

PSC 8452
THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
Department of Political Science
The George Washington University

Fall 2015
Time: Thurs., 12:45 – 3:15 p.m.
Room: 1957 E St. NW, #313
Office Hours: Mon., 12:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.

Professor: Alexander B. Downes
Office: 1957 E St. NW, #605B
Phone: (202) 994-7859
Email: downes@gwu.edu

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Theories of International Security is a seminar devoted to enduring and contemporary questions in international security, a field that at its core is about the threat and use of force by states (and, increasingly, non-state actors) to achieve their political and military objectives. The course is typically designed to follow PSC 8441, *Advanced Theories of International Relations*, and usually assumes students are familiar with the content of that course. This year, however, as the two courses are both being taught in the fall semester, the course assumes only general familiarity with IR theory. For those of you who have taken—or are currently taking—PSC 8441, there is inevitably some duplication of topics. Overlap is greatest in the first few sessions on IR theory, and then diminishes greatly thereafter.

The course has four major goals: (1) to understand the major theoretical perspectives or paradigms in security studies; (2) to survey some of the most important substantive areas and debates in the field with an emphasis on recent contributions; (3) to apply theories and arguments from the academic literature to contemporary policy problems; and (4) to help political science Ph.D. students prepare for preliminary exams.

The course is divided into two parts. The first half of the course focuses on the major theoretical traditions in IR and international security: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. We will read contemporary statements of each of these perspectives, but also spend one class session on the bargaining model of war that has gained prominence since the mid-1990s. In the second part of the course, the focus shifts to important substantive questions in security studies, such as reputation and the credibility of compellent and deterrent threats; military coercion; military effectiveness; war termination; and nuclear proliferation.

This course is by no means a comprehensive overview of the security studies literature. Many important topics and debates are not covered. The course attempts both to introduce students to the big theoretical traditions/paradigms that have long dominated the sub-field and cover a selection of recent contributions that have made an impact on the field and how we think about international security. Students are encouraged to consult the appendices to the syllabus for additional readings on topics covered—and not covered—in the course.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After taking this course, students should:

- Possess a solid grasp of the major theoretical traditions in international security, and be able to assess their strengths and weaknesses
- Understand debates about the role of structure in shaping state behavior
- Be familiar debates about the role of regime type in IR broadly speaking and in coercive diplomacy specifically
- Understand how international institutions and economic interdependence affect security outcomes
- Understand the bargaining approach to war
- Have a good understanding of debates about the role of reputation in IR and what enables states to get their way in international crises without having to use force
- Understand the coercive strategies available to states and non-state actors in wartime, as well as the efficacy of these strategies
- Understand the determinants of victory in crises, battles, and wars

- Understand the causes and consequences of nuclear proliferation
- Be able to make policy recommendations based on theories in different topics in security
- Have a solid foundation for studying for comprehensive exams

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Students may elect either of two assignment tracks, one based on three analytical papers and the other based on a literature review paper. *Students must choose which track they will follow by October 1*, the day the first paper topic is distributed. Ph.D. students in Political Science are strongly encouraged to choose Track II. Grades will be based on the following criteria.

All Students

- **Class Attendance, Participation, and Pre-Class Questions (25%):** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all of the required reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. Missing more than one class session without an excuse will adversely affect the participation grade. Participation in discussion will be judged not only by the quantity of a student's remarks, but also by their quality. Students should also e-mail three questions before each class on the week's readings to the instructor. These should be questions that you would use to guide the discussion if you were leading it. Questions can address key themes, theoretical or methodological shortcomings, relationships to other parts of the IR literature, etc.

Track I

- **Three Analytical Papers (25% each):** 7 double-spaced pages maximum, due in HARD COPY at the *beginning* of class on Week 6 (October 8), Week 11 (November 12), and Week 15 (December 8). Questions will be distributed in class the week before the due date. You may be asked to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of a theory discussed in class or in the readings, compare the explanatory power of two or more theories, or apply theories to a case. Papers turned in after the start of class will be accepted for up to 24 hours but will be penalized one letter grade; papers will not be accepted more than 24 hours late. Exceptions will be made for illness or personal/family emergency. For more details, see below under "Class Policies."

Track II

- **Literature Review (75%):** 20 pages, HARD COPY due in instructor's office by 5.00 p.m. on Monday, December 14. Students must meet with the instructor to discuss their paper topic, ideally by early October. Papers should critically engage a question, subject, or literature of the student's choice in the field of international security. The required readings can serve as the core of the literature that is analyzed, but students will be expected to read well beyond them. All papers should summarize and organize the literature under discussion; identify the theoretical/empirical questions it attempts to answer; explain key concepts and arguments; discuss some of the major theoretical and empirical contributions; locate logical flaws, empirical or methodological shortcomings, and unanswered questions; suggest ways to repair those shortcomings or answer those unanswered questions; and suggest directions for future research. Alternative hypotheses, potential sources of additional data, or new research designs and strategies should be explored. Papers should also evaluate the extent to which research in the area is progressing or digressing.

BOOKS

The following books – which are required reading for the course – are available for purchase at the George Washington University Bookstore. All books are on reserve at Gelman Library.

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014).

Virginia Page Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).

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

H. E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Fate of Leaders and the First World War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

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

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

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

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

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979).

Jessica L. P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014).

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

All of the journal articles listed below in the required reading, as well as book chapters that are not in the required books (designated by the abbreviation **BB** in the syllabus), are available online on Electronic Reserve. These texts are easily obtained through the Blackboard site that has been established for the class. Click on “Blackboard” from the “My GW” page (<http://my.gwu.edu>), log in, go to the page for this class, and click on “Electronic Reserves.” There are folders for each class session; inside the folders, readings are listed by the author’s last name.

To conserve on space, I have used a short hand notation for journal titles:

AJPS	American Journal of Political Science
APSR	American Political Science Review
ARPS	Annual Review of Political Science
BJPS	British Journal of Political Science
CMPS	Conflict Management and Peace Science
EJIR	European Journal of International Relations
FA	Foreign Affairs
FP	Foreign Policy
IO	International Organization
IR	International Relations
IS	International Security
ISQ	International Studies Quarterly
JCR	Journal of Conflict Resolution
JOP	Journal of Politics
JPR	Journal of Peace Research
JSS	Journal of Strategic Studies
POP	Perspectives on Politics
PSQ	Political Science Quarterly
RIS	Review of International Studies
SS	Security Studies
TPV	Terrorism and Political Violence
WP	World Politics

GUIDE TO THE READINGS

This syllabus is designed in large part as a study aid for graduate students preparing for preliminary exams. To that end, I have included a substantial amount of recommended reading for each topic (and several additional topics) in

two appendices at the end of the syllabus. This reading is **not** required for class, nor are students expected to read it to complete their reaction papers (although they may wish to read certain selections anyway). However, the recommended readings may prove helpful in getting started on literature review papers. In general, recommended readings are listed in reverse chronological order, with the most important selections marked with an asterisk. To construct this list of readings, I have drawn heavily on resources that students studying for prelims may wish to consult, especially the syllabus for “International Security: A Survey of the Field,” by Ronald Krebs at the University of Minnesota (<https://sites.google.com/a/umn.edu/rkrebs/home/teaching>). Another valuable resource is Jack Levy’s lengthy syllabus (currently 124 pages) for “Theories of War and Peace” at Rutgers (<http://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/levy/courses.html>).

POLICIES AND RESOURCES

- **Class Policies.** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all the reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. Exceptions will of course be made for religious holidays. Students who know they will miss class owing to observance of a religious holiday need to notify the instructor during the first week of the semester. All papers turned in for this class must be double-spaced, have one-inch margins on all sides, be printed in 12-point font, and stapled. Late papers will be accepted up to 24 hours after the deadline, but one letter grade will be deducted. Papers that are more than 24 hours late will not be accepted. Exceptions will be made only in cases of illness or personal/family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, please consult the instructor as soon as is feasible to make arrangements for an extension. Laptops are allowed in class for note-taking purposes, not for checking e-mail, Facebook, or surfing the web. Please silence your cell phones and do not consult them during class unless it is an emergency.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating, and Academic Integrity.** According to the university’s Code of Academic Integrity, “Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” For the rest of the code, see <http://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity>. In general, I expect that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct. *All work you submit for this course must be your own.* In particular, do not collaborate on the analytical papers or literature review papers. I will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty. If you are found to have cheated on any assignment, the likely minimum punishment is a failing grade for that assignment. The case may also be referred to the Academic Integrity Council at the instructor’s discretion, depending on the severity of the offense. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please ask the instructor.
- **Disabilities.** GW’s Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities. Additional information is available at <http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>.
- **Counseling.** The University Counseling Center (UCC, 202.994.5300) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students’ personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include crisis and emergency mental health consultations, confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals (see <http://counselingcenter.gwu.edu>).
- **Security.** If we experience an emergency during class time, such as severe weather or a fire in the building, we will try to stay at this location until we hear that we can move about safely. If we have to leave the classroom, we will meet on E Street across from the Elliott School in order to account for everyone and to make certain that everyone is safe. The phone number for GWPD is (202) 994-6111. Please refer to Campus Advisories for the latest information on the University’s operating status: <http://campusadvisories.gwu.edu/>.

COURSE CALENDAR

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. September 3 | Course Introduction |
|----------------|---------------------|

Part I. Theoretical Traditions

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 2. September 10 | Structural and Offensive Realism |
| 3. September 17 | Defensive and Neoclassical Realism |
| 4. September 24 | Bargaining and War |
| 5. October 1 | Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy |
| 6. October 8 | Democracy, Dictatorship, and War |
| 7. October 15 | Economic Interdependence |
| 8. October 22 | International Institutions and Security |
| 9. October 29 | Norms, Culture, and Force |

Part II. Selected Topics in Security

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 10. November 5 | Reputation, Credibility, and Threats |
| 11. November 12 | Military Coercion |
| 12. November 19 | Military Effectiveness |
| 13. November 26 | Thanksgiving: No Class |
| 14. December 3 | War Termination |
| 15. December 8 (Tues.) | Nuclear Proliferation |

COURSE OUTLINE

Part I. Theoretical Traditions

1. Course Introduction September 3
 - Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *ISQ* 35/2 (June 1991): 211-39.
 - Richard K. Betts, "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *WP* 50/1 (October 1997): 7-33.
2. Structural and Offensive Realism September 10
 - G. Lowes Dickinson, *The European Anarchy* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 13-17 and 126-33 **(BB)**.
 - Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), particularly Chapters 4-9.
 - John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (Norton, 2001), particularly Chapters 1-3, 5, 8-9.
 - Stephen G. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *IO* 51/3 (Summer 1997): 445-55 *only*.
3. Defensive and Neoclassical Realism September 17
 - Stephen G. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *IO* 51/3 (Summer 1997): 455-63 *only*.
 - Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *WP* 30/2 (January 1978): 167-214.
 - Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation* (Princeton, 2010), Chapters 1-3, 5-6, 9, and pp. 93-102.
 - Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *IS* 29/4 (Fall 2004): 159-201.
 - Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Cornell, 1993), Chapter 2 **(BB)**.
 - William C. Wohlforth, "Gilpinian Realism and International Relations," *International Relations* 25/4 (2011): 499-511.
4. Bargaining and War September 24
 - Dan Reiter, "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *POP* 1/1 (March 2003): 27-33 *only*.
 - James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *IO* 49/3 (Summer 1995): 379-414.
 - Robert Powell, "War as a Commitment Problem," *IO* 60/1 (Winter 2006): 169-203.
 - Andrew J. Coe, "Costly Peace: A New Rationalist Explanation for War," working paper, September 2011, 1-41 *only* **(BB)**.
 - Jonathan Kirshner, "Rationalist Explanations for War?" *SS* 10/1 (Autumn 2000): 143-50.
 - David A. Lake, "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War," *IS* 35/3 (Winter 2010/11): 7-52.
 - Alex Weisiger, *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts* (Cornell, 2013), Introduction and Chapter 1 **(BB)**.
 - Ron Hassner, "To Halve and Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *SS* 12/4 (Summer 2003): 1-33.

5. Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy

October 1

- James D. Fearon, "Domestic Audience Costs and the Escalation of International Disputes," *APSR* 88/3 (September 1994): 577-92.
- Kenneth A. Schultz, "Democratic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises," *APSR* 92/4 (December 1998): 829-44.
- Michael Tomz, "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach," *IO* 61/4 (Fall 2007): 821-40.
- Jessica L. Weeks, "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve," *IO* 62/1 (Winter 2008): 35-64.
- Jack Snyder and Erica D. Borghard, "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound," *APSR* 105/3 (August 2011): 437-56.
- Marc Trachtenberg, "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis," *SS* 21/1 (January 2012): 3-42. Students may also wish to read the responses to Trachtenberg's article in "Do Audience Costs Exist? A Symposium," *SS* 21/3 (2012): 369-415.
- Matthew S. Levendusky and Michael C. Horowitz, "When Backing Down is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs," *JOP* 74/2 (April 2012): 323-38.
- Alexander B. Downes and Todd S. Sechser, "The Illusion of Democratic Credibility," *IO* 66/3 (Summer 2012): 457-89.

6. Democracy, Dictatorship, and War

October 8

- Jessica L. P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Cornell, 2014).
- Mark Peceny and Caroline Beer, with Shannon Sanchez-Terry, "Dictatorial Peace?" *APSR* 96/1 (March 2002): 15-26.
- Jonathan D. Caverley, "The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam," *IS* 34/3 (Winter 2009/10): 119-57.
 - Students may also wish to consult the exchange between Caverley and James McAllister about Caverley's article in *IS* 35/3 (Winter 2010/11).
- Alexander B. Downes and Mary Lauren Lilley, "Overt Peace, Covert War? Covert Intervention and the Democratic Peace," *SS* 19/2 (Summer 2010): 266-306.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *WP* 44/2 (January 1992): 235-69.

7. Economic Interdependence

October 15

- Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton, 2014), Introduction and Chapters 1-5.
- David M. Rowe, "The Tragedy of Liberalism: How Globalization Caused the First World War," *SS* 14/3 (July-September 2005): 407-47.
- Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu, "Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I Was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence," *IS* 36/4 (Spring 2012): 115-50.

8. International Institutions and Security

October 22

- Virginia Page Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (Princeton, 2004).
- Daniel Krmaric, "The Justice Dilemma: International Criminal Accountability, Mass Atrocities, and Civil Conflict" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 2014), Chapters TBD (**BB**).
- Matthew Fuhrmann, *Atomic Assistance: How 'Atoms for Peace' Programs Cause Nuclear Insecurity* (Cornell, 2012), Chapter 9 (**BB**).
- Alexander B. Downes and Tonya L. Putnam, "Looking for Constraints in All the Wrong Places? Legal Oversight and Intentional Civilian Victimization in International Armed Conflicts," unpublished ms., George Washington University and Columbia University (**BB**).

9. Norms, Culture, and Force

October 29

- Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, 1999), Chapter 6 (BB).
- Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and French Military Doctrine Before World War II," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (Columbia, 1996), 186-215 (BB).
- Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in *ibid.*, 153-85 (BB).
- Jeffrey W. Legro, "Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the 'Failure' of Internationalism," *IO* 51/1 (Winter 1997): 31-63.
- Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *IO* 53/3 (Summer 1999): 433-68.
- Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," *IO* 52/3 (Summer 1998): 613-44.
- Ward Thomas, "Norms and Security: The Case of International Assassination," *IS* 25/1 (Summer 2000): 105-33.
- Michelle Murray, "Identity, Insecurity, and Great Power Politics: The Tragedy of German Naval Ambition Before the First World War," *SS* 19/4 (2010): 656-88.

Part II. Selected Topics in Security

10. Reputation, Credibility, and Threats

November 5

- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale, 1966), Chapters 1-3.
- Daryl G. Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Cornell, 2005).
- Todd Sechser, "Goliath's Curse: Coercive Threats and Asymmetric Power," *IO* 64 (Fall 2010): 627-60.
- Robert J. Art, "Coercive Diplomacy: What Do We Know?" in *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy*, ed. Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin (USIP, 2003), 359-420 (BB; 2 parts).

11. Military Coercion

November 12

- Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Cornell, 1996).
- Karl Mueller, "Strategies of Coercion: Denial, Punishment, and the Future of Air Power," *SS* 7/3 (Spring 1998): 182-228.
- Alexander B. Downes and Kathryn McNabb Cochran, "Targeting Civilians to Win? Assessing the Military Effectiveness of Civilian Victimization in Interstate War," in *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*, ed. Adria Lawrence and Erica Chenoweth (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010), 23-56 (BB).
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *APSR* 97/3 (August 2003): 343-61.
- Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *IS* 31/2 (Fall 2006): 42-78.

12. Military Effectiveness

November 19

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, 2004).
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, III, "Democracy, War Initiation, and Victory," *APSR* 92/2 (June 1998): 377-89.
- Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12/2 (Summer 1948): 280-315.
- Stephen Biddle and Robert Zirkle, "Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World," *JSS* 19/2 (June 1996): 171-212.
- Risa Brooks, "An Autocracy at War: Explaining Egypt's Military Effectiveness, 1967 and 1973," *SS* 15/3 (July-September 2006): 396-430.
- Caitlin Talmadge, "The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War," *SS* 22/2 (2013): 180-221.

13. Thanksgiving: No Class

November 26

14. War Termination

December 3

- H. E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Fate of Leaders and the First World War* (Princeton, 2000).
- Sarah Croco, "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, Domestic Politics, and War Termination," *APSR* 105/3 (August 2011): 457-77.
- Dan Reiter, *How Wars End* (Princeton, 2009), chapters 1-3 (**BB**).
- Elizabeth Stanley, "Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in Overcoming Obstacles to Peace," *IS* 34/1 (Summer 2009): 42-82.

15. Nuclear Proliferation

December 8

- Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *IS* 21/3 (Winter 1996/97): 54-86.
- Matthew Fuhmann, "Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements," *IS* 34/1 (Summer 2009): 7-41.
- Nuno P. Monteiro and Alexandre Debs, "The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation," *IS* 39/2 (Fall 2014): 7-51.
- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2003), 3-87 (**BB**).
- Matthew Kroenig, "Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes," *IO* 67/1 (Winter 2013): 141-171.
- Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhmann, "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail," *IO* 67/1 (Winter 2013): 173-95.
- Matthew Kroenig, Todd Sechser, and Matthew Fuhmann, "Debating the Benefits of Nuclear Superiority for Crisis Bargaining, Parts I-III," *Duck of Minerva*, March 25 and 28, 2013, <http://duckofminerva.com/2013/03/debating-the-benefits-of-nuclear-superiority-part-iii.html> (**BB**).

16. Literature Review Papers Due

December 14

- 5.00 p.m., 1957 E St. NW, #605B

APPENDIX A: RECOMMENDED READING ON TOPICS COVERED IN CLASS

Offensive Realism

- Yuan-kang Wang, *Harmony and War: Confucian Culture and Chinese Power Politics* (Columbia UP, 2010).
- Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Cornell, 2006).*
- Colin Elman, "Extending Offensive Realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony," *APSR* 98/4 (November 2004): 563-76.*
- Christopher Layne, "The 'Poster Child for Offensive Realism': America as a Global Hegemon," *SS* 12/2 (Winter 2002): 120-64.*
- Eric Labs, "Beyond Victory: Offensive Realism and the Expansion of War Aims," *SS* 6/4 (Summer 1997): 1-49.
- Peter Liberman, *Does Conquest Pay? The Exploitation of Occupied Industrial Societies* (Princeton, 1996).
- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *IS* 19/3 (Winter 1994/95): 5-49.*
- Peter Liberman, "The Spoils of Conquest," *IS* 18/2 (Fall 1993): 125-53.
- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948).* States maximize power because human beings have a lust for power and a will to dominate.
- John H. Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *WP* 2/2 (January 1950): 157-80. One of the earliest statements of the security dilemma.
- G. Lowes Dickinson, *The European Anarchy* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), esp. 13-17, 127-133.

Critiques of Offensive Realism

- Jonathan Kirshner, "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical Realism and the Rise of China," *EJIR* 18/1 (March 2012): 53-75.
- Brandon Valeriano, "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Testing Aggressive Power Politics Models," *International Interactions* 35/2 (2009): 179-206.
- Richard Little, "British Neutrality versus Offshore Balancing in the American Civil War: The English School Strikes Back," *SS* 16/1 (January 2007): 68-95.
- Peter Thompson, "The Case of the Missing Hegemon: British Nonintervention in the American Civil War," *SS* 16/1 (January 2007): 96-132.
- Colin Elman, "Extending Offensive Realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony," *APSR* 98/4 (November 2004): 563-76.*
- Christopher Layne, "The 'Poster Child for Offensive Realism': America as a Global Hegemon," *SS* 12/2 (Winter 2002): 120-64.*
- Richard N. Rosecrance, "War and Peace," *WP* 55/1 (October 2002): 137-66.
- Glenn H. Snyder, "Mearsheimer's World—Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay," *IS* 27/1 (Summer 2002): 149-73.
- Peter Gowan, "A Calculus of Power," *New Left Review* 16 (July-August 2002): 47-67.
- Barry R. Posen, "The Best Defense," *The National Interest* (Spring 2002): 119-26.
- Steven Lobell, "War is Politics: Offensive Realism, Domestic Politics, and Security Strategies," *SS* 12/2 (Winter 2002): 165-95.
- Gerald Geunwook Lee, "To Be Long or Not to Be Long—That is the Question: The Contradiction of Time-Horizon in Offensive Realism," *SS* 12/2 (Winter 2002): 196-217.

Neorealism, Defensive Realism, Offense-Defense Theory, Neoclassical Realism

- "Debating Charles L. Glaser's *Rational Theory of International Politics*," *SS* 20/3 (2011): 416-89.*
- Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics* (Princeton, 2011).*
- William C. Wohlforth, "Gilpinian Realism and International Relations," *International Relations* 25/4 (2011): 499-511.*
- Cameron G. Thies, "State Socialization and Structural Realism," *SS* 19/4 (2010): 689-717.
- João Resende-Santos, *Neorealism, States, and the Modern Mass Army* (Cambridge, 2007).*

- Andrew H. Kydd, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations* (Princeton, 2005).*
- Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Offense, Defense, and War* (MIT, 2004).*
- Karen Ruth Adams, "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance," *IS* 28/3 (Winter 2003/04): 45-83.
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Security Seeking Under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited," *IS* 25/3 (Winter 2000/01): 128-61.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *IS* 25/1 (Summer 2000): 5-41.
- Stephen Van Evera, *The Causes of War, Vol. 1: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Cornell, 1999).*
- Charles L. Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, "What Is the Offense-Defense Balance and How Can We Measure It?" *IS* 22/4 (Spring 1998): 44-82.*
- Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *IS* 22/4 (Spring 1998): 5-43.*
- Charles L. Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," *WP* 50/1 (October 1997): 171-201.
- Andrew Kydd, "Sheep in Sheep's Clothing: Why Security Seekers Do Not Fight Each Other," *SS* 7/1 (Autumn 1997): 114-54.
- Andrew Kydd, "Game Theory and the Spiral Model," *WP* 49/3 (April 1997): 371-400.*
- João Resende-Santos, "Anarchy and the Emulation of Military Systems: Military Organization and Technology in South America, 1870-1914," *SS* 5/3 (Spring 1996): 193-260.*
- Stephen M. Walt, *Revolution and War* (Cornell, 1996).
- Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Offense-Defense Theory and its Critics," *SS* 4/4 (Summer 1995): 660-94.*
- Charles L. Glaser, "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help," *IS* 19/3 (Winter 1994/95): 50-90.*
- Charles L. Glaser, "Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models," *WP* 44/4 (July 1992): 497-538.
- Barry R. Posen, *Inadvertent Escalation: Conventional War and Nuclear Risks* (Cornell, 1991).*
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *IO* 44/2 (Spring 1990): 137-68.
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing U.S. Grand Strategy," *IS* 14/1 (Summer 1989): 5-49.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," in *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 39-52.*
- Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Cornell, 1987).*
- Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine* (Cornell, 1984).*
- Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *IS* 9/1 (Summer 1984): 58-108. Reprinted in *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, ed. Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera (Princeton, 1991), 59-109.*
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *WP* 30/2 (January 1978): 167-214.*
- George Quester, *Offense and Defense in the International System* (New York: Wiley, 1977).*
- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, 1976), 58-113 (Chapter 3: "Deterrence, the Spiral Model, and the Intentions of the Adversary").*

Critiques of Neorealism, Defensive Realism, etc.

