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*Georgia State University  
Department of Political Science*

POLS 8470  
**Military Conflict and International Security**  
Fall 2009  
GCB 705  
Tuesday 4:30-7:00

Dr. John S. Duffield  
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Office: GCB-1026, 404-413-6164  
Office hours: T 10:30-12, R 2:30-4:00, and by appointment  
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**COURSE OBJECTIVES**

The problems of military conflict and security and the ways in which political communities have responded to them have greatly shaped the course of human events. Not surprisingly, they have also long been the object of scholarly attention, dating back at least to Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War. Since World War II, the scholarly literature on the subject has grown in size geometrically, reflecting both the development of new perspectives for understanding conflicts of the past and the changing face of military conflict and international security in the present.

The first objective of POLS 8470 is to introduce graduate students to the literature in political science on violent conflict and security, especially their international dimensions. Which conceptual, theoretical, and empirical questions have dominated the writings of international relations scholars (and which have been neglected or overlooked)? How have scholars sought to address these questions, both theoretically and methodologically? What answers have they offered, and how satisfactory are those answers?

Conflict and security constitute important components of the broader field of international relations within political science. As such, familiarity with the relevant literature(s) is useful, if not essential, for successful teaching and research in the field. From a more practical standpoint, it may prove helpful in completing the requirements of the graduate program in political science.

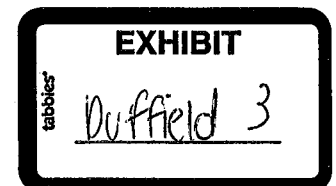
The second principal purpose of the course is to promote the development of each student as an active scholar. To this end, students will be required to engage in many of the activities associated with scholarship: critically analyzing the work of other scholars, identifying a promising research topic, researching the topic, drafting a paper based on the research conducted, and revising the paper as necessary.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING**

There is no prerequisite for admission to the course for graduate students in the Department of Political Science, and others may be admitted with the permission of the instructor. It is advisable, however, that students have taken POLS 8400 (International Politics) or the equivalent.

POLS 8470 will meet one time per week. Class meetings will typically consist of a guided discussion of the assigned readings and related materials.

Final grades will be based on the following:



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- o Attendance and participation (20%): One-third of a grade point (3.3%) will be deducted for each unexcused absence. The instructor should be notified of all absences in advance, except where this is clearly impossible. A student who misses more than three classes without permission may be dropped from the course. Students are expected
  - (1) to read all assigned texts carefully and thoughtfully prior to the meeting at which they will be discussed,
  - (2) to attend all class meetings (even if you feel you don't have much to say, you will profit from listening to the discussion), and
  - (3) to participate as actively as possible in class discussion.

In addition, students will be responsible for leading the discussion for the assigned readings (one student per reading). Assignments will be determined one week in advance on a rotating basis, and each responsible student should bring copies for everyone of a one-page summary of the reading that addresses the following questions:

- (1) What is the main purpose of the piece? What does it attempt to do?
- (2) How does the piece go about tackling the problem? What methods does the author employ?
- (3) What are the principal arguments or findings of the piece?

- o Three short critical analyses of supplementary readings (40%): Each analysis should be 4-6 pages in length and focus on an article or book of interest to the student that pertains to a given week's topic. (For suggestions, see the additional readings listed below.) It should first describe the purpose of the work, the approach taken by the author(s), and the work's findings and then provide a critical discussion of the work's strengths and weaknesses, drawing comparisons with other readings as appropriate. The analyses should be submitted (electronically or in hard copy) to the instructor by 9 a.m. on the day of the relevant seminar, and at least two should be submitted prior to the semester midpoint (October 15). Questions you might wish to answer include: How important is the issue the work seeks to address? How appropriate to the objective is the methodology and how well-executed is it? How significant are the findings and how much confidence can we have in their validity?
- o Research paper (40%): Each student will prepare a research paper on a topic of his/her own choosing. The course places so much emphasis on this assignment because such activity is the essence of contemporary scholarship in political science. Consequently, students contemplating careers in the field should become familiar with and begin to engage in these activities at an early stage in their graduate training.

The research paper may take several possible forms: (1) an extended critical review of the literature (especially recent books and articles) on a particular topic, (2) an in-depth examination of a central concept in the field, (3) an original piece of theoretical and/or empirical research, or (4) a full proposal and research design for a more extensive research project (e.g., MA thesis, dissertation). Options (3) and (4) will typically involve framing a research question, summarizing the relevant literature, deriving hypotheses to be tested, elaborating an appropriate research design for testing the hypotheses, and, in the case of (3), executing the research design and analyzing the findings. Each student will determine the nature and topic of the research paper in consultation with me.

Students should bear in mind the following requirements and deadlines:

1. Preparation and approval of a paper proposal: Students will take the initiative in identifying a paper topic, although I will be available for advice and consultation. A written proposal (1-2 pp.) should be submitted no later than the October 6 class meeting, with the intention of having an approved proposal prior to the semester mid-point.
2. Preparation of a first draft (10%): The first draft should represent your best effort, prior to the receipt of feedback. Consequently, you will have until November 17 to submit it (although you are welcome and strongly encouraged to do so earlier). I will provide written comments on the first draft within one week.
3. Preparation of a final draft (30%): Final drafts are due by 5 pm on December 7, and should be approximately 20-40 pages in length.

In evaluating student performance, I will employ the grading system described in the GSU Catalog:

A = Excellent	(4.0)
B = Good	(3.0)
C = Average	(2.0)
D = Poor (but passing)	(1.0)
F = Failure	(0.0)

The Department of Political Science currently uses plus-minus grading. Accordingly, I will award grades on a plus (+) and minus (-) scale in order to distinguish among performances of differing quality within these broad categories.

### READINGS

All of the readings will take the form of journal articles and book chapters. The following abbreviations of journal titles are used below:

AJPS = American Journal of Political Science	JCR = Journal of Conflict Resolution
APSR = American Political Science Review	JOP = Journal of Politics
ARPS = Annual Review of Political Science	JPR = Journal of Peace Research
BJPS = British Journal of Political Science	PRQ = Political Research Quarterly
CMPS = Conflict Management and Peace Science	PSQ = Political Science Quarterly
EJIR = European Journal of International Relations	SS = Security Studies
II = International Interactions	WP = World Politics
IO = International Organization	WPJ = World Policy Journal
IS = International Security	WQ = Washington Quarterly
ISQ = International Studies Quarterly	

The book chapters are available on the GSU electronic reserves system (Eres). The password is DP8470???. The journal articles are available on-line through JSTOR or the GSU Electronic Journal Locator.

### OTHER COURSE POLICIES

This course syllabus provides only a general plan for the course; deviations may be necessary.

Email: I communicate regularly with students by email. Please email me at [duffield@gsu.edu](mailto:duffield@gsu.edu). I will use your "student.gsu.edu" email address. Please check your GSU email account on a regular basis or arrange for email to be forwarded to the account that you normally use.

Academic Honesty: The Georgia State University policy on Academic Honesty applies to all assignments in this course. Students are responsible for being familiar with the policy, which is available at [http://www2.gsu.edu/~wwwdos/codeofconduct\\_conpol.html](http://www2.gsu.edu/~wwwdos/codeofconduct_conpol.html). Forms of academic dishonesty include cheating on exams, unauthorized collaboration, multiple submissions, and plagiarism. Plagiarism includes any paraphrasing or summarizing of the works of another person without acknowledgment, including the submission of another student's work as one's own.

