and Capital: The Use of Coercive Diplomacy by Major Powers in the 20th Century" in Paul F. Diehl and Frank Wayman (eds.) *Reconstructing Realpolitik* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. pp. 29-54.

Drezner, Daniel W. (1998) "Critical Expectations and the Paradox of Economic Coercion." *International Studies Quarterly*, December 1998, 42:4, 709-731.

### ***Further Interest***

Baldwin, David (1985) *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Knorr, Klaus (1973) *Power and Wealth*. New York: Basic Books.

Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, Jeffrey J. Schott and Kimberly Ann Elliot (1990) *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*. Washington: Institute for International Economics.

Martin, Lisa (1992) *Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

## **Week 7: Power Transition Theory**

### ***Core***

Organski, A.F.K. (1968 [1958]) *World Politics*. New York: Basic Books. Chapter 14. pp. 338-376.

Lemke, Douglas and Jacek Kugler (1996) "The Evolution of the Power Transition Perspective" in Lemke and Kugler (eds.) *Parity and War: Evolutions and Extensions of The War Ledger*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. pp. 3-33.

Thompson, William R. (1983) "Succession Crises in the Global System: A Test of the Transition Model" in Albert Bergesen (ed.) *Crises in the World System*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications. pp. 93-116.

Lemke, Douglas and Suzanne Werner (1996) "Power Parity, Commitment to Change, and War" *International Studies Quarterly* 40: 235-260.

***Further Interest***

Organski, A.F.K. and Kugler (1980) *The War Ledger*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kugler, Jacek and Douglas Lemke (2000) "The Power Transition Research Program: Assessing Theoretical and Empirical Advances" in Manus Midlarki (ed.) *Handbook of War Studies II* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. pp. ??

[Second, short literature review paper due.]

***Systemic Level of Analysis***

**Week 8: The "Leadership Cycle", Hegemony and Armed Conflict**

***Core***

Gilpin, Robert (1988) "The Theory of Hegemonic War" in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb (eds.) *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 15-37.

Modelski, George, and William R. Thompson (1989) "Long Cycles and Global War" in Manus Midlarski (ed.) *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman. pp. 23-54.

Boswell, Terry, and Mike Sweat (1991) "Hegemony, Long Waves and Major Wars." *International Studies Quarterly*. 35: 123-49.

Levy, Jack (1991) "Long Cycles, Hegemonic Transitions and the Long Peace" in Charles W. Kegley (ed.) *The Long Postwar Peace*. New York: HarperCollins. pp. 147-176.

***Further Interest***

Robert Gilpin (1981) *War and Change in World Politics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Thompson, William R. (1988) *On Global War: Historical-Structural Approaches to World Politics*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Modelski, George and William R. Thompson (1988) *Seapower in Global Politics, 1494-1993*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Rasler, Karen A. And William R. Thompson (1994) *The Great Powers and Global Struggle, 1490-1990*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press.

## **Week 9: The Economic “Long Wave” and Armed Conflict**

### ***Core***

Goldstein, Joshua S. (1991) “A War-Economy Theory of the Long Wave,” in Niels Thygesen, K. Velupillai, and S. Zambelli (eds.) *Business Cycles: Theories, Evidence and Analysis*. London: Macmillan. pp. ??.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1984) "Three Instances of Hegemony in the History of the World Economy," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 24:1-2, pp.100-108.

Pollins, Brian M. 1996) "Global Political Order, Economic Change and Armed Conflict: Co-evolving Systems and the Use of Force" by Brian M. Pollins. *American Political Science Review*, 90:1 (March) pp.103-117.

Pollins, Brian M. and Randall L. Schweller (1999) “Linking the Levels: The Long Wave and Shifts in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1790-1993” *American Journal of Political Science*, 43:2 (April) pp.431-464.

### ***Further Interest***

Goldstein, Joshua S. (1988) *Long Cycles: Prosperity and War in the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

## **Week 10: Dependency, Colonialism and Conflict**

### ***Core***

Chase-Dunn, Christopher, and Richard Rubinson (1979) “Toward a Structural Perspective on the World-System.” *Politics and Society* 7: 453-76.

Bergesen, Albert and Ronald Schoenberg (1980) “Long Waves of Colonial Expansion and Contraction, 1415-1969” in Albert Bergesen (ed.) *Studies of the Modern World-System* New York: Academic Press. pp. ??

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1984) “Long Waves as a Capitalist Process.” *Review* 7: 559-75.

Boswell, Terry (1989) “Colonial Empires and the Capitalist World Economy: A Time-Series Analysis of Colonization, 1640-1960.” *American Sociological Review* 54: 180-196.

Pollins, Brian M. and Kevin P. Murrin(1999) "Where Hobbes Meets Hobson: Core Conflict and Colonialism, 1495-1995”. *International Studies Quarterly*, 43:3 (September) pp. 427-454.

### ***Further Interest***

Chase Dunn, Christopher (1989) *Global Formation*. London: Basil Blackwell.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1979) *The Capitalist World Economy: Essays*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

[Third, short literature review paper due.]

### **Important Considerations**

***Academic Honesty.*** All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own. Absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will be tolerated. Any cases of cheating or plagiarism will be reported to the university committee on academic misconduct and handled according to university policy.

***Disability.*** Students with disabilities are responsible for making their needs known to the instructor, and seeking available assistance, in a timely manner. Course materials are available in alternative formats upon request.

...a note of thanks to Amy Oakes, Randall L. Schweller, and Kevin Sweeney who provided several good suggestions for citations and course topics.