# **International Relations**

Master in Social Sciences Carlos III-Juan March Institute

Spring 2024

Francisco Villamil

Time and place:

Email: francisco.villamil@uc3m.es

Thursdays, 10h–13h Room 18.1.A01

Office: 18.2.D15 (by appointment)

# 1 Description

This is a graduate-level course on contemporary research in International Relations. The core of the field focuses on the causes, dynamics, and consequences of aggression and cooperation between states, and has traditionally revolved around the study of war and peace. We will focus on the study of international conflict, but also on related topics that are often considered within IR, such as the study of internal conflict and processes of political violence, the nature of state size and borders, the influence of the international system on domestic institutions, or processes of international diffusion of norms. We will focus on recent research and on the methodological aspect of studying these topics empirically.

# 2 Requirements and assessment

Each session will consist of a brief lecture introducing the topic and the main concepts, followed by a seminar discussion on the required readings. Students are expected to attend every week, read the required readings in advance, and actively participate in the discussion. In addition, each student will have to present one of the complementary readings once during the semester. The last session of the course will be a workshop where students present ideas and ongoing work for the final research paper.

**Participation (30%):** Students are expected to participation in all seminar discussions. In addition, they have to choose three sessions and prepare a brief memo (around 2 pages) for each of them, summarizing and connecting readings. Submission before class starts.

**Presentation (10%):** Once during the semester, each student will present one of the complementary readings in class, discussing how it relates and complements the main readings.

**Research paper (60%):** Students are expected to write a short empirical research paper (maximum 4,000 words) in one of the topics covered in the course, using empirical evidence (qualitative, quantitative, or both) to answer a research question. A proposal will be presented and discussed in the last session in class. Deadline TBD (around late May).

# 3 Course outline

Session 1	February 1	Introduction
Session 2	February 8	Interstate war
Session 3	February 15	State-building, nationalism, and war
Session 4	February 22	Democracy, war, and peace
Session 5	February 29	Civil wars
Session 6	March 7	Political economy
Session 7	March 14	Disaggregating and predicting conflict
Session 8	March 21	Wartime violence
No class	March 28	Easter break
Session 9	April 4	Terrorism
Session 10	April 11	Legacies of conflict
Session 11	April 18	Constructivism, norm diffusion, and TJ
Session 12	April 25	Research workshop

#### **Session 1: Introduction**

# Complementary:

- Stephen M. Walt (1998) International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy* 110: 29–32, 34–46.
- David A Lake (2011) Why 'isms' Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress. *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 465–480.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1985) Toward a Scientific Understanding of International Conflict: A Personal View. *International Studies Quarterly* 29(2): 121–136.

#### **Session 2: Interstate war**

# Required:

- Kenneth N. Waltz (1959) *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press. [Chapters 2, 4, and 6.]
- Paul Huth, Christopher Gelpi, and D. Scott Bennett (1993) The Escalation of Great Power Militarized Disputes: Testing Rational Deterrence Theory and Structural Realism. *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 609–623.

# Complementary:

- James D. Fearon (1995) Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization* 49(3): 379–414.
- Kalevi J. Holsti (1991) *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989.* New York: Cambridge University Press. [esp. Chapter 1, pp. 1–24.]
- Brett Ashley Leeds (2003) Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes. *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3): 427–439.

## Session 3: State-building, nationalism, and war

# Required:

- Sascha O. Becker, Andreas Ferrara, Eric Melander, and Luigi Pascali (2020) Wars, Taxation and Representation: Evidence from Five Centuries of German History. *CEPR Discussion Paper* No. 15601.
- Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min (2006) From Empire to Nation-State: Explaining Wars in the Modern World, 1816–2001. *American Sociological Review* 71: 867–897.
- Agustina S. Paglayan (2022) Education or Indoctrination? The Violent Origins of Public School Systems in an Era of State-Building. *American Political Science Review* 116(4): 1242–1257.

- Charles Tilly (1985) 'War making and state making as organized crime.' In *Bringing the State Back In* (ed. P. Evans, D. Rueschemyer & T. Skocpol), New York: Cambridge University Press, 169–187.
- Mark Mazower (2002) Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century. *American Historical Review* 107(4): 1158–1178.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, T. Camber Warren, and Didier Sornette (2011) Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War. *International Organization* 65(4): 605–638.