Withdrawals: The last day to withdraw from the course with the possibility of receiving a "W" is Thursday, October 15, the semester midpoint. After that date, instructors must give a "WF" to all students who are on their rolls but no longer taking the class. Students who are involuntarily withdrawn may petition the department chair for reinstatement. "W"s and "WF"s can have serious adverse consequences. Hardship withdrawals may be granted after the midpoint when nonacademic emergency situations prevent a student from completing their course work.

Hardship withdrawals are subject to restrictions, which are spelled out in the GSU Catalog.

Incompletes: An Incomplete (I) may be given to a student who for nonacademic reasons beyond his or her control is unable to meet the full requirements of the course. In order to qualify for an I, a student must (a) have completed most of the major assignments of the course (generally all but one) and (b) be earning a passing grade in the course (aside from the assignments not completed) in the judgement of the instructor. Further information on Incompletes is available in the GSU Catalog.

Students with Disabilities: If you have any disability which may impair your ability to successfully complete this course, please let me know during the first week of class. Once you do, we will take steps to make arrangements (e.g., accommodations) through appropriate university offices. For more information, contact the Office of Disability Services (230 Student Center, 404-463-9044).

## **SCHEDULE OF ASSIGNMENTS AND CLASSES**

### **I. Introduction (week 1)**

Topics:

Course overview: subject matter, objectives, requirements, readings and resources

Why study military conflict and international security?

How should they be studied?

General readings:

C. Crocker, F. Hampson, and P. Aall, *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (USIP, 1996)

J. Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts* (Harper Collins, 1999)

J. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle* (Cambridge, 1993)

R. Betts, ed., *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* (Macmillan, 1994)

F. Harvey and B. Mor, *Conflict in World Politics: Advances in the Study of Crisis, War, and Peace* (St. Martin's, 1998)

### **II. Preliminaries**

#### **A. What is (International) Security? (week 2)**

What issues should be covered by security studies? Should it include non-traditional threats and concerns such as environmental security and human security? What are the dangers of too narrow a definition? Too broad a definition?

Required readings:

\*Stephen Walt, *Renaissance of Security Studies*, ISQ 35/2 (June 1991), 211-39

\*Edward Kolodziej, *Renaissance in Security Studies? Caveat Lector*, ISQ 36/4 (Dec. 1992): 421-38

\*Marc Levy, *Is the Environment a National Security Issue?* IS 20/2 (Aug. 1995): 35-62

\*Roland Paris, *Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?* IS 26/2 (Fall 2001), 87-102

For further reading:

Richard Ullman, *Redefining Security*, IS 8/1 (Summer 1983), 129-53

Jessica Mathews, *Redefining Security*, FA 68/2 (Spring 1989), 162-77

J. Nye and S. Lynn-Jones, *International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field*, IS 12/4 (Spring, 1988), 5-27

Stephen del Rosso, *The Insecurity State: Reflections on "the State" and "Security" in a Changing World*, Daedalus 124/2 (Spring 1995): 175-207

Ronnie Lipschutz, *On Security* (Columbia, 1995)

Emma Rothschild, *What Is Security?* Daedalus 124/3 (Summer 1995): 53-98

David Baldwin, *Security Studies and the End of the Cold War*, WP 48/1 (Oct. 1995): 117-41  
Keith Krause and Michael Williams, *Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods*, *Mershon International Studies Review* 40/2 (Oct. 1996): 229-54  
Barry Buzan, et al., *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner, 1998)  
L. Freedman, *International Security: Changing Targets*, FP 110 (Spring 1998), 48-63

Environmental security:

Daniel Deudney, *The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security*, *Millennium* 19/3 (1990): 461-76  
Daniel Deudney and Richard Matthew, eds., *Contested Ground: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics* (1999)  
Mark Lacy, *Security and Climate Change* (Routledge, 2005)  
John McNeil, *Diamond in the Rough: Is There a Genuine Environmental Threat to Security?* IS 30/1 (Summer 2005)  
CNA Corporation, *National Security and the Threat of Climate Change* (April 2007), available at <http://securityandclimate.cna.org>

Human security:

UNDP, *New Dimensions in Human Security* (Oxford, 1994)  
Taylor Owen, *Human Security: Conflict Critique, and Consensus*, *Security Dialogue* 35/3 (Sept. 2004): 373-87

**B. Military Conflict: Concepts, Definitions, Measurement, and Empirical Patterns (week 3)**

Topics:

Concepts and definitions: Types of military conflict and war  
Measurement  
Patterns and Trends: numbers, frequency, nature, magnitude, etc.  
Consequences of conflict  
Introduction to the causes and sources of conflict: Levels of analysis

Required readings:

\*J.D.Singer and M.Small, *The Wages of War, 1816-1965* (1972), chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-54)  
\*C. Gochman and Z. Maoz, *Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-1976: Procedures, Patterns, Insights*, *JCR* 28/4 (Dec. 1984): 585-615  
\*N.P. Gleditsch, et al., *Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset*, *JPR* 39/5 (2002): 615-37  
\*J. Levy, *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace*, *Annual Review of Political Science* 1/1(1998), 139-65

Additional Assignment:

Look at one of the databases discussed in the readings. Evaluate the coding of one or more wars and conflicts with which you are familiar.

Further reading:

Q. Wright, *A Study of War* (Chicago, 1942/1964), Part One  
T. Ropp, *War in the Modern World* (Collier, 1959)  
L. Richardson, *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels* (Quadrangle, 1960)  
J. Galtung, *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*, *JPR* 3 (1969), 167-92  
J. Singer and M. Small, *The Wages of War, 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook* (Wiley, 1972)  
W. Eckhard and E. Azar, *Major World Conflicts and Interventions, 1945-75*, II 5 (1978), 75-110  
\*M.Small and J.D.Singer, *Conflict in the International System, 1816-1977*, in J.Singer, *Explaining War* (1979), pp. 57-82  
M. Small and J. Singer, *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980* (Sage, 1982)  
R. Siverson and M. Tennesson, *Interstate Conflicts: 1815-1965*, II 9 (July 1982), 147-78  
J. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975* (Kentucky, 1983)  
B. Most and H. Starr, *Conceptualizing War*, *JCR* 27/1 (1983), 137-59

J. Levy, Analytical Problems in the Identification of Wars, II 14/2 (1988), 181-86  
 C. Gochman and R. Leng, Militarized Disputes, Incidents, and Crises: Identification and Classification, II 14 (1988), 157-63  
 D. Bennett and A. Stam, The Duration of Interstate Wars, 1816-1985, APSR 90 (June 1996), 239-57  
 D. Snow, Uncivil Conflicts: International Security and the New Internal Conflicts (Rienner, 1996)  
 D. Jones, S. Bremer, and J. Singer, Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-1992: Rationale, Coding Rules, and Empirical Patterns, CMPS 15/2 (1996), 163-213  
 M. Brecher and J. Wilkenfeld, A Study of Crisis (Michigan, 1997)  
 J. Bercovitch and R. Jackson, International Conflict: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Conflicts and Their Management, 1945-1995 (Congressional Quarterly, 1997)  
 P. Brogan, World Conflicts (Scarecrow, 1998)  
 D. Geller and J. David Singer, Nations at War (Cambridge, 1998)  
 L. Freedman, The Changing Forms of Military Conflict, Survival 40/4 (Winter 1998-99): 39-56  
 \*P. Wallensteen and M. Sollenberg, Armed Conflict, 1989-98, JPR 36/5 (1999), 593-606  
 The World at War (Jan. 1, 2000), [http://www.cdi.org/issues/World\\_at\\_War/wwar00.html](http://www.cdi.org/issues/World_at_War/wwar00.html)

