

Josef Korbel School
University of Denver
Fall 2014

INTS 4648 Theories of Security in World Politics

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Course : Th: 2-5 (Sturm 233)
Office Hours: W. 1-3 (Sie 162)

Course Overview and Objectives:

In the 40 years following World War II, the study of security assumed a divide between international relations (the politics between states) and domestic politics (the politics within states) and gradually became separated from the study of economics. International or national security largely centered on one empirical and two different theoretical enterprises. The empirical enterprise explored the relationship between the US and the Soviet Union, focusing particularly on deterrence and the effect of nuclear weapons. The theoretical enterprises explored the likelihood of conflict between states in different systems and scenarios (when does conflict occur? when is stability more likely?) and examined the causes and consequences for actors of pursuing different strategies (what determines which strategy states will choose and what are the consequences for security – i.e., war, conquest, security gain, security loss, etc. – of different choices). After the end of the Cold War debates about the meaning of security joined change in the prevalence of intra-state conflicts and growing attention to terrorism and other sorts of violence in ways that led many scholars to question the usefulness of assumed differences between international and domestic politics, as well as to the sharp divide between security and other fields. Also studies of conflict and stability have increasingly focused on the role of a variety of transnational and global actors that do not fall into the realm of the nation, the state, or even the “international” system at all.

This course will focus on this post-Cold War security agenda. We begin with a (rather old by now by still relevant) debate over the definition of security, consider the role of states and the other actors and processes associated with globalization, and then turn to a list of prominent concerns largely associated with a broader understanding of conflict and how to manage it. In examining these questions we will read studies based in a variety of explanations, research strategies and methods. Each week builds on the others so I hope you will think about how prominent explanations stretch across the questions in different weeks. You should also reflect on the costs, benefits, and alternatives to the research strategies and methods that individual authors have chosen. While our focus will be on the substance of debates in security studies, I hope to also spend time each session talking about how to frame productive questions and research strategies.

In the way of background, if you have never read Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War, you should. It would also be useful to have some familiarity with some basic texts in political theory, particularly Hobbes, Machiavelli, Kant, and Weber.

Requirements:

This class is designed for PhD students. MA students intending to go on for their PhD are also welcome but the class will be structured as a PhD seminar. As you will notice, there is a lot of reading. I do not expect that you will read every word of every book. If I want you to read a specific section of a book, I note that. Otherwise, you should read enough to know the argument, the evidence, and its persuasiveness. I leave it to you to judge how much that is.

You must write three short (three to five pages, double spaced) papers on the weekly readings. I have listed a few questions to spur your thinking below each week's readings but you need not confine your paper to those questions. The papers are due by 9am on the day of class. You should also be prepared to present your arguments in a brief (10 min or less) class presentation that day. You may write one of the three papers as a book review – situating one book in a portion of the literature and evaluating it critically. Also, the course is intended to be cumulative so you should feel free to bring in material from other weeks to your papers. The final assignment will be a longer paper (five to eight pages) addressing a question that stretches across different weeks and similar to what you might expect to see in a comprehensive exam. I will hand out questions for the final assignment on the last day of class and it will be due on Nov 20 at noon.

I expect everyone to have read the assigned reading and to be prepared to participate actively in each session of class. The 10% participation grade is a serious one.

Grading:

Class participation	10%
Short papers	60%
Final paper	30%

I do not grade on a curve – you get the grade you earn based on my overall assessment of your performance based on the following criteria:

A The student displays mastery of the material and more. The student performed far beyond my expectations in the course, displaying a grasp of the analytical and empirical material as well as creativity or insight beyond the material itself. The student will be among the top students in the degree program based on her/his performance in this course.

A- The student displays complete mastery of the course material. I was very impressed by the student's performance, and the student has acquired the analytical, theoretical, and empirical skills to achieve at a very high level in the degree program.

B+ The student fully comprehends the course material. The student met all of my expectations in the course; the student will perform very well in the degree program.

B The student met most of the requirements of the course, but demonstrated weakness in either analytical or empirical skills or difficulty with time management. The student will perform well in the degree program when those skills are further developed.

B- The student demonstrated weakness in both analytical and empirical skills and also may have difficulty with time management, but clearly attempted to prepare for evaluated assignments. It is difficult to evaluate whether the student will succeed in the degree program.

C The student demonstrated disregard of the course requirements. Continuing in the degree program is not recommended.

D The student demonstrated blatant negligence and disrespect during the course. Continuing in the degree program is not recommended.

F The student did not attend class or did not perform to a level that I knew they were attending. Continuing in the degree program is not recommended.

Reading:

The following books are available at the bookstore (we will probably read only a portion of most so you can get by without buying many of them if you prefer). All other required readings are available on line.

