

THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

Pol Sci 522

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In this seminar we undertake a comprehensive review of the literature in political science on the causes of war and the conditions of peace. We examine the leading theories, their key variables, the causal paths leading to war, and the conditions under which this outcome is most likely to occur. We also give some attention to the degree of empirical support for various theories and hypotheses about war and peace, and we look at some of the major empirical research programs on the origins and expansion of war. Our survey includes research utilizing comparative case studies, quantitative empirical methods, and formal modeling approaches. We also give some attention to methodological questions relating to epistemology and research design. Our primary focus, however, is on the logical coherence and analytical limitations of the theories and the kinds of research designs that might be useful in testing them.

The seminar is designed primarily for graduate students who want to understand (and hopefully contribute to) the theoretical and empirical literature in political science on war, peace, and security. Students with different interests and students from other departments can also benefit from the seminar and are also welcome. Ideally, members of the seminar will have some familiarity with basic issues in international relations theory, philosophy of science, research design, and statistical methods. I understand, however, that students will bring rather diverse backgrounds to the seminar, and consequently I have tried to organize the course in a way that will be useful for students with different types of preparation.

I have tried to combine breadth of coverage of the "mainstream" scholarship in the field with flexibility for students to advance their own programs of study. For this reason I have coupled a common set of readings for all participants in the seminar with considerable freedom for individual students to select specific topics for their seminar presentations and papers. The required readings are rather extensive, though I assume that you have already read some of these in your other courses. Admittedly, the burden will be somewhat greater for first-year students.

The question of war and peace is a broad one, as one might expect for a topic that has engaged scholars from many disciplines since the time of Thucydides. Some narrowing of focus is necessary for any one-semester course, and I want to be explicit about what I emphasize and what I exclude. We give little attention to the abstract philosophical question of "why is there war?" – that is, to the question of explaining the constant recurrence of war, the fact that someone is probably fighting somebody somewhere in the world much of the time. Nor do we give much attention to the causes of individual wars. Instead, our aim, following most of the mainstream social science literature, is to explain variations in war and peace over time and space. Are wars more likely to occur under some

conditions than others, at some times rather than others, between some states rather than other? Under what conditions are wars likely to escalate or expand, and when are they likely to end? Or, as the late Stuart Bremer asked, “Who Fights Whom, Where, When, and Why?”

Our primary focus is on interstate war. Until recently this has been the emphasis of most of the mainstream literature in the field, and most of the important theoretical developments in conflict analysis have focused on the origins and escalation of interstate war. This is slowly beginning to change, however, and toward the end of the course we briefly look at recent literature on intrastate warfare, particularly ethnonational conflict. In addition, one of the themes running throughout the course is the extent to which theories of interstate war (which often have a Eurocentric, great power bias) are applicable to regional wars, civil wars, and ethnonational conflicts. Finally, despite the growing concern with terrorism, the theoretical literature on that subject is not particularly well-developed, and consequently we do not focus on terrorism.

In our focus on interstate war, we will not give much attention to the strategy or conduct of war, except to the extent that these considerations influence the outbreak, escalation, or termination of war. We also focus on war rather than the use of force short of war, though we do ask when militarized disputes escalate to war and when they do not. Following most of the mainstream literature, we also focus more on the causes of war than the consequences of war, though in recent years there is a growing body of literature on the impact of war on the political, economic, and social structures of state and society. Finally, we spend little time on the policy implications of our theories, though we should certainly be aware of the normative biases underlying the theories that we investigate. This is not to say that these other subjects or questions are any less important than those covered in this seminar, but only that in a one-semester course it is necessary to make some choices for the sake of coherence, and that the norms of the field give priority to the construction and testing of theoretical propositions over policy prescription and analysis.

Because student preferences as to topics for presentations and papers will help shape some of the topics to be covered in class, and because I want to give you some flexibility as to topics, I have included in this syllabus a more extensive list of topics and sources than we will actually cover in the class. I have also included a modest bibliography for each topic, which should be useful for your individual papers and for your future work in the field. I hope that this syllabus, which has evolved over many years, will serve as a useful analytically-organized bibliography of much of the important theoretical and empirical research on the subject of war and peace.