### III. Causes and Sources of Military Conflict

#### A. Overview (week 4)

For further reading: Overviews of the causes of war

K. Waltz, Man, the State, and War (Columbia, 1959)  
 G. Blainey, The Causes of War (Free Press, 1973/1988)  
 R. Rummel, Understanding Conflict and War, 5 vols. (Sage, 1975-1981)  
 G. Snyder and P. Diesing, Conflict Among Nations (Princeton, 1977)  
 J. David Singer, Correlates of War (1979)  
 B. Bueno de Mesquita, Theories of International Conflict: An Analysis and an Appraisal, in T. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research (Free Press, 1980)  
 J. Levy, The Causes of War: A Review of Theories and Evidence, in P. Tetlock, et al., Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War (Oxford, 1989)  
 J. Vasquez, The War Puzzle (Cambridge, 1993)  
 S. Brown, The Causes and Prevention of War (St. Martin's, 1994)  
 H. Suganami, On the Causes of War (Oxford, 1996)  
 S. Van Evera, Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict (Cornell, 1999)  
 G. Cashman, What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict (Lexington, 1999)

#### B. Causes (1): Human Nature and Conflict (week 4)

Topics:

Human nature/biology  
 Personality  
 Individual belief systems  
 Cognitive limitations/bounded rationality: Misperception  
 Prospect theory  
 Motivated bias/emotional states/factors: stress  
 Group think  
 Social psychology: ingroups and outgroups

Readings:

\*D. Byman and K. Pollack, Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In, IS 25/4 (Spring 2001), 107-46  
 \*J. Levy, Misperception and the Causes of War, WP 36/1 (Oct. 1983), 76-99  
 \*M. Haas, Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis, ISQ 45/2 (June 2001), 241-70

\*O. Holsti, *Crisis Decision Making*, in P. Tetlock, et al., *Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1989), pp. 8-15 and 19-48

Further reading:

A. Stevens, *The Roots of War* (Paragon)  
A. George, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy* (Westview, 1980)  
R. Lebow, *Between War Peace and War: The Nature of International Crises* (Johns Hopkins, 1981)  
Y. Vertzberger, *The World In Their Minds* (Stanford, 1990)  
J. Post, *The Impact of Crisis-Induced Stress on Policy Makers*, in A. George, *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management* (Westview, 1991), 471-94  
D. Druckman, *Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective*, *Mershon International Studies Review* 38, suppl. 1 (Apr. 1994), 43-68  
N. Geva and A. Mintz, eds., *Decision-Making on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate* (Lynn Reinner, 1997)  
Stephen Peter Rosen, *War and Human Nature* (Princeton, 2004)

On misperception:

R. Jervis, *Hypotheses on Misperception*, WP 20/3 (1968), 454-79  
R. Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, 1976)  
J. Snyder, *Rationality at the Brink: The Role of Cognitive Processes in Failures of Deterrence*, WP (Apr. 1978), 345-65  
A. Stein, *When Misperception Matters*, WP 34/4 (Jul. 1982), 505-526  
J. Stein, *Building Politics into Psychology: The Misperception of Threat*, *Political Psychology* 9/2 (Jun. 1988), 245-271  
R. Jervis, *War and Misperception*, in Rotberg and Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (1989), 101-26

On groupthink:

I. Janis and L. Mann, *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Commitment* (Free Press, 1977)  
I. Janis, *Victims of Groupthink* (Houghton Mifflin, 1972)  
I. Janis, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes* (Houghton Mifflin, 1982)  
G. Herek, I. Janis, and P. Huth, *Decision Making During International Crisis: Is Quality of Process Related to Outcome?* *JCR* 31/2 (June 1987), 203-26  
P. Hart, *Groupthink in Government* (1990)  
P. 't Hart, E. Stern, and B. Sundelius, eds., *Beyond Groupthink* (Michigan, 1997)  
\*M. Schafer and S. Crichlow, *The Process-Outcome Connection in Foreign Policy Decision Making: A Quantitative Study Building on Groupthink*, *ISQ* 46/1 (March 2002), 45-68

Social identity theory:

J. Mercer, *Anarchy and Identity*, *IO* 49/2 (Spring 1995), 229-52

On prospect theory:

J. Levy, *Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations*, *ISQ* 41/1 (1997), 87-112  
B. Farnham, ed., *Avoiding Losses/Taking Risks: Prospect Theory and International Conflict* (Michigan, 1994)  
R. McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory and American Foreign Policy* (Michigan, 1998)  
J. Davis, *Threats and Promises: The Pursuit of International Influence* (Johns Hopkins, 2000)

**C. Causes (2): Domestic Sources of Conflict (week 5)**

Topics:

Traditional views: Liberal, Marxist/Leninist, etc.  
Governmental decisionmaking structures and processes



Bureaucratic politics  
Organizational behavior  
Militarism and military culture  
Cult of the offensive  
Interest groups and political competition  
Logrolling and coalition formation  
Diversionary theories of war  
National characteristics: culture, nationalism, ethnicity, and ideology

Readings:

- \*G. Allison, Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis, *APSR* 63/3 (Sept. 1969), 689-718
- \*J. Legro, Military Culture and Inadvertent Escalation in World War II, *IS* 18/4 (Spring 1994), 108-42
- \*J. Levy, The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique, in M. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies* (Michigan, 1989), pp. 259-88
- \*K. Dassel and E. Reinhardt, Domestic Strife and the Initiation of Violence at Home and Abroad, *AJPS* 43/1 (Jan. 1999), 56-85

For further reading:

- V. Lenin, *Imperialism* (New York, 1916)
- G. Allison, *Essence of Decision* (Little, Brown, 1971)
- J. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (Wiley, 1972)
- J. Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive* (Cornell, 1984)
- J. Levy, Domestic Politics and War, in Rotberg and Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (1989)
- J. Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and Strategic Ideology* (Cornell, 1991)
- J. Hagan, Domestic Political Systems and War Proneness, *Mershon International Studies Review* 38, suppl. 2 (1994), 83-207
- S. Walt, *Revolution and War* (Cornell, 1996)
- G. Allison and P. Zelikow, *Essence of Decision* (1997)
  
- J. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (Wiley, 1973)
- S. Andreski, On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships, *JSS* 3/3 (Dec. 1980), 3-10
- B. Bueno de Mesquita and D. Lalman, Domestic Opposition and Foreign War, *APSR* 84/3 (Sept. 1990), 747-765.
- Z. Maoz, Joining the Club of Nations: Political Development and International Conflict, 1816-1976, *ISQ* 33 (1989), 3-35 [199-231?]
- B. Bueno de Mesquita and D. Lalman, *War and Reason* (Yale, 1992)
- K. Gaubatz, Election Cycles and War, *JCR* 35 (1991), 212-44

Diversionary theory:

- C. Ostrom and B. Job, The President and the Political Use of Force, *APSR* 80 (1986), 554-66
- P. James and J. Oneal, The Influence of Domestic and International Politics on the President's Use of Force, *JCR* 35 (1991), 307-33
- T. Morgan and K. Bickers, Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force, *JCR* 36/1 (Mar. 1992), 25-52 [use of force related to partisan, not overall, levels of support]
- D. Richards et al., Good Times, Bad Times, and the Diversionary Use of Force: A Tale of Some Not-so-free Agents, *JCR* 37/3 (1993), 504-35
- R. Miller, Domestic Structures and the Diversionary Use of Force, *AJPS* 39 (1995), 760-85
- A. Smith, Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems, *ISQ* 40 (1996), 133-53
- J. Meernik and P. Waterman, The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Force by American Presidents, *PRQ* 49 (1996), 573-90
- C. Gelpi, Democratic Diversions: Governmental Structure and the Externalization of Domestic Conflict, *JCR* 41 (1997), 255-82
- Matthew Baum, The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon, *ISQ* 46/2 (June 2002), 263-98

