

**IS 420W: Anarchy and Hierarchy in International Politics**  
**TR 1050-1205**  
**SSH 539**

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**REQUIRED TEXT:**

- *Power, Space, and Time: An Empirical Introduction to International Relations* by J. Patrick Rhamey Jr. and Tadeusz Kugler
- *Hierarchy in International Relations* by David A. Lake
- *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* by G. John Ikenberry

**OFFICE HOURS:**

Wednesday 9-12 and by appointment. Please use [calendly.com/rhameyjp](https://calendly.com/rhameyjp) for appointment scheduling with 24 hours' notice.

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

This course examines the degree of hierarchy, authority, and anarchy present in the international system since 1816 and its consequences for a variety of outcomes typical in international relations research. In so doing, students will be exposed to common theories, datasets, and findings in empirical international relations, with the expectation they will develop their own theories about a political phenomenon of interest. Students should gain an appreciation for the dynamic nature of concepts like power, capacity, capability, authority, and order that form the foundation of interstate behavior. Using those lessons, they should be able to develop interesting conclusions about the future position of the United States in the international system.

**STUDENT OBJECTIVES:**

- Gain a better understanding of international and global order in the post-Cold War era.
- Develop analytical tools to understand, evaluate, and respond to international problems through qualitative and quantitative analysis.
- Critically evaluate arguments surrounding the sources of states' conflictual and cooperative behaviors.
- Develop arguments on issues of international politics and communicate those arguments effectively.

**ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING:**

Participation-----	10%
Reading Questions-----	10%
Case Studies -----	40%
Final Paper Rough Draft-----	10%
Theory Development Paper-----	30%

**Participation.** Students are expected to participate in class discussions throughout the semester. To participate effectively, students will need to complete the readings before their assigned class sessions. There may be occasional reading quizzes.

**Reading Questions.** Students must complete a reading question for 10 of the readings throughout the semester. The reading question will ask something about the reading that sparks further discussion and is contextualized appropriately by the material to which it refers. Reading questions should be at least 2-3 sentences.

**Case Studies.** There will be two case studies, one concluding the section on conflict and the other on cooperation. In each case study, students will apply relevant material from the preceding section of readings to some historical case of their choosing. They may not choose a case discussed in the text (The Cold War or European and African integration, respectively). Each response paper will be 2,000-3000 words. Each case study is worth 20% of the final grade.

**Theory Development Paper.** In fifteen to twenty pages, develop a theory about some phenomenon in internal politics that is influenced by both a domestic and a systemic variable. The systemic variable may be either global or regional. In so doing, the student will explain how these causal variables at different levels of analysis interact and outline the relevant literature to their theory. Explain what testable hypotheses are generated by your theory (no testing of the hypotheses is necessary) and conclude with an explanation of your theory's relevance to American foreign policy. A rough draft of a minimum 8 pages is due at the beginning of the final section of the course.

## **CLASS SCHEDULE**

***18 January: Introduction***

### **Hierarchical Approaches**

***20 January***

- Chapters 1 and 2 in *Power, Space, and Time*

***25 January***

- Tammen, Ronald L., Jacek Kugler, and Douglas Lemke. 2017. "Foundations of Power Transition Theory." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, ed. William R. Thompson.

***27 January***

- Intro, Chapter 1-3 in *Hierarchy*

***1 February***

- Chapter 4-5 and Conclusion in *Hierarchy*

### **Conflict**

***3 February***

- Chapter 3 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rational Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49 (3): 379-414.

### **8 February**

- Rhamey, J. Patrick Jr., Michael O. Slobodchikoff, and Thomas J. Volgy. 2015. "Order and Disorder across Geopolitical Space: The Effect of Declining Dominance on Interstate Conflict." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 18(4): 383-406.
- Thompson, William R. 1986. "Polarity, the Long Cycle, and Global Power Warfare." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 30(4): 587-615.

### **10 February**

- Chapter 4 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Kim, Woosang. 1991. "Alliance Transition and Great Power War." *American Journal of Political Science* 35(4): 833-850.

## **Case Study 1 Due, CAD 11 February**

### **15 February**

- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 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.
- Thompson, William R. 2001. "Identifying Rivals and Rivalries in World Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 45(4): 557-586.

### **17 February**

- Chapter 5 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Hensel, Paul R., and Paul F. Diehl. 1994. "Testing Empirical Propositions about Shatterbelts, 1945-76." *Political Geography* 13(1): 33-51.