READINGS:

The following books (all paperback) are available for purchase at the Douglass campus bookstore. They should also be available as reserve reading at the library, but I recommend that you purchase these books if at all possible. I suspect that most of these books are available on the internet at a considerable discount. Note that the bookstore has informed me that there will be some delays in the arrival of the Vasquez book.

Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.

Manus I. Midlarsky, *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

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

John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Because much of the best literature on international conflict takes the form of articles rather than books, we will read a substantial number of articles, chapters, and working papers. Some of this reading might be on reserve at Alexander Library, but the library's rules limit the number of items I can place on reserve, so we cannot rely too much on the reserve room. Although there will be no formal reading packet, I will make all of the required reading other than the required books available on a weekly basis.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

The meetings of the seminar will be organized as follows. We will usually begin with my own introductory comments on a particular body of literature, though in weeks of student presentations my own remarks will be briefer. We will then move to an open discussion of the material, including any student presentations. Most weeks we will cover several distinct topics, and we may have more than one presentation. For this system to work it is imperative that each member of the seminar complete all of the required reading prior to each class meeting and be prepared to discuss it.

Given the different backgrounds and goals of different members of the seminar, I have set up two alternative sets of requirements, a literature review track and a research track. You are free to select whatever track you prefer, but I generally recommend that IR majors planning to write a dissertation in the peace/war/security field, especially those past their first year, write a research paper, and that IR minors or non-security majors adopt the literature review track. More on this later, but I should emphasize that I expect all students, regardless of track, to do all the required readings.

1) literature review track

Here I expect two sets of things: a) a literature review and b) a book review on a topic unrelated to the literature review. Each includes a presentation in class and a paper.

The **literature review** should be a 15-20 page (double space) critical review of the literature on a well-defined theoretical question relating to war, peace, and security, often but not always equivalent to a sub-section of the syllabus. This goes beyond the required reading to include other important literature on the topic. Examples of possible topics include balance of power theory, power transition theory, economic interdependence and peace, the democratic peace, external scapegoating, bargaining

and war, and gender and war, to mention but a few. In order to avoid misunderstandings, however, you must secure approval for your topics from me in advance.

The required and optional readings from the relevant section of the syllabus in many cases serve as a useful guide to the literature on any given topic, but please consult me for suggestions as to possible additions to the list (if the list on the syllabus is short) and/or priorities among them (if the number of items is quite large) Please do **not** assume that by reading all of the items in a particular section of the syllabus you have adequately covered a particular topic for your review. I also encourage you to incorporate material from other courses where relevant.

In your literature review you should summarize the literature on your topic and at the same time organize it in some coherent way – preferably around a useful typology or theoretical theme, not around a succession of books and articles. You should note the theoretical questions that this literature attempts to answer, identify the key concepts and causal arguments, note some of the empirical research that bears on these theoretical propositions, and relate it to the broader literature on war and peace. You should identify the logical inconsistencies, broader analytical limitations, and unanswered questions of the leading scholarship in this area. You should also suggest fruitful areas for subsequent research. If you have any thoughts on how particular hypotheses could be tested, please elaborate on that. If you are uncertain as to what I am looking for in a critical review, I would be happy to make available a sample paper from a previous course.

I expect rigorous analytical thinking that is well-grounded in the literature. You should include citations and a list of references. You may use either a "scientific" style (with parenthetical in-text citations) or a more traditional bibliographic style (as reflected in the *Chicago Manual of Style*), but just be consistent. See various journals for illustrations. Note that I want a separate bibliography even if a traditional footnoting style is used. I prefer footnotes to endnotes, but endnotes are also acceptable.

The **presentation** based on each literature review will be scheduled for the day we discuss that topic in class. Depending on student selections of topics, there may be some minor alterations in the preliminary schedule suggested in the syllabus. In your talk you will also have the opportunity to respond to questions from the class. The formal part of the talk will be 10-12 minutes, and the informal discussion will go on for a while beyond that. I expect you to benefit from the feedback from class discussion and incorporate it into your paper, due May 2.