Ideology, Culture, Nationalism, and Ethnicity:

B. Posen, Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power, *IS* 18/2 (Fall 1993), 80-124  
 S. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations? *FA* 72/3 (1993), 22-49  
 E. Henderson, Culture or Contiguity? Ethnic Conflict, the Similarity of States, and the Onset of War, 1820-1989, *JCR* 41 (Oct. 1997), 649-68  
 E. Henderson and R. Tucker, Clear and Present Strangers: The Clash of Civilizations and International Conflict *ISQ* 45/2 (June 2001), 317-338  
 Valerie Hudson and Andrea Den Boer, A Surplus of Men, A Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratios in Asia's Largest States, *IS* 26/5 (Spring 2002), 5-38

Militarism:

F. Rourke, Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy (John Hopkins, 1972), 18-40  
 A. Vagts, Defense and Diplomacy (Kings Crown, 1956), 263-377, 477-90  
 A. Vagts, A History of Militarism (Free Press, 1959)  
 S. Finer, Man on Horseback (Penguin, 1975)  
 B. Brodie, War and Politics (Macmillan, 1973), 479-96  
 S. Van Evera, The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War, *IS* 9/1 (Summer 1984), 58-107  
 K. Dassel, Civilians, Soldiers, and Strife: Domestic Sources of International Aggression, *IS* 23/1 (Summer 1998), 107-40

Bureaucratic politics and organizational behavior:

G.Allison and M.Halperin, Bureaucratic Politics, in R.Ullman and R.Tanter, eds., Theory and Policy in International Relations (Princeton, 1972)  
 M.Halperin, The Decision to Deploy the ABM, *WP* 25/1 (Oct. 1972), 62-95  
 S.Krasner, Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland), *Foreign Policy* 7 (Summer 1972), 159-79  
 L.Freedman, Logic, Politics and Foreign Policy Processes, *International Affairs* 52/3 (July 1976), 434-49  
 J.Rosati, Developing a Systematic Decision-Making Framework, *WP* 33/2 (Jan. 1981), 234-52  
 J. Levy, Organizational Routines and the Causes of War, *ISQ* 30/2 (June 1986), 193-222  
 D. Welch, The Organizational Process Model, *IS* 17/2 (Fall 1992), 112-46  
 T.McKeown, Plans and Routines, Bureaucratic Bargaining, and the CMC, *JOP* 63/4 (Nov. 2001), 1163-90 – shows that organizational routines and plans were not constraining

**D. Special Case: A Liberal Democratic Peace? (week 6)**

Topics:

Original statements

Refinements

    Liberal culture

    Democratic institutions

Critiques

Empirical tests

Democratization and war

Reading:

\*Z. Maoz and B. Russett, Normative and Structural Causes of the Democratic Peace, *APSR* 87/3 (Sept. 1993), 624-38  
 \*J. Owen, How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace, *IS* 19/1 (Fall 1994), 87-125  
 \*C. Layne, Kant or Cant? The Myth of the Democratic Peace, *IS* 19/1 (Fall 1994), 5-49  
 \*M. Mousseau, The Social Market Roots of Democratic Peace, *IS* 33/4 (Spring 2009), 52-86  
 \*E. Mansfield and J. Snyder, Democratization and the Danger of War, *IS* 20/1 (Summer 1995), 5-38

For further reading:

J. Ray, Does Democracy Cause Peace?, *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 1 (1998), 27-46  
 S. Chan, In Search of Democratic Peace: Problems and Promise, *Mershon International Studies Review* 41, supp. 1 (1997), 59-91

- I. Kant, *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795), trans. T. Humphrey (Hackett, 1983)
- B. Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Yale, 1992)
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K.Gaubatz, Elections and War: the electoral incentive in the democratic politics of war and peace (Stanford, 1999)

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**E. Causes (3): Systemic and Structural Sources of Conflict (week 7)**

Topics:

Traditional perspectives

Systemic explanations: anarchy and the security dilemma

Structural explanations: power (im)balances and polarity

Long cycles

Recent critiques from rational choice

Readings:

\*K. Waltz, The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory, J of Interdisciplinary History 18/4 (Spring 1988), 615-28

\*R. Jervis, Cooperation under the Security Dilemma, WP 30/2 (Jan. 1978), 167-214 (read 167-86)

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- W. Thompson, *Uneven Economic Growth, Systemic Challenges, and Global Wars*, *ISQ* 27 (1983), 341-55
- F. Wayman, *Bipolarity and War: The Role of Capability Concentration and Alliance Patterns Among Major Powers, 1816-1945*, *JPR* 21 (1984), 61-78
- J. Levy, *Size and Stability in the Modern Great Power System*, *II* 10 (1984), 341-58
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- J. Levy, *Theories of General War*, *WP* 37 (1985), 344-74
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- W. Moul, *Balances of Power and the Escalation to War of Serious Disputes among the European Great Powers, 1815-1939: Some Evidence*, *AJPS* 32/2 (1988), 241-75
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**F. Dyadic Approaches (week 8)**

Topics:

- Dyadic power relationships and power transitions  
Power preponderance hypothesis  
Enduring rivalries  
Territorial contiguity

Readings:

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\*S. Bremer, Dangerous Dyads: Conditions Affecting the Likelihood of Interstate War, *JCR* 36/2 (1992), 309-41  
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- E. Weede, Overwhelming Preponderance as a Pacifying Condition Among Continuous Asian Dyads, 1950-1969, *JCR* 20/3 (1976), 395-412  
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H. Houwelling and J. Siccama, Power Transitions as a Cause of War, *JCR* 32/2 (1988), 88-102  
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D.S. Bennett, Security, Bargaining, and the End of Interstate Rivalry, *ISQ* 40/2 (1996), 157-84  
D. Lemke, The Continuation of History: Power Transition Theory and the End of the Cold War, *JPR* 34/1 (1997), 23-36  
I. de Soysa, J. Oneal, and Y. Park, Testing Power-Transition Theory Using Alternative Measures of National Capabilities, *JCR* 41/4 (Aug. 1997), 509-28 (171-84?)  
W. Reed, A Unified Statistical Model of Conflict Onset and Escalation, *AJPS* 44 (2000), 84-93  
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E. Gartzke and M. Simon, "Hot Hand": A Critical Analysis of Enduring Rivalries, JOP 61/3 (Aug. 1999), 777-98  
P. Diehl and G. Goetz, *War and Peace in International Rivalry* (Michigan, 2000)  
W. Thomson, *Identifying Rivals and Rivalries in World Politics*, ISQ 45/4 (Dec. 2001), 557-86

Geography:

- G. Goetz and P. Diehl, *Territorial Changes and International Conflict* (Routledge, 1992)  
S. Kocs, *Territorial Disputes and Interstate War, 1945-1987*, JOP 57/1 (1995), 159-75  
D. Lemke, *The Tyranny of Distance: Redefining Relevant Dyads*, II 21/1 (1995), 23-38  
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- B. Bueno de Mesquita, *An Expected Utility Theory of International Conflict*, APSR 74/4 (Dec. 1980), 917-31  
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G. Special Case: Economic Interdependence and Conflict (week 9)

Topics:

- Classical views: Montesquieu, Smith, Ricardo, Kant  
Realist critiques  
Empirical evidence  
Theoretical extensions and innovations

Readings:

