THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

Political Science 522

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"War is a matter of vital importance to the State; the province of life or death; the road to survival or ruin. It is mandatory that it be thoroughly studied."
Sun Tzu, The Art of War

In this seminar we undertake a comprehensive review of the literature on the causes of war and the conditions of peace, with a primary focus on interstate war. We focus primarily on theory and empirical research in political science but give some attention to work in other disciplines. We examine the leading theories, their key concepts and causal variables, the causal paths leading to war or to peace, and the conditions under which various outcomes are most likely to occur. We also give some attention to the degree of empirical support for various theories and hypotheses, and we look at some of the major empirical research programs on the origins and expansion of war. Our survey includes research utilizing qualitative methods, large-N quantitative methods, formal modeling, and experimental approaches. We also give considerable attention to methodological questions relating to epistemology and research design. Our primary focus, however, is on the logical coherence and analytic 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 recognize, 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 and different career objectives, including the many students who have International Relations as a minor field of study.

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. If so, there is no need to read them carefully again, although a brief skim would generally be appropriate. Admittedly, the burden will be somewhat greater for first-year students and non-IR majors.
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 times of Sun Tzu and Thucydides. Some narrowing of focus is necessary for any one-semester course, and I want to be explicit about which topics and approaches I emphasize and those which get less emphasis. 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 persistent pattern of violent conflict through the ages. Nor do we give much attention to the causes of individual wars. Instead, following most of the social science literature on war, we focus on theories that attempt 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 states? Under what conditions are wars likely to escalate or expand, and when are they likely to end? As the late Stuart Bremer asked, “Who Fights Whom, Where, When, and Why?”

Our primary but not exclusive focus in this seminar is on theories of interstate war, which have dominated the International Relations literature on international conflict until fairly recently. True, the focus of war studies in the International Relations field has shifted significantly in the last decade in response to the shift in the nature of war away from interstate war and towards civil war, insurgency, terrorism, and various forms of communal violence. The study of intrastate war, which was formerly located primarily in Comparative Politics and which was primarily descriptive in orientation, is now part of the broad mainstream of the peace/war/security subfield, and cuts across traditional boundaries between the fields of Comparative and International Politics.

Despite these trends in the real and academic worlds, we focus on interstate wars for both practical and intellectual reasons. Professor Licklider regularly teaches a course on civil war, and a division of labor seems like the optimum way to cover the vast material on war. In addition, many important theoretical developments, including those overlapping with major debates in international relations theory, have traditionally focused on the origins and escalation of interstate war, so that a familiarity with this literature is quite valuable for students preparing for comprehensive exams. Plus, although civil wars and insurgencies are likely to be the most frequent forms of warfare for years to come, interstate wars have the potential to be much more consequential – in terms of its human and economic destructiveness and its impact on the structure, stability, and evolution of regional systems and of the international system as a whole. Moreover, there are enough hot spots in the world to make the risk of interstate war a serious concern: conflicts between Israel and Iran over the Iranian nuclear program, Israel and Arab states over the Palestinian issue, India and Pakistan, North Korea and South Korea, and, perhaps in the longer term, between the United States and China.

In our treatment of 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. 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 relatively little time on the normative and policy implications of our theories. This is not to say that these other subjects or questions are any less important than those covered in this seminar. In a one-semester course, however, it is necessary to make some choices for the sake of coherence. Plus, the prevailing norms of the International Relations field (and hence incentives for students planning to go on the U.S. academic job market) 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. These should be useful for your individual papers, for preparation for comprehensive exams, and for your future work in the field. The syllabus includes an analytically organized bibliography of much of the important theoretical and empirical literature in the field. It has evolved over many years, and it takes considerable time to revise for each new course. I hope it is useful. If you find any typos or unnecessary duplications, or if you have suggestions for additions or deletions, I would be happy to hear from you. This syllabus is a work in progress.