- Sebastian Rosato, "The Inscrutable Intentions of Great Powers," *IS* 39/3 (Winter 2014/15): 48-88.
- Ahsan Butt, "Anarchy and Hierarchy in International Relations: Examining South America's War-Prone Decade, 1932-1941," *IO* 67/3 (July 2013): 575-607.
- Keir Lieber, "The New History of World War I and what it Means for International Relations Theory," *IS* 32/2 (Fall 2007): 155-91.
- Evan Braden Montgomery, "Breaking Out of the Security Dilemma: Realism, Reassurance, and the Problem of Uncertainty," *IS* 31/2 (Fall 2006): 151-85.
- Yoav Gortzak, Yoram Z. Haftel, and Kevin Sweeney, "Offense-Defense Theory: An Empirical Assessment," *JCR* 49/1 (February 2005): 67-89.
- Keir Lieber, *War and the Engineers: The Primacy of Politics over Technology* (Cornell, 2005).
- Stephen Biddle, "Rebuilding the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory," *JOP* 63/3 (August 2001): 741-74.

- Keir Lieber, "Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security," *IS* 25/1 (Summer 2000): 71-104.
- Peter D. Feaver, et al., "Correspondence: Brother Can You Spare a Paradigm? (Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?)," *IS* 25/1 (Summer 2000): 165-93.
- Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *IS* 24/2 (Fall 1999): 5-55.*
- Richard K. Betts, "Must War Find a Way? A Review Essay," *IS* 24/2 (Fall 1999): 166-98 (review of Van Evera, *Causes of War*).*
- Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, 1999).*
- John A. Vasquez, "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition," *APSR* 91/4 (December 1997): 899-912, and responses by Waltz, Christensen and Snyder, Elman and Elman, Schweller, and Walt.*
- Stephen G. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *IO* 51/3 (Summer 1997): 445-77.*
- James D. Fearon, "The Offense-Defense Balance and War Since 1648" (unpub. ms., April 1997, available at <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon>).
- Colin Elman, "Horses for Courses: Why *Not* Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" *SS* 6/1 (Autumn 1996): 7-53.*
- Randall L. Schweller, "Neorealism's Status Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *SS* 5/3 (Spring 1996): 90-121.
- Dan Reiter, "Exploding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen," *IS* 20/2 (Fall 1995): 5-34.
- Jonathan Shimshoni, "Technology, Military Advantage, and World War I: A Case for Military Entrepreneurship," *IS* 15/3 (Winter 1990/91): 187-215.
- Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and its Critics* (Columbia, 1986).
- Jack S. Levy, "The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology: A Theoretical and Historical Analysis," *ISQ* 28/2 (June 1984): 219-38.*

"Neoclassical" Realism

- Thomas Juneau, *Squandered Opportunity: Neoclassical Realism and Iranian Foreign Policy* (Stanford UP, 2015).
- Tudor Onea, "Putting the Classical in Neoclassical Realism: Neoclassical Realist Theories and U.S. Expansion in the Post-Cold War World," *IR* 26/2 (June 2012): 139-64.
- Nicholas Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation," *RIS* 36/1 (2010): 117-43.
- Steven E. Lobell et al., eds., *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 2009).*
- Brian C. Rathbun, "A Rose by Any other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism," *SS* 17/2 (2008): 294-321.
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource-Extractive State," *SS* 15/3 (July-September 2006): 464-95.
- Randall L. Schweller, *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power* (Princeton, 2006).*
- Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *IS* 29/4 (Fall 2004): 159-201.*
- Victor D. Cha, "Abandonment, Entrapment, and Neoclassical Realism in Asia: The United States, Japan, and Korea," *ISQ* 44/2 (June 2000): 261-91.
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *WP* 51/1 (October 1998): 144-72.*
- Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton, 1998).*
- Randall L. Schweller, *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* (Columbia, 1998).*
- Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton, 1996).*
- Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In," *IS* 19/1 (Summer 1994): 72-107.*
- William Curti Wohlforth, *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War* (Cornell, 1993).

Bargaining and War

- Jonathan Mercer, "Emotion and Strategy in the Korean War," *IO* 67/2 (Spring 2013): 221-52.
- Branislav L. Slantchev, *Military Threats: The Costs of Coercion and the Price of Peace* (Cambridge, 2011).
- David Lake, "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War," *IS* 35/3 (Winter 2010/11): 7-52.*
- Branislav L. Slantchev, "Feigning Weakness," *IO* 64/3 (Summer 2010): 357-88.
- Bahar Leventoglu and Ahmer Tarar, "Does Private Information Lead to Delay or War in Crisis Bargaining?" *ISQ* 52/3 (September 2008): 533-53.
- Bahar Leventoglu and Branislav L. Slantchev, "The Armed Peace: A Punctuated Equilibrium Theory of War," *AJPS* 51/4 (October 2007): 755-71.
- R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics* (Michigan, 2007).*
- Robert Powell, "War as a Commitment Problem," *IO* 60/1 (January 2006): 169-203.*
- Bahar Leventoglu and Ahmer Tarar, "Prenegotiation Public Commitment in Domestic and International Bargaining," *APSR* 99/3 (August 2005): 419-33.*
- Alastair Smith and Allan C. Stam, "Bargaining and the Nature of War," *JCR* 48/6 (December 2004): 783-813.
- James D. Fearon, "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?" *JPR* 41/3 (May 2004): 275-302.*
- Robert Powell, "The Inefficient Use of Power: Costly Conflict with Complete Information," *APSR* 98/2 (May 2004): 231-41.
- William Reed, "Information, Power, and War," *APSR* 97/4 (November 2003): 633-41.
- Ron Hassner, "To Halve and Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *SS* 12/4 (Summer 2003): 1-33.*
- Dan Reiter, "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *POP* 1/1 (March 2003): 27-43.*
- Branislav L. Slantchev, "The Principle of Convergence in Wartime Negotiations," *APSR* 97/4 (November 2003): 621-32.
- Branislav L. Slantchev, "The Power to Hurt: Costly Conflict with Completely Informed States," *APSR* 97/1 (February 2003): 123-33.
- Robert Powell, "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict," *ARPS* 5 (2002): 1-30.
- Christopher Gelpi, *The Power of Legitimacy: Assessing the Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining* (Princeton, 2002).
- Jonathan D. Kirshner, "Rationalist Explanations for War?" *SS* 10/1 (Autumn 2000): 143-50.*
- R. Harrison Wagner, "Bargaining and War," *AJPS* 44/3 (July 2000): 469-84.
- Robert Powell, *In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics* (Princeton, 1999).*
- Erik Gartzke, "War is in the Error Term," *IO* 53/3 (Summer 1999): 567-87.
- David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton, 1999).
- "Formal Methods, Formal Complaints: Debating the Role of Rational Choice in Security Studies," *IS* 24/2 (Fall 1999): 56-130.
- Stephen M. Walt, "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies," *IS* 23/4 (Spring 1999): 5-48.*
- James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *IO* 49/3 (Summer 1995): 379-414.*
- James D. Fearon, "Signaling versus the Balance of Power and Interests: An Empirical Test of a Crisis Bargaining Model," *JCR* 38/2 (June 1994): 236-69.
- Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1988), 108-24 (e-res).
- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale, 1966).*
- Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Harvard, 1960).*

Democratic Peace

In General

- Allen Dafoe, "Statistical Critiques of the Democratic Peace: Caveat Emptor," *AJPS* 55/2 (April 2011): 247-62.
- Paul K. Huth and Todd L. Allee, *The Democratic Peace and Territorial Conflict in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Lars-Erik Cederman, "Back to Kant: Reinterpreting the Democratic Peace as a Macrohistorical Learning Process," *APSR* 95/1 (March 2001): 15-31.
- Bruce M. Russett and John R. Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (Norton, 2001).*
- Zeev Maoz, "The Controversy over the Democratic Peace: Rearguard Action or Cracks in the Wall?" *IS* 22/1 (Summer 1997): 162-98.
- Kurt Taylor Gaubatz, "Democratic States and Commitment in International Relations," *IO* 50/1 (Winter 1996): 109-39.
- Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, *Debating the Democratic Peace* (MIT, 1996).*
- David L. Rousseau et al., "Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace, 1918-1988," *APSR* 90/3 (September 1996): 512-33.*
- James Lee Ray, *Democracy and International Conflict: An Evaluation of the Democratic Peace Proposition* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).
- Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace," *APSR* 87/3 (September 1993): 624-38.*
- Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, 1993).*
- Stuart A. Bremer, "Dangerous Dyads: Conditions Affecting the Likelihood of Interstate War, 1816-1965," *JCR* 36/2 (1992): 309-41.
- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989): 3-18.*
- Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1983), 107-43.*

Norms

- David Sobek, M. Rodwan Abouharb, and Christopher G. Ingram, "The Human Rights Peace: How the Respect for Human Rights at Home Leads to Peace Abroad," *JOP* 68/3 (August 2006): 519-29.*
- Markus Fischer, "The Liberal Peace: Ethical, Historical, and Philosophical Aspects," BCSIA Discussion Paper 2000-07, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.*
- Spencer Weart, *Never at War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another* (Yale, 1998).
- Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (Norton, 1997).*
- John M. Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security* (Cornell, 1997).*
- William J. Dixon, "Democracy and the Peaceful Settlement of International Conflict," *APSR* 88/1 (March 1994): 14-32.*
- Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *APSR* 80/4 (December 1986): 1151-69.*
- Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12/3 (Summer 1983): 205-35.*
- Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part II," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12/4 (Fall 1983): 323-53.*

Institutions

- Chungshik Moon and Mark Souva, "Audience Costs, Information, and Credible Commitment Problems," *JCR* (forthcoming).
- Shuhei Kurizaki and Taehee Wang, "Detecting Audience Costs in International Disputes," *IO* (2015).
- Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, *War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy* (Princeton, 2015).

- Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, "Looking for Audience Costs in All the Wrong Places: Electoral Institutions, Media Access, and Democratic Constraint," *JOP* 76/1 (January 2014): 167-81.
- Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, "Media, Audience Costs, and the Democratic Peace," *Political Communication* 27/4 (2010): 453-70.
- Michael Tomz, "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach," *IO* 61/4 (Fall 2007): 821-40.*
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et. al., "Testing Novel Implications from the Selectorate Theory of War," *WP* 56/3 (April 2004): 363-88.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et. al., *The Logic of Political Survival* (MIT, 2003).*
- Charles Lipson, *Reliable Partners: How Democracies Have Made a Separate Peace* (Princeton, 2003).*
- Kenneth A. Schultz, "Looking for Audience Costs," *JCR* 45/1 (2001): 32-60.
- Kenneth A. Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge, 2001).*
- Kenneth A. Schultz, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform?" *IO* 53/2 (Spring 1999): 233-66.
- Kurt Taylor Gaubatz, *Elections and War: The Electoral Incentive in the Democratic Politics of War and Peace* (Stanford, 1999).
- Kenneth A. Schultz, "Democratic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises," *APSR* 92/4 (December 1998): 829-44.*
- Susan Peterson, "How Democracies Differ: Public Opinion, State Structure, and the Lessons of Fashoda," *SS* 5/1 (Autumn 1995): 3-37.
- James D. Fearon, "Domestic Audience Costs and the Escalation of International Disputes," *APSR* 88/3 (September 1994): 577-92.*
- David A. Lake, "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War," *APSR* 86/1 (March 1992): 24-37.

Extensions

- Geoffrey P. R. Wallace, *Life and Death in Captivity: The Abuse of Prisoners during War* (Cornell, 2015).
- Alexander B. Downes and Mary Lauren Lilley, "Overt Peace, Covert War? Covert Intervention and the Democratic Peace," *SS* 19/2 (Summer 2010): 266-306.*
- Alexander B. Downes, "Restraint or Propellant? Democracy and Civilian Fatalities in Interstate Wars," *JCR* 51/6 (December 2007): 872-904.
- Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955," *APSR* 97/1 (February 2003): 57-73.
- Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam* (Cambridge, 2003).*
- Norrin M. Ripsman, *Peacemaking by Democracies: The Effect of State Autonomy on the post-World War Settlements* (Penn State, 2002).
- Håvard Hegre, et al., "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992," *APSR* 95/1 (March 2001): 33-48.
- Gary Jonathan Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton, 2000).
- David P. Forsythe, "Democracy, War, and Covert Action," *JPR* 29/4 (November 1995): 385-95.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *WP* 44/2 (January 1992): 235-69.*

Critiques

- John M. Schuessler, *Deceit on the Road to War: Presidents, Politics, and American Democracy* (Cornell, 2015).*
- Jack S. Levy, Michael K. McKoy, Paul Poast, and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace, "Backing Out or Backing In? Commitment and Consistency in Audience Costs Theory," *AJPS* (2015).
- Jonathan D. Caverley, *Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War* (Cambridge, 2014).*
- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations* (Oxford, 2014).
- Alexander B. Downes and Todd S. Sechser, "The Illusion of Democratic Credibility," *IO* 66/3 (Summer 2012): 457-89.*
- Marc Trachtenberg, "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis," *SS* 21/1 (January 2012): 3-42. Students may also wish to read the responses to Trachtenberg's article in "Do Audience Costs Exist? A Symposium," *SS* 21/3 (2012): 369-415.*

- Jack Snyder and Erica D. Borghard, "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound," *APSR* 105/3 (August 2011): 437-56.*
- Douglas M. Gibler and Marc L. Hutchison, "Territorial Issues, Audience Costs, and the Democratic Peace: The Importance of Issue Salience," *JOP* 75/4 (October 2013): 879-93.
- Jessica Chen Weiss, "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China," *IO* 67/1 (Winter 2013): 1-35.*
- Matthew S. Levendusky and Michael C. Horowitz, "When Backing Down is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs," *JOP* 74/2 (April 2012): 323-38.*
- Douglas M. Gibler, *The Territorial Peace: Borders, State Development, and International Conflict* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Jonathan N. Brown and Anthony S. Marcum, "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy," *SS* 20/2 (2011): 141-70.
- Jessica L. Weeks, "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve," *IO* 62/1 (Winter 2008): 35-64.*
- Douglas A. Van Belle, "Dinosaurs and the Democratic Peace: Paleontological Lessons for Avoiding the Extinction of Theory in Political Science," *International Studies Perspectives* 7/3 (August 2006): 287-306.*
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War* (MIT, 2005).*
- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of the Democratic Peace," *APSR* 97/4 (November 2003): 585-602.*
- Errol A. Henderson, *Democracy and War: The End of an Illusion?* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003).
- Mark Peceny, et.al., "Dictatorial Peace?" *APSR* 96/1 (March 2002): 15-26.*
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War," *IO* 56/2 (Spring 2002): 297-337.
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (Norton, 2000).
- Bernard I. Finel and Kristin M. Lord, "The Surprising Logic of Transparency," *ISQ* 43/2 (June 1999): 315-39.*
- Joanne Gowa, *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace* (Princeton, 1999).
- Erik Gartzke, "Kant We All Just Get Along? Opportunity, Willingness, and the Origins of the Democratic Peace," *AJPS* 42/1 (January 1998): 1-27.
- Henry S. Farber and Joanne Gowa, "Common Interests or Common Politics? Reinterpreting the Democratic Peace," *JOP* 59/2 (May 1997): 393-417.*
- Miriam Fendius Elman, ed., *Paths to Peace: Is Democracy the Answer?* (MIT, 1997).*
- Stanislav Andreski, "On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships," *JSS* 3/3 (December 1980): 3-10.

International Institutions

- Tanisha M. Fazal, "The Demise of Peace Treaties in Interstate War," *IO* 67/4 (October 2013): 695-724.
- Yonatan Lupu, "Best Evidence: The Role of Information in Domestic Judicial Enforcement of International Human Rights Agreements," *IO* 67/3 (Summer 2013): 469-503.
- Geoffrey P.R. Wallace, "International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study," *IO* 67/1 (Winter 2013): 105-40.
- Tanisha M. Fazal, "Why States No Longer Declare War," *SS* 21/4 (2012): 557-93.
- Paul K. Huth, Sarah E. Croco, and Benjamin J. Appel, "Does International Law Promote the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes? Evidence from the Study of Territorial Conflicts since 1945," *APSR* 105/2 (May 2011): 415-36.
- Sebastian Rosato, "Europe's Troubles: Power Politics and the State of the European Project," *IS* 35/4 (Spring 2011): 45-86.
- Sebastian Rosato, *Europe United: Power Politics and the Making of the European Community* (Cornell, 2011).*
- Beth A. Simmons and Allison Danner, "Credible Commitments and the International Criminal Court," *IO* 64/2 (Spring 2010): 225-256.

- Beth A. Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* (Cambridge, 2009).*
- Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter, "Ensuring Peace: Foreign Imposed Regime Change and Post-War Peace Duration, 1914-2001," *IO* 62/4 (Fall 2008): 717-36.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, 2008).*
- Lise Morjé Howard, *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Michael J. Gilligan and Ernest J. Sergenti, "Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 2 (July 2008): 89-122.
- Ian Hurd, *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the UN Security Council* (Princeton, 2007).
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen, "Making and Keeping Peace," *IO* 59/2 (Spring 2005): 261-92.
- Erik Voeten, "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force," *IO* 59/3 (July 2005): 527-57.*
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (Princeton, 2004).*
- Robert Jervis, Henry R. Nau, and Randall L. Schweller, "Correspondence: Institutionalized Disagreement," *IS* 27/1 (Summer 2002): 174-85.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton, 2001).*
- David A. Lake, "Beyond Anarchy: The Importance of Security Regimes," *IS* 26/1 (Summer 2001): 129-60.
- Randall L. Schweller, "The Problem of International Order Revisited: A Review Essay," *IS* 26/1 (Summer 2001): 161-86.
- Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *IS* 24/1 (Summer 1999): 42-63.
- Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *IS* 20/1 (Summer 1995): 39-51.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *IS* 19/3 (Winter 1994/95): 5-49.*
- David A. Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (Columbia, 1993).*
- Lisa Martin, *Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions* (Princeton, 1992).*
- Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," *IS* 16/1 (Summer 1991): 114-61.
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, 1984).*
- Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Cornell, 1981).

Economic Interdependence

- Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton, 2014).*
- Stephen G. Brooks, "Economic Actors' Lobbying Influence on the Prospects for War and Peace," *IO* 67/4 (Fall 2013): 863-88.
- Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu, "Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I Was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence," *IS* 36/4 (Spring 2012): 115-50.*
- Patrick J. McDonald, *The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and International Relations Theory* (Cambridge, 2009).*
- Emilie Hafner-Burton, *Forced to be Good: Why Trade Agreements Boost Human Rights* (Cornell, 2009).
- Christopher Gelpi and Joseph Grieco, "Democracy, Trade, and the Nature of the Liberal Peace," *JPR* 45/1 (January 2008): 17-36.
- Patrick J. McDonald and Kevin Sweeney, "The Achilles Heel of Liberal IR Theory? Globalization and Conflict in the Pre-World War I Era," *WP* 59 (April 2007): 370-403.
- "Producing Debate: A Symposium on Stephen Brooks' Producing Security," *SS* 16/4 (2007): 583-678.*
- Erik Gartzke, "The Capitalist Peace," *AJPS* 51/1 (January 2007): 166-91.
- Stephen G. Brooks, *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict* (Princeton, 2005).*
- David M. Rowe, "The Tragedy of Liberalism: How Globalization Caused the First World War," *SS* 14/3 (July-September 2005): 407-47.*

- Emilie Hafner-Burton, "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression," *IO* 59/3 (Summer 2005): 593-629.
- Erik Gartzke and Quan Li, "War, Peace, and the Invisible Hand: Positive Political Externalities of Economic Globalization," *ISQ* 47 (2003): 561-86.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Brian M. Pollins, ed., *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate* (Michigan, 2003).
- Katherine Barbieri, *The Liberal Illusion: Does Trade Promote Peace?* (Michigan, 2002).
- David M. Rowe, David H. Bearce, and Patrick J. McDonald, "Binding Prometheus: How the 19th Century Expansion of Trade Impeded Britain's Ability to Raise an Army," *ISQ* 46/4 (2002): 551-78.
- Bruce M. Russett and John R. Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (Norton, 2001).*
- Erik Gartzke, Quan Li, and Charles Boemer, "Investing in the Peace: Economic Interdependence and International Conflict," *IO* 55/2 (Spring 2001): 391-438.
- Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, Edward D. Mansfield, and Norrin M. Ripsman, eds., "Power and the Purse: Economic Statecraft, Interdependence, and National Security," special issue, *SS* 9/1-2 (Autumn 1999-Winter 2000).
- John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett, "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992," *WP* 52/1 (October 1999): 1-37.*
- Stephen G. Brooks, "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest," *JCR* 43/5 (October 1999): 646-70.
- Gerald Schneider and Katherine Barbieri, eds., "Special Issue on Trade and Conflict," *JPR* 36/4 (July 1999).
- Susan M. McMillan, "Interdependence and Conflict," *Mershon International Studies Review* 41/1 (May 1997): 33-58. Good literature review.
- Katherine Barbieri, "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?" *JCR* 33/1 (February 1996): 29-49.
- Dale Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," *IS* 20/4 (Spring 1996): 5-41.*
- Paul Papayouanou, "Interdependence, Institutions, and the Balance of Power," *IS* 20/4 (Spring 1996): 42-76.*
- Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (Basic Books, 1986).
- Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913).