- \*K. Barbieri, *Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?* JPR 33/1 (Feb. 1996), 29-49  
\*J. Oneal and B. Russett, *Assessing the Liberal Peace with Alternative Specifications: Trade Still Reduces Conflict*, JPR 36/4 (July 1999), 423-42  
\*D. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations*, IS 20/4 (Spring 1996), 5-41  
\*P. Papayoanou, *Economic Interdependence and the Balance of Power*, ISQ 41/4 (March 1997), 113-40

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J. Rosenau and H. Tromp, eds., *Interdependence and Conflict in World Politics* (Avebury, 1989), esp. ch. by

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R. Gilpin, *Economic Interdependence and National Security in Historical Perspective*, in K. Knorr and F. Trager, eds., *Economic Issues and National Security* (Allen, 1977)

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M. Gasiorowski and S. Polachek, *Conflict and Interdependence: East-West Trade and Linkages in the Era of Detente*, JCR 26/4 (Dec. 1982), 709-29

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L. Sayrs, *Expected Utility and Peace Science: An Assessment of Trade and Conflict*, CMPS 11/1? (Fall 1990), 17-44

M. de Vries, *Interdependence, Cooperation, and Conflict: An Empirical Analysis*, JPR 37 (1990), 429-44

A. Stein, *Governments, Economic Interdependence, and International Cooperation*, in P. Teflock, et al., *Behavior, Society, and International Conflict*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1993), pp.

P. Papayoanou, *Interdependence, Institutions, and the Balance of Power*, IS 20 (1996), 42-76

J. Oneal et al, *The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy and International Conflict, 1950-86*, JPR 33/1 (Feb. 1996), 11-28

J. Oneal and B. Russett, *The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985*, ISQ 41 (1997), 267-94

S. Polachek, *Why Democracies Cooperate More and Fight Less: The Relationship Between International Trade and Cooperation*, R. of International Economics 5/3 (1997), 295-309

J. Morrow, *How Could Trade Affect Conflict?* JPR 36/4 (July 1999), 481-89

P. Liberman, *The Offense-Defense Balance, Interdependence, and War*, SS 9/1-2 (Autumn 1999-Winter 2000), 59-91

K. Barbieri and G. Schneider, *Globalization and Peace Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict*, JPR 36 (1999), 387-404

E. Mansfield and J. Pevehouse, *Trade Blocs, Trade Flows, and International Conflict*, IO 54/4 (Autumn 2000), 775-808

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Q. Li and D. Sacko, *The (Ir)Relevance of Militarized Interstate Disputes for International Trade*, ISQ 46/1 (March 2002), 11-43

## **H. Intra-State (Civil) Conflict (week 10)**

Questions:

What are the causes of internal, especially ethnic conflict? How similar are they to the causes of international conflict? To what degree do the same theories and explanations apply?

Readings:

\*B. Posen, *The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict*, Survival 35/1 (1993), 27-47

\*H. Hegre et al., *Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992*, APSR 95/1 (March 2001), 33-48

\*S. Kaufman, *Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War*, IS 21/2 (Fall 1996), 108-38

\*J. Fearon and D. Laitin, *Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War*, APSR 97/1 (Feb. 2003), 75-90

\*S. Kaufman, *Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence*, IS 30/4 (2006), 45-86



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- D. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (California, 1985)
- J. Montville, ed., *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (Lexington, 1991)
- M. Brown, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton, 1993)
- R. Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (USIP, 1993)
- R. Gurr and B. Harff, *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics* (Westview, 1994)
- S. Ryan, *Ethnic Conflict and International Relations*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Dartmouth, 1995)
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- J. Eller, *From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict* (Michigan, 1999)
- B. Walter and J. Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (Columbia, 1999)
- E. Crighton and M. MacIver, *The Evolution of Protracted Ethnic Conflict: Group Dominance and Political Underdevelopment in Northern Ireland and Lebanon*, CP 23/2 (Jan. 1991), 127-42
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- T. Gurr, *Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System*, ISQ 38/3 (Sept. 1994), 347-77
- \*V. Gagnon, *Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia*, IS 19/3 (Winter 1994-95), 130-66
- M. Brown, *The Causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, in M. Brown, ed, *International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (MIT, 1996)
- S. Kaufman, *An 'International' Theory of Interethnic War*, RIS 22/2 (Apr. 1996), 149-71
- J. Snyder and K. Ballentine, *Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas*, IS 21/2 (Fall 1996), 5-40
- D. Lake and D. Rothchild, *Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict*, IS 21/2 (1996), 41-75
- S. Ganguly, *Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay*, IS 21/2 (Fall 1996), 76-109
- J. Fearon and D. Laitin, *Explaining Interethnic Cooperation*, APSR 90 (Dec. 1996), 715-35
- S. David, *Internal War: Causes and Cures*, WP 49 (July 1997), 552-76
- D. Byman and S. van Evera, *Why They Fight: Hypotheses on the Causes of Contemporary Deadly Conflict*, SS 7/3 (Spring 1998), 1-50
- P. Liotta and A. Simons, *Thicker than Water? Kin, Religion, and Conflict in the Balkans*, Parameters 23/4 (Winter 1998-99), 11-27
- Sarah Kenyon Lischer, *Causes of Communal War: Fear and Feasibility*, Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 22/4 (1999), 331-55
- P. Roe, *The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a 'Tragedy'?* JPR 36/2 (Mar. 1999), 183-202
- J. Mueller, *The Banality of 'Ethnic War'*, IS 25/1 (Summer 2000), 42-70
- P. Roe, *Former Yugoslavia: The Security Dilemma that Never Was?* EJIR 6/3 (Sept. 2000), 373-93
- Jan Angstrom and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, *Evaluating Realist Explanations of Internal Conflict: The Case of Liberia*, SS 10/3 (Spring 2001), 186-218
- I. Elbadawi and N. Sambanis, *How Much War Will We See? Explaining the Prevalence of Civil War*, JCR 46/3 (June 2002), 307-34

#### **IV. Responses and Solutions to the Problem of Military Conflict**

##### **A. Overview (week 11)**

For further reading:

- Carnegie Commission, *Preventing Deadly Conflict* (1997)
- C. Crocker, F. Hampson, and P. Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (USIP,

2001)

### A. Unilateral Responses: Deterrence (week 11)

#### Topics:

Concepts: defense, deterrence, compellence  
Types of deterrence: immediate vs general, direct vs extended, denial vs punishment  
Rational deterrence theory (RDT): requirements of deterrence  
Empirical tests of deterrence theory  
Critiques of RDT: Why does deterrence fail? What's wrong with RDT?  
Refinements of RDT  
Alternatives to deterrence as a strategy: Reassurance

#### Readings:

\*G. Snyder, *Deterrence and Defense: Toward a Theory of National Security* (Princeton, 1961), 3-30  
\*P. Huth and B. Russett, *What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900-1980*, WP 36/4 (1984), 496-526  
\*R. Lebow and J. Stein, *Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Therefore I Deter*, WP 41/2 (Jan. 1989), 208-24  
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T. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Harvard, 1960)  
P. Green, *Deadly Logic: The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence* (Ohio State, 1966)  
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G. Quester, *Deterrence Before Hiroshima* (Wiley, 1966)  
A. George, et al., *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy* (Little, Brown, 1971)  
A. George and R. Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Columbia, 1974)  
R. Lebow, *Between Peace and War* (Johns Hopkins, 1981)  
J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Cornell, 1982)  
P. Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis* (Sage, 1983)  
R. Jervis, R. Lebow, and J. Stein, *Psychology and Deterrence* (Johns Hopkins, 1985)  
J. Kugler and F. Zagare, eds., *Exploring the Stability of Deterrence* (Lynne Rienner, 1987)  
F. Zagare, *The Dynamics of Deterrence* (Chicago, 1987)  
P. Huth, *Extended Deterrence and the Prevention of War* (Yale, 1988)  
J. Shimshoni, *Israel and Conventional Deterrence* (Cornell, 1988)  
E. Rhodes, *Power and MADness* (Columbia, 1989)  
R. Powell, *Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Problem of Credibility* (Cambridge, 1990)  
P. Stern, et al., eds., *Perspectives on Deterrence* (Oxford, 1989)  
A. George, *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* (USIP, 1991)  
J. Orme, *Deterrence, Reputation, and Cold War Cycles* (Macmillan, 1992)  
J. Rothgeb, *Defining Power: Influence and Force in the Contemporary International System* (St. Martin's, 1993), ch. 5 (138-161)  
  