### Session 4: Democracy, war, and peace

### Required:

- William Dixon (1994) Democracy and the Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts. *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 14–32.
- Lars-Erik Cederman (2001) Back to Kant: Reinterpreting the Democratic Peace as a Macrohistorical Learning Process. *American Political Science Review* 95(1): 15–31.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward (2006) Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization. *International Organization* 60(4): 911–933.

## Complementary:

- Christopher Layne (1994) Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace. *International Security* 19(2): 5–49.
- Michael D. Ward and Kristian S. Gleditsch (1998) Democratizing for Peace. *American Political Science Review* 92(1): 51–61.
- John R. Oneal, Bruce Russett, and Michael L. Berbaum (2003) Causes of Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885–1992. *International Studies Quarterly* 47(3): 371–393.
- Jon Pevehouse and Bruce Russett (2006) Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace. *International Organization* 60(4): 969–1000.
- Michael D. Ward, Randolph M. Siverson, and Xun Cao (2007) Disputes, Democracies, and Dependencies: A Reexamination of the Kantian Peace. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 583–601.

### **Session 5: Civil wars**

### Required:

- James D. Fearon and David Laitin (2003) Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75–90.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min (2010) Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis. *World Politics* 62(1): 87–119.
- Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis (2000) International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis. *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 779–802.

# Complementary:

- Barry Posen (1993) The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict. Survival 35:1: 27-47.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Nils B. Weidmann (2011) Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison. *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 478–495.
- Stathis Kalyvas and Laia Balcells (2010) International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict. *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 415–429.
- Chaim Kaufmann (1996) Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. *International Security* 20:4: 136-175.

# **Session 6: Political economy**

### Required:

- Erik Gartzke (2007) The Capitalist Peace. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 166–191.
- Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti (2004) Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach. *Journal of Political Economy* 112(4): 725–753.
- Vally Koubi, Gabriele Spilker, Tobias Böhmelt, and Thomas Bernauer (2014) Do natural resources matter for interstate and intrastate armed conflict? *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 227–243.
- Nicolas Berman, Mathieu Couttenier, Dominic Rohner, and Mathias Thoenig (2017) This Mine is Mine! How Minerals Fuel Conflicts in Africa. *American Economic Review* 107(6): 1564–1610.

- Oeindrila Dube and Juan F. Vargas (2013) Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia. *The Review of Economic Studies* 80(4): 1384–1421.
- Graeme Blair, Darin Christensen, and Aaron Rudkin (2021) Do Commodity Price Shocks
  Cause Armed Conflict? A Meta-Analysis of Natural Experiments. *American Political* Science Review 115(2): 709–716.

- Philip Hunziker and Lars-Erik Cederman (2017) No extraction without representation: The ethno-regional oil curse and secessionist conflict. *Journal of Peace Research* 54(3): 365–381.
- Katja B. Kleinberg and Benjamin O. Fordham (2010) Trade and foreign policy attitudes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(5): 687–714.

## Session 7: Disaggregating and predicting conflict

### Required:

- Güneş Murat Tezcür (2016) Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Participation in an Ethnic Rebellion. *American Political Science Review* 110(2): 247–264.
- Nils W. Metternich, Cassy Dorff, Max Gallop, Simon Weschle, and Michael D. Ward (2013) Antigovernment Networks in Civil Conflicts: How Network Structures Affect Conflictual Behavior. *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 892–911.
- Jason Lyall (2009) Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 331–362.
- Samuel Bazzi, Robert A. Blair, Christopher Blattman, Oeindrila Dube, Matthew Gudgeon, and Richard Peck (2022) The Promise and Pitfalls of Conflict Prediction: Evidence from Colombia and Indonesia. *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 104(4): 764–779.

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2008) Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436–455.
- Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky and Stathis N. Kalyvas (2011) Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War. *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 201–218.
- Monica D. Toft and Yuri M. Zhukov (2015) Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus. *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 222–238.