Norms and Constructivism

- Dongwook Kim, "International Nongovernmental Organizations and the Global Diffusion of National Human Rights Institutions," *IO* 67/3 (Summer 2013): 505-39.
- Thomas M. Dolan, "Unthinkable and Tragic: The Psychology of Weapons Taboos in War," *IO* 67/1 (Winter 2013): 37-63.
- Jordan Branch, "Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change," *IO* 65/1 (Winter 2011): 1-36.
- R. Charli Carpenter, "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms," *IO* 65/1 (Winter 2011): 69-102.
- Michelle Murray, "Identity, Insecurity, and Great Power Politics: The Tragedy of German Naval Ambition Before the First World War," *SS* 19/4 (2010).*
- M. Patrick Cottrell, "Legitimacy and Institutional Replacement: The Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons and the Emergence of the Mine Ban Treaty," *IO* 63/2 (Spring 2009): 217-48.
- Stacie E. Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power," *IS* 33/3 (Winter 2008/09): 110-42.
- Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge, 2008).*
- Ian Hurd, *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the UN Security Council* (Princeton, 2007).

- Ian Hurd, "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003," *IO* 59/3 (Summer 2005): 495-526.*
- Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *IS* 29/4 (Spring 2005): 5-49.*
- Theo Farrell, "World Culture and Military Power," *SS* 14/3 (July-September 2005): 448-88.*
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Cornell, 2003).*
- Daniel C. Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton, 2001).*
- Ward Thomas, *The Ethics of Destruction: Norms and Force in International Relations* (Cornell, 2001).
- Ward Thomas, "Norms and Security: The Case of International Assassination," *IS* 25/1 (Summer 2000): 105-33.*
- Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, 1999).*
- Chaim Kaufmann and Robert A. Pape, "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade," *IO* 53/4 (Autumn 1999): 631-68.
- Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *IO* 53/3 (Summer 1999): 433-68.
- Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," *IO* 52/3 (Summer 1998): 613-44.*
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *IO* 52/4 (Autumn 1998): 887-917.*
- Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Thomas U. Berger, *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan* (Johns Hopkins, 1998).
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell, 1998).*
- Jeffrey W. Legro, "Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the 'Failure' of Internationalism," *IO* 51/1 (Winter 1997): 31-63.*
- Elizabeth Kier, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars* (Princeton, 1997).*
- Richard M. Price, *The Chemical Weapons Taboo* (Cornell, 1997).
- Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Cornell, 1996).*
- Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).*
- Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and French Military Doctrine Before World War II," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (Columbia, 1996), 186-215.
- Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in Katzenstein, ed., *Culture of National Security*, 153-85.
- Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan* (Cornell, 1996).
- Alistair I. Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Ming China* (Princeton, 1995).
- Jeffrey W. Legro, *Cooperation under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II* (Cornell, 1995).
- Jeffrey W. Legro, "Military Culture and Inadvertent Escalation in World War II," *IS* 18/4 (Spring 1994): 108-42.
- Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *APSR* 88/2 (June 1994): 384-96.
- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *IO* 46/2 (Spring 1992): 391-425.*
- Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *IO* 41/3 (Summer 1987): 335-70.
- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (Columbia, 1977).*

Critiques

- Jack Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture," *IO* 56/1 (Winter 2002): 7-46.*
- Dale C. Copeland, "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay," *IS* 25/2 (Fall 2000): 187-212.*
- "Correspondence: Isms and Schisms: Culturalism versus Realism in Security Studies," *IS* 24/1 (Summer 1999): 156-80.
- Michael C. Desch, "Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies," *IS* 23/1 (Summer 1998): 141-70.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *IS* 19/3 (Winter 1994/95): 5-49.

Reputation, Credibility, and Threats

Reputation and Credibility

- Alex Weisiger and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Politics," *IO* 69/2 (March 2015): 473-95.
- Barbara F. Walter, *Reputation and Civil War: Why Separatist Conflicts are So Violent* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Vaughn P. Shannon and Michael Dennis, "Militant Islam and the Futile Fight for Reputation," *SS* 16/2 (April-June 2007): 287-317.
- Mark J. C. Crescenzi, "Reputation and Interstate Conflict (Friends and Foes)," *AJPS* 51/2 (2007): 382-96.
- Mark J. C. Crescenzi, Jacob Kathman, Stephen Gent, "Reputation, History and War: The Competing Pressures of Escalation and Settlement," *JPR* 44/6 (2007): 651-68.
- Daryl G. Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Cornell, 2005).
- Jonathan Mercer, *Reputation and International Politics* (Cornell, 1996).

Compellence

- Virginia Page Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes," *IO* 69/3 (June 2015): 519-56.*
- Nicholas Miller, "The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions," *IO* 68/4 (Fall 2014): 913-44.
- Matthew Kroenig, "Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes," *IO* 67/1 (Winter 2013): 141-171.
- Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail," *IO* 67/1 (Winter 2013): 173-95.*
- Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Reinterpreting Libya's WMD Turnaround: Bridging the Carrot-Coercion Divide," *JSS* 35/4 (2012): 489-512.
- Alexander B. Downes and Kathryn McNabb Cochran, "Targeting Civilians to Win? Assessing the Military Effectiveness of Civilian Victimization in Interstate War," in *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*, ed. Adria Lawrence and Erika Chenoweth (MIT, 2010), 23-56.*
- Todd Sechser, "Goliath's Curse: Coercive Threats and Asymmetric Power," *IO* 64 (Fall 2010): 627-60.*
- Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Cornell, 2008).*
- Bruce W. Jentleson and Christopher A. Whytock, "Who 'Won' Libya? The Force-Diplomacy Debate and Its Implications for Theory and Policy," *IS* 30/3 (Winter 2005/06): 47-86.*
- Solomon Major and Anthony J. McGann, "Caught in the Crossfire: 'Innocent Bystanders' as Optimal Targets of Economic Sanctions," *JCR* 43/3 (June 2005): 337-59.
- Daniel Drezner, "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion," *IO* 57/3 (Summer 2003): 643-59.*
- Andrew L. Stigler, "A Clear Victory for Air Power: NATO's Empty Threat to Invade Kosovo," *IS* 27/3 (Winter 2002/03): 124-57.
- Jonathan Kirshner, "Economic Sanctions: The State of the Art," *SS* 11/4 (Summer 2002): 160-79.
- Risa A. Brooks, "Sanctions and Regime Type: What Works, and When?" *SS* 11/4 (Summer 2002): 1-50.
- Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, *The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Daryl G. Press, "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare," *IS* 26/2 (Fall 2001): 5-44.
- Daniel L. Byman and Matthew C. Waxman, "Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate," *IS* 24/4 (Spring 2000): 5-38.

- John Mueller and Karl Mueller, "The Methodology of Mass Destruction: Assessing Threats in the New World Order," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 23/1 (March 2000): 163-87; or "Sanctions of Mass Destruction," *FA* 78/3 (May/June 1999): 43-53.
- Daniel Drezner, *The Sanctions Paradox: Economic Statecraft and International Relations* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Karl Mueller, "Strategies of Coercion: Denial, Punishment, and the Future of Air Power," *SS* 7/3 (Spring 1998): 182-228.*
- Robert A. Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work," *IS* 23/1 (Summer 1998): 66-77.
- Kimberly Ann Elliott, "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty?" *IS* 23/1 (Summer 1998): 50-65.
- Robert A. Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *IS* 22/2 (Fall 1997): 90-137.*
- T. Clifton Morgan and Valerie L. Schwebach, "Fools Suffer Gladly: The Use of Economic Sanctions in International Crises," *ISQ* 41/1 (March 1997): 27-50.
- Gary Clyde Hufbauer, Jeffrey J. Schott, and Kimberly Ann Elliott, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: International Institute for Economics, 1990).
- Wallace J. Thies, *When Governments Collide: Coercion and Diplomacy in the Vietnam Conflict, 1964-1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).
- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale, 1966).*
- Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Harvard, 1960).*

Deterrence, General

- Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence and Compellence in the Gulf, 1990-1991: A Failed or Impossible Task?" *IS* 17/2 (Fall 1992): 147-79.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca, 1983).*
- Patrick M. Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1977).*
- Alexander George and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Columbia, 1974).

Deterrence Debates

- Paul K. Huth and Bruce Russett, "Testing Deterrence Theory: Rigor Makes a Difference," *WP* 42/4 (July 1990): 466-501.
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable," *WP* 42/3 (April 1990): 336-69.
- "The Rational Deterrence Debate: A Symposium," *WP* 41/2 (January 1989): 143-237.*
- Paul K. Huth, *Extended Deterrence and the Prevention of War* (Yale, 1988).
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Beyond Deterrence," *Journal of Social Issues* 43/4 (1987): 5-71.*
- Paul K. Huth and Bruce Russett, "What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980," *WP* 36/4 (July 1984): 496-526.*

Nuclear Deterrence

- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "Why States Won't Give Nuclear Weapons to Terrorists," *IS* 38/1 (Summer 2013): 80-104.
- Francis J. Gavin, *Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America's Atomic Age* (Cornell, 2012).
- Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge, 2008).*
- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The End of MAD? The Nuclear Dimension of U.S. Primacy," *IS* 30/4 (Spring 2006): 7-44.*
- Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 3rd ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *IO* 53/3 (Summer 1999): 433-68.*
- Barry R. Posen, "U.S. Security Policy in a Nuclear-Armed World; Or: What if Iraq had had Nuclear Weapons?" *SS* 6/3 (Spring 1997): 1-31.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," *APSR* 84/3 (September 1990): 731-45.*

- Charles L. Glaser, *Analyzing Strategic Nuclear Policy* (Princeton, 1990).*
- Robert Powell, *Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Search for Credibility* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Cornell, 1989).*
- John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *IS* 13/2 (Fall 1988): 55-79.
- Robert Jervis, "The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons: A Comment," *IS* 13/2 (Fall 1988): 80-90.
- Richard K. Betts, *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (Brookings, 1987).
- John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," *IS* 10/4 (Spring 1986): 99-142.*
- Robert Jervis, *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy* (Cornell, 1984).
- Fred Kaplan, *The Wizards of Armageddon* (Stanford, 1983).
- Colin S. Gray, "Victory is Possible," *FP* 39 (Summer 1980): 14-27.
- Robert Jervis, "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter," *PSQ* 94/4 (Winter 1979/80): 617-33.*
- Paul H. Nitze, "Deterring Our Deterrent," *FP* 25 (Winter 1976/77): 195-210.
- Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," *FA* 37 (January 1959): 209-34.*
- Bernard Brodie, *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order* (Harcourt, Brace, 1946).*

Military Effectiveness

- Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Cornell, 2015).*
- Jasen Castillo, *Endurance and War: The National Sources of Military Cohesion* (Stanford, 2014).*
- Caitlin Talmadge, "The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War," *SS* 22/2 (2013): 180-221.*
- Ryan Grauer and Michael C. Horowitz, "What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System," *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (February 2012): 83-112.
- Ulrich H. Pilster and Tobias Böhmelt, "Coups-Proofing and Military Effectiveness in Interstate Wars, 1967-99," *CMPS* 28/4 (2011): 1-20.
- Michael Beckley, "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 1 (February 2010): 43-79.
- Austin Long, "First War Syndrome: Military Culture, Professionalization, and Counterinsurgency Doctrine" (Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT, 2010).
- Risa Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (Princeton, 2008).*
- E.D. Swinton, *The Defense of Duffer's Drift* (Boulder, Colo.: Paladin Press, 2008).*
- Richard B. Andres, Craig Wills, and Thomas Griffith, Jr., "Winning with Allies: The Strategic Value of the Afghan Model," *IS* 30/3 (Winter 2005/06): 47-86.
- "Military Power: A Roundtable Review," *JSS* 28/3 (June 2005): 413-69 (reviews of Biddle 2004).
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, 2004).
- Stephen Biddle, "The New Way of War? Debating the Kosovo Model," *FA* 81/3 (May/June 2002): 138-44; or *Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy* (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, November 2002); or "Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare," *FA* 82/2 (March/April 2003): 31-46; or "Allies, Airpower, and Modern Warfare: The Afghan Model in Afghanistan and Iraq," *IS* 30/3 (Winter 2005/06): 161-76.
- Kenneth M. Pollack, *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).*
- James T. Quinnlivan, "Coups-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East," *International Security* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 131-165.*
- Stephen Biddle, "Assessing Theories of Future Warfare," *SS* 8/1 (Autumn 1998): 1-74.
- Elizabeth Kier, "Homosexuals in the U.S. Military: Open Integration and Combat Effectiveness," *International Security* 23, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 5-39.
- Responses to Biddle by Daryl G. Press, Thomas A. Keaney, and Thomas A. Mahnken and Barry D. Watts, and Biddle's rejoinder, in *IS* 22/2 (Fall 1997): 137-74.