P. Huth, *Deterrence and International Conflict: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Debates*, *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 2 (1999), 25-48  
M. Kaplan, *The Calculus of Deterrence*, WP 11/1 (Oct. 1958), 20-44  
B. Brodie, *The Anatomy of Deterrence*, WP 11/2 (Jan. 1959), 173-92  
D. Ellsberg, *The Crude Analysis of Strategic Choice*, *Am. Econ. Rev.* 51 (1961), 472-78  
B. Russett, *The Calculus of Deterrence*, *JCR* 7 (June 1963), 97-109  
\*R. Jervis, *Deterrence Theory Revisited*, WP 31/2 (1979), 289-324  
E. Weede, *Extended Deterrence by Superpower Alliance*, *JCR* 27/2 (June 1983), 231-54  
R. Jervis, *Deterrence and Perception*, *IS* 7 (Winter 1982/83), 3-30

- W. Petersen, Deterrence and Compellence: A Critical Assessment of Conventional Wisdom, ISQ 30/3 (1986), 269-94
- Special issue of the J. of Social Issues 43/4 (1987): R. Lebow and J. Stein, Beyond Deterrence, 5-71; P. Tetlock, Testing Deterrence Theory: Some Conceptual and Methodological Issues, 85-92; E. Kolodziej, The Limits of Deterrence Theory, 123-34
- J. Orme, Deterrence Failures, IS 11 (1987), 96-124
- J. Levy, When Do Deterrent Threats Work? BJPS 18/3 (1988), 485-512
- P. Huth, Extended Deterrence and the Outbreak of War, APSR 82/2 (1988), 432-44
- L. Freedman, The Evolution and Future of Extended Nuclear Deterrence, Adelphi Paper 236 (1989)
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- F. Zagare, Rationality and Deterrence, WP 42/3 (1990), 238-60
- R. Lebow and J. Stein, Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable, WP 42/3 (Apr. 1990)
- P. Huth and B. Russett, Testing Deterrence Theory: Rigor Makes a Difference, WP 42/4 (July 1990), 466-501
- D. Geller, Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence, and Crisis Escalation, JCR 34/2 (1990), 291-310
- S. Wu, To Attack or Not to Attack: A Theory and Empirical Assessment of Extended Immediate Deterrence, JCR 32/3 (1990), 531-52
- J. Stein, Deterrence and Reassurance, in P. Tetlock, et al., Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1991), pp. 8-72
- J. Stein, Deterrence and Compellence, IS (1992)
- P. Huth and B. Russett, General Deterrence Between Enduring Rivals: Testing Three Competing Models, APSR 87/1 (1993), 61-73
- P. Huth, C. Gelpi, and D. Bennett, The Escalation of Great Power Militarized Disputes, APSR 83/2 (1993), 609-23
- E. Lieberman, The Rational Deterrence Theory Debate, SS 3 (1994), 384-427
- R. Lebow and J. Stein, Deterrence and the Cold War, PSQ 110/2 (Summer, 1995), 157-181
- P. Huth, Reputations and Deterrence, SS 7 (1997), 72-99

## B. Armaments, Military Technology, and Conflict (week 12)

### Topics:

- Offense-defense balance and war
- Impact of nuclear weapons: stabilizing or not?
  - Parity and MAD
- Arms races and war
- Effects of proliferation

### Readings:

- \*R. Jervis, Cooperation under the Security Dilemma, WP 30/2 (Jan. 1978), 167-214 (read 186-214)
- \*T. Hopf, Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War, APSR 85/2 (June 1991), 475-93
- \*K. Waltz, Nuclear Myths and Political Realities, APSR, 84/3 (Sept. 1990), 731-45
- \*J. Mueller, The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World, IS 13/2 (Fall 1988), 55-79
- \*M. Wallace, Armaments and Escalation, ISQ 26/1 (March 1982), 37-56

### Offense-defense balance:

- G. Quester, Offense and Defense in the International System (Wiley, 1977)
- J. Levy, The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology: A Theoretical and Historical Analysis, ISQ 28/2 (June 1984), 219-38
- S. Lynn-Jones, Offensive-Defensive Theory and Its Critics, SS 4/4 (Summer 1994), 660-91
- C. Glaser, Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help, IS 19/3 (Winter 1994/95), 50-90
- \*S. Van Evera, Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War, IS 22/4 (Spring 1998), 5-43
- C. Glaser and C. Kaufman, What is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It? IS 22/4 (Spring 1998),

44-82

S. Van Evera, *Causes of War: The Structure of Power and the Roots of War* (Cornell, 1999), chs. 5-6

Nuclear weapons:

- A. Wohlster, *The Delicate Balance of Terror*, *FA* 37 (Jan. 1959), 209-34  
M. Mandelbaum, *International Stability and Nuclear Order*, in D. Gompert, et al., *Nuclear Weapons and World Politics* (McGraw Hill, 1977), 15-80  
R. Jervis, *Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter*, *PSQ* 94/4 (Winter 1979-1980), 617-33  
K. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better* (1981)  
B. Bueno de Mesquita and W. Riker, *An Assessment of the Merits of Selective Nuclear Proliferation*, *JCR* 26 (1982), 283-306  
B. Blechman and D. Hart, *The Political Utility of Nuclear Weapons*, *IS* (Summer 1982), 132-56  
R. Jervis, *The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons*, *IS* 13/2 (Fall 1988), 80-90  
McG. Bundy, *The Unimpressive Record of Atomic Diplomacy*, 211-19  
R. Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution* (Cornell, 1989)  
J. Mearsheimer and S. Miller, *The Case for/against a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent*, *FA* 72/3 (Summer 1993)  
S. Sagan and K. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (Norton, 1995)  
R. Joseph and J. Reichart, *The Case for Nuclear Deterrence Today*, *Orbis* 42/1 (Winter 1998)  
R. Betts, *Nuclear Balance and Nuclear Blackmail* (Brookings)

Arms races:

