# P.S. 751 Conflict and Peace Office Hours: by appt.

# Spring 2002 Randall Schweller

**Description:** This course examines international conflict and cooperation, and it is divided into two parts: forms of strategic interaction and causes of war. Because much of what is interesting in the study of international relations does not involve strategies of pure conflict (zero-sum games), the course begins with a focus on theories of interdependent decisionmaking (mixed-motive games), which model conflict as a bargaining situation. Various kinds of strategic interaction will be examined, including deterrence, compellence, appeasement, and engagement. The second half of the course investigates a wide range of theories on the causes of war and peace. Under this heading, we will explore hypotheses on alliance dynamics, domestic unrest, trade, power shifts, the offense-defense balance, and regime type as causes of war.

**Requirements**: Class participation and a 20 page critical analysis of the literature under one of the subheadings.

## Required Books:

Thomas Schelling, <u>Arms and Influence</u> (Yale UP, 1967) paperback, \$19.00 Thomas Schelling, <u>The Strategy of Conflict</u> (Harvard UP, 1960), \$18.50 Sean Lynn-Jones, Michael Brown, and Steven Miller, eds, Debating the

Democratic Peace (MIT Press, 1996), \$21.00

Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War (Free Press, 1973), \$14.95

Kenneth Oye, ed., Cooperation Under Anarchy (Princeton UP, 1986), \$15.60

Ayoob, <u>The Third World Security Predicament</u> (Boulder, CO: Lynne \$18.95

Mohammed Reinner, 1995),

# Part I: Theories of Strategic Interaction

# **Game Theory: Conflict as a Bargaining Strategy (Topic One)**

Thomas Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict, chaps. 1-4.

Thomas C. Schelling, Arms and Influence, chaps. 1-3.

Supplementary Readings:

Stephen Maxwell, "Rationality in Deterrence," Adelphi Papers, No. 50. London: Institute of Strategic Studies, August 1968. (discussion of Schelling's "rationality" of irrationality")

Robert Jervis, "Bargaining and Bargaining Tactics," in J. R. Pennock and John W. Chapman, <u>Coercion</u> (Chicago and New York: Aldine, 1972), pp. 272-288.

Andrew Kydd, "Game Theory and the Spiral Model," World Politics 49 (April 1997):371-400.

# **Cooperation Theory (Topic Two)**

David Lake and Robert Powell, eds., <u>Strategic Choice and International Relations</u>, ch. 1. Kenneth Oye, <u>Cooperation Under Anarchy</u>, chaps by Oye, Jervis, Axelrod and Supplementary: Robert Axelrod, <u>The Evolution of Cooperation</u>, chaps., 2, 7.

# **Critiques of Game Theory/Cooperation Theory (Topic Three)**

Robert Jervis, "Realism, Game Theory, and Cooperation," <u>World Politics</u> 40 (April Helen Milner, "International Theories of Cooperation Among Nations: Strengths and World Politics, Vol. 44, April 1992), pp. 466-496.

Joanne Gowa, "Anarchy, egoism, and third images: *The Evolution of Cooperation* in international relations," <u>International Organization</u>, 40, 1 (Winter 1986):167-186.

Supplemtary Reading:

Donald Green and Ian Shapiro, Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory, chaps 1-3.

Alexander George, D. K. Hall, and W. E. Simon, <u>Limits of Coercive Diplomacy</u>, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), chaps. 1, 5.

Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," <u>International</u> Organization 42, no. 3 (Summer 1988): 427-60.

## **Deterrence (Topic Four)**

Robert Jervis, "Deterrence Theory Revisited," World Politics, Vol. 31, No. 2 (January 1979), pp. 289-324.

Robert Jervis, <u>Perception and Misperception in International Politics</u>, ch. 3, "Deterrence, the Spiral Model, and Perceptions of the Adversary."

Jonathan Shimshoni, <u>Israel and Conventional Deterrence: Border Warfare from 1953 to</u> <u>1970</u>, pp. 5-33.

The Deterrence Debate

Paul Huth and Bruce Russett, "What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980," World Politics, Vol. 36, No. 4 (July 1984), pp. 496-526.

Christopher Achen and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," World Politics, Vol. 41, No. 2 (January 1989), pp. 143-169.

Alexander George and Richard Smoke, "Deterrence and Foreign Policy," <u>World Politics</u>, Vol. 41, No. 2 (January 1989), pp. 170-182.

Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Deter," World Politics, Vol. 41, No. 2 (January 1989), pp. 208-224.

Supplementary Readings:

Franklin B. Weinstein, "The Concept of Commitment in International Relations," <u>Journal of Conflict</u> Resolution, Vol. 13, No. 1 (March 1969): 39-56.

Charles Glaser, "Why Do Strategists Disagree about the Requirements of Strategic Nuclear

Deterrence," in Lynn Eden and Steven E. Miller, eds., Nuclear Arguments: Understanding the Strategic

Nuclear Arms and Arms Control

Debates (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), ch.

2.

# **Accommodation: Engagement and Appeasement (Topic Five)**

J. L. Richardson, "New Perspectives on Appeasement: Some Implications for Theory," <u>World Politics</u> 40 (April 1988):289-316.

David Baldwin, "The Power of Positive Sanctions," World Politics 24 (October 1971):19-38.

Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, "Introduction," in Johnston and Ross, eds., Engaging China: Managing a Rising Power (Routledge, 1999), ch. 1

Robert Keohane, "Reciprocity in International Relations," <u>International Organization</u> 40 (1986):1-28.

Supplementary Readings:

Paul Kennedy, "The Tradition of Appeasement in British Foreign Policy, 1865-1939," in Kennedy, Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983).