- Stephen Biddle, "Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us about Future Conflict," *IS* 21/2 (Fall 1996): 139-79.
- Eliot Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare," *FA* 75 (March/April 1996): 37-54.
- Stephen Peter Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and its Armies* (Cornell, 1996).
- Stephen Rosen, "Military Effectiveness: Why Society Matters," *IS* 19/4 (Spring 1995): 5-31.
- Andrew Krepinevich, "Cavalry to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions," *The National Interest* 37 (Fall 1994): 30-42.
- Barry R. Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," *International Security* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 80-124.
- Allen R. Millett and Williamson Murray, *Military Effectiveness*, 3 vols. (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1988).
- John W.R. Lepingwell, "The Laws of Combat? Lanchester Reexamined," *International Security* 12, no. 1 (Summer 1987): 89-134.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Cornell, 1983).
- Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1948): 280-315.

The Debate over Democracy and Military Effectiveness

- John M. Schuessler, *Deceit on the Road to War: Presidents, Politics, and American Democracy* (Cornell, 2015).*
- Jonathan D. Caverley, *Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War* (Cambridge, 2014).*
- Ulrich Pilster and Tobias Böhmelt, "Do Democracies Engage in Less Coup-Proofing? On the Relationship between Regime Type and Civil-Military Relations," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 4 (October 2012): 355-371.
- Dan Reiter, "Democracy, Deception, and Entry into War," *SS* 21/4 (2012): 594-623.
- Ajin Choi, "Fighting to the Finish: Democracy and Commitment in Coalition War," *SS* 21/4 (2012): 624-53.
- John M. Schuessler, "The Deception Dividend: FDR's Undeclared War," *IS* 34/4 (Spring 2010): 133-65.
- Benjamin A. Valentino, Paul K. Huth, and Sarah E. Croco, "Bear any Burden? How Democracies Minimize the Costs of War," *JOP* 72/2 (April 2010): 528-44.
- Jonathan D. Caverley, "The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam," *IS* 34/3 (Winter 2009/2010): 119-157.*
- Alexander B. Downes, "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory," *IS* 33/4 (Spring 2009): 7-51.*
- Michael C. Desch, *Power and Military Effectiveness: The Fallacy of Democratic Triumphalism* (Johns Hopkins, 2008).
- Ronald R. Krebs and Jennifer Lobasz, "Fixing the Meaning of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion, and the Road to War in Iraq," *SS* 16/3 (July-September 2007): 409-451.
- Jane Kellett Cramer, "Militarized Patriotism: Why the U.S. Marketplace of Ideas Failed before the Iraq War," *SS* 16/3 (July-September 2007): 489-524.
- Jon Western, "The War over Iraq: Selling War to the American Public," *SS* 14/1 (January-March 2005): 106-139.
- Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long, "Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look," *JCR* 48/4 (August 2004): 525-46.*
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *IS* 29/1 (Summer 2004): 5-48.*
- Giacomo Chiozza and H. E. Goemans, "International Conflict and the Tenure of Leaders: Is War Still Ex Post Inefficient?" *AJPS* 48/3 (July 2004): 604-19.*
- Risa Brooks, "Making Military Might: Why Do States Fail and Succeed? A Review Essay," *IS* 28/2 (Fall 2003): 149-91.*
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival* (MIT, 2003).*
- Kenneth A. Schultz and Barry R. Weingast, "The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition," *IO* 57/1 (Winter 2003): 3-42.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).*

- Christopher F. Gelpi and Michael Griesdorf, “Winners or Losers? Democracies in International Crisis, 1918-94,” *APSR* 95/3 (September 2001): 633-47.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, et.al., “An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace,” *APSR* 94/4 (December 1999): 791-807.*

War Termination

- Sarah Croco, *Peace at What Price? Leaders and the Domestic Politics of War Termination* (Cambridge, 2015).
- Sarah Croco, “The Decider’s Dilemma: Leader Culpability, Domestic Politics, and War Termination,” *APSR* 105/3 (August 2011): 457-77.*
- Monica Duffy Toft, “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *IS* 34/4 (Spring 2010): 7-36.
- Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, 2010).
- Dan Reiter, *How Wars End* (Princeton, 2009).*
- Elizabeth A. Stanley, *Paths to Peace: Domestic Coalition Shifts, War Termination, and the Korean War* (Stanford, 2009).
- Elizabeth Stanley, “Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in Overcoming Obstacles to Peace,” *IS* 34/1 (Summer 2009): 42-82.
- Kristopher W. Ramsay, “Settling it on the Field: Battle Events and War Termination,” *JCR* 52/6 (December 2008): 850-79.
- H. E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Fate of Leaders and the First World War* (Princeton, 2000).*
- George W. Downs and David M. Rocke, “Conflict, Agency, and Gambling for Resurrection: The Principal-Agent Problem Goes to War,” *AJPS* 38/2 (May 1994): 362-80.*
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (Princeton, 2004).*
- Virginia Page Fortna, “Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace,” *IO* 57/2 (Spring 2003): 337-72.
- Barbara F. Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, 2002).
- Barbara F. Walter, “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement,” *IO* 51/3 (Summer 1997): 335-64.*
- Fred C. Iklé, *Every War Must End*, revised ed. (Columbia, 1991).*
- Leon V. Sigal, *Fighting to a Finish: The Politics of War Termination in the United States and Japan, 1945* (Cornell, 1988).
- Paul R. Pillar, *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process* (Princeton, 1983).
- Donald Wittman, “How War Ends: A Rational Model Approach,” *JCR* 23/4 (December 1979): 743-63.
- Paul Kescskemeti, *Strategic Surrender: The Politics of Victory and Defeat* (Stanford, 1958).

War Termination, The Cold War

- Nina Tannenwald and William Curti Wohlforth, “Special Issue: Ideas, International Relations, and the End of the Cold War,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 7/2 (Spring 2005).
- Robert D. English, “Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War’s End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth,” *IS* 26/4 (Spring 2002): 70-92, and Brooks and Wohlforth’s response, *Ibid.*, 93-111.
- Stephen G. Brooks and William Wohlforth, “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *IS* 25/3 (Winter 2000/01): 5-53.*
- Randall L. Schweller and William Wohlforth, “Power Test: Evaluating Realism in Response to the End of the Cold War,” *SS* 9/3 (Spring 2000): 60-107.*
- Robert G. Herman, “Identity, Norms, and National Security: The Soviet Foreign Policy Revolution and the End of the Cold War,” in *The Culture of National Security*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (Columbia, 1996), 271-316.
- Rey Koslowski and Friedrich V. Kratochwil, “Understanding Change in International Politics: The Soviet Empire’s Demise and the International System,” *IO* 48/2 (Spring 1994): 215-47.
- Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” *IO* 46/2 (Spring 1992): 391-425.*

Nuclear Proliferation, Causes and Consequences

- Francis J. Gavin, "Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation," *IS* 40/1 (Summer 2015): 9-46.
- Or Rabinowitz and Nicholas L. Miller, "Keeping the Bombs in the Basement: U.S. Nonproliferation Policy toward Israel, South Africa, and Pakistan," *IS* 40/1 (Summer 2015): 47-86.
- Mark S. Bell, "Beyond Emboldenment: How Acquiring Nuclear Weapons Can Change Foreign Policy," *IS* 40/1 (Summer 2015): 87-119.
- Gene Gerzhoy, "Alliance Coercion and Nuclear Restraint: How the United States Thwarted West Germany's Nuclear Ambitions," *IS* 39/4 (Spring 2015): 91-129.
- Nicholas Miller, "The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions," *IO* 68/4 (Fall 2014): 913-44.*
- Vipin Narang, *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict* (Princeton, 2013).*
- Matthew Fuhrmann, *Atomic Assistance: How 'Atoms for Peace' Programs Cause Nuclear Insecurity* (Cornell, 2012).*
- Francis J. Gavin, "Politics, History, and the Ivory Tower-Policy Gap in the Nuclear Proliferation Debate," *JSS* 35/4 (2012): 573-600.
- Francis J. Gavin, "Same as it Ever Was: Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War," *IS* 34/3 (Winter 2010): 7-37.
- Matthew Kroenig, *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (Cornell, 2010).
- M. Taylor Favel and Evan S. Madeiros, "China's Search for Assured Retaliation: The Evolution of Chinese Nuclear Strategy and Force Structure," *IS* 35/2 (Fall 2010): 48-87.
- "Causes and Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation," Special Issue of *JCR* 53/2 (April 2009).
- Vipin Narang, "Posturing for Peace? Pakistan's Nuclear Postures and South Asian Stability," *IS* 34/3 (Winter 2009/10): 38-78.*
- Matthew Kroenig, "Exporting the Bomb: Why States Provide Sensitive Nuclear Assistance," *APSR* 103/1 (February 2009): 113-33.
- Sumit Ganguly, "Nuclear Stability in South Asia," and S. Paul Kapur, "Ten Years of Instability in a Nuclear South Asia," *IS* 33/2 (Fall 2008): 45-70, and 71-94.
- Dong-Joon Jo and Erik Gartzke, "Determinants of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation," *JCR* 51/1 (February 2007): 167-94.*
- S. Paul Kapur, *Dangerous Deterrent: Nuclear Weapons Proliferation and Conflict in South Asia* (Stanford, 2007).
- Etel Solingen, *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton, 2007).*
- Jacques E.C. Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 2006).*
- Sonali Singh and Christopher R. Way, "The Correlates of Nuclear Proliferation: A Quantitative Test," *JCR* 48/6 (December 2004): 859-85.*
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *FP* (January/February 2003): 50-59.
- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2003).*
- Victor A. Utgoff, ed., *The Coming Crisis: Nuclear Proliferation, U.S. Interests, and World Order* (MIT, 2000).
- Jordan Seng, "Command and Control Advantages of Minor Nuclear States," *SS* 6/4 (Summer 1997): 50-92.
- Peter D. Feaver, "Neooptimists and the Enduring Problem of Proliferation," *SS* 6/4 (Summer 1997): 93-125.
- Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *IS* 21/3 (Winter 1996/97): 54-86.*
- David J. Karl, "Proliferation Pessimism and Emerging Nuclear Powers," *IS* 21/3 (Winter 1996/97): 87-119.
- Scott D. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *IS* 18/4 (Spring 1994): 66-107.*
- Scott D. Sagan, *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons* (Princeton, 1993).*
- Peter D. Feaver, "Command and Control in Emerging Nuclear Nations," *IS* 17/3 (Winter 1992/93): 160-87.

