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.


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 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


**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
2b. **Definition and Classification of War**


2c. **The Clausewitzian Paradigm**


2d. **Contemporary Perspectives of the Coercive Use of Force**


2e. **Conceptions of Causation**


2f. **Parsing the Question "What Causes War?"

2g. **Human Nature and Instinct Theories**


2h. **Anthropological Perspectives on the Origins of War**


2i. **Historical Trends in War**


see section in Appendix on the "historical evolution of war"
2j. Organizing Framework: Levels of Analysis


2k. Conflict and War: A Process Perspective


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

"Big Wars, Little Wars--A Single Theory?" *International Interactions* 16,3 (1990). (Special issue, Manus I Midlarsky, ed.)

see also section 14 on conflict in the Third World

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR (February 3)

3a. Classical Realist Theories


3b. Contemporary Neorealist and Realist Theories of War


3c. The Spiral Model
3d. **Theories of Conflict and Cooperation under Anarchy**

See also section 7b on prisoners’ dilemma models

3e. **The Offensive/Defensive Balance**

4. BALANCE OF POWER THEORY (February 10)

4a. The Classical Balance of Power

The Definition and Measurement of Military Power

4b. Game-Theoretic Models of the Balance of Power
4c. **Balancing vs. Bandwagoning**

- Symposium in *Security Studies*, 1,3 (Spring 1992).

4d. **Polarity and War**

4e. **Quantitative Studies of Polarity and System-Level Capability Distribution**


4f. **The Correlates of War Project (Singer and Small)**


4g. The Dyadic Balance of Power: Quantitative Empirical Studies
Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman, "Empirical Support for Systemic and Dyadic
* Stuart A. Bremer, "Dangerous Dyads: Conditions Affecting the Likelihood of Interstate War,
Daniel S. Geller, "Power Differentials and War in Rival Dyads." International Studies
Quarterly 37 (June 1993): 173-93.
Douglas Lemke and Suzanne Werner, "Power Parity, Commitment to Change, and War."
See section 5a on power transition theory and 11h on selection effects in deterrence.

4h. Asymmetric Conflicts
Organski, A.F.K., and Jacek Kugler, "Davids and Goliaths: Predicting the Outcomes of
International Wars." Comparative Political Studies 11 (July 1978): 141-80. Reprinted in
Frank W. Wayman, J. David Singer, and Gary Goertz, "Capabilities, Allocations, and Success
in Militarized Disputes and Wars, 1816-1976." International Studies Quarterly 27,4
(December 1983), 497-515.
Michael P. Fischerkeller, "David versus Goliath: Cultural Judgments in Asymmetric Wars."
Ivan Arrenguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict."
International Security, 26, 1 (Summer 2001), 93-128.

4i. The Preventive Motivation for War
* Jack S. Levy and Joseph R. Gochal, "Democracy and Preventive War: Israel and the 1956
Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," World Politics 40,1
2000.
"Debating Dale Copeland’s The Origins of Major War." Security Studies, 10, 4 (Summer
2001). Articles by Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (pp. 145-78), Robert G. Kaufman (pp. 179-211),
and Dale C. Copeland (pp. 212-39).
Robert Powell, "Uncertainty, Shifting Power, and Appeasement." American Political Science
Randall L. Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More

4j. 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)**


see also section 20b on environmental scarcity

5. HEGEMONIC REALIST THEORIES (February 17)

5a. Power Transition Theory (Organski/Kugler)


Plus reply by Oneal, de Soysa, and Park, pp. 517-20.

5b. **Alternative Transition Theories**


5c. **Gilpin's Theory of Hegemonic War**


5d. **Long Cycle Leadership Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)**


5e. **Other Theories of Systemic War**


5f. **Other Cyclical Theories of War**


5g. **Hegemonic Transition Theories: Critical Reviews**


5h. **Theories of Unipolar Politics**


See section 6c on security regimes

**WHAT DO THEY FIGHT ABOUT? ISSUES**

5i. **Conceptualization**


**5j. Territory and War**


6. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, AND PEACE

6a. Theories of International Regimes, Institutions and Norms

6b. Institutions and Peace

6c. Theories of Collective Security and Security Regimes
6d. Paul Schroeder's Research Program: Ideas, Norms, Institutions
See also articles by H.M. Scott, Charles Ingrao, T.C.W. Blanning, and Paul W. Schroeder in this special issue of the journal on "Paul W. Schroeder's International System."