### **Session 8: Wartime violence**

# Required:

- Stathis Kalyvas (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapters 1 (16–31) and 7 (173–209).
- Laia Balcells (2010) Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars. *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291–313.
- Nils B. Weidmann (2011) Violence "from above" or "from below"? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War. *The Journal of Politics* 73(4): 1178–1190.

# Complementary:

- Dara K. Cohen (2013) Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009). *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461–477.
- Robert Braun (2016) Religious Minorities and Resistance to Genocide: The Collective Rescue of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust. *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 127–147.
- Stathis Kalyvas and Matthew A. Kocher (2007) How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars?: Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem. *World Politics* 59(2): 177–216.

#### **Session 9: Terrorism**

### Required:

- Luis de la Calle and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca (2021) *Underground violence: A theory of terrorism.* Unpublished book manuscript. Chapters Introduction, 1 and 2 (pp. 2–75).
- David Lake (2002) Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty First Century. *International Organization* 56(1): 15–29.
- Robert Pape (2003) The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343–361.

- Andrew. H Kydd and Barbara F. Walter (2006) The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security* 31(1): 49–80.
- Burcu Savun and Brian J. Phillips (2009) Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(6): 878–904.

- Barbara F. Walter (2017) The Extremist's Advantage in Civil Wars. *International Security* 42(2): 7–39.
- Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly (2015) "Introduction." In: *Rebel governance in civil war*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-20).

### Session 10: Legacies of conflict

# Required:

- Christopher Blattman (2009) From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda. *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231–247.
- Noam Lupu and Leonid Peisakhin (2017) The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations. *American Journal of Political Science* 61(4): 836–851.
- Arturas Rozenas and Yuri M. Zhukov (2019) Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger'. *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 569–583.

# Complementary:

- Volha Charnysh and Leonid Peisakhin (2021) The Role of Communities in the Transmission of Political Values: Evidence from Forced Population Transfers. British Journal of Political Science 52(1): 238–258.
- Summer Lindsey (2022) Conflict, Protection, and Punishment: Repercussions of Violence in Eastern DR Congo. *American Journal of Political Science* 66(1): 187–204.
- Robert A. Blair, Manuel Moscoso-Rojas, Andrés Vargas Castillo, and Michael Weintraub (2022) Preventing Rebel Resurgence after Civil War: A Field Experiment in Security and Justice Provision in Rural Colombia. *American Political Science Review* 116(4): 1258–1277.

### Session 11: Constructivism, norm diffusion, and TJ

### Required:

- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organization* 52(4): 887–917.
- Hunjoon Kim (2012) Structural determinants of human rights prosecutions after democratic transition. *Journal of Peace Research* 49(2): 305—320.

- Kathryn Sikkink and Carrie Booth Walling (2007) The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America. *Journal of Peace Research* 44(4): 427–445.
- Hunjoon Kim and Kathryn Sikkink (2010) Explaining the Deterrence Effect of Human Rights Prosecutions for Transitional Countries. *International Studies Quarterly* 54(4): 939–963.

# Complementary:

- Emmanuel Adler (1997) Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics. *European Journal of International Relations* 3(3): 319–363.
- James Lebovic and Erik Voeten (2006) The Politics of Shame: The Condemnation of Country Human Rights Practices in the UNHCR. *International Studies Quarterly* 50(4): 861–888.
- Tricia D. Olsen, Leigh A. Payne and Andrew G. Reiter (2010) The Justice Balance: When Transitional Justice Improves Human Rights and Democracy. *Human Rights Quarterly* 32(4): 980–1007.

# **Session 12: Research workshop**

No readings. Presentation of research projects and workshop discussion.

# Extra (depending on schedule): International borders

*Required/complementary:* 

- David B. Carter and Hein E. Goemans (2011) The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict. *International Organization* 65(2): 275–309.
- Scott F. Abramson (2017) The Economic Origins of the Territorial State. *International Organization* 71(1): 97–130.
- Michael Mann (2004) *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing.* New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapter 1, pp. 1–33.]
- Carl Müller-Crepon, Guy Schvitz, and Lars-Erik Cederman (2021) Shaping States into Nations: The Effects of Ethnic Geography on State Borders. Unpublished manuscript.
- Andreas Wimmer (2008) The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multi-level Process Theory. *American Journal of Sociology* 113(4): 970–1022.