APPENDIX B: SELECTED ADDITIONAL TOPICS IN SECURITY STUDIES

Leaders/The First Image and War

- Max Abrahms and Jochen Mierau, "Leadership Matters: The Effects of Targeted Killings on Militant Group Tactics," *TPV* (2015).
- Michael C. Horowitz and Allan C. Stam, "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders," *IO* 68/3 (Summer 2014): 527-59.
- Jenna Jordan, "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes," *IS* 38/4 (Spring 2014): 7-38.
- Marcus Holmes, "The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Mirror Neurons and the Problem of Intentions," *IO* 67/4 (Fall 2013): 829-61.
- Robert Jervis, "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *SS* 22/2 (2013): 153-79.
- Jonathan Mercer, "Emotion and Strategy in the Korean War," *IO* 67/2 (Spring 2013): 221-52.
- Bryan C. Price, "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism," *International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 9-46.
- Giacomo Chiozza and H.E. Goemans, *Leaders and International Conflict* (Cambridge, 2011).*
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions* (Cornell, 2011).*
- Jenna Jordan, "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation," *SS* 18/4 (2009): 719-755.*
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *IS* 34/2 (Fall 2009): 119-61.*
- Rose McDermott, *Presidential Leadership, Illness, and Decision-Making* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Michael Horowitz, Rose McDermott, and Allan C. Stam, "Leader Age, Regime Type, and Violent International Relations," *JCR* 49/5 (October 2005): 661-85.
- Stephen Peter Rosen, *War and Human Nature* (Princeton, 2005).
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, *Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery* (Cornell, 2004).
- Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology and International Relations* (Michigan, 2004).
- Dominic D. P. Johnson, *Overconfidence and War: The Havoc and Glory of Positive Illusions* (Harvard, 2004).
- Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002), 243-80.
- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 107-46.
- Bradley A. Thayer, "Bringing in Darwin: Evolutionary Theory, Realism, and International Politics," *IS* 25/2 (Fall 2000): 124-51.
- Rose McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy* (Michigan, 1998).
- Barbara Farnham, *Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis: A Study of Political Decision-Making* (Princeton, 1997).
- Jack S. Levy, "Loss Aversion, Framing Effects, and International Conflict: Perspectives from Prospect Theory," in *Handbook of War Studies II*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky (Michigan, 2000), 193-221, or Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *ISQ* 41 (March 1997): 87-112.
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton, 1992).*
- Jack S. Levy, "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems," *WP* 36/1 (October 1983): 76-99.
- Richard Ned Lebow, *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).
- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, 1976).*

Unipolarity and Grand Strategy

- Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (Cambridge, 2014).*
- Nuno P. Monteiro, "Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is Not Peaceful," *IS* 36/3 (Winter 2011/12): 9-40.*
- William C. Wohlforth, "Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War," *WP* 61/1 (January 2009): 28-57.*
- Martha Finnemore, "Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn't All It's Cracked Up to Be," *WP* 61/1 (January 2009): 58-85.
- Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, "Don't Come Home America: The Case against Retrenchment," *IS* 37/3 (Winter 2012/13): 7-51.
- Zachary Selden, "Balancing against or Balancing With? The Spectrum of Alignment and the Endurance of American Hegemony," *SS* 22/2 (2013): 330-64.
- G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton, 2011).
- Special issue of World Politics on Unipolarity, *WP* 61/1 (January 2009). Republished with additional chapters as *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity*, ed. G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastunduno, and William C. Wohlforth (Cambridge, 2011).
- David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations* (Cornell, 2009).
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy* (Princeton, 2008).
- Ian Shapiro, *Containment: Rebuilding a Strategy against Global Terror* (Princeton, 2007).
- Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Cornell, 2006).*
- Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States's 'Unipolar Moment'," *IS* 31/2 (Fall 2006): 7-41.*
- Colin Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy* (Princeton, 2006).
- Charles Krauthammer, "Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World," 2004 Irving Kristol Lecture, American Enterprise Institute.
- George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, 2006) (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006>).
- Robert J. Art et al., "Correspondence: Striking the Balance," *IS* 30/3 (Winter 2005/06): 177-85.
- Stephen M. Walt, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy* (Norton, 2005).
- Stephen G. Brooks and William Wohlforth, "International Relations Theory and the Case against Unilateralism," *POP* 3/3 (September 2005): 509-24.
- Robert A. Pape, "Soft Balancing Against the United States," *IS* 30/1 (Summer 2005): 7-45.
- T.V. Paul, "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy," *ibid.*, 46-71.
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing," *ibid.*, 72-108.
- Keir A. Lieber and Gerard Alexander, "Waiting for Balancing: Why the World is Not Pushing Back," *ibid.*, 109-39.
- Colin Dueck, "New Perspectives on American Grand Strategy: A Review Essay," *IS* 28/4 (Spring 2004): 197-216.
- John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Harvard, 2004).*
- Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* (Cornell, 2003).*
- Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment Revisited," *The National Interest* 70 (Winter 2002/03): 5-17.
- John Lewis Gaddis, "A Grand Strategy of Transformation," *FP* 133 (November/December 2002): 50-57.
- George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, 2002) (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>).
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton, 2001).
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *IS* 25/1 (Summer 2000): 5-41.
- Aaron L. Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and its Cold War Grand Strategy* (Princeton, 2000).

- William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *IS* 24/1 (Summer 1999): 5-41.
- Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *America's Strategic Choices* (MIT, 1997).* This volume contains some of the seminal contributions to the 1990s debate.
- Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Come Home America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Face of Temptation," *IS* 21/4 (Spring 1997): 5-48.*
- Robert Jervis, "International Primacy: Is the Game Worth the Candle?" *IS* 17/3 (Spring 1993): 52-67.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *IS* 18/2 (Fall 1993): 44-79.
- Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *IS* 17/4 (Spring 1993): 5-51.*
- Samuel P. Huntington, "Why International Primacy Matters," *IS* 17/3 (Spring 1993): 68-83.
- Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *FA* 70/1 (1990/1991): 23-33.*

Alliances

- Michael Beckley, "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts," *IS* 39/4 (Spring 2015): 7-48.
- Fotini Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (Cambridge, 2012).*
- Michaela Mattes, "Reputation, Symmetry, and Alliance Design," *IO* 66/4 (Fall 2012): 679-707.
- Thomas J. Christensen, *Worse than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Problems of Coercive Diplomacy in Asia* (Princeton, 2011).*
- Brett V. Benson, "Unpacking Alliances: Deterrent and Compellent Alliances and Their Relationship with Conflict, 1816-2000," *JOP* 73/4 (October 2011): 1111-27.
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy* (Princeton, 2008).*
- William C. Wohlforth et al., "Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History," *EJIR* 13/2 (2007): 155-85.
- Brett Ashley Leeds, "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes," *AJPS* 47/3 (July 2003): 427-39.
- Jeremy Pressman, *Warring Friends: Alliance Restraint in International Politics* (Cornell, 2008).
- James D. Morrow, "Alliances: Why Write Them Down?" *ARPS* 3 (2000): 63-83.
- Robert Powell, *In the Shadow of Power* (Princeton, 1999), Chapter 5.
- Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics* (Cornell, 1997).*
- Thomas J. Christensen, "Perceptions and Allies in Europe, 1865-1940," *IO* 51/1 (Winter 1997): 65-97.
- Dan Reiter, *Crucible of Beliefs: Learning, Alliances, and World Wars* (Cornell, 1996).
- Michael N. Barnett, "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (Columbia, 1996), 400-47.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In," *IS* 19/1 (Summer 1994): 72-107.*
- Dan Reiter, "Learning, Realism, and Alliances: The Weight of the Shadow of the Past," *WP* 46/4 (July 1994): 490-526.
- Michael N. Barnett and Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The case of Egypt, 1962-1973," *IO* 45/3 (Summer 1991): 369-95.
- Thomas Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *IO* 44/2 (Spring 1990): 137-68.*
- Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Cornell, 1987).*
- Stephen M. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," *IS* 9/4 (Spring 1985): 3-41.
- Glenn H. Snyder, "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics," *WP* 36/4 (July 1984): 461-95.*
- Jack S. Levy, "Alliance Formation and War Behavior: An Analysis of the Great Powers, 1495-1975," *JCR* 25/4 (1981): 581-613.
- Paul W. Schroeder, "Alliances 1815-1945: Weapons of Power and Tools of Management," in *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems*, ed. Klaus Knorr (University Press of Kansas, 1976).
- Mancur Olson and Richard Zeckhauser, "An Economic Theory of Alliances," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 48/3 (August 1966): 266-79.*

Power Transitions and War

- Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro, “Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War,” *IO* 68/1 (January 2014): 1-31.
- Michael Beckley, “China’s Century? Why America’s Edge Will Endure,” *IS* 36/3 (Winter 2011/12): 41-78.
- Paul K MacDonald and Joseph M. Parent, “Graceful Decline? The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment,” *IS* 34/4 (Spring 2011): 7-44.
- Norrin M. Ripsman and Jack S. Levy, “Wishful Thinking or Buying Time? The Logic of British Appeasement in the 1930s,” *IS* 33/2 (Fall 2008): 148-81.
- Jack S. Levy, “Preventive War and Democratic Politics,” *ISQ* 52/1 (March 2008): 1-24.
- Michael W. Doyle, *Striking First: Preemption and Prevention in International Conflict* (Princeton, 2008).
- Norrin M. Ripsman and Jack S. Levy, “The Preventive War that Never Happened: Britain, France, and the Rise of Germany in the 1930s,” *SS* 16/1 (January 2007): 32-67.
- Scott A. Silverstone, *Preventive War and American Democracy* (Routledge, 2007).
- Dan Reiter, *Preventive War and its Alternatives: The Lessons of History* (Strategic Studies Institute, April 2006; <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil>).
- Daniel Treisman, “Rational Appeasement,” *IO* 58/2 (Spring 2004): 345-73.
- Jack S. Levy and Joseph R. Gochal, “Democracy and Preventive War: Israel and the 1956 Sinai Campaign,” *SS* 11/2 (Winter 2001/02): 1-49.
- “Fear of Falling: Debating Dale Copeland’s The Origins of Major War,” *SS* 10/4 (Summer 2001). Articles by Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (145-78), Robert G. Kaufman (179-211), and Dale C. Copeland (212-39).
- William Burr and Jeffrey T. Richelson, “Whether to ‘Strangle the Baby in the Cradle’: The United States and the Chinese Nuclear Program, 1960-64,” *IS* 25/3 (Winter 2000/01): 54-99.
- Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major Wars* (Cornell, 2000), 1-117, 146-208.*
- Robert Powell, “Uncertainty, Shifting Power, and Appeasement,” *APSR* 90/4 (December 1996): 749-64.
- Randall L. Schweller, “Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?” *WP* 44/2 (January 1992): 235-69.*
- Marc Trachtenberg, “A ‘Wasting Asset’: American Strategy and the Shifting Nuclear Balance, 1949-1954,” in Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy* (Princeton, 1991), 100-152.
- Jack S. Levy, “Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War,” *WP* 40/1 (October 1987): 82-107.
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (Random House, 1987).*
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge, 1981).*
- A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger* (Chicago, 1980).*
- Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, revised ed., trans. Rex Warner (Penguin, 1972).
- A.F.K. Organski, *World Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 338-76 (Chapter 14, “The Power Transition”).*

Terrorism

This previously neglected field has moved into the mainstream since 9/11. This is an introduction to some of the academic literature.