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)

Alex Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008)

Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006)

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003)

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Elizabeth Kier and Ron Krebs, *In War's Wake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010)

Jonathan Kirshner, ed., *Globalization and National Security* (New York: Routledge, 2006)

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

Andrew Kydd, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

Roland Paris and Tim Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Post-war Peace Operations*, (New York: Routledge, 2008)

Etel Solingen, *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)

Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004)

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: the Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006)

Weekly Assignments:

Week 1 (9/11) Defining Security

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 68, No. 2 (spring 1989): 162-177

Stephen Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 2 (June 1991): 211-240

Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the 21st Century," *International Affairs* Vol. 67, No. 3 (1991)

Richard Betts "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *World Politics* Vol. 50, No. 10 (October 1997): 7-34

Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 2 (fall 2001)

Jonathan Kirshner, "Political Economy in Security Studies after the Cold War," *Review of International Political Economy* 5:1 (spring 1998)

Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2006)

Karen Lund Petersen, "Risk analysis – A field within security studies?" *European Journal of International Relations* December 2012 18: 693-717, first published on August 23, 2011

Recommended:

Michael Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (2003)

Megan MacKenzie, "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone," *Security Studies*, Vol 18, No. 2 (2009)

Deborah Avant, "NGOs, Corporations, and Security Transformation in Africa," *International Relations*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2007)

Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, sections 1,3,5,6

Bernard Brodie, "Strategy as Science," *World Politics* Vol. 1 (July 1949)

Steven Miller, "International Security at Twenty-five: From One World to Another," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 1 (summer 2001)

Joseph Nye and Sean Lynn Jones, "International Security Studies: Report of a Conference on the State of the Field," *International Security* Vol. 12, No. 4 (spring 1988)

Edward Kolodziej, "Renaissance of Security Studies? Caveat Lector!" *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 36 (December 1992): 421-438

Keith Krause and Michael Williams, eds., *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

1. Think about the arguments in Walt and Betts versus Buzan, Kirshner, and Paris. Are their logics similar or fundamentally different?
2. How useful do you find the framework Paris introduces? Does it make it any easier to study human security?
3. How would Walt react to the idea of ontological security? Is it fundamentally opposed to realist claims?
4. How do you think security should be defined? Why? What is at stake in these definitional disputes?
5. Several of the articles mention the interaction between the "real" world and the field of security studies. What do you think that interaction should be? What do you think it is?

Week 2 (9/18) States, Sovereignty, and Security

K. Waltz excerpt in R. Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

J. Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Policy," in R. Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986)

H. Spruyt, "Institutional Selection in International Relations," *International Organization* Vol. 48, No. 4 (autumn 1994).

S. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), ch. 1, conclusion.

M. Zacher, "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force," *International Organization* 2001

S. Barkin and B. Cronin, "Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty," *International Organization* 48:1 (winter 1994)

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), introduction and conclusion.

David Lake, "The New Sovereignty in International Relations," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (2003): 303-323.

Nils Peter Gleditsch, "The decline of war: the main issues," in *The Forum: the Decline of War*, *International Studies Review*, Vol. 15: 396-419.

Recommended:

E. Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism, and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

D. Philpot, "Usurping the Sovereignty of Sovereignty," *World Politics* Vol. 53 (2001): 297-324

J. Capraso, "Changes in the Westphalian Order: Territory, Public Authority and Sovereignty, in *International Studies Review* special issue, 2000

Other contributors to *International Studies Review* special issue, 2000

D. Avant, "From Mercenary to Citizen Armies: Explaining Change in the Practice of War," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (winter 2000).

Janice Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Janice Thomson, "State Sovereignty in International Relations: Bridging the Gap between Theory and Empirical Research," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 39, No. 2 (June 1995): 213-233

M. Fisher, "Feudal Europe, 800-1300: Communal Discourse and Conflictual Practices," *International Organization* Vol. 46, No., 2 (spring 1992).

1. What are the consequences of sovereignty? Compare Krasner's view with Ruggie's, Spruyt's, and Philpott's?
2. Extrapolate from at least two authors to the relationship between sovereignty and war (or violence). Is sovereignty likely matter for the kind of conflict? For the level of violence overall? For the issues apt to prompt violence?
3. Barkin and Cronin suggest that the rules for sovereignty have changed based on the political nature of the actors, but that they matter for behavior. Krasner takes issue with this claim, arguing that rules are ignored to suit the interest of actors. What do you make of this dispute? Are they speaking past one another or is there something really at issue? If so, what is it, who is right, how do we know?
4. Is sovereignty still relevant to studying global security? Why (and how) or why not?

Week 3 (9/25) Globalization, Technology, Transnational Connections, and Security

P. Cerny, "Neomedievalism, Civil War and the New Security Dilemma: Globalization as Durable Disorder," *Civil Wars* Vol 1, No. 1 (spring 1998)

J. Kirshner, "Globalization and National Security," Introduction in Jonathan Kirshner, ed., *Globalization and National Security* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

D. Avant, "The Implications of Marketized Security for IR Theory: the Democratic Peace, Late State Building and the Nature and Frequency of Conflict," *Perspective on Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2006) or chapter in Kirshner.