John Herz, "The Relevancy and Irrelevancy of Appeasement," <u>Social Research</u> 31 (Autumn 1964):296-320.

Amitai Etzioni, "The Kennedy Experiment," Western Political Quarterly (June 1967).

#### **Part II: Causes of War and Peace**

**Origins of War: General Theories (Topic Six)** 

Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War (New York: Free Press, 1973).

Stephen Van Evera, "Why Cooperation Failed in 1914," in Oye, <u>Cooperation Under</u>
Richard K. Betts, "Must War Find a Way?: A Review Essay," <u>International Security</u> 24 (Fall 1999):166-

Supplementary Readings:

James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 49, No.3 (Summer 1995), pp. 379-414.

Erik Gartzke, "War Is in the Error Term," International Organization, 53, No. 3 (Summer 1999):567-87.

## The Offense-Defense Balance and War (Topic Seven)

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," <u>World Politics</u>, Vol. 30 (January 1978):317-349.

Charles Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," World Politics 50 (October 1997):171-201.

Stephen Biddle, "Rebuilding the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory," <u>The Journal</u> of Politics 63 (August 2001):741-77.

Supplemetary Reading:

Charles Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, "What is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?" International Security 22 (Spring 1998).

## **Alliance Dynamics and War (Topic Eight)**

Glenn H. Snyder, Alliance Politics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), chaps. 2, 6.

Steven R. David, "Explaining Third World Alignment," World Politics 43, No. 2 (January 1991), pp. 233-56.

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

Paul W. Schroeder, "Alliances, 1815-1945: Weapons of Power and Tools of Management," in Klaus Knorr, ed., <u>Historical Dimensions of National Security</u> <u>Problems</u> (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1976), pp. 227-262.

Supplementary Readings:

Robert Jervis, System Effects (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), chaps. 5 and 6.

G. Murphy, "On Satelliteship," <u>Journal of Economic History</u> 21, No. 4 (Dec. James D. Morrow, "Arms versus allies: trade-offs in the search for security," <u>International</u> Organization 47, no 2 (Spring 1993): 207-34.

Randall Schweller, <u>Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World</u> <u>Conquest</u> (Columbia UP, 1998), chap. 3.

Mancur Olson, Jr. and Richard Zeckhauser, "An Economic Theory of Alliances," in Francis A. Beer, ed., <u>Alliances: Latent War Communities in the Contemporary</u> World (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 121-140.

#### **Domestic Unrest and War (Topic Nine)**

Stephen Walt, "Revolution and War," World Politics 44, no. 3 (April 1992).

Jack A. Goldstone, Kurt Dassel, and Stephen Walt, "Forum on Revolution and War" in 6, no. 2 (Winter 1996/97):127-196.

Jack Snyder, Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition (Ithaca, VY: Cornell UP, 1991), chaps. 1, 2.

Jack Levy, "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique," in Manus Midlarsky, ed., of War Studies (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

## Power Shifts and War (Topic Ten)

Jack Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," <u>World Politics</u> 40 (October 1987):82-107.

Randall Schweller, "Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds., <u>Engaging China: Managing a Rising Power</u> (Routledge, 1999), ch. 1. Robert Powell, "Uncertainty, Shifting Power, and Appeasement," <u>APSR</u> 90(4) 1996:749-64. James Morrow, "The Logic of Overtaking," in Jacek Kugler and D. Lemke, eds., <u>Parity and War</u> (University of Michigan Press, 1996).

Supplementary Readings:

Randall Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" World Politics 44, no. 2 (January 1992): 235-69.

Dan Reiter, "Expoding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen," <u>International</u> Security 20, no. 2 (Fall 1995): 5-35.

## **Regime Type and War (Topic Eleven)**

Michael Brown, Sean Lynn-Jones, Steven Miller, eds., <u>Debating the Democratic Peace</u> (MIT Press, 1996).

Andrew Kydd, "Sheep In Sheep's Clothing: Why Security Seekers Do Not Fight Each Other," <u>Security Studies</u> 7, No. 1 (Autumn 1997):114-54

Supplementary Readings:

William R. Thompson, "Democracy and peace: putting the cart before the horse?" <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 141-174.

David L. Rousseau et al "Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace, 1918-88," <u>APSR</u>, Vol. 90, No. 3 (September 1996), pp. 512-533.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> 76, No. 6 (Nov/Dec 1997), pp. 22-44.

Kurt Taylor Gaubatz, "Democracy and commitment," <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 109-139.

## Trade and War (Topic Twelve)

John Conybeare, "Trade Wars: A Comparative Study of Anglo-Hanse, Franco-Italian, and Hawley-Smoot Conflicts," in Kenneth Oye, ed., <u>Cooperation Under Anarchy</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 147-172.

Dale Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," <u>International Security</u>, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Spring 1996), pp. 5-41.

Peter Liberman, "Trading with the Enemy: Security and Relative Economic Gains," <u>International</u> Security, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Summer 1996), pp. 147-175.

# **Regional Conflicts and War (Topic Thirteen)**

David Lake, "Regional Security Complexes: A Systems Approach," in David Lake and Patrick Morgan, eds., Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World (University Park: Penn. State UP, 1997). Mohammed Ayoob, The Third World Security Predicament (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 1995).

Barry Buzan, People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 1991), ch. 5.

Benjamin Miller and Korina Kagan, "The Great Powers and Regional Conflicts: Eastern Europe and the Balkans from the Post-Napoleonic Era to the Post-Cold War Era," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no.1 (March 1997):51-85.