### **22 February**

- Chapter 6 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security* 15(1): 5-56.

### **24 February - Writing Workshop, Paper Topic and Research Design**

- Wohlforth, William C. 1999. "The Stability of a Unipolar World." *International Security* 24(1): 5-41.

## **Cooperation**

### **1 March**

- Chapter 7 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Axelrod, Robert, and Robert O. Keohane. 1985. "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38(1): 226-54.

### **3 March**

- Chapter 8 and 9 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Powers, Kathy. 2010. "Regional Trade Agreements as Military Alliances." *International Interactions* 30(4): 373-95.

### **8 March**

- Chapter 10 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Volgy, Thomas J., Paul Bezerra, Jacob Cramer, and J. Patrick Rhamey, Jr. 2017. "The Case for Comparative Regional Analysis in International Politics." *International Studies Review* 19(3): 452-80.

## **Contemporary Issues and Future Challenges**

### **10 March**

- Chapter 11 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Jervis, Robert. 1982-1983. "Deterrence and Perception." *International Security* 7(3): 3-30.

## **Case Study 2 Due, CAD 11 March**

### **22 March**

- Waltz, Kenneth. 2012. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability." *Foreign Affairs* 91(4): 2-5.
- Kugler, Jacek, and Frank C. Zagare. 1990. "The Long-Term Stability of Deterrence." *International Interactions* 15(3-4): 255-78.

### **24 March**

- Chapter 12 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Dixon, William J. 1994. "Democracy and the Peaceful Settlement of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 14-32.

### **29 March**

- Thompson, William R. 1996. "Democracy and Peace: Putting the Cart before the Horse?" *International Organization* 50(1): 141-74.
- Lemke, Douglas, and William Reed. 1996. "Regime Types and Status Quo Evaluations: Power Transition Theory and the Democratic Peace." *International Interactions* 22(2): 143-64.

### **31 March**

- Chapter 13 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Mackinder, Halford J. 1904. "The Geographical Pivot of History." *The Geographical Journal* 170(4): 298-321.

### **7 April**

- Layne, Christopher. 1997. "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy." *International Security* 22(1): 86-124.
- Bacevich, Andrew J. 2002. "New Rome, New Jerusalem." *The Wilson Quarterly* 26(3): 50-8.

### **Rough Draft Due, CAD 8 April**

#### ***12 April – Rough Draft 1 on 1 Meetings (Compensatory)***

##### ***14 April***

- Chapter 1 in *Liberal Leviathan*

##### ***19 April***

- Chapter 2 in *Liberal Leviathan*

##### ***21 April***

- Chapters 3-5 in *Liberal Leviathan*

##### ***26 April***

- Chapters 6-8 in *Liberal Leviathan*

##### ***28 April***

- Chapter 14 in *Power, Space, and Time*
- Kugler, Tadeusz, and Siddharth Swaminathan. 2006. "The Politics of Population." *International Studies Review* 8(4): 581-96.
- Hendrickson, David C. 2006. "Of Power and Providence: the Old U.S. and the New EU." *Policy Review* 135(Feb/Mar): 23-42.

##### ***3 May - Conclusion***

- **Final Paper due (CAD on Canvas)**
- Evals

### **Disabilities and Accommodations:**

VMI abides by Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 which mandate reasonable accommodations are provided for all cadets with documented disabilities. If you have a registered disability and may require some type of instructional and/or examination accommodations, please contact me early in the semester so that I can provide or facilitate provision of accommodations you may need. If you have not already done so, you will need to register with the Office of Disabilities Services, the designated office on Post to provide services for cadets with disabilities. The office is located on the 2nd floor of the VMI Health Center. Please call or stop by the office of COL Sarah Jones, Director of Disabilities Services, for more information, 464-7667 or email at: [jonessl10@vmi.edu](mailto:jonessl10@vmi.edu)

### **Classroom Rules:**

No tobacco products, food, beverages beyond water in a closed container, or gum are allowed.

Profanity and demeaning slurs of any type will not be tolerated. Use of personal electronic devices for non-course related purposes is prohibited.