- G. Downs, *Arms Races and War*, in P. Tetlock, et al., *Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1991), 73-109  
C. Glaser, *The Causes and Consequences of Arms Races*, *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 3 (2000), 251-76  
R. Siverson and Diehl, *Arms Races, the Conflict Spiral, and the Onset of War*, in Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies* (Michigan, 1989), 195-218  
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J. Singer, *Threat Perception and the Armament-Tension Dilemma*, *JCR* 2/1 (Mar. 1958), 90-105  
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M. Hoag, *On Stability in Deterrent Races*, in M. Kaplan, ed., *The Revolution in World Politics* (Wiley, 1962), 388-410  
E. Weede, *Arms Races and Escalation: Some Persisting Doubts*, *JCR* 24 (1980), 285-88  
M. Wallace, *Arms Races and Escalation: Some New Evidence*, *JCR* 23 (1979), 3-16  
P. Diehl, *Arms Races and Escalation: A Closer Look*, *JPR* 22 (1983), 205-12  
P. Kennedy, *Arms-races and the Causes of War, 1850-1945*, in P. Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945* (Allen & Unwin, 1983), 165-77  
M. Intriligator and D. Brito, *Can Arms Races Lead to the Outbreak of War?* *JCR* 28/1 (1984), 63-84  
G. Downs, D. Roewe, and R. Siverson, *Arms Races and Cooperation*, *WP* 38 (1985), 118-47  
P. Diehl, *Arms Races to War: Testing Some Empirical Linkages*, *Sociological Quarterly* 26 (1985), 331-49  
T. Mayer, *Arms Races and War Initiation*, *JCR* 28 (1986), 3-28  
P. Diehl and J. Kingston, *Messenger or Message? Military Buildups and the Initiation of Conflict*, *JOP* 49/4 (1987), 801-15  
J. Morrow, *A Twist of Truth: A Reexamination of the Effects of Arms Races on the Occurrence of War*, *JCR* 33/3 (1989), 500-29  
N. Gleditsch and O. Njolstad, eds., *Arms Races: Technological and Political Dynamics* (Sage, 1990)  
G. Downs and D. Roewe, *Tacit Bargaining, Arms Races, and Arms Control* (Michigan, 1990)  
C. Glaser, *Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models*, *WP* 44/4 (1992), 497-538  
G. Hammond, *Plowshares into Swords: Arms Races in International Politics, 1840-1991* (South Carolina, 1993)  
D. Kinsella and H. Tillema, *Arms and Aggression in the Middle East: Overt Military Interventions, 1948-91*, *JCR* 39/2 (1995), 306-29  
S. Sample, *Arms Races and Dispute Escalation: Resolving the Debate*, *JPR* 34 (1997), 7-22  
V. Koubi, *Military Technology Races*, *IO* 53 (1999), 537-65

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### C. Multilateral Balancing: Alliances (week 13)

#### Topics:

Definitions and Types

Sources of alliances/causes of alliance formation

Balance of power vs balance of threat

Domestic sources

Ideology and beliefs

External/internal tradeoffs

Alliance persistence/duration:

Consequences

Intra-alliance dynamics

Impact of alliances/alliances and war

#### Readings:

\*S. Walt, Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power IS 9/4 (Spring 1985)

\*M. Barnett and J. Levy, Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments, IO 45/3 (Summer 1991), 369-95

\*D. Reiter, Learning, Realism, and Alliances: The Weight of the Shadow of the Past, WP 46/4 (July 1994), 490-526

\*K. Gaubatz, Democratic States and Commitment in International Relations, IO 50/1 (Winter 1996), 109-50

\*I. Oren, The War Proneness of Alliances, JCR 34/2 (June 1990), 208-33

#### For further reading:

M. Liska, Nations in Alliance: The Limits of Interdependence (Johns Hopkins, 1962)

R. Rothstein, Alliances and Small Powers (Columbia, 1968)

R. Osgood, Alliances and American Foreign Policy (Johns Hopkins, 1968)

O. Holsti et al, Unity and Disintegration in International Alliances (Wiley, 1973)

K. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Reading, Mass., 1979)

M. Ward, Research Gaps in Alliance Dynamics, Monograph Series on World Affairs 19/1 (Denver, 1982)

S. Walt, Origins of Alliances (Cornell, 1987)

G. Snyder, Alliance Politics (Columbia, 1995)

G. Modelski, The Study of Alliances: A Review, JCR 7 (1963), 769-76

J. Singer and M. Small, Formal Alliances, 1815-1939: A Quantitative Description, JPR 3/1 (1966), 1-32

E. Fedder, The Concept of Alliance, ISQ 12 (1968)

M. Small and J. Singer, Formal Alliances, 1816-1965: An Extension of the Basic Data, JPR 6/3 (1969), 257-82

B. Russett, An Empirical Typology of International Military Alliances, Midwest J. of Political Science 15 (May 1971), 262-80

R. Kann, Alliances vs Ententes, WP 28/4 (July 1976), 611-21

P. Schroeder, Alliances, 1815-1945: Weapons of Power and Tools of Management, in K. Knorr, ed., Historical Dimensions of National Security (Kansas, 1976)

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J. Duffield, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Alliance Theory, in N. Woods, ed., Explaining International Relations Since 1945 (Oxford, 1996)

J. Morrow, Alliances: Why Write Them Down? ARPS 3 (2000): 63-83

#### Alliance formation:

K. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Reading, Mass.: 1979)

M. Altfeld, The Decision to Ally: A Theory and Test, Western Political Quarterly (Dec. 1984), 523-44

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T. Christensen and J. Snyder, Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity, IO 44/2 (1990), 137-68

R. Siverson and J. Enmons, Birds of a Feather: Democratic Political Systems and Alliance Choices in the 20<sup>th</sup>

Century, JCR 35 (1991), 385-306

S. David, Choosing Sides: Alignment and Realignment in the Third World (Johns Hopkins, 1991)

S. David, Explaining Third World Alignments, WP 43/2 (Jan. 1991), 234-56

R. Siverson and J. Emmons, Birds of a Feather: Democratic Political Systems and Alliance Choices, JCR 35 (1991), 285-306

D. Lalman and D. Newman, Alliance Formation and National Security, II 16 (1991), 239-53

J. Morrow, Arms versus Allies: Trade-offs in the Search for Security, IO 47/2 (1993), 207-33

R. Schweller, Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In, IS 19/1 (Summer 1994)

D. Reiter, Crucible of Beliefs: Learning, Alliances, and World Wars (Cornell, 1996)

M. Simon and E. Gartzke, Political System Similarity and the Choice of Allies, JCR 40 (1996), 617-35

S. Werner and D. Lemke, Opposites Do Not Attract: The Impact of Domestic Institutions, Power, and Prior Commitments on Alignment Choices, ISQ 41/3 (1997), 529-46

T. Christensen, Perceptions and Alliances in Europe, 1865-1940, IO 51/1 (Winter 1997), 65-97

Alliance duration and persistence:

J. Morrow, Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances, AJPS 35 (1991), 904-33

R. Siverson and H. Starr, Regime Change and the Restructuring of Alliances, AJPS 38/1 (1994), 145-61

D. Bennett, Testing Alternative Models of Alliance Duration, 1816-1984, AJPS 41/3 (July 1997), 846-78

S. Walt, Why Alliances Endure or Collapse, Survival 39/1 (Spring 1997), 156-79

Alliances and war:

J. Singer and M. Small, National Alliance Commitments and War Involvement, 1815-1945, Peace Research Society, Papers 6 (1967), 110-40

J. Singer and M. Small, Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of War, in J. Singer, ed., Quantitative International Politics (Free Press, 1968)

C. Ostrom and F. Hoole, Alliances and War Revisited, ISQ 22/2 (1978), 215-36

R. Siverson and J. King, Attributes of National Alliance Membership and War Participation, 1816-1965, AJPS 24 (1980), 1-15

J. Levy, Alliance Formation and War Behavior: An Analysis of the Great Powers, 1495-1975, JCR 25/4 (1981), 581-613

R. Siverson and M. Tennefoss, Power, Alliance, and the Escalation of International Conflict, 1815-1965, APSR 78 (1984), 1057-69

P. Huth and B. Russett, Deterrence Failure and Crisis Escalation, ISQ 32 (Mar. 1988)

W. Kim, Power, Alliance, and Major Wars, 1816-1975, JCR 33/2 (1989), 255-74

J. Duffield, Explaining the Long Peace in Europe, RIS 20 (Dec. 1994)

A. Smith, Alliance Formation and War, ISQ 39/4 (1995), 405-25

On NATO:

R. Osgood, NATO, the Entangling Alliance

I. Daalder, The Nature and Practice of Flexible Response (Columbia, 1991)

J. Duffield, Power Rules: The Evolution of NATO's Conventional Force Posture (Stanford, 1995)

T. Risse-Kappen, Cooperation among Democracies (Princeton, 1995)

R. McCalla, NATO's Persistence after the Cold War, IO 50/3 (Summer 1996)

C. Wallander, Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War, IO54/4 (Autumn 2000), 705-37

## **D. Cooperative Responses: Collective Security, Global and Regional (week 14)**

Topics:

Theory of collective security

Theoretical critiques of collective security

Collective security in practice

    League of Nations

    Collective enforcement under the UN

## Regional versions

### Readings:

- \*I. Claude, *Power and International Relations* (Random House, 1962), 94, 110-33, 144-55, 190-204
- \*R. Jervis, *Security Regimes*, IO 36/2 (Spring 1982), 357-78
- \*C. Kupchan and C. Kupchan, *Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe*, IS 16/1 (Summer 1991), 114-61
- \*R. Betts, *Systems for Peace or Causes of War? Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe*, IS 17/1 (Summer 1992), 5-43 (skip 30-40)
- \*P. Diehl, J. Reifschneider, and P. Hensel, *United Nations Intervention and Recurring Conflict*, IO 50/4 (1996), 683-700

### For further reading:

- K. Thompson, *Collective Security Reexamined*, APSR 47/3 (Sept. 1953), 753-72
- E. Haas, *Types of Collective Security: An Examination of Operational Concepts*, APSR 49/1 (March 1955), 40-62
- R. Stromberg, *The Idea of Collective Security*, J. of the History of Ideas 17/2 (June 1956)
- A. Wolfers, *Collective Defense vs Collective Security*, in Wolfers, ed., *Alliance Policy in the Cold War* (Johns Hopkins, 1959)
- E. Ravenal, *An Autopsy of Collective Security*, PSQ 90 (Winter 1975-76)
- T. Weiss, ed., *Collective Security in a Changing World* (1993)
- G. Downs, ed., *Collective Security Beyond the Cold War* (Michigan, 1994)
- N. Crawford, *A Security Regime Among Democracies: Cooperation among the Iroquois Nations*, IO (Summer 1994), 345-85
- J. Mearsheimer, *The False Promise of International Institutions*, IS (Winter 1994-95), pp 5-15 and 26-37, reprinted in M. Brown, *Theories of War and Peace*, 329-39 and 355-67
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- E. Adler and M. Barnett, *Governing Anarchy: A Research Agenda for the Study of Security Communities, Ethics and International Affairs* 10 (1996), 63-98
- E. Adler, *Imagined (Security) Communities: Cognitive Regions in International Relations*, Millenium 26/2 (1997), 249-77
- E. Adler and M. Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge, 1998)
- L. Miller, *The Idea and Reality of Collective Security*, *Global Governance* 5 (1999), 303-32
- John Steinbruner, *Principles of Global Security* (2000); reviewed in JOP 64/2

### The UN and Collective Security:

- I. Claude, *The UN and the Use of Force*, *International Conciliation* (Mar. 1961), 235-79
- J. Ruggie, *Contingencies, Constraints, and Collective Security: Perspectives on UN Involvement in International Disputes*, IO 28/3 (Summer 1974), 493-520
- B. Russett and J. Sutterlin, *The U.N. in a New World Order*, FA (Spring 1991), 69-83
- A. Bennett and J. Leppgold, *Reinventing Collective Security after the Cold War and Gulf Conflict*, PSQ 108/2 (1993), 213-37
- G. Lyons, *A New Collective Security: The UN and International Peace*, WQ 17/2 (1994)
- A. Roberts, *The United Nations: Variations on Collective Security*, in N. Woods, ed., *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (Oxford, 1996)

### Regional Collective Security:

- J. Mueller, *A New Concert of Europe*, FP 77 (Winter 1989-90), 3-16
- M. Chalmers, *Beyond the Alliance System*, WPJ 7/2 (Spring 1990), 215-50
- G. Flynn and D. Scheffer, *Limited Collective Security*, FP 80 (Fall 1990), 77-101
- R. Ullman, *Security Europe* (Princeton, 1991)
- J. Joffe, *Collective Security and the Future of Europe: Failed Dreams and Dead Ends*, *Survival* (Spring 1992), 36-50

### The U.N. peacekeeping and interstate conflict:

- I.J. Rikhye, *The Theory and Practice of International Peacekeeping* (St. Martin's, 1984)

- A. James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (London, 1990)
- W. Durch, ed., *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Cases Studies and Comparative Analysis* (St. Martin's, 1993)
- P. Diehl, *International Peacekeeping* (Johns Hopkins, 1993)
- A. Fetherston, *Towards a Theory of UN Peacekeeping* (St. Martin's, 1994)

### **E. Responses to Intra-state (Civil) Conflict (week 15)**

#### Topics:

- Preventive diplomacy and mediation
- Humanitarian (military) intervention
- Peacekeeping and preventive deployment (UN or regional)
- Post-conflict peacebuilding
- Deterrence: War crimes prosecution

#### Readings:

- \*C.Kaufman, Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Wars, *IS* 20/4 (Spring 1996), 136-75
- \*P. Regan, Choosing to Intervene: Outside Interventions in Internal Conflicts, *JOP* 60/3 (1998), 754-779
- \*J.Western, Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia, *IS* 26/4 (Spring 2002), 112-42
- \*M.Doyle and N.Sambanis, International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis, *APSR* 94/4 (Dec. 2000), 779-801
- \*Christopher Rudolph, Constructing an Atrocities Regime: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals, *IO* 55/3 (Summer 2001), 655-91

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- C. Mitchell, Civil Strife and the Involvement of External Parties, *ISQ* 14/2 (1970), 166-94
- W. Zartman, *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa* (Oxford, 1985)
- W. Michael Reisman, International Law after the Cold War, *AJIL* 84/4 (Oct. 1990) [on legality of intervention to protect the sovereignty of the people]
- J. Montville, ed., *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (Lexington, 1991), esp ch by D. Horowitz, *Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management*
- S. Stedman, *Peacemaking in Civil Wars: International Mediation in Zimbabwe, 1974-1980* (Lynne Rienner, 1991)
- S. Smooha and T. Harf, Diverse Modes of Conflict Resolution in Deeply Divided Societies, *International J. of Comparative Sociology* 33, 1-2 (Jan.-Apr. 1992), 26-47
- C. Maynes, Containing Ethnic Conflict, *FP* 90 (Spring 1993), 3-21
- J. Walker, International Mediation of Ethnic Conflicts, *Survival* 35/1 (Spring 1993), 102-17
- J. Bercovitch and J. Langley, The Nature of Dispute and the Effectiveness of International Mediation, *JCR* 37/4 (1993), 670-91
- R. Licklider, *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (NYU, 1993)
- W.Zartman, ed., *Elusive Peace: Negotiations to End Civil Wars* (1995)
- B. Posen, Military Responses to Refugee Disasters, *IS* 21/1 (Summer 1996), 72-111
- M. Kleiboer, Understanding Success and Failure in International Mediation, *JCR* 40/2 (June 1996), 360-89
- W. Dixon, Third-party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement, *IO* 50/4 (1996), 653-81
- A. Dowty and G. Loescher, Refugee Flows as Grounds for International Action, *IS* 21/1 (1996), 43-71
- M. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (MIT, 1996)
- R. Paris, Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism, *IS* 22/2 (Fall 1997), 54-89
- S. David, Internal War: Causes and Cures, *WP* 49 (July 1997), 552-76
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