READING:

The required reading for the class includes two books, both paperback. They are each available for purchase at New Jersey Books (37 Easton Avenue; 732 253 7666) and also on the internet, perhaps at better prices. They may also be available at Rutgers Barnes & Noble bookstore. I have also asked Alexander Library to put these books on reserve, so that the purchase of these books is not required to fulfill the requirements of the course.


Because much of the best literature on international conflict takes the form of articles and book chapters rather than books, we will read a substantial number of articles, chapters, and working papers. I will place all of the required readings (except for the two books listed above) on my Sakai site (and not on library reserve): https://sakai.rutgers.edu/portal . Please let me know if you cannot find a particular piece or if it is not readable.

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 in some weeks 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. The best way to prepare for comprehensive exams is to read now, discuss now, and ask questions about unresolved issues now.

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. I strongly recommend, however, that IR majors planning to write a dissertation in the peace/war/security field, especially those past their first year, write a research paper. I also strongly recommend that IR minors or non-security majors adopt the literature review track,
unless a research paper on war will advance your studies in another field. I expect all students, regardless of track, to do all the required reading and contribute to class discussion.

1) literature review track (papers due Friday, May 8)

The literature review should be 11-15 pages (single space, space between paragraphs, footnotes rather than endnotes, any citation style), submitted to me by email attachment. It should be a critical review of the literature on a well-defined theoretical question or set of interrelated questions relating to war, peace, and security. The question often coincides with a section or subsection of the course, but it sometimes spans several topics. A few examples of possible topics include power transition theory, alliances and war, the democratic peace, the diversionary theory of war, the bargaining model of war, the militarization of commercial rivalries, audience costs and credible signaling, “honor” and war, economic causes of civil wars, refugees and war, whether or not war is declining, and “new” wars and “old” wars, to mention but a few topics. In order to avoid misunderstandings, however, you must secure approval for your paper topic from me in advance. As I emphasized in a memo that I circulated in December, it is important to note that literature reviews must be presented in class on the day that topic is scheduled. For that reason it is important that you select a topic as soon as possible. You cannot wait three weeks and then decide that you want to do a literature review on a topic that we have already covered.

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 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. Early in the term I will post copies of a few sample literature reviews from previous courses, to give you a better sense of what good papers look like.

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 an in-text (citations in parentheses in the text) or a more traditional bibliographic style (as reflected in the Chicago Manual of Style), but just be consistent. See various journals for illustrations. Please provide a separate bibliography even if you use a traditional footnoting style. I prefer footnotes to endnotes.

The presentation based on each literature review will be scheduled for the day we discuss that topic in class, which will usually be the week that topic appears on the syllabus. 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 10-15 minutes maximum (a standard time for convention presentations), 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.

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. If you are a non-major or a major anticipating a dissertation in another subfield of IR, one strategy might be to select a topic that has some overlap with your primary non-conflict research topic. Another strategy might be to select a broad topic that might serve as excellent preparation for the IR comprehensive exam. Now and then throughout the course I mention topics that I believe to be particularly good ones for future research. I am open to most other topics from the syllabus. You are generally free to select any topics you want for your literature review, but you must formally secure my approval. Note that 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 discount for the time constraints in preparing for an early presentation, 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 if possible.

2) **Research paper track.** (papers due Friday, May 8)

I recommend this track for all IR majors past their first year (and perhaps for some 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 this is a new project and you are just doing 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 12-15 pages (single space, space between paragraphs, footnotes rather than endnotes). And please consult with me along the way. I am hoping for research designs that are roughly equivalent to rough drafts of dissertation proposals or grant proposals.

**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 18-22 pages single space, which is the outer limit for most journal submissions.
We can schedule presentations of research designs and research papers either the week that topic comes up in class or, if that is too soon, in the last couple weeks of the term. I am quite tolerant of incompletes for research papers, and perhaps also for research designs, but I still require a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

I should note that although I am generally quite open to very different methodological perspectives – statistical, case study, experimental – the prevailing 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 disconfirmation. 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.