6e. Quantitative Studies of Norms and War
see also section 10i on attitudes toward war

6f. The Structure of Peace


7. **RATIONAL CHOICE APPROACHES** (March 3)

7a. **Theoretical Background**


7b. **Prisoners’ Dilemma Models**

**Single-Play Models**


see also section 3c on the spiral model and section 12i on loss of control, preemption, and inadvertent war

**Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma Models**


7c. **Bueno de Mesquita’s Research Program on War**

**The Expected-Utility Model**


**The International Interaction Game**


**The Institutional Model**


see also section 9b on the democratic peace
8. **ECONOMIC THEORIES OF WAR** (March 10)

8a. **Classical Liberal Theories of War**


8b. **Marxist-Leninist Theories**


see also section 5e on Wallerstein's world-economy paradigm

8c. **Interdependence and War: Realist and Liberal Theories**


8d. **Interdependence and War: Quantitative Studies**


**Assessments of the Empirical Literature**


8e. **The Impact of War on Trade**

8f. **Other Economic Theories of War**

March 17 - Spring Break
9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES: THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE DEBATE (March 24)

9a. Domestic Theories of War: Overviews

9b. Theories of the Democratic Peace


9c. **Quantitative Empirical Studies**


"Democracy and Peace." Special Issue of *European Journal of International Relations* 1 (December 1995).


9d. **Game-Theoretic Models**

9e. **Intervention, Mediation, and Other Implications of the Democratic Peace**
9f. **Democratization and War**


see also section 10a on the diversionary theory of war
9g. **Why Democracies Win Wars**


10. **OTHER SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES** (March 31)

Note: I have placed the topic of ethnonationalism and war in week 14 along with conflict and security in the Third World.

10a. **The Diversionary Theory of War**

**Social Identity Theory**


**Theoretical Applications to International Relations**


**Case Studies**


**Quantitative-Empirical Studies**


Ross A. Miller, "Regime Type, Strategic Interaction, and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43, 3 (June 1999), 388-402.


**Formal Theoretical Approaches**


**10b. Domestic Institutions, Political Survival, and War**


See section 7c on Bueno de Mesquita’s institutional model.
10c. **Political Oppositions and War**

10d. **Snyder's Coalitional Politics Model**

10e. **Revolution and War**
10f. **Other Domestic Theories of War**


see also sections on strategic culture (10j), individual-level beliefs and images (13b), and international norms (6d,e)

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10g. **Social Constructivism**


10h. **The "Clash of Civilizations" (Huntington)**


10i. **Attitudes toward War**


10j. Strategic Culture


Historical Perspectives

THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL: POLITICS AND PROCESSES

10k. Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes

10l. Command and Control
See also section 12i on loss of control

10m. Civil-Military Relations


10n. **The Military-Industrial Complex**


see also sections on militarism (10o), individual beliefs and images (13b), and the concept of the enemy (13c)

10o. **Militarism**


see also section 10j on strategic culture

11. **THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING** (April 7)
11a. **Why Can’t They Settle? The Bargaining Model of War**

Dan Reiter, “Exploring the Bargaining Model of War.” manuscript.
See also section 11i

11b. Early Conceptualizations of Power and Influence

11c. The Classical Deterrence Model

11d. Alternative Theories of Deterrence


11e. **The Huth-Russett Research Program on Deterrence**


11f. The Lebow/Stein Research Program on Deterrence

11g. Debates Over Rational Deterrence Theory
Includes
Christopher Achen and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," 143-69.
Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, "Deterrence and Foreign Policy," 170-82.

11h. Deterrence and Selection Effects
11i. **Formal Models of Deterrence and Bargaining**

**General Treatments**

**IR Applications**
Spatial Models of Bargaining

Brams' Theory of Moves

11j. Reputation and International Conflict: General Treatments
11k. Reputation, Signaling, and Deterrence: Formal Models

11l. Deterrence, Coercive Diplomacy, and Crisis Management:
*Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft*
11m. Other Theories of Negotiation and Bargaining

11n. Conflict Resolution and Mediation


12. THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
RIVALRIES, ARMS RACES, AND THE ORIGINS OF CRISES (April 14)

12a. Conceptual Issues
Stuart A. Bremer, "Final Words." In Bremer and Cusack, eds., The Process of War, chap. 15.

12b. Enduring Rivalries

Overview

Quantitative Studies


**Qualitative Studies**


**The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries**


**12c. Arms Races and War**


The Richardson Model

Quantitative-Empirical Studies of Arms Races and War

12d. Definitions of Crisis

12e. The Origins of Crises
see also sections 12b on enduring rivalries, 12c on arms races, 12k on the Militarized Interstate Disputes research program, and 12l on the International Crisis Behavior Project.
THE DYNAMICS OF CRISIS ESCALATION

12f. General Studies of Escalation

12g. Models of Entrapment

see also section 13f on prospect theory
12h. **Audience Costs, Domestic Politics, and Escalation**


