

**Political Science 361: History of International Political Thought**  
**Tuesdays and Thursdays from 12:30-1:45 a.m.**  
**Bolton Hall Room B-92**  
**Fall 2021**

**Instructor: Dr. Kristin Trenholm**

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Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays from 2:00-3:00 p.m. and by appointment

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**Course Description**

This course offers an introduction to the history of international political thought. The readings for the course are varied. We will read some of the classic works on international relations, including Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, and Kant's *Perpetual Peace*. The course material also includes more contemporary "classics" in the field (i.e., works by Morgenthau, Waltz, Keohane, and Wendt), as well as some recent research. We will also read other interesting but less well-known authors in their historical context and assess their current significance. During this course we will consider the following topics: war, empire, trade, the balance of power, nationalism, international law, and world government.

**Learning Objectives**

Having completed this course, students should be familiar with a good number of classic and contemporary works that theorize about relations among states. Furthermore, students should enhance their critical and analytical skills in the process and apply such skills to more current research in international relations. In short, students should take from this class the critical thinking skills that will enhance their discriminating consumption of professional research and journalistic arguments in the field.

**Course Requirements**

**Regular attendance and participation:** I expect you to come to class each session and to come prepared. If you are sick or can't make it to class, please email me (preferably before class) to excuse your absence. Students are expected to: 1) finish the assigned readings before the class for which they are assigned, 2) attend class regularly, 3) show up to class on time, and 4) to participate in class discussion. For this three-credit course, students are expected to devote six hours per week reading, studying, and working on assignments.

**Preparation:** Students should be able to identify and assess the various authors' arguments by applying the three-part critical thinking process presented below. Students should come to class prepared to answer the following questions:

- **Part I. Identify the author and the historical context:** 1) What is the historical context of the author's argument? What might have motivated the author to consider the international relations topic that is discussed?
- **Part II. Understand the argument:** 1) What do the authors seek to explain? 2) What evidence does the author offer in support of the argument? 3) What are the key concepts? 4) From what theoretical perspective does each argument originate? 5) With whom are

the authors engaged in debate? 6) With respect to more recent work in the field, what kind of research design is employed?

- **Part III. Overall assessment of the argument:** 1) Are there counter-arguments that can be made? 2) What is the significance or relevance of the author's argument? 3) What do you make of the author's argument overall?

### **UWM Covid-19 Statement**

**Panther Community Health and Safety Standards:** UWM has implemented reasonable health and safety protocols, taking into account recommendations by local, state and national public health authorities, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a member of our campus community, you are expected to abide by the Panther [Interim COVID-Related Health & Safety Rules](#), which were developed in accordance with public health guidelines. These standards apply to anyone who is physically present on campus, UWM grounds, or participating in a UWM-sponsored activity:

- All individuals visiting UWM facilities must wear face coverings while indoors;
- Unvaccinated students coming to campus are required to test weekly for COVID-19; and,
- You should check daily for COVID-19 symptoms and not come to campus if you are feeling sick. (*Please email me so that your absence may be excused.*)

Additional details about student and staff expectations can be found on the [UWM COVID-19 webpage](#).

### **Grades**

Grades will be based on the best two of three short quizzes (worth 11% each), attendance and participation (8%), one midterm exam (worth 35%), a research preparation assignment (5%), and one final research paper (worth 30%).

### **Research Paper**

Students will write a seven-to-ten-page research paper analyzing the theoretical causes of one inter-state conflict, selected from the list of 95 wars compiled by Meredith Reid Sarkee from the Correlates of War data set. (See the attached list or go to <<http://cow.dss.ucdavis.edu/data-sets/COW-war>> Scroll down and click on the "Inter-State Wars List PDF.")

By the end of the third week of class, your choice of war must be approved. Students may not write on the same conflict. The sign-up for the selection of war topics will be made on a first-come-first-served basis. Students will identify three or four independent variables (i.e. causes or explanations) for their selected case and analyze the relative impact of the identified variables as causes of the conflict. These causes will be drawn from the explanations and theories considered in the course material. For example, students might consider causes such as: a state leader's ideology (e.g., the desire to spread their ideal system of government, political power and/or economic influence); structural causes (e.g., balance of power); foreign influences, pressures, or threats; domestic political pressure; national identity; and/or a territorial/border dispute.