Fiona Adamson, "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security," *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 1 (summer 2006) or chapter in Kirshner.

S. Lischer, "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict," *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 1 (summer 2003)

Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force and Globalization," *European Journal of International Relations* Vol. 5, No. 4 (December 1999)

Jennifer Lobasz, "Beyond Border Security: Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking," *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2009)

Frank Sauer and Niklas Schörnig, "Killer Drones: the Silver Bullet of Democratic Warfare?" *Security Dialogues*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2012).

Johan Eriksson and Giampiero Giacomello, The Information Revolution, Security, and International Relations: (IR)relevant Theory? *International Studies Review* Vol. 27, No. 4 (2006): 221-244

Dan Betz "Cyberpower in Strategic Affairs: Neither Unthinkable nor Blessed," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (2012): 689-711.

Recommended:

John Sifton, "A Brief History of Drones," *The Nation*, February 27, 2012 (<http://www.thenation.com/article/166124/brief-history-drones>).

Peter Andreas and Kelly Greenhill, *Sex, Drugs and Body Counts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), Ch 1, conclusion.

Alan Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 52: No. 1 (March 2008)

D. Avant, *The Market for Force: the Consequences of Privatizing Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Daniel Byman, "Why Drones Work: the case for Washington's weapon of choice," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2013, pp. 32-43.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Why Drones Fail: when tactics drive strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2013, pp. 44-54.

Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War*, (New York: Free Press, 1991), Chs 1, 2, 5, 6, 7

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*,

David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

G. John Ikenberry, "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Power," *International Security* Vol. 23, No. 3 (winter 1998/99)

John Ruggie, "UN Forces: whither or whether?" in John Ruggie, *Constructing the World Polity* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

1. How can we best think about the effect of globalization on security? Is it an assault on the state? Does it change the way the state works? (Think about the arguments on sovereignty.)

2. If we are in some new kind of systemic structure, what is it? What consequences might it have for conflict, violence, and other security issues? What consequences should it have for how states or other actors plan for security?
3. If we think of our current state as unipolar, what kinds of questions are most relevant? What issues might we miss? Are these important misses? Why or why not?
4. Does the definition of security (tradition, human, risk, etc.) matter for how we think about the relevance of globalization's (actors, technologies, connections) effects – or the reverse? Explain.
5. Has globalization fundamentally changed security?

Week 4 (10/2) *Peace or War?*

Azar Gat, "So Why do People Fight? Evolutionary Theory and the Causes of War," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 15 (2009): 571-599.

"The Forum: The Decline of War" *International Studies Review* Vol. 15 (2013): 396-419.

Rose McDermott, Chris Dawes, Elizabeth Prom-Wormley, Lindon Eaves, and Peter K. Hatemi, "MAOA and Aggression: A Gene-Environment Interaction in Two Populations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* December 2013 57: 1043-1064.

Mary Caprioli, "Gendered Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37: No. 1 (2000).

Timothy Besley and Marta Reynal-Querol, "The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa," *American Political Science Review* 108:2 (May 2014): 219-336.

Dominic D.P. Johnson and Monica Duffy Toft. 2013. "Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict." *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 3:7-38.

Stacie Goddard, "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy," *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (winter 2006).

Erik Gartzke, "The Capitalist Peace" *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 51, No. 1 (2007).

Etel Solingen, "Pax Asiatica v Bella Levantina: the Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, no. 4 (November 2007)

Andrew Kydd, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2005).

R. Powell, "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization* Vol. 60, No. 1 (winter 2006): 169-204

Cullen Hendrix and Idean Salahyan. 2012. "Climate Change, Rainfall, and Social Conflict in Africa," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 49, No. 1:35-50.

Recommended:

Charles Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*, (Princeton University Press, 2010).

Dan Reiter, "Bargaining Models of War," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2003): 27-43.

Jack S. Levy William R Thompson, *Causes of War* (New York: Wiley Blackwell, 2010).