For those of you selecting the literature review option, I would be happy to talk to you about what papers make most sense given your background and objectives in the program. At the end of this section I suggest certain topics for literature reviews that I think would be particularly useful because they represent enduring questions in the field that we must all come to terms with (including on on comprehensive exams). I also include topics that I believe are particularly good topics for future research. I am open to most other topics from the syllabus. If you have absolutely no idea what you want to do, my short review essay on the causes of war and the conditions of peace, assigned for week two of the term (the first week we meet), will give you a good sense of some of the main subjects that we will be covering. Throughout the course I will identify certain topics that I think would be good research topics for the future, but in most cases that will be too late to help you for this seminar.

The **book review** will be a 4-5 page critical review of a book (and 7-8 minute class presentation associated with it) that is not directly related to the topic of your literature review. It should be a theoretical (and, if relevant, methodological) critique and should be informed by the literature covered in the course (and other materials as well.) You must secure my approval for any book selected for this purpose. With few exceptions, I want the presentations delivered in the week that the topic is covered in class. I will make exceptions for books from week two and probably week three. Please circulate a copy of the review to all members of the seminar (email okay). At the end of this section I list a number of books that would be good candidates for review, but you are not limited to this list.

You are generally free to select any topics you want for your literature review or book review, but you must formally secure my approval. To ensure breadth of coverage of key topics for the seminar as a whole, I want to minimize duplication of topics, and some preference will go to those who select their topics in the first couple of weeks of the term. Some of the most important topics in terms of the mainstream literature (and therefore in terms of preparation for comprehensive exams) come early in the course, and if you want to do one of these you will have to get to work right away. Please note, however, that my grading standards are somewhat lower for papers/presentations on topics that arise early in the term, so please do not let grade considerations deter you from selecting topics early in the term. The selection of topics will help to shape the schedule of class presentations, and I ask that you select the topic for your first presentation by our February 10 meeting at the very latest.

Most of these books should be available at the library, a good bookstore, or the internet. I may have extras of a few of these, so feel free to ask once you have made your selection. Make sure you can get the book before you commit to it.

2) **Research paper track.**

I recommend this track for all IR majors past their first year, and perhaps for many first year students as well), who are planning to write a dissertation on a subject related to peace, war, and security. Research projects may take a variety of forms. If students are just starting on a research project, a research design will be sufficient, while students who have been working in a given area are expected to implement the research design and carry out the empirical research. If your paper for the class is a research design, I expect you to identify the question you are trying to answer, ground it in the theoretical literature and in competing analytical approaches, specify your key hypotheses, offer a theoretical explanation for those hypotheses, and provide a detailed statement as to how you would carry out the research. This includes the specification of the dependent and independent variables and the form of the relationship between them, the operationalization of the variables, the identification (and theoretical justification) of the empirical domain of the study (i.e., case selection), the identification of alternative explanations for the phenomenon in question, and an acknowledgment of what kinds of evidence would confirm your hypotheses and what kinds of evidence would disconfirm or falsify your hypotheses. Try to do this in 20-25 pages. And please consult with me along the way.

You should understand that I have high standards for the research designs. I think of them as roughly equivalent to rough drafts of dissertation proposals or grant proposals. As to your presentation based on the research, consult with me, but in most cases I prefer that you emphasize (in the presentation) the literature review and research design phase of the project rather than on findings. We

will schedule these presentations for late in the term, though if it fits earlier and if you are ready at that time we could go earlier (which would be a good way for you to get feedback on your project). Note that while I am quite tolerant of incompletes for research papers, I still expect a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

Research papers are more elaborate and involve a lot more work, but presumably Ph.D. students enroll in the program because this is what they want to do. There is no set length for a research paper, but one guideline is about 35-40 pages, which is the outer limit for most journal submissions.

I should note that while I am generally quite open to very different methodological perspectives, the norms of the IR field favor research that aims to construct and test falsifiable (loosely defined) hypotheses about international behavior. I share these norms, and am generally unenthusiastic about theoretical arguments about the empirical world for which there is no conceivable evidence that would lead to their rejection. At the same time, I recognize the value of formal theory construction independent of empirical test, and I would accept something along these lines as a research paper (as long as the model is testable in principle). I also recognize that some members of the seminar will have a political theory orientation, and I would be willing to work with you to come up with a viable research project that has a more normative focus.

I will also ask those doing research designs or research papers to give a second presentation in class. This can either be a book review or a short presentation of the required readings in one subsection of the course. The topics for this presentation would be similar to those for a literature review, but the focus would be only on the required readings, with no expectation of additional reading.