The paper will consist of two parts. In the first section of the research paper (3-5 pages), students will *identify the theoretical causes* of the inter-state conflict. In the theory section of the paper, students are expected to present a theoretical argument about how each cause (or "independent variable") contributed to the outbreak of the conflict. For each factor chosen, (a)

explain the theoretical logic of why the factor is thought to be a cause of conflict in general, and (b) hypothesize about how each variable is expected to apply to your particular case. Work through the general logic of the causes of conflict/war and make specific references to your case, to show how each part of the logic applies to the specific case. Consider how the independent variables might interact. Is one cause or explanation expected to be relatively more influential as an explanation for your war? Why or why not? All of your reasoning in this section should apply logically to several potential inter-state wars. Avoid formulating theories based on your knowledge of the specific conflict, unless the reasoning can be generalized to many other potential wars or inter-state conflicts.

In the final section of the paper, students will *consider the evidence* for their causes. Students are expected to *analyze and explain* how the conflicts' historical record supports (or fails to support) each of the theoretical causal explanations specified in the previous section. Does the evidence support each theory in a way that is predicted? Why or why not? Use specific information from your chosen war to explain and support your argument. Keep in mind that no real-world example is perfectly explained by three or four causes. We hope for our theories to explain as much as possible, but we have to be careful to look for evidence of what they don't explain. Students should also *make (and justify) a projection about the likelihood that the same adversaries will become involved in another conflict or war sometime in the next decade*. This should be based upon your understanding of the three or four causes—have they changed, or do they appear likely to produce another war?—as well as on any other information that you consider relevant.

Research papers must include references to books and refereed academic journal articles. Students may cite readings assigned in the course but must also include references to at least five other additional books or refereed academic articles. A useful reference source for most war topics is the library's book collection. For example, useful books may include specific histories of the war. There are military and diplomatic histories of each participant in the war as well as general histories of the states or regions at issue. With respect to inter-state wars, facts such as specific start and end dates, participants, and the number of fatalities for each conflict are available on an Excel spreadsheet (listed by the war #) from the Correlates of War Project Inter-State War Data (v.4.0) found at: <<http://cow.dss.ucdavis.edu/data-sets/COW-war>>. Regarding academic journal articles, I recommend searching the UWM libraries website. (Go to "search and find" on the upper left side of the main library page. Click on Databases A-Z and search JSTOR and Worldwide Political Science Abstracts. Try searching by using the name of the war or conflict, a term like "causes," names of political actors, and other terms related to the explanations or causes. Students must *include a summary of their theoretical argument and evidence (or research findings) in the introduction of their research paper*. This section is usually easiest to write after the rest of the paper is finished.

The research paper is to be double-spaced, and the ten-page limit does not include materials such as the title page, bibliography, and/or any additional charts, maps, or data included. The ten-page maximum requirement is based upon standard fonts and margins. Be sure to use the spelling and grammar review, number your pages, and use a standard reference guide when citing your references, such as the Chicago Manual of Style Online. The Chicago-Style Quick Guide can be found at: <[https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html)>. It provides many useful samples citation references. (Many political science journals use the "author-date" method, which is probably the most common way to cite references in the field.)

Students are responsible for citing all references and for submitting their own work. It is very important that you ***submit your work; use quotations when incorporating the work of others; cite references when paraphrasing; and cite all references carefully.*** UWM takes the issue of academic integrity seriously. Students caught cheating or plagiarizing other's work (which may include "cutting and pasting" from the work of others, paraphrasing without citing the source, use of quotations without citing the source, and inadequate citation of references) will receive an "F." Be aware that cases of academic misconduct reported to the University may result in severe penalties after a review process.

### **Student Presentations, Participation, and Attendance**

Regarding participation and attendance, each student must present on one class discussion question and serve in the role of discussant for two others. Students presenting (or discussing) in a given week should talk to me after class on Wednesday the week before, in order to agree on what will be debated or discussed. Each student presenting or serving as a discussant will prepare their own talking points, and presentation notes are due at the end of class on the day that presentations are made. Students may not miss more than two class periods without it negatively affecting their participation grade negatively. Students that miss more than four class periods without a documented excuse will fail their participation grade.