"Can Institutions Deliver?" Debate in *International Security* 20:1 (summer 1995): 39-93

Daryl Press *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005)

Jeff Legro, *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order*

E. A. Henderson, "The Democratic Peace Through the Lens of Culture, 1820-1989," *International Studies Quarterly* 42:3 (September 1998)

J Oneal and B. Russett, "The Classic Liberals were Right: Democracy, Interdependence and Conflict, 1950-1985," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 41, No. 2 (June 1997)

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength and War," *International Organization* Vol. 56, No. 2 (spring 2002)

K. S. Gleditsch and M. Ward, "War and Peace in Space and Time: The Role of Democratization," *International Studies Quarterly* 44:1 (March 2000)

Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, *Democracy, Liberalism and War* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001)

M. Brown, *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Boston: MIT Press, 1996)

K. Schultz, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform?" *International Organization* 53:2 (spring 1999)

J. Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *American Political Science Review* 88:3 (September 1994)

1. Some of these arguments focus at the level of human psyche, others at the level of groups, governments, regions, history, and/or the international system. Are all these arguments alternatives? Or are some potential complements, focusing on different elements that may lead to conflict? Answer referencing at least three readings.
2. What is the most useful way to approach "peace" and "war"? As general categories? Divided into more specific types of conflict – or absence thereof? As a continuum of violence? Discuss in the context of The Forum but also at least two additional readings for this week.
3. Some of the arguments in this week's readings focus on structural variables, others on process or relational variables. Who would you put in each box? What are the advantages, disadvantages of these different approaches?

Week 5 (10/9) *Disaggregating War: state repression, civil war, and terrorism*

J. Fearon and D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97, No. 1 (2003).

Ashutosh Varshney "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* Vol. 53, No. 3 (2001): 362-98

Christian Davenport, "State repression and political order," *Annual Review of Political Science* 10:1-23 (2007).

M. Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (winter 2004).

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Andy Kidd and B. Walter, "The Politics of Extremist Violence," *International Organization* Vol. 56, No. 2 (Spring 2002)

C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro, "Democratic Values and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from a National Survey of Pakistan," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* August 2014 58: 743-770

R. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicidal Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003).

Erica Chenoweth, "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (2010), pp. 16-30

Recommended:

Arjun Chowdhury and Ronald Krebs, "Talking about Terror: Counter-terror campaigns and the logic of representation," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 16: 125-150.

Claire Metelis, *Inside insurgency: violence, civilians, and revolutionary group behavior*, (New York: New York University Press, 2010)

Monica Toft, *The geography of ethnic violence: identity, interests, and the indivisibility of territory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003)

T. Gurr and W. Moore, "Ethnopolitical Rebellion: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of the 1980s with Risk Assessments for the 1990s," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 4. (Oct., 1997): 1079-1103

S. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72:3 (summer, 1993)

Erol Henderson, "Culture or Contiguity: Ethnic Conflict, the Similarity of States, and the Onset of War, 1820-1989," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 41, No. 5 (October 1997): 649-668

Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2006): 49-79.

M. Mousseau, "Market Civilization and Its Clash with Terror," *International Security* Vol. 27, No. 3 (winter 2002/03)

Risa Brooks, "Researching Democracy and Terrorism: How Political Access Affects Militant Activity," *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2009)

Martha Crenshaw, "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay," *Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2007)

Philip Heymann, "Dealing with Terrorism: An Overview," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 3 (winter 2001/02): 24-38

Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995)

Barry Posen, "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy and Tactics," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 3 (winter 2001/02): 39-55

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

1. Are the conditions that lead to ethnic violence, civil war, or other collective violence (including genocide, looking forward to next week) different from either each other or the conditions that lead to "traditional" war? Explain?
2. What is gained (or lost) by analyzing different types of conflict separately?
3. Write a critical review of at least two of the readings for this week. Is this an important research agenda? Are the research methods appropriate? Why or why not? How could you improve this research or make it more convincing?
4. What kind of conversation might be struck between more micro analyses of violence and the macro orientations of more traditional security scholars?
5. Does it make sense to think about terrorism (or civil war) as a fundamentally different enterprise than other forms of conflict? Or just another permutation on the use of violence? What is gained/lost by different categorizations?
6. Think about Solingen's argument alongside Chenoweth's. Are they fundamentally opposed? Does Solingen's focus on the quality of political competition offer a perspective the patterns in democracy and terrorism that Chenoweth uncovers?
7. What is the relationship between democracy and political violence?

Week 6 (10/16) *Disaggregating Violence: genocide, civilian victimization (or respect), rape*
Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: the Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006)

Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Lee Ann Fujii, "The Power of Local Ties: Popular Participation in the Rwandan Genocide," *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2008)

Dara Kay Cohen. "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107.3 (August 2013): 461–477.

Elizabeth Wood, "Rape During War is Not Inevitable: Variation in Wartime Sexual Violence," in Morten Bergsmo, Alf B. Skre, and Elisabeth Jean Wood, eds., *Understanding and Proving International Sex Crimes*. Oslo: Torkel Opsahl Academic Epublsher (2012): 389–419

Alex Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Paul Kirby, "How is rape a weapon of war? Feminist International Relations, modes of critical explanation and the study of wartime sexual violence," *European Journal of International Relations* December 2013 19: 797–821.

Sarah Parkinson, "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 107, No. 3 (2013): 418–432.