Paper Due Dates

literature review track

Book review – two weeks after presentation

Literature review – May 2

research paper track – May 2

I am tolerant of incompletes, particularly for research papers.

All of these deadlines are extended to May 9 for those doing presentations in the last two weeks of the term. Let me note, however, that I expect to be leaving for a conference on May 12-13. If you must have a grade by the formal end of the term, you must turn in your paper by May 2. Otherwise it is possible that you will not receive your grade until the end of May.

Grading

literature review track

book review – 30% (1/2 presentation, 1/2 paper)

literature review – 70% (1/3 presentation, 2/3 paper)

research paper track –

research paper – 90% (20% presentation, 80% paper)

other presentation 10% (a bit more if it is a book review)

The quality and quantity of your contribution to class discussion, including discussion of others' presentations, will also be an important factor in my evaluation of your performance in the course. Although I do not attach an explicit weight to your contributions to class discussion, my judgments here may be decisive in any borderline case.

Some Good Topics for Literature Reviews

Note that how broadly you define many of these topics is negotiable; there is a tradeoff between breadth and depth of coverage.

realist theories of war (3)
 alliances and war (4j)
 power transition theory (5a)
 territory and war (5j)
 theories of economic interdependence and peace (8)
 the democratic peace debate (9)
 democratization and war (9g)
 the diversionary theory of war (10a)
 strategic culture and war (10)
 learning and war (13e)
 prospect theory and war (13f)
 theories of bargaining and war (11a,i)
 enduring rivalries (12b)
 theories of escalation and entrapment (12g)
 conflict and security in the Third World (14)
 ethnonationalism and war (14)
 feminist theories of war (19)
 threat perception and intelligence failure (21)

Topics for the Book Review

David P. Auerswald, *Disarmed Democracies: Domestic Institutions and the Use of Force*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*. Boulder, Col. Reinner, 1995.

Katherine Barbieri, *The Liberal Illusion: Does Trade Promote Peace?* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Michael N. Barnett, *Confronting the Costs of War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Francis A. Beer, *Meanings of War and Peace*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001.

Michael Brecher, *Crises in World Politics*. New York: Pergamon, 1993.

- Joel Brockner and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, *Entrapment in Escalating Conflicts: A Social Psychological Analysis*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985.
- Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Patrick Conge, *From Revolution to War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- James W. Davis, Jr., *Threats and Promises*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Paul F. Diehl and Gary Goertz, *War and Peace in International Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Barbara Ehrenreich, *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War*. New York: Henry Holt, 1997.
- Hein Goemans, *War and Punishment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Joanne Gowa, *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Christopher Gelpi, *The Power of Legitimacy: Assessing the Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Robert Gilpin, *War & Change in World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Michael Howard, *The Invention of Peace*. London: Profile Books, 2000.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- Paul K. Huth, *Standing Your Guard: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Robert Jervis, *The Logic of Images in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Kelly M. Kadera, *The Power-Conflict Story: A Dynamic Model of Interstate Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Elizabeth Kier, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine Between the Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Charles Kupchan, *Vulnerability of Empire*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Jeffrey W. Legro, *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Douglas Lemke, *Regions of War and Peace*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Russell Leng, *Bargaining and Learning in Recurring Crises: The Soviet-American, Egyptian-Israeli, and Indo-Pakistani Rivalries*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