12i. **Loss of Control and Inadvertent War**


13. **EMPIRICAL RESEARCH PROGRAMS ON CRISIS ESCALATION AND BARGAINING**

12j. **The Stanford Studies in Conflict and Integration (Robert North's 1914 Project)**


see also the section on the Choucri-North lateral pressure theory (4k)
12k. The Militarized Interstate Dispute Project: The Escalation of Militarized Disputes


12l. The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program: Crisis Bargaining (Russell Leng)


12m. The International Crisis Behavior (ICB) Project
(Brecher and Wilkenfeld)
13. THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL: PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES (April 21)

13a. Overview


13b. Beliefs and Images


see also section 10j on strategic culture
13c. The Concept of the Enemy
see also sections on enduring rivalries (12b) and strategic culture (10j), and the literature on the construction of identity

13d. Misperception and War
13e. Learning and War
Dan Reiter, "Learning, Realism, and Alliances." *World Politics* 46 (July 1994): 490-526.

13f. Prospect Theory and War
13g. Alternative Approaches to Risk

13h. Crisis Decision-making: The Impact of Stress

13i. Psychoanalytic Approaches
14. CONFLICT AND SECURITY IN THE "THIRD WORLD" (April 28)

14a. General Treatments of Third World Security


14b. Alliance Formation in the Third World

14c. Regional Security Systems
Benjamin Miller, "Between War and Peace; Systemic Effects and Regional Transitions from the Cold War to the Post-Cold War." *Security Studies*, 11, 1 (Autumn 2001), 1-52.

ETHNONATIONAL CONFLICT

14d. Conceptualizations of Nationalism
14d. Ethnonationalism and War


Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War*. Special issue of *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46, 1 (February 2002).

14e. **Intervention in Civil Wars**

14f. **Termination and Settlement of Civil Wars**

see also section 17 on termination of war
14g. Quantitative and Formal Studies of Ethnonational Conflict

NEW DIRECTIONS IN CAUSES OF WAR RESEARCH

14h. General Assessments
* John A. Vasquez, "What Do We Know about War?" (Pp. 335-70).

14i. Determinism, Contingency, and Counterfactuals: World War I
http://www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/discussion.series.html

Background on World War I
14j. **New Quantitative Approaches**


Gary King and Langche Zeng, "Explaining Rare Events in International Relations."


ADDITIONAL TOPICS

I have not included the following topics in the basic outline because we are limited to fourteen weeks for the term, but we can include one or more of them if anyone wants to do their class presentation and literature review on that topic.

15. THE NUCLEAR REVOLUTION

15a. Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory

15b. Nuclear Weapons and the "Long Peace"
15c. **Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons**
Marc Trachtenberg, "The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Security* 10 (Summer 1985):

15d. **Is Major Power War Becoming Obsolete?**
16. THE FUTURE OF WAR

16a. General Speculations

16b. Revolutions in Military Affairs
For historical perspectives on military revolutions, see section 18d.
17. **WAR TERMINATION**
see also section 13f on termination of civil wars

18. **THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR**
18a. **Winners and Losers**
18b. Economic Costs of War

18c. War and the Rise of the State

18d. The Military Revolution and the State
18e. **The Diffusion of War**


see also section 4j on alliances and the expansion of war

19. **FEMINIST THEORIES OF PEACE AND WAR**


Special issue of *Millennium* on Women and International Relations. Vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter 1988). Including


Quantitative Empirical Studies of Gender and Conflict

20. ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

20a. New Conceptions of Security

20b. Environmental Scarcity and Conflict


on scarcity see section 4i on lateral pressure theory;

20c. **Demography, Security, and Conflict**


20d. **Refugees and Conflict**


21. THREAT PERCEPTION AND INTELLIGENCE FAILURE

22. TERRORISM
Contemporary Literature

Historical Perspectives
"Classical" Theories of War:

General studies of war:


**Classical Strategic Thought**


see section 2c on Clausewitz

**Anthologies** of war studies, including interdisciplinary collections:


Collections of *quantitative* studies of war:


*Reviews of the literature* on the causes of war:

There is an enormous literature on the *historical evolution of war* over time (generally with a Western orientation):
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.

For the entire 500-year span of the modern system see:

From the League of Venice (1495) to the French Revolution

From Westphalia to Waterloo see

From Vienna (1815) to Versailles (1919) see
For the twentieth century see

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 Heider)
  Longman "Modern Wars in Perspective" series (general editors B.W. Collins and H.M Scott)

For **encyclopedias** of names, dates, and chronologies see

Among the more useful **historical atlases** are:
  *The Anchor Atlas of World History*.
  Rand McNally *Historical Atlas of the World*.
  Hammond *Historial Atlas of the World*. 
For **Compilations of Wars** see


**Wars Since 1945**