**Grading**

For either the literature review track or the research design/paper track, the presentation counts 25% toward your grade and the paper 75%. In addition, 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. That will include most of you. This is an additional reason to do the reading and speak up in class.

As I said, papers are due Friday, May 8. If you cannot make this deadline, please consult with me, but please recognize that my expectations gradually rise for papers submitted significantly after that date.
TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (January 20)
   THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION
   Historical Context: Trends in Warfare
   Conceptualization of War
   The Clausewitzian Paradigm
     Anti-Clausewitz
     Contemporary Clausewitzian Perspectives
   The Levels-of-Analysis Framework

2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, continued (January 27)
   The Individual Level: Evolutionary, Biological, and Human Nature Perspectives
   Typologies of War
   REALIST INTERNATIONAL THEORY
   Varieties of Realist Theories
   Classical Realism

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR (February 3)
   Neorealist Theories of War
   The Spiral Model
   The Prisoner’s Dilemma Model (single-play)
   The Offensive/Defensive Balance
   Defensive Realism
   Offensive Realism
   Neoclassical Realism

4. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, II: BALANCE OF POWER THEORIES (February 10)
   Classical Balance of Power Theories
   Conceptual Ambiguities, Critiques, and Reformulations
   Balancing vs. Bandwagoning
   Absence of Balancing against the United States
   Continental Systems and Maritime Systems (Levy and Thompson)
   Balancing (or Not) in Non-Western Systems
   Polarity and War
   Quantitative Studies of Polarity and of Systemic Capability Distribution
   The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis
   Alliances and War
     Alliance Cohesion in Wartime
     Wedge Strategies
     Other Quantitative Studies of Alliances and War
     Formal Models of Alliances
     Domestic Sources of Alliances
   Lateral Pressure Theory (Choucri and North)
HEGEMONIC THEORIES (Feb. 10, continued)
Power Transition Theory (Organski/Kugler)
Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory
Shifting Power and Preventive War
   Formal Models of Preventive War
   The Nuclear Age
   Applications to the First World War
Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)
Doran’s Power Cycle Theory
Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition and War
Hegemonic Transition Theories: Critical Reviews
Theories of Unipolar Politics
David Kang’s Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia

5. RIVALRIES, ISSUES, TERRITORY, AND THE “STEPS TO WAR” MODEL (2/17; no class)
International Rivalries
   Overview
   The Diehl & Goertz Research Program
   The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program
   Other Approaches to Rivalry
   Rivalry Termination
Issues: What Do They Fight About?
Territory and War
The Territorial Peace
The Steps to War Model (Vasquez)

6. THE BARGAINING MODEL OF WAR (February 24)
Introduction to Rational Choice Theories in IR
The Bargaining Model of War
   The Commitment Problem and Preventive War
   Informational Problems, Mutual Optimism, and War
   Applications to the Duration and Termination of War
   Behavioral Modifications of the Bargaining Model of War
Bueno de Mesquita’s Early Research Program on War
   The Expected-Utility Model
   The International Interaction Game
The Selectorate Model (Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Siverson, and Smith)

7. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I: THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE (March 3)
Domestic Theories of War: Overviews
The Democratic Peace
   Quantitative Empirical Studies
   Critiques
Schultz’s Signaling Theory
Selectorate Theory (Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Siverson, and Smith)
Presidential and Parliamentary Democracies
Why Do Democracies Win Wars?
Other Implications of the Democratic Peace
  A Democratic Civil Peace?
Democratization and War
Autocracies, War, and Peace

8. ECONOMIC THEORIES OF PEACE AND WAR (March 10)
General Treatments
Marxist-Leninist Theories
Does Trade Promote Peace?
  Theoretical Arguments
  Quantitative Studies
  Assessments of the Empirical Literature
  The World War I Anomaly
Beyond Trade: The Capitalist Peace
The Impact of War on Trade
The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries
Finance and War
  Historical Studies
Sectoral Interests and Coalitional Politics
Other Research on the Political Economy of War and Peace
  Globalization and Militarized Conflict