- Peter Liberman, *Does Conquest Pay? The Exploitation of Occupied Industrial Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Miriam R. Lowi, *Water and Power: The Politics of a Scarce Resource in the Jordan River Basin*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Rose McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- David Mares, *Violent Peace: Militarized Interstate Bargaining in Latin America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 2001.
- Jonathan Mercer. *Reputation and International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- John Mueller, *Quiet Cataclysm: Reflections on the Recent Transformation of World Politics*. New York: HarperCollins, 1995.
- Barry O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- John Owen, IV. *Liberal Peace Liberal War: American Politics and International Security*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Paul A. Papayoanou, *Power Ties: Economic Interdependence, Balancing, and War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- T.V. Paul, *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Robert Powell, *In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Karen A. Rasler and William R. Thompson, *The Great Powers and Global Struggle, 1490-1990*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam III, *Democracies at War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Norrin M. Ripsman, *Peacemaking by Democracies: The Effect of State Autonomy on the Post-World War Settlements*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.
- Stephen Peter Rosen, *Societies and Military Power : India and Its Armies*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Bruce Russett and John R. Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2001
- Kenneth A. Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2000.
- Hidemi Suganami, *On the Causes of War*. Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999
- Stephen M. Walt, *Revolution and War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Barbara Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. No class - Martin Luther King Day
2. COURSE INTRODUCTION
THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Field
 Definition and Classification of War
 The Clausewitzian Paradigm
 Contemporary Perspectives on the Coercive Use of Force
 Conceptions of Causation
 Parsing the Question "What Causes War?"
 Human Nature and Instinct Theories
 Anthropological Perspectives on the Origins of War
 Historical Trends in War
 Organizing Framework: Levels of Analysis
 Conflict and War: A Process Perspective
 Do We Need Separate Theories for Big Wars and Little Wars?

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR

Classical Realist Theories
 Contemporary Neorealist and Realist Theories of War
 The Spiral Model
 Theories of Conflict and Cooperation Under Anarchy
 The Offensive/Defensive Balance

4. BALANCE OF POWER THEORY

The Classical Balance of Power
 The Definition and Measurement of Military Power
 Game-Theoretic Models of the Balance of Power
 Balancing vs. Bandwagoning
 Polarity and War
 Quantitative Studies of Polarity and Systemic Capability Distribution
 The Correlates of War Project (Singer and Small)
 The Dyadic Balance of Power: Quantitative-Empirical Studies
 Asymmetric Conflicts
 The Preventive Motivation for War
 Alliances and War
 Data Sets on Alliances
 Other Quantitative Studies of Alliances and War
 Formal Models of Alliances
 Domestic Sources of Alliances
 Alliances and the Expansion of War
 Lateral Pressure Theory (Choucri and North)

5. HEGEMONIC REALIST THEORIES

Power Transition Theory (Organski/Kugler)
 Alternative Transition Theories
 Gilpin's Theory of Hegemonic War
 Long Cycle Leadership Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)
 Other Theories of Systemic War
 Other Cyclical Theories of War

Hegemonic Transition Theories: Critical Reviews
Theories of Unipolar Politics

WHAT DO THEY FIGHT ABOUT? ISSUES

Conceptualization
Territory and War

6. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, AND PEACE

Theories of Regimes, Institutions, and Norms
Institutions and Peace
Theories of Collective Security and Security Regimes
Paul Schroeder's Research Program: Ideas, Norms, and Institutions
Quantitative Studies of Norms and War
The Structure of Peace

7. RATIONAL CHOICE APPROACHES

Theoretical Background
Prisoners' Dilemma Models
 Single-Play Models
 Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma Models
Bueno de Mesquita's Research Program on War
 The Expected-Utility Model
 The International Interaction Game
 The Institutional Model

8. ECONOMIC THEORIES OF WAR

Classical Liberal Theories of War
Marxist-Leninist Theories
Interdependence and War: Realist and Liberal Theories
Interdependence and War: Quantitative Studies
 Assessments of the Empirical Literature
Interdependence and War: Case Study Applications
The Impact of War on Trade
Other Economic Theories of War

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES: THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE DEBATE

Domestic Theories of War: Overviews
Theories of the Democratic Peace
Quantitative Empirical Studies
Game-Theoretic Models
Intervention, Mediation, and Other Implications of the Democratic Peace
Democratization and War
Why Democracies Win Wars

10. OTHER SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES

- The Diversionary Theory of War
 - Social Identity Theory
 - Theoretical Applications to International Relations
 - Case Studies
 - Quantitative-Empirical Studies
 - Formal Theoretical Approaches
- Institutions, Strategic Politicians, and Security Policy
- Political Oppositions and War
- Snyder's Coalitional Politics Model
- Revolution and War
- Other Domestic Theories of War

CULTURAL AND IDEATIONAL APPROACHES

- The Social Construction of War
- The “Clash of Civilizations” (Huntington)
- Attitudes toward War
- Strategic Culture
- Historical Perspectives

THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL: POLITICS AND PROCESSES

- Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes
 - Command and Control
- Civil-Military Relations
- The Military-Industrial Complex
- Militarism

11. THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING

- Why Can't They Settle? The Bargaining Model of War
- Early Conceptualizations of Power and Influence
- The Classical Deterrence Model
- Alternative Theories of Deterrence
- The Huth-Russett Research Program on Deterrence
- The Lebow/Stein Research Program on Deterrence
- Debates Over Rational Deterrence Theory
- Deterrence and Selection Effects
- Formal Models of Deterrence and Bargaining
 - General Treatments
 - IR Applications
 - Spatial Models of Bargaining
 - Brams' Theory of Moves
- Reputation and International Conflict: General Treatments
- Reputation, Signaling, and Deterrence: Formal Models
- Coercive Diplomacy, Deterrence, and Crisis Management:
 - Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft
- Other Theories of Negotiation and Bargaining
- Conflict Resolution and Mediation

12. THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT: RIVALRIES, ARMS RACES, AND THE ORIGINS OF CRISES

Conceptual Issues

Enduring Rivalries

Overview

Quantitative Studies

Qualitative Studies

The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries

Arms Races and War

The Richardson Model

Quantitative-Empirical Studies of Arms Races and War

Definitions of Crisis

The Origins of Crises

THE DYNAMICS OF CRISIS ESCALATION

General Studies of Escalation

Models of Entrapment

Audience Costs, Domestic Politics, and Escalation

Loss of Control and Inadvertent War

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH PROGRAMS ON CRISIS ESCALATION AND BARGAINING

The Stanford Studies in Conflict and Integration

The Militarized Interstate Dispute Project:

The Escalation of Disputes

The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program:

Crisis Bargaining

The International Crisis Behavior Project

13. THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL: PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES

- Overview
- Beliefs and Images
- The Concept of the Enemy
- Misperception and War
- Learning and War
- Prospect Theory and War
- Alternative Approaches to Risk
- Crisis Decision-making: The Impact of Stress
- Psychoanalytic Approaches

14. CONFLICT AND SECURITY IN THE "THIRD WORLD"

- General Treatments of Third World Security
- Alliance Formation in the Third World
- Regional Security Systems

ETHNONATIONAL CONFLICT

- Conceptualizations of Nationalism
- Ethnonationalism and War
 - Intervention in Civil Wars
 - Termination of Civil Wars
 - Quantitative and Formal Studies of Ethnonational Conflict

NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF WAR

- General Assessments
- Determinism, Contingency, and Counterfactuals: World War I
 - Background on World War I
- New Quantitative Approaches

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

15. THE NUCLEAR REVOLUTION

- Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory
- Nuclear Weapons and the Long Peace
- Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons
- Is Major Power War Becoming Obsolete?

16. THE FUTURE OF WAR

- General Speculation
- Revolutions in Military Affairs

17. WAR TERMINATION

18. THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR
 - Winners and Losers
 - Economic Costs of War
 - The Military Revolution and the State
 - The Diffusion of War
19. FEMINIST THEORIES OF PEACE AND WAR
 - Quantitative Empirical Studies of Gender and Conflict
20. ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
 - New Conceptions of Security
 - Environmental Scarcity and Conflict
 - Demography, Security, and Conflict
 - Refugees and Conflict
21. THREAT PERCEPTION AND INTELLIGENCE FAILURE
22. TERRORISM

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

"Classical" Theories of War
 Classical Strategic Thought
 General Studies
 Anthologies
 Collections of Quantitative Studies
 Reviews of the Literature on War
 Historical Evolution of War
 Journals
 Historical Sources
 Compilations of Wars

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

main number indicates topic;
 letter indicates multiple topics each week;
 we will have to reschedule a couple of weeks;
 exact timing may shift depending on student selection of topics for presentations;
 * indicates required reading;

1. January 20 - no class - Martin Luther King Day
2. **COURSE INTRODUCTION** (January 27)
 course organization, requirements, paper topics, etc.;
 preliminary theoretical considerations

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION (January 27)

2a. **Overview of the Field**

- * Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997. Introduction.
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- * Peter Paret, "Clausewitz." In Peter Paret, *Makers of Modern Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Pp. 186-213.
- Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Book I, chap. 1-2; Book VIII, chap. 6. See also essays by Peter Paret, Michael Howard, and Bernard Brodie.
- Michael Howard, *Clausewitz*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983.
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- Michael I. Handel, *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy*. London: Cass, 1986.
- Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War*. New York: Free Press, 1991.