Charli Carpenter, "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups: Gender, Strategic Frames, and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (June 2005)

Recommended:

Lee Ann Fujii, *Killing Neighbors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Kristin Monroe, *The Hand of Compassion: Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

1. Why do genocides occur? Are they just a more extreme degree of conflict or something fundamentally different? Can studies of genocide tell us anything about other types of conflict?
2. Why rape, dismemberment? Again, fundamentally different or not? Can the cause of patterns of violence tell us anything about the causes of violence more generally?
3. What does the study of the type of violence in conflicts help us understand?
4. Does the structure of society matter for the type of violence? How?
5. Is the logic of civilian protection and civilian targeting linked? Why or why not??

Week 7 (10/23) *Imposing Order? Intervention, peacekeeping, statebuilding*

Roland Paris and Tim Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Post-war Peace Operations*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Michael Lipson, "Peacekeeping: Organized Hypocrisy?" *European Journal of International Relations* Vol.13, No.1 (2007): 5–34

V. Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Institutions and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 2004)

B. Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace," *International Security* Vol. 24, No. 1 (summer 1999).

M Doyle and N. Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Severine Autesserre, "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence and International Intervention," *International Organization*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (spring 2009): 249-280

Karen Engle, "Calling in the Troops: the uneasy relationship between women's rights, human rights and humanitarian intervention," *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, No. 20

Andrew Beath, Fotini Christia, Reuben Enikolopov, "Empowering Women through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan," *American Political Science Review* 2013 107:3

Recommended:

Alex Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to Be Free: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," *International Security* 37, no. 4 (Spring 2013): 90-131.

Michael Barnett, "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States After War," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (spring 2006)

Christoph Zuercher, et. al., *Costly Democracy: Peacebuilding and Democratization after War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013, Chs 1-2

Lise Howard, *UN Peacekeeping in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

V. Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs, "Intervention and Democracy," *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (summer 2006)

S. Stedman, D. Rothchild and E. Cousins, *Ending Civil Wars: the Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002).

1. Can outside actors impose order? How? What should they aim for? What constraints do they face?
2. Fortna argues that peacekeeping works, but what is it effective for? Under what conditions should this matter for long term stability?
3. Compare the argument in Barbara Walters' article with that in Barnett/Zuercher chapter (in Paris and Sisk) and the claims that Severine Autesserre makes. Are there common prescriptions about how to go about intervention? Are there fundamental disagreements?
4. Explore the tensions between the stated motivation for intervention (to make peace, for humanitarian purposes, etc.) and the actual actions undertaken on the ground. The contemporary tensions are highlighted particularly in Carpenter and Engle but also in Autesserre, Lipson, and some of the Paris and Sisk book. Think about similar tensions in the past interventions with different purposes that Finnemore traces. Can these tensions be resolved? Have they been resolved in the past interventions?

Week 8 (10/30) Alternatives to violence?

Isak Svensson and Mathilda Lindgren, "Community and consent: Unarmed insurrections in non-democracies," *European Journal of International Relations* March 2011 17: 97-120.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

Erica Chenoweth and Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, "Understanding nonviolent resistance: An introduction," *Journal of Peace Research* May 2013 50: 271-276.

Oliver Kaplan, "Protecting civilians in civil war: The institution of the ATCC in Colombia" *Journal of Peace Research* May 2013 50: 351-367.

Deborah Avant and Virginia Haufler, "Transnational Organizations and Security," *Global Crime* Vol. 13 (2012): 1-22.

Daniel Drezner, "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion," *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (2003).

Yuen Foong Khong, "Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise – a review essay," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (2013/14):153-175.

Recommended:

Peter Wallensteen and Carina Staibano, *International Sanctions: Between Words and War in the Global System*, (London: Routledge, 2005)

Gene Sharp, *Waging Non-Violent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, (Porter Sargent, 2005)

1. How do different non-violent strategies fit together? Can they be organized by one or two (or more) dimensions?
2. Is deterrence a non-violent strategy? Why or why not?
3. Compare Chenoweth and Stephan, Svensson and Lindgren, Drezner, and Kaplan. Why (or under what conditions) do non-violent strategies work? What does it mean to work?
4. Are the dynamics of non-violent strategies similar when thinking about the US and China as when thinking about civil-resisters and the government in the Philippines or community juntas and forces in Colombia? Or are these fundamentally different levels of analysis?
5. How might studies of non-violent strategies weigh in on the argument Khong addresses in his book review?

Week 9 (11/6) War's Effects?

Elizabeth Kier and Ron Krebs, *In War's Wake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010).

Ronald Krebs, "In the Shadow of War: The Effects of Conflict on Liberal Democracy," *International Organization* Vol. 63, no. 1 (winter 2009): 177-210

Elisabeth Wood, "The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2008.