(March 17; spring break; no class; enjoy St. Patrick’s Day)

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II (March 24)
The Diversionary Theory of War
  Social Identity Theory
  Theoretical Applications to International Relations
  Case Studies
  Quantitative-Empirical Studies
  Formal Theoretical Approaches
Leaders, Institutions, Political Survival, and War
Political Oppositions and War
Congress, the President, and War
Revolution and War
Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies

IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES
Ideology and War
Culture and War
  Race and War
The “Clash of Civilizations” (Huntington)
Religion and War
  Historical Perspectives
Attitudes toward War
Constructivist Approaches
Norms and War
   Quantitative Studies of Norms and War
Paul Schroeder’s Research Program on Ideas and Norms
Other Historical Studies

10. DECISION-MAKING: INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL (March 31)
THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL: PSYCHOLOGICAL MODELS
   Overview
   Beliefs and Images
      Images of the Enemy
   Emotions and War
   Misperception and War
   Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History
   Prospect Theory Goes to War
   Crisis Decision-making: The Impact of Stress
   The Small Group Level: Groupthink and Related Models
   Time Horizons
   Other Psychological Models of Conflict
Psychoanalytic Approaches
THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL: POLITICAL MODELS
   Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes
      Applications to the Causes of War
   Strategic Culture
   Military Doctrine and Military Innovation
   Command and Control
   Civil-Military Relations
   The Military-Industrial Complex
   Militarism
   Congress, the President, and War

11. REPUTATION, SIGNALING, AND CONFLICT (April 7)
   Honor, Status, Recognition, and War
   Reputation, Deterrence, and Signaling: Formal Models
   Reputation and Signaling: Non-Formal Models
   Credible Signaling: The Role of Domestic Oppositions
   Credible Signaling: Audience Costs
      Qualitative/Case Study Approaches

12. ORIGINS AND ESCALATION OF CRISIS (April 14)
   Arms Races and War
      The Richardson Model
      Quantitative-Empirical Studies of Arms Races and War
   Definitions of Crisis
   The Origins of Disputes and Crises
   General Studies of Crisis Escalation
Models of Entrapment
Loss of Control and Inadvertent War
The Expansion (Spread) of War

13. “NEW WARS” AND CIVIL WAR (April 21)
New Wars and Old Wars
Conceptual Issues in the Study of Civil War
General Treatments
Ethnonationalism
Economic Explanations
Intervention in Civil Wars
Termination and Settlement of Civil Wars
Peacekeeping
Conflict Data – Methodological Issues
Datasets
Civil War and Interstate War

14. REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY OF WAR (April 28)
Theoretical Reflections
Methodological Issues: Quantitative
Methodological Issues: Qualitative
Other Methodological Issues

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A-1 IS WAR DECLINING?
Analysis and Speculation on the Future of War

A-2 COOPERATION, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, AND PEACE
Iterated Prisoners’ Dilemma Models
Institutions and Peace
Theories of Collective Security and Security Regimes
Regional Security Systems
The Study of Peace
The Role of Law

A-3 POWER
The Definition and Measurement of Military Power
Explaining Victory and Defeat
Asymmetric Conflicts

A-4 DATA-BASED RESEARCH PROJECTS
The Stanford Studies in Conflict and Integration (Robert North's 1914 Project)
The Correlates of War Project (Singer and Small)
The Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) Project
The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program (BCOW): Crisis Bargaining
The Issues Correlates of War (ICOW) Project (Hensel & Mitchell)
The International Crisis Behavior (ICB) Project
Data Sets on Alliances

A-5 THE NUCLEAR ERA
Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory
Nuclear Weapons and the Long Peace
Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons
Nuclear Proliferation

A-6 INTELLIGENCE FAILURE

A-7 THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING
Conceptualizations of Power and Influence
Classical Deterrence: Models and Critiques
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
  Spatial Models of Bargaining
  Brams' Theory of Moves
Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft
Other Theories of Negotiation and Bargaining