There will be no make-up essay-quizzes, although one essay may be dropped. No make-up midterm exams will be given without a university-accepted excuse. Students must produce the appropriate documentation stating why they were not able to be in class at the exact time of the exam.

If you have a problem or miss the midterm exam, please contact me immediately. *If you miss the midterm exam without giving me prior notice, you MUST contact me within 24 hours of that exam, or you will not be allowed to take a make-up exam under any circumstances.* For additional information about UWM University policies see <http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/SecU/SyllabusLinks.pdf>. This web site contains a list of University policies regarding such issues as incompletes, grade appeal procedures, and University policy governing academic misconduct, among other things.

The research paper is due **Thursday, December 9, 2021, at 12:30 p.m.** I do not accept late papers unless there is a documented university-accepted reason. Students with special needs are responsible for making their needs known in the first two weeks of the semester, especially if accommodations are needed in order to meet any of the requirements of this course.

### **Required Readings**

The three required textbooks are available online from UWM's virtual bookstore <http://uwm.ecampus.com/>:

Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought: Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War* (Cambridge, 2002). ISBN: 9780521575706.

John A. Vasquez, ed., *Classics of International Relations* (Prentice Hall, 1995). Third Edition. ISBN: 9780131466487

Daniel W. Drezner. *Theories of International Politics and Zombies* (Princeton, 2014). ISBN: 9780691163703.

A copy of each required textbook is on two-hour reserve in the UWM library.

Other assigned readings are available on the course Canvas site.

- Jefferson, Thomas. "Letter to William Short." (3 January 1793) Thomas Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress, Series 1, Reel 17.
- Legro, Jeffrey W. and Moravcsvik, Andrew. 1999. "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24 (Fall):5-55.
- Kupchan, Charles A. 2008. "Minor League, Major Problems: The Case Against a League of Democracies." *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec):96-109.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of It," *International Organization* 46:2 (Spring):391-425.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. 1996. *The Culture of National Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2):33-75.
- Ferguson, Niall. 2010. "Complexity and Collapse: Empires on the Edge of Chaos." *Foreign Affairs* (March/April):18-32.

### **Course Schedule and Reading Assignments**

The following schedule is subject to modification. Be sure to try to finish each day's reading before class.

**Weeks #1 and #2 (Thursday, 9/2, Tuesday, 9/7, and Thursday, 9/9):** Overview of the Course and Introduction to International Relations among the Greeks

Brown, pp.1-15 (Introduction) and pp. 34-60 (Thucydides from the Peloponnesian War—Pericles' Funeral Oration, The Plague, The Mytilenian Debate, and The Melian Dialogue).

The Emergence of Cosmopolitanism. Ancient Political Thought

Brown, pp. 17-33, 61-82 (Aristotle).

Recommended: Allison, Graham. 2017. "China vs. American: Managing the Next Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 9:5 (September/October): 80-89. This article is taken from Allison's book *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides' Trap?* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt). Canvas.

**Week #3 (Tuesday, 9/14 and Thursday, 9/16):** The Emergence of Cosmopolitanism. Ancient Political Thought Continued

Brown, pp. 17-33, 61-93 (Aristotle, Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, Plato).

**Students must sign-up for their war topic by Thursday, September 16, 2021, at 12:30 p.m.**

**Week #4 (Tuesday, 9/21 and Thursday, 9/23): QUIZ #1 on Thursday, 9/23.** International Relations in Medieval Christendom and Just War Theory

Brown, pp. 177-241 (John of Paris, Dante, Luther, Aquinas, Erasmus, de Vitoria)

**Weeks #5 and #6 (Tuesday, 9/28, Thursday, 9/30, and Tuesday, 10/5):** The Modern European State and System of States

Brown, pp.243-250, 257-275 (Machiavelli, Bodin), pp. 250-256, 276-310 (Callieres, Bynkershoek, Hamilton, Burke, Jefferson (Canvas), Fenelon, Gentz)

**Weeks #6 and #7 (Thursday, 10/7, Tuesday, 10/12, and Thursday, 10/14):** The Emergence of International Law

Brown, pp. 311-378 (Grotius, Hobbes, Pufendorf, Rachel, Wolff, Vattel)