- Virginia Page Fortna, “Do Terrorists Win? Rebels’ Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes,” *IO* 69/3 (June 2015): 519-56.*
- Max Abrahms and Philip B.K. Potter, “Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics,” *IO* 69/2 (March 2015): 311-42.
- Max Abrahms and Matthew S. Gottfried, “Does Terrorism Pay? An Empirical Analysis,” *TPV* (2014).
- Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist’s Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton, 2013).
- Matthew C. Wilson and James A. Piazza, “Autocracies and Terrorism: Conditioning Effects of Authoritarian Regime Type on Terrorist Attacks,” *AJPS* 57/4 (October 2013): 941-55.
- Peter Krause, “The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework to Transform a Deceptive Debate,” *SS* 22/2 (2013): 259-94.*

- Dennis Aksoy, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright, "Terrorism in Dictatorships," *JOP* 74/3 (July 2012): 810-26.
- Michael G. Findley, James A. Piazza, and Joseph K. Young, "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries," *JOP* 74/1 (January 2012): 235-48.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Organizations* (Princeton, 2011).
- Eli Berman, *Radical, Religious, and Violent: The New Economics of Terrorism* (MIT, 2011).
- Michael C. Horowitz, "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," *IO* 64 (Winter 2010): 33-64.
- Erika Chenoweth, "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity," *JOP* 72/1 (January 2010): 16-30.
- James A. Piazza, "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous? An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21/1 (2009): 62-88.
- "Terrorism: New Research," Special Issue of *SS*, 18/4 (2009).
- Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks," *IS* 33/3 (Winter 2009): 46-78.*
- Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* (Johns Hopkins, 2008).
- Alan B. Krueger, *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism* (Princeton, 2008).
- Max Abrahms, "What Terrorists Really Want," *IS* 32/4 (Spring 2008): 78-105.*
- James A. Piazza, "A Supply-Side View of Suicide Terrorism: A Cross-National Study," *JOP* 70/1 (January 2008): 28-39.
- Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (UPenn, 2008).
- Martha Crenshaw, "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay," *SS* 16/1 (January 2007): 133-62.
- Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *IS* 31/2 (Fall 2006): 42-78.*
- Assaf Moghadam, "Suicide Terrorism, Occupation, and the Globalization of Martyrdom: A Critique of Dying to Win," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29/8 (December 2006): 707-29.*
- Scott Atran, "The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism," *Washington Quarterly* 29/2 (Spring 2006): 127-47.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *IS* 31/1 (Spring 2006): 7-48.
- Bruce Hoffmann, *Inside Terrorism*, rev. and expanded ed. (Columbia, 2006).*
- Robert Trager and Dessislava Zagorcheva, "Deterring Terrorism: It Can Be Done," *IS* 30/3 (Winter 2005/06): 87-123.
- Robert A. Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (Random House, 2005).*
- Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (Columbia, 2004).*
- Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (UPenn, 2004).
- Daniel L. Byman, "Al-Qaida as an Adversary: Do We Understand Our Enemy?" *WP* 56/1 (October 2003): 139-63.
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *APSR* 97/3 (August 2003): 343-61.*
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Rethinking Sovereignty: American Strategy in the Age of Terrorism," *Survival* 44/2 (Summer 2002): 119-139, or Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *IS* 27/3 (Winter 2002/03): 30-58.
- Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Brookings, 2001).
- Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, *America's Achilles' Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (MIT, 1998).
- Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context* (Pennsylvania State, 1995).

IR Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict, Civil War, Intervention, Occupation, and Peacekeeping

This is by no means intended to be a comprehensive guide to the literature on these subjects, especially ethnic conflict and civil war. It is merely an introduction to some of the *IR*-influenced literature.

- Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to Be Free: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," *IS* 37/4 (Spring 2013): 90-131.*
- Jason Lyall, "Do Democracies Make Inferior Counterinsurgents? Reassessing Democracy's Impact on War Outcomes and Duration," *IO* 64/1 (Winter 2010): 167-92.
- Goran Peic and Dan Reiter, "Foreign-Imposed Regime Change, State Power and Civil War Onset," *BJPS* 41/3 (July 2011): 453-75.
- Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, "What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?" *IS* 34/2 (Fall 2009): 82-118.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *IO* 63/1 (Winter 2009): 67-106.*
- Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter, "Ensuring Peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace Duration, 1914-2001," *IO* 62 (Fall 2008): 717-36.
- Carter Johnson, "Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars," *IS* 32/4 (Spring 2008): 140-70.
- David M. Edelstein, *Occupational Hazards: Success and Failure in Military Occupation* (Cornell, 2008).*
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, 2008).*
- Tanisha M. Fazal, *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation* (Princeton, 2007).*
- Thomas Chapman and Philip G. Roeder, "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions," *APSR* 101/4 (November 2007): 677-91.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs, "Intervention and Democracy," *IO* 60/3 (Summer 2006): 627-50.*
- "What to do in Iraq: A Roundtable," *FA* 85/4 (July/August 2006): 150-69.
- Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *FA* 85/2 (March/April 2006): 2-14.
- Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., "How to Win in Iraq," *FA* 84/5 (September/October 2005): 87-104.
- Larry Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *FA* 83/5 (September/October 2004): 34-56.
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen, "Making and Keeping Peace," *IO* 59/2 (Spring 2005): 261-92.*
- Page Fortna, "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects," *WP* 50/4 (July 2004): 481-519.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (Princeton, 2004).*
- David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *IS* 29/1 (Summer 2004): 49-91.*
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Cornell, 2003).*
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," *SS* 12/2 (Winter 2002/2003): 81-118.
- Alexander B. Downes, "The Holy Land Divided? Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars," *SS* 10/4 (Summer 2001): 58-116, or "The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars," *SS* 13/4 (Summer 2004): 230-79.
- Barbara F. Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, 2001).
- Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (Columbia, 1999).
- James D. Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, ed. David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton, 1998), 107-26.*
- Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *IO* 51/3 (Summer 1997): 335-64.*
- Chaim D. Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *IS* 20/4 (Spring 1996): 136-75.*

- Michael E. Brown, "The Causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict," in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown (MIT, 1996), 571-601.
- Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35/1 (Spring 1993): 27-47.*

Domestic Politics and War

- Jeff D. Colgan, *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War* (Princeton, 2013).
- Jeff D. Colgan, "Oil and Revolutionary Governments: Fuel for Conflict," *IO* 64/4 (Fall 2010): 661-94.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *IS* 29/1 (Summer 2004): 5-48.
- Kevin Narizny, "Both Guns and Butter, or Neither: Class Interests in the Political Economy of Rearmament," *APSR* 97/2 (May 2003): 203-220, or "The Political Economy of Alignment: Great Britain's Commitments to Europe, 1905-1939," *IS* 27/4 (Spring 2003): 184-219.
- Fareed Zakaria, "Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay," *IS* 17/1 (Summer 1992): 177-98.
- Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Cornell, 1991).*
- Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," in *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb (Cambridge, 1989), 79-99.
- Eckart Kehr, *Economic Interest, Militarism, and Foreign Policy: Essays on German History* (Berkeley: University of California Press), Chapter 2: "Anglophobia and Weltpolitik," pp. 22-49.

Diversionsary War

- M. Taylor Fravel, "The Limits of Diversion: Rethinking Internal and External Conflict," *SS* 19/2 (2010): 307-41.
- Amy Oakes, "Diversionsary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands," *SS* 15/3 (July-September 2006): 431-63.
- Christopher Gelpi, "Democratic Diversions: Governmental Structure and the Externalization of Domestic Conflict," *JCR* 41/2 (April 1997): 255-82.
- Jack S. Levy and Lily I. Vakili, "Diversionsary Action by Authoritarian Regimes: Argentina in the Falklands/Malvinas Case," in *The Internationalization of Communal Strife*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky (London: Routledge, 1992), 118-146.
- Jack S. Levy, "Diversionsary War Theory: A Critique," in *Handbook of War Studies*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 259-288.

Bureaucratic Politics and Organization Theory

- Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1999).
- Jeffrey W. Legro, *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II* (Cornell, 1995).
- Jonathan Bendor and Thomas H. Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *APSR* 86/2 (June 1992): 301-22.
- Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., *The Army and Vietnam* (Johns Hopkins, 1986).*
- Jack S. Levy, "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *ISQ* 30/2 (June 1986): 193-222.
- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *IS* 9/1 (Summer 1984): 108-46. Reprinted in *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, ed. Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera (Princeton, 1991), 20-58.*
- Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine* (Cornell, 1984).*
- Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914* (Cornell, 1984).*
- Morton H. Halperin, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Brookings, 1974).
- Robert J. Art, "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique," *Policy Sciences* 4/4 (December 1973): 467-90.
- Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," *FP* 7 (Summer 1972): 159-79.

Civil-Military Relations

- Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard, 2003).
- Eliot A. Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (Free Press, 2002).
- Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (MIT, 2001).
- Michael C. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment* (Johns Hopkins, 1999).
- Richard K. Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (Harvard, 1977).
- Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (Free Press, 1960).
- Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard, 1957).*

Public Opinion, Casualties, and the Use of Force

- Elizabeth N. Saunders, "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force," *SS* (2015).*
- Rachel M. Stein, "War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies," *APSR* 109/3 (August 2015): 556-73.*
- Danny Hayes and Matt Guardino, *Influence from Abroad: Foreign Voices, the Media, and U.S. Public Opinion* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Danny Hayes and Matt Guardino, "The Influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion," *AJPS* 55/4 (October 2011): 831-51.*
- Matthew A. Baum and Tim Groeling, "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality," *IO* 64/3 (Summer 2010): 443-79.
- Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq* (Chicago, 2009).*
- Christopher Gelpi, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler, *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts* (Princeton, 2008).*
- Adam J. Berinsky, "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict," *JOP* 69/4 (November 2007): 975-97.
- Christopher Gelpi, Jason Reifler, and Peter D. Feaver, "Iraq the Vote: Retrospective and Prospective Foreign Policy Judgments, Candidate Choice, and Casualty Tolerance," *Political Behavior* 29/2 (June 2007): 151-74.
- William A. Boettcher III and Michael D. Cobb, "Echoes of Vietnam? Casualty Framing and Public Perceptions of Success and Failure in Iraq," *JCR* 50/6 (December 2006): 831-54.
- Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq," *IS* 30/3 (Winter 2005/06): 7-46.*
- Richard Eichenberg, "Victory Has Many Friends: U.S. Public Opinion and the Use of Military Force, 1981-2005," *IS* 30/1 (Summer 2005): 140-77.
- Eric V. Larson, *American Public Support for U.S. Military Operations from Mogadishu to Baghdad* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2005).
- Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi, *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton, 2004).*
- James Burk, "Public Support for Peacekeeping in Lebanon and Somalia: Assessing the Casualties Hypothesis," *PSQ* 114/1 (Spring 1999): 53-78.
- Steven Kull and I.M. Destler, *Misreading the Public: The Myth of a New Isolationism* (Brookings, 1999).
- Bruce W. Jentleson and Rebecca L. Britton, "Still Pretty Prudent: Post-Cold War U.S. Public Opinion on the Use of Force," *JCR* 42/4 (August 1998): 395-417.
- Scott Sigmund Gartner and Gary M. Segura, "War, Casualties, and Public Opinion," *JCR* 42/3 (June 1998): 278-300.
- Edward N. Luttwak, "A Post-Heroic Military Policy," *FA* 75/4 (July/August 1996): 33-44.
- Harvey M. Sapolsky and Jeremy Shapiro, "Casualties, Technology, and America's Future Wars," *Parameters* 26/2 (Summer 1996): 119-27.

- Eric V. Larson, *Casualties and Consensus: The Historical Role of Casualties in Domestic Support for U.S. Military Operations* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1996).*
- Bruce Jentleson, "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force," *ISQ* 36/1 (March 1992): 49-73.*
- John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (New York: Wiley, 1973).*
- John E. Mueller, "Trends in Popular Support for the Wars in Korea and Vietnam," *APSR* 65/2 (June 1971): 358-75.