A-8 TERRORISM
A-9 COUNTERINSURGENCY
A-10 CONFLICT RESOLUTION
A-11 WAR TERMINATION
A-12 THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR
  Winners and Losers
  Economic Costs of War
  The Diffusion of War
A-13 GENDER AND WAR
  Quantitative Empirical Studies of Gender and Conflict
A-14 ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, & INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
  New Conceptions of Security
  Environmental Change, Scarcity, and Conflict
  Climate Change and War
  Water and War
  Demography, Security, and Conflict
  Refugees and Conflict
  The Human Impact of War
A-15 SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD
A-16 JUST WAR
  Religious
  Nuclear Age
  Preemptive and Preventive Attack
A-17 THE “MILITARY REVOLUTION” AND THE RISE OF THE STATE
A-18 THE CONTEMPORARY “REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS”
ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES
Reviews of the Literature on the Causes of Interstate War
Philosophers of Peace and War
General Studies of War and Peace
Classical Strategic Thought
Anthologies
Collections of Quantitative Studies
Anthropological Perspectives on the Origins of War
Archaeological Perspectives
Sociological Perspectives
Geography and Geopolitics
Historical Evolution of War
Journals
Diplomatic/International History
Encyclopedias and Atlases
Compilations of Wars and Disputes
COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

main number refers to week of the term
letter indicates multiple topics each week;
exact timing may shift depending on student selection of topics for presentations;
* indicates required reading; the other reading is included for future reference and for those doing papers on the topic.

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (January 20)
course organization, requirements, paper topics, etc.;
brief overview of the International Relations field

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1a. Historical Context: Trends in Warfare
See also A-1 on the debate over whether war is declining.

1b. Conceptualization of War
See also week 13 on “New Wars”
1c. The Clausewitzian Paradigm


Anti-Clausewitz


Contemporary Clausewitzian Perspectives


1d. The Levels-of-Analysis Framework


2. **CONCEPTUAL ISSUES**, continued (January 27)

2a. **The Individual Level: Evolutionary, Biological, and Human Nature Perspectives**


2b. **Typologies of War**


**REALIST INTERNATIONAL THEORY**

(January 27)

2c. **Varieties of Realist Theories**


2d. **Classical Realism**


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

3a. **Neorealist Theories of War**


3b. **The Spiral Model**


3c. **The Prisoners’ Dilemma Model (single-play)**


see also section 12 on loss of control, preemption, and inadvertent war ??

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


### 3e. Defensive Realism


### 3f. Offensive Realism


3g. Neoclassical Realism

4. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, II: BALANCE OF POWER THEORIES
(February 10) (note: in this long section, required readings are in subsections a,e,j,l,n,o)

4a. Classical Balance of Power Theories
  Chap. 2.
  Chap. 1-3.

4b. Conceptual Ambiguities, Critiques, and Reformulations

4c. Balancing vs. Bandwagoning
Symposium in Security Studies, 1, 3 (Spring 1992).
4d. Absence of Balancing against the United States

4e. Continental Systems and Maritime Systems (Levy and Thompson)

4f. Balancing (or Not) in Non-Western Systems

4g. **Game-Theoretic Models of the Balance of Power**


4h. **Polarity and War**


**Quantitative Studies of Polarity and of Systemic Capability Concentration**


4i. **The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis**


See also section 4 on power transition theory. ??

4j. **Alliances and War**


See also section 5 on Vasquez’s “steps to war” model and section 4m on the spread of war.

**Alliance Cohesion in Wartime**


**Wedge Strategies**


**Other Quantitative Studies of Alliances and War**


**Formal Models of Alliances**


**Domestic Sources of Alliances**


**4k. Lateral Pressure Theory (Choucri and North)**


see also section A-11 on environmental scarcity ??
4l. Power Transition Theory (Organski/Kugler)


4m. Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory


4n. Shifting Power and Preventive War


"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).