**War Research Abstract due Thursday, October 14, 2021, at 12:30 p.m.**

**Week #8 (Tuesday, 10/19 and Thursday, 10/21):** Peace through Confederation and The Enlightenment

Brown, pp. 379-455 (St.-Pierre, Montesquieu, Smith, Hume, Rousseau, Kant)

**Week #9 (Tuesday 10/26):** States and Nations

Brown, pp.457-485 (Hegel, and Mazzini)

**Week #9 Midterm Exam (Thursday, 10/28)**

**Week #10 (Tuesday, 11/2 and Thursday, 11/4):** States and Nations Continued and Contemporary Realism. **Please note: 11/4 and 11/9 no face-to-face class, listen to the lectures on Canvas.**

1. Brown, pp.486-517 (Mill, Treitschke, Bosanquet)
2. Vasquez: (Chapter 1) Niebuhr, Reinhold. "The War and American Churches" (pp. 20-23); Morgenthau, Hans J. "A Realist Theory of International Relations" (pp. 25-27); and Kennan, George F. "Diplomacy in the Modern World" (pp. 28-31).
3. Re-read Brown: Thucydides, "The Melian Dialogue" (pp. 53-60); and Machiavelli, "The Prince" (pp. 257-261).

**Week #11 (Tuesday, 11/9 (Lecture on Canvas) and Thursday, 11/11): QUIZ #2 on Thursday, 11/11.** Realism Continued. (Kaplan, Organski, Waltz, Legro and Moravscvik)

1. Vasquez: (Chapter 10) Kaplan, Morton A. "Some Problems of International Systems Research" (pp. 297-302); Organski, A.F.K. "The Power Transition" (pp. 303-306); Waltz, Kenneth N. from "Theory of International Relations" (pp. 307-313).
2. Canvas: Legro, Jeffrey W. and Andrew Moravscvik, Andrew, 1992. "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24 (Fall):5-55.

**Week #12 (Tuesday, 11/16 and Thursday, 11/18):** Liberalism/Democratic Security Community (Deutsch, Babst, Maoz and Russett, and Kupchan).

1. Vasquez: (Chapter 13) Deutsch, Karl W. et al. from *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (pp. 377-380); Babst, Dean V. "Elective Governments—A Force for Peace" (pp.381-385) and Maoz, Zeev and Russett, Bruce, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986" (pp. 386-400).
2. Canvas: Kupchan, Charles A. 2008. "Minor League, Major Problems: The Case Against a League of Democracies." *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec): 96-109.

3. Re-read Kant, Immanuel. "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" (Vasquez p. 368 or Brown p. 432).

**Week #13 (Tuesday, 11/23): Quiz #3 on Tuesday, 11/23.** Constructivism: Culture, Norms and Identity

1. Canva: Wendt, Alexander. 1992 "Anarchy is What States Make of It," *International Organization* 46:2 (Spring): 391-425.
2. Canva: Katzenstein, Peter J. ed., 1996. From "The Culture of National Security." (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Chapter 2.

**UWM Thanksgiving Recess Wednesday, November 24- Sunday, November 28, 2021**

**Week #14 (Tuesday, 11/30 and Thursday, 12/2):** Global Leadership, World Order, and the World Political Economy

1. Vasquez: (Chapter 12) Rosecrance, Richard. "A New Concert of Powers" (pp. 340-349); Claude, Inis L., Jr. "A Critique of Collective Security" (pp. 350-352).
2. Vasquez: Keohane, Robert O. from *After Hegemony* (pp.353-361); and Wallerstein, Immanuel. "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis" (pp. 362-367).

**Week #15 (Tuesday, 12/7):** International Relations Theory and Zombies. Wrapping Things Up.

1. Canva: Ferguson, Niall. 2010. "Complexity and Collapse: Empires on the Edge of Chaos." *Foreign Affairs* (March/April).
2. Drezner, Daniel W. 2011. *Theories of International Politics and Zombies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (pp.1-60, 67-76, and 109-114).

**The research paper is due Thursday, December 9, 2021, 12:30 p.m. at the start of class.**