### **Work for Grade Policy:**

The below work for grade policy is taken directly from “Part IV: Academic Regulations” of *Regulations for the Virginia Military Institute*, under “Cadets’ Responsibilities”:

“Work for grade” is defined as any work presented to an instructor for a formal grade or undertaken in satisfaction of a requirement for successful completion of a course or degree requirement. All work submitted for grade is considered the cadet’s own work. “Cadet’s own work” means that he or she has composed the work from his or her general accumulation of knowledge and skill except as clearly and fully documented and that it has been composed especially for the current assignment. No work previously submitted in any course at VMI or elsewhere will be resubmitted or reformatted for submission in a current course without the specific approval of the instructor.

In all work for grade, failure to distinguish between the cadet’s own work and ideas and the work and ideas of others is known as plagiarism. Proper documentation clearly and fully identifies the source of all borrowed ideas, quotations, or other assistance. The cadet is referred to the VMI-authorized handbook for rules concerning quotations, paraphrases and documentation.

In all written work for grade, the cadet must include the words “HELP RECEIVED” conspicuously on the document, and he or she must then do one of two things: (1) state “none,” meaning that no help was received except as documented in the work; or (2) explain in detail the nature of the help received. In oral work for grade, the cadet must make the same declaration before beginning the presentation. Admission of help received may result in a lower grade but will not result in prosecution for an honor violation.

Cadets are prohibited from discussing the contents of a quiz/exam until it is returned to them or final course grades are posted. This enjoinder does not imply that any inadvertent expression or behavior that might indicate one’s feeling about the test should be considered a breach of honor. The real issue is whether cadets received information, not available to everyone else in the class, which would give them an unfair advantage. If a cadet inadvertently gives or receives information, the incident must be reported to the professor and the Honor Court.

Each cadet bears the responsibility for familiarizing himself or herself thoroughly with the policies states in this section, with any supplementary statement regarding work for grade expressed by the academic department in which he or she is taking a course, and with any special conditions provided in writing by the professor for a given assignment. If there is any doubt or uncertainty about the correct interpretation of a policy, the cadet should consult the instructor of the course. There should be no confusion, however, on the basic principle that it is never acceptable to submit someone else’s work, written or otherwise, formally graded or not, as one’s own.

The violation by a cadet of any of these policies will, if he or she is found guilty by the Honor Court, result in his or her being dismissed from VMI. Neither ignorance nor professed confusion about the correct interpretation of these policies is an excuse.

Department of International Studies & Political Science  
**Work for Grade Policy**

Work for Grade in the International Studies (IS) department is generally of the following types:

1. Written quizzes, tests, or examinations;
2. Research papers, policy memoranda, briefings, and discourse analysis – identification and analysis of the critical differences in the findings and opinions of scholars on issues of interest to the discipline, and the application of social science theory to empirical phenomena.

Policies:

- A. **Peer Collaboration:** IS Cadets are permitted and encouraged to study with their peers to prepare for quizzes, tests and exams. However, when a cadet takes either written or oral quizzes, tests, and examinations, answers must be his/her own work without help from any other source, including notes or consultation with others. Additionally, the research and composition of all papers (as described in #2 and #3 above) must be done by the individual cadet alone.
- B. **Tutoring:** IS cadets are encouraged to make use of all VMI tutoring services to receive critical comments.\* Cadets who do so and mark "Help Received" will not receive a lower grade on an assignment. Cadets are also permitted to seek critical comments on their written work from their peers. However, proof-reading and editing\* of a cadet's written work is not permitted.
- C. **Computer Aids:** Cadets may use electronic spelling and grammar-checking facilities, and need not cite this assistance in their Help Received statements.

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\* *Definition from the VMI Work for Grade Policy:* "Offering *critical comments* means giving general advice on such matters as organization, thesis development, support for assertions, and patterns of errors. *Proofreading* means correcting errors (e.g., in grammar, spelling and punctuation. It is the last step taken by the writer in the *editing* process. In addition to the corrections made in proofreading, editing includes making such changes as the addition, deletion, or reordering of paragraphs, phrases, sentences, or words. A cadet may not have his or her work proofread or edited by someone other than the instructor."

Any exceptions to these rules, including the use of tutors, collaboration among cadets, and the use of computer style, spell and grammar checkers must be explained in writing by the course instructor. Instructors are at liberty to stipulate exceptions only with the written approval of their Department Head.

**If you have any questions about the application of these rules, consult your instructor. Do not leave anything to chance.**



Colonel Dennis M. Foster  
Professor and Head