**Formal Models of Preventive War**

See section 6 on the commitment problem

**The Nuclear Age**


**Applications to the First World War**


4o. **Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)**


4p. **Doran’s Power Cycle Theory**


4q. **Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition and War**


**4r. Hegemonic Transition Theories: Critical Reviews**


**4s. Theories of Unipolar Politics**


**4t. David Kang’s Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia**


(but the following should keep you entertained)

5. **RIVALRIES, ISSUES, TERRITORY, AND THE “STEPS TO WAR” MODEL**

5a. **International Rivalries**

**Overview**


**The Diehl & Goertz Research Program**


**The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program**


**Rivalry Termination**

**Other Approaches to Rivalry**


See also section 8g on “The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries” ??

5b. **Issues: What Do They Fight About?**


See ?? on the Issues Correlates of War (ICOW) Project

5c. **Territory and War**


5d. **The Territorial Peace**


5e. **The Steps to War Model (Vasquez)**


6. **THE BARGAINING MODEL OF WAR** (February 24)

6a. **Introduction to Rational Choice Theories in IR**


6b. **The Bargaining Model of War**


The Commitment Problem and Preventive War

Informational Problems, Mutual Optimism, and War

Applications to the Duration and Termination of War
Behavioral Modifications of the Bargaining Model of War

7. **SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I: THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE** (March 3)

7a. **Domestic Theories of War: Overviews**

7b. **The Democratic Peace**


Quantitative Empirical Studies


**Critiques**


Forum, *American Political Science Review*, 99, 3 (August 2005), including


7c. **Schultz’s Signaling Theory**


7d. **“Selectorate” Theory (Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Siverson, and Smith)**


7e. Presidential and Parliamentary Democracies

7f. Why Do Democracies Win Wars?
7g. Other Implications of the Democratic Peace

A Democratic Civil Peace?

7h. Democratization and War


see also section 9 on the diversionary theory of war

**Autocracies, War, and Peace?**


Note: We return to societal-level theories in section 9 after first examining economic theories of war, many of which are central to debates about the democratic peace.
8. ECONOMIC THEORIES OF PEACE AND WAR (March 10)

8a. General Treatments


8b. Marxist-Leninist Theories

8c. Does Trade Promote Peace?

Theoretical Arguments


Erik Gartzke, “The Classical Liberals Were Just Lucky: A Few Thoughts about Interdependence and Peace.” (pp. 96-110)

Quantitative Studies


**Assessments of the Empirical Literature**


**The World War I Anomaly**


8d. **Beyond Trade: The Capitalist Peace**


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

* Jack S. Levy and Katherine Barbieri, "Trading with the Enemy during Wartime,” *Security Studies*, 13, 3 (Spring 2004), 1-47.


8f. **The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries**


8g. **Finance and War**


**Historical Studies**


8h. **Sectoral Interests and Coalitional Politics**


8i. **Other Research on the Political Economy of War and Peace**


Globalization and Militarized Conflict

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II (March 24)
(with some institutional arguments mixed in)

9a. 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.


Sung Chul Jung, “Foreign Targets and Diversionary Conflict.” *International Studies Quarterly* 58, 3 (September 2014): 566-78.


**Formal Theoretical Approaches**


**Leaders, Institutions, Political Survival, and War**


See also section 7 on the selectorate model. ??
9c. Political Oppositions and War
Recall Schultz reading from week 7.

9d. Congress, the President, and War

9e. Revolution and War

9f. **Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies**


**IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES**

9g. **Ideology and War**


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9h. **Culture and War**


See section 10 on strategic culture.

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**Race and War**


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9i. **The "Clash of Civilizations" (Huntington)**


9j. **Religion and War**


**Historical Perspectives**


9k. **Attitudes toward War**


91. Constructivist Approaches

9m. Norms and War
Quantitative Studies of Norms and War

9n. **Paul Schroeder's Research Program on Ideas and Norms**
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."