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- Konrad Lorenz, *On Aggression*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1963.
- Robert Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*. New York: Dell, 1966.
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- Stephen D. Nelson, "Nature/Nurture Revisited I: A Review of the Biological Bases of Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 18 (June 1974): 285-335.
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- Robert A. Hinde, "Aggression and War: Individuals, Groups, and States." In Tetlock, et. al., *Behavior, Society, and International Conflict*, vol. III. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Chap. 1.
- Richard Wrangham and Dale Peterson, *Demonic Males: Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin/Mariner Books, 1996.

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- Jack Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture: Insights from the Anthropology of War." *International Organization*, 56, 1 (Winter 2002), 7-45.
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- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Chap. 1 & Conclusion.
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- * Stuart A. Bremer, "Advancing the Scientific Study of War." In Stuart A. Bremer and Thomas R. Cusack, eds., *The Process of War: Advancing the Scientific Study of War*. Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach, 1995. Chap. 1.

2l. **Do We Need Separate Theories for Big Wars and Little Wars?**

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see also section 14 on conflict in the Third World

3. **REALIST THEORIES OF WAR** (February 3)

3a. **Classical Realist Theories**

- * Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997. Chap.1-4

3b. **Contemporary Neorealist and Realist Theories of War**

- * Benjamin Frankel, "Restating the Realist Case: An Introduction." *Security Studies*, 5, 3 (Spring 1996): ix-xx.
- * Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18, 4 (Spring): 615-28. Reprinted in Robert I. Rotberg & Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Pp. 39-52.
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- Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995.
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- Charles L. Glaser, "Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models." *World Politics* 44,4 (July 1992), 497-538.
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4. **BALANCE OF POWER THEORY** (February 10)

4a. **The Classical Balance of Power**

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March 17 - Spring Break

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES: THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE DEBATE (March 24)

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CULTURAL AND IDEATIONAL APPROACHES**10g. Social Constructivism**

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You should also be familiar with some of the leading **journals** that frequently include articles related to peace, war, and security.

Among the best journals for war/peace/security studies include

American Political Science Review
American Journal of Political Science
International Organization
International Security
International Studies Quarterly
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Security Studies
World Politics

Other good journals on war/peace/security issues include

International Interactions
Journal of Peace Research
Conflict Management and Peace Science
Journal of Strategic Studies
Armed Forces and Society
Small Wars and Insurgencies
Journal of Political and Military Sociology

More general journals that occasionally include useful articles on war include

Journal of Politics
International Political Science Review
Millennium
Political Psychology
Political Science Quarterly
Review of International Studies

For more policy relevant literature on peace, war, and security, see

Foreign Affairs
Foreign Policy
The National Interest
Orbis
Survival
Washington Quarterly

Useful Historical Journals Include

Diplomatic History (American diplomatic history)
The International History Review
Journal of Military History
Military History Quarterly

The Historical Literature

The serious student of war and peace must have a solid grounding in international history, for it is from historical experience that many theories are generated and against which they must ultimately be tested. The American political science literature places a strong emphasis on the modern European experience, and for that reason an understanding of the international history of the European great powers (and the Peloponnesian War) is important. The 19th and 20th centuries attract the most attention, although in the last several years interest in the earlier centuries of the modern period (since 1500 or so) has grown considerably. Here I offer a few suggestions.

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You can find more detailed works on specific series in a number of very useful historical series. These include

- The New Cambridge Modern History* (14 volumes)
 (the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the *Cambridge Medieval History*, and the older *Cambridge Modern History* are also useful)
 The Oxford History of Modern Europe (general editors Alan Bullock and F.W.D. Deakin)
 The Harper Torchbacks series (general editors William Langer) Covers western history since 1200.
 The Longman "General History of Europe" series (general editor Dennis Hays). Covers Western history since Rome.
 The Fontana "History of Europe" series (general editor J.H. Plumb) Covers history since the Middle Ages.
 St. Martin's "Making of the Twentieth Century" series (general editor Geoffrey Warner)

Two useful series on modern wars are

- Longman "Origins of Modern Wars" series (general editor Harry Hearder)
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