Vera Achvarina and Simon Reich, "No Place to Hide: Refugees, Displaced Persons and the Recruitment of Child Soldiers," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2006)

Adriana Camacho and Catherine Rodriguez, "Firm Exit and Armed Conflict in Colombia," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2013) Vol. 57: 89-116.

Hazem Adam Ghobarah, Paul Huth, and Bruce Russett, "Civil Wars Kill and Maim People – Long After the Shooting Stops," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 2 (2003): 189-202.

Recommended:

Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: the Political Origins of Social Policy in the US*, (Belknap, 1995)

1. These readings suggest various consequences of war – some appear to enhance democracy, social glue, and other generally positive outcomes and others tear the social fabric and undermine potential for economic growth and/or democracy. What explains this difference? Does it depend on the type of war, the issue in question, the stage of democracy, or something else?
2. Compare the analysis in Elisabeth Wood with that in the chapters in Kier and Krebs. What conclusions (if any) can you draw for the states that simultaneously are developing and experiencing conflict?

Week 10 (11/13) Security Cooperation/Governance?

Etel Solingen, *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Matthew Kroenig and Erik Gartzke, “Nuclear Posture, Non-proliferation Policy, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58:3 (2014).

Matthew Fuhrmann and Todd S. Sechser, “Nuclear Strategy, Nonproliferation, and the Causes of Foreign Nuclear Deployments?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 58, No. 3 (2014).

Deborah Avant and Oliver Westerwinter, eds., *Networks and Security Governance*, manuscript.

Tanisha Fazal, “Why States No Longer Declare War,” *Security Studies* Vol. 21, No. 4 (2012): 557-593.

Nikolas M. Rajkovic, “Global Law and Governmentality: Reconceptualizing Rule of Law as Rule through Law,” *European Journal of International Relations* 18:1 (2012) 29-52.

Recommended:

Robert Jervis, “Security Regimes,” in Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983): 173-194

Elke Krahnemann, “American Hegemony or Global Governance? Competing Visions of International Security,” *International Studies Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (2005): 531-545.

Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore and Susan Sell, *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Ch 1, Conclusion.

David Lake, “Escape from the State-of-Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics,” *International Security* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer 2007): 47-79

Rosenau, James N. and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

James Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Inquiry*. Princeton and Guildford, Surrey: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*

1. Realists were profoundly skeptical of the possibility of cooperation or governance in the security arena (Jervis is among the most optimistic). Does the history of nuclear weapons challenge or support their argument?
2. What are the upsides and downsides to security governance? Is it (or some variant of it) something worth aiming for? Why?
3. What causes different types/level of security governance?

4. Think about this week's reading alongside that from the literature on globalizations, transnational actors and security. Are globalization processes enhancing, undermining, changing, or not mattering for security cooperation/governance?

What we have not covered

There are many ways to organize a syllabus on security. This course has focused on questions important in the policy world that have been taken up in the academic community since the end of the Cold War. An alternate organization of the syllabus would be to focus on theoretical enterprises or different questions. While I do not intend to develop whole alternate syllabi, I do want to list some obvious topics that I have covered before and some major works in each that you should not miss. I do not update these lists as new works arise, though, so you should take these only as a starting point.

Neorealism: the Challenge of Anarchy

K. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (esp., 1,2, 5, 6)

K. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," International Security Vol. 18, No. 2 (fall 1993) (skim)

R. Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," World Politics 1978

S. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," International Security, Vol. 9, No. 4 (spring 1985)

J. Snyder and T. Christenson, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multi-polarity," IO 44:2 (spring 1990)

S. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," International Organization, Vol. 51, No. 3 (summer 1997)

Rosen, Stephen, War and Human Nature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)

W. Wolforth, "the Stability of a Unipolar World," International Security Vol. 24, No. 1 (summer 1999)

Christopher Layne, The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers will Rise," International Security Vol. 17, No. 4 (spring 1993)

C. Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," World Politics Vol. 50, No. 1 (October 1997): 171-201

R. Gilpin, War and Change in World Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

J. Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001)

D. Copeland, The Origins of Major War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000)

"Forum: The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs," American Political Science Review Vol. 91, No. 4 (December 1997)

D. Reiter, "Learning, Realism and Alliances: the Weight of the Shadow of the Past," World Politics Vol. 46, No. 4 (July 1994): 490-526

J. Legro and A Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" International Security, Vol. 24, No. 2 (fall 1999)

Technology, Geography, and the Offense-Defense Balance

S. Van Evera, "Offense, Defense and the Causes of War," International Security 22:4 (spring 1998)

K. Lieber, "Grasping the Technological Peace: the Offense-Defense Balance and International Security," International Security 25:1 (summer 2000)

K Adams, "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance," International Security Vol. 28, No. 3 (winter 2003/04).

T. Fazal, "State Death in the International System," International Organization Vol. 58, No. 2 (spring 2004).

S. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organizational Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* Vol. 18, No. 4 (spring 1994).

T. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966)

K. Waltz in *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*

N. Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The US and the Normative Bias of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* Vol. 53, No. 3 (summer 1999).

H. Wagner, "Nuclear Deterrence, Counterforce Strategies, and the Incentive to Strike First," *APSR* 85:3 (September 1991).

Nuclear Weapons

Bernard Brodie, *The Absolute Weapon* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1946)

Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960)

John Steinbruner, "National Security and the Concept of Strategic Stability," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 22, No. 3 (September 1978)

Bruce Blair, *Strategic Command and Control: Redefining the Nuclear Threat* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1984)

Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989)

Alexander George and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974)

Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (St Martins, 1990)

Raymond Gathoff, *Deterrence and the Revolution in Soviet Military Doctrine* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1990)

Fred Kaplan, *The Wizards of Armageddon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991)

Scott Sagan, *The Limits to Safety* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989)

Thomas Schelling and Morton Halperin, *Strategy and Arms Control* (Twentieth Century Fund, 1961)

Graham Allison, ed., *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995)

P. Feaver and E. Niou, "Managing Nuclear Proliferation: Condemn, Strike or Assist?" *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 2 (June 1996)

There is a ton of more recent stuff on nuclear issues....

Rationalism and Liberalism: Trade, Institutions and Stability

R. Keohane and L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* Vol. 20, No. 1 (summer 1995) 39-51.

J. Fearon, "Rational Explanations for War," *International Organization* Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer 1995): 379-414.

C. Wallander, "NATO after the Cold War," *IO* 54:4 (autumn 2000): 705-36

A. Kydd, "Trust, Reassurance and Cooperation," *IO* 54:2 (spring 2000): 725-58

D. Lake, "Beyond Anarchy," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 1 (summer 2001): 129-60

R. Powell, *In the Shadow of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

Kenneth Oye, ed., *Cooperation Under Anarchy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986)

Exploring Different Elements of the Global System

A. Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make of it: the Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* Vol. 46, No. 2 (spring 1992): 391-425

M. Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

J. Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture," International Organization Vol. 56, No. 1 (winter 2002): 7-46
T. Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," International Security 23:1 (summer 1998)
R. Jepperson, A. Wendt and P. Katzenstein in P. Katzenstein, The Culture of National Security
D. Eyre and M. Suchman in P. Katzenstein, The Culture of National Security
Nicholas Onuf, Worlds of Our Making: rules and rule in Social Theory and International Relations (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989)
Rodney Bruce Hall, National Collective Identity (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999)
Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions" International Organization Vol. 51, No. 4 (autumn 1997): 555-89
Neta Crawford, "The Passion of World Politics, Propositions on Emotion and Emotional Relationships," International Security Vol. 24, No. 4 (spring 2000)
Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, Security Communities (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chs 1-2 and one substantive chapter from Part II
L. Eden, Whole World on Fire (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003)

The Logic of Violence, Conflict and War

Clausewitz, On War, ed and trans by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), Books I and II
Van Creveld, The Transformation of War, (New York: Free Press, 1991), Chs 1, 2, 5, 6, 7
Ivan Arrequin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," International Security Vol. 26, No. 1 (summer 2001)
John Keegan, History of Warfare, ch. 1 "War and Human History".
Stephen Lubkemann, "Migratory Coping in Wartime Mozambique: An Anthropology of Violence and Displacement in 'Fragmented Wars'," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 42, No. 4 (2005): 493-508
Barbara Ehrenreich, Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1997)
Sun Tzu, The Art of Warfare Roger Ames, trans. (New York: Ballantine, 1993)
A. Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," World Politics Vol. 27, No. 2 (January 1975)
Mark Trachtenberg, History and Strategy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)
Peter Paret, ed., Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986)

Strategy and Military Effectiveness

R. Brooks and Elizabeth Stanley-Mitchell, Creating Military Power: the Sources of Military Effectiveness, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007) introduction, chs by Brooks, Avant, Farrell, Bensahel, Biddle
Jason Lyall, "Are Co-ethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents?" American Political Science Review, Vol. 64, No. 1 (February 2010)
Michael Hoffman, "Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading," International Security Vol 34, No. 2 (fall 2009) and exchange between Hassner and Horowitz in IS summer 2010.
Elizabeth Saunders, "Transformative choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," International Security, Vol. 34, No. 2 (fall 2009): 119-161.

US Army/Marines Counterinsurgency Field Manual, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), forwards by John Nagl and Sarah Sewall.

Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson III, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," International Organization Vol. 63, No. 1 (winter 2009): 67-106.

Jason Lyall, "Do Democracies Make More Inferior Counterinsurgents?" International Organization, Vol. 64, No. 1 (winter 2010).

E. Kier in P. Katzenstein, The Culture of National Security

D. Reiter and Allan Stam, Democracies at War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

S Biddle, Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)

"Special Issue: Opening up the Black Box of War," Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol. 42, No. 3 (June 1998).