9o. **Other Historical Studies**
10. DECISION-MAKING: INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL  (March 31)

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL: PSYCHOLOGICAL MODELS

10a. Overview

10b. Beliefs and Images

Images of the Enemy


10c. **Emotions and War**


10d. **Misperception and War**


Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.


**10e. Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History**

**10f. Prospect Theory Goes to War**

*Political Psychology*, special issue, 25, 2 (April 2004), articles by McDermott, Jervis, Taliaferro, Kanner, Elms, Bueno de Mesquita and McDermott.


10g. **Crisis Decision-making: The Impact of Stress**

(includes governmental-level dimensions of crisis decision-making)


10h. **The Small Group Level: Groupthink and Related Models**


10i. **Time Horizons**

10j. **Other Psychological Models of Conflict**

10k. **Psychoanalytic Approaches**

**ORGANIZATIONAL-LEVEL: POLITICAL MODELS**

10l. **Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes**
Applications to the Causes of War

10m. Strategic Culture


10n. **Military Doctrine and Military Innovation**


10o. **Command and Control**


See also section 12 on loss of control ??

10p. **Civil-Military Relations**


**10q. Militarism**


11. **REPUTATION, SIGNALING, AND CONFLICT**

11a. **Honor, Status, Recognition, and War**


Daniel Markey, “Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism’s Roots.”


11b. **Reputation, Deterrence, and Signaling: Formal Models**

11c. **Reputation and Signaling: Non-Formal Models**


11d. **Credible Signaling: The Role of Domestic Oppositions**

Recall reading from section 7c:


11e. **Credible Signaling: Audience Costs**


Kenneth A. Schultz, “Why We Needed Audience Costs and What We Need Now,” 369-75.


Brandon J Kinne and Nikolay Marinov, “Electoral Authoritarianism and Credible Signaling in International Crises.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57, 3 (June 2013): 359-86.


**Qualitative/Case Study Approaches**


12 **THE DYNAMICS OF CRISIS ESCALATION** (April 14)

12a. **Arms Races and War**


**The Richardson Model**


Quantitative-Empirical Studies of Arms Races and War

12b. Definitions of Crisis

12c. The Origins of Disputes and Crises
12d. General Studies of Crisis Escalation

12e. Models of Entrapment
see also section 10 on prospect theory

12f. Loss of Control and Inadvertent War
12g. The Expansion (Spread) of War
See also section 5 on the Steps to War Model.

13. “NEW WARS” AND CIVIL WAR (April 21)
13a. New Wars and Old Wars


13b. **Conceptual Issues in the Study of Civil War**


13c. **General Treatments**


13d. Ethnonationalism


13e. Economic Explanations

13f. Intervention in Civil Wars


13g. **Termination and Settlement of Civil Wars**


see also section A-8 on the termination of war
13h. **Peacekeeping**


13i. **Conflict Data – Methodological Issues**


13j. **Datasets**


13k. **Civil Wars and Interstate Wars**


14. REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY OF WAR (April 28)

14a. Theoretical Reflections

14b. Methodological Issues: Quantitative

14b. Methodological Issues: Qualitative
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 his/her literature review or research paper (and class presentation) on that topic.

A-1 IS WAR DECLINING?


Data Sources

Analysis and Speculation about the Future of War
A-2 COOPERATION, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, AND PEACE

Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma Models

Institutions and Peace

Theories of Collective Security and Security Regimes


**Regional Security Systems**


**The Causes of Peace**


**The Role of Law**


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**A-3. POWER**

**The Definition and Measurement of Military Power**


Jacek Kugler and William Domke, "Comparing the Strength of Nations."