A. Millett, W. Murray and K. Watman, "The Effectiveness of Military Organizations," International Security Vol. 11, No. 1 (summer 1986).

A. Choi, "Democratic Synergy and Victory in War, 1816-1992," International Studies Quarterly Vol. 48 (September 2004).

Daryl Press, "Lessons From Ground Combat in the Gulf: The Impact of Training and Technology," International Security Vol. 22, No. 2 (fall 1997)

A.Millet and W Murray, "The Effectiveness of Military Organizations," In Millet and Murray, eds., Military Effectiveness Vol. I (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1988)

J. Black, War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)

Foreign Policy and War in the US:

Peter Liberman, "An Eye for an Eye: Public Support for War Against Evildoers" International Organization, Vol 60, No. 1 (summer 2006).

Brian C. Schmidt and Michael C. Williams, "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives versus Realists," Security Studies, Vol., 17, No. 2 (2008)

Charles Kupchan and Peter Trubowitz, "Dead Center: the Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States," International Security, Vol. 32, No, 2 (fall 2007) and exchange between C. Kupchan and P. Trubowitz and S. Chaudoin, H. Milner, and D Tingley in International Security Vol. 35, No, 1 (summer 2010).

B. Posen, "Command of the Commons," International Security, Vol. 28, No. 1 (summer 2003).

General War:

Jack Levy, "Theories of General War," World Politics Vol. 37, No. 6 (April 1985)

S. Van Evera, The Causes of War (Ithaca: Cornell Univeristy Press, 1999)

Quincy Wright, A Study of War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966)

Michael Howard, The Causes of War (London: Temple Smith 1983)

Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976)

Fred Ilke, Every War Must End (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

H. Goemans, War and Punishment: the Cause of War Termination and the First World War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000)

Alliances:

Hans Morgenthau, "Alliances in Theory and Practice," In Arnold Wolfers, ed., Alliance Policy in the Cold War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959)

Mancur Olson and Richard Zeckhauser, "An Economic Theory of Alliances," Review of Economics and Statistics (August 1966)

Richard Neustadt, Alliance Politics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970)

Stephen Walt, The Origin of Alliances (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987)

Glenn Snyder, "Alliances, Balances and Stability," IO Vol. 45, No. 1 (winter 1991)

James Morrow, "Arms Versus Allies," IO Vol. 47, NO. 2 (spring 1993)

Military Doctrine and Planning:

B. Posen, The Sources of Military Doctrine (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp.

J. Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984" International Security (summer 1984)

Robert Pape, Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)

Stephen Biddle, "Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War tells us about Conflict in the Future," International Security Vol. 21 No. 2 (fall 1996)

Daryl Press, "Lessons From Ground Combat in the Gulf: The Impact of Training and Technology," International Security Vol. 22, No. 2 (fall 1997)

A.Millet and W Murray, "The Effectiveness of Military Organizations," In Millet and Murray, eds., Military Effectiveness Vol. I (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1988)

J. Black, War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)

C. Williams, Holding the Line: US Defense Alternatives for the 21st Century (Boston: MIT Press, 2001)

T. Dupuy, The Evolution of Weapons and Warfare (New York: DaCapo, 1984)

Psychological Approaches

J Mercer, Reputation and International Politics, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)

Yuen Foong Khong, Analogies at War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), parts I and III

Rose McDermott, Political Psychology in International Relations (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004)

Civil-Military Relations:

Samuel Huntington, The Soldier and the State (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1957)

Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier (New York: Free Press, 1960)

Amos Perlmutter, The Military and Politics in Modern Times (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977)

Peter Feaver and Richard Kohn, Soldiers and Civilians (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001)

Deborah Avant, "Conflicting Indicators of Crisis in American Civil-Military Relations," Armed Forces and Society Vol. 24, No. 3 (spring 1998)

Michael Desch, Civilian Control of the Military (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999)

Peter Feaver, Armed Servants (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Defense Economics:

Keith Krause, Arms and the State: Patterns of Military Production and Trade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Herbert Wulf, Arms Industry Limited (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Ann R. Markusen and Sean S. Costigan, eds., Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1999)

Lora Lumpe, Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms, (New York: Zed, 2000)

Feminist Theory:

J. Goldstein, War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Realism, Just War and Feminism in the Nuclear Age," Political Theory 13:1 (February 1985)

Ann Tickner, "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation," Millennium, Vol. 17 (1988): 4-29.

Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," Signs (summer 1986)

Cynthia Enloe, Bananas, Beaches and Bases (Berkeley: UC Press, 1989)

Jean Bethke Elshtain, Women and War (Brighton: Harvester, 1987)

Christine Sylvester, Feminist Theory and International Relations Theory in a Postmodern Era (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)