**Explaining Victory and Defeat**

See also section ?? on Strategic Thought

**Asymmetric Conflicts**


A-4 DATA-BASED RESEARCH PROJECTS

the Stanford Studies in Conflict and Integration (Robert North's 1914 Project)


see also section 4 on Choucri-North’s lateral pressure theory

The Correlates of War Project (Singer and Small)


The Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) Project


The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program (BCOW): Crisis Bargaining


The International Crisis Behavior (ICB) Project

The Issues Correlates of War (ICOW) Project (Hensel & Mitchell)
http://www.paulhensel.org/icow.html

Data Sets on Alliances
A-5  THE NUCLEAR ERA

Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory

Nuclear Weapons and the "Long Peace"

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):


Special issue of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* on nuclear weapons and war propensity, April 2009.


**Nuclear Proliferation**


**A-6 INTELLIGENCE FAILURE**


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**A-7 THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING**

**Conceptualizations of Power and Influence**


**Classical Deterrence: Models and Critiques**


**The Huth-Russett Research Program on Deterrence**


**The Lebow/Stein Research Program on Deterrence**


**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.


**Deterrence and Selection Effects**


**Formal Models of Deterrence and Bargaining**


**Spatial Models of Bargaining**


**Brams' Theory of Moves**


**Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft**


**Other Theories of Negotiation, Bargaining, and Deterrence**


A-8 TERRORISM


Historical Perspectives

Normative Perspectives

A-9 COUNTERINSURGENCY
A-10. CONFLICT RESOLUTION


A-11 WAR TERMINATION
Elizabeth A. Stanley and John P. Sawyer, “The Equifinality of War Termination: Multiple Paths
Elizabeth A. Stanley, Paths to Peace: Domestic Coalition Shifts, War Termination and the
Elizabeth A. Stanley, Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in
Henk E. Goemans, Kristian Gleditsch, and Giacomo Chiozza, “Introducing Archigos: A Date
University Press, 1958.
Gordon Craig and Alexander George, Force and Statecraft. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford
University Press, 1983.
Frank Klingberg, "Predicting the Termination of War." Journal of Conflict Resolution 10 (June
95-106.
C.R. Mitchell and Michael Nicholson, "Rational Models and the Ending of Wars." Journal of
Conflict Resolution 27 (September 1983): 495-520.
Christopher R. Mitchell, "Ending Conflicts and Wars: Judgement, Rationality and Entrapment."
Christopher Mitchell, Gestures of Conciliation: Factors Contributing to Successful Olive
James D.D. Smith, Stopping Wars: Define the Obstacles to Cease-fire. Boulder, Col. Westview,
1995.
Suzanne Werner, "Negotiating the Terms of Settlement: War Aims and Bargaining Leverage." 
Martin’s, 1999.
see also the section on the termination of civil wars
A-12 THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

Winners and Losers

Economic Costs of War

The Diffusion of War
see also section 3 on alliances and the expansion of war

Long-Term Consequences
A-13 GENDER 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


Mary Caprioli, “Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict.” International Studies Quarterly, 49,2 (June 2005), 161-78.


A-14 ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, & INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

New Conceptions of Security

Environmental Change, Scarcity, and Conflict


on scarcity see also section 4 on lateral pressure theory

**Climate Change and War**


**Water and War**


**Demography, Security, and Conflict**


**Refugees and Conflict**


The Human Impact of War

A-15 SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD
A-16. JUST WAR

Religious Perspectives

**Nuclear Age**

**Preemptive and Preventive Attack**

**A-17 THE “MILITARY REVOLUTION” AND THE RISE OF THE STATE**
A-18 THE CONTEMPORARY “REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS”


ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Here I include only sources in print, not the growing number of internet sources.

Reviews of the literature on the causes of interstate war:
50th Anniversary Special Issue of *Journal of Peace Research* 51, 2 (March 2014), edited by Jack S. Levy and Halvard Buhaug.

Philosophers of Peace and War


**General studies** of war and peace:


Classical Strategic Thought

Anthologies of war and peace studies, including interdisciplinary collections:


Collections of quantitative studies of interstate war:


Anthropological studies of the origins of war

Archaeological Perspectives
**Sociological perspectives**

**Geography and Geopolitics**

**The Historical Evolution of War**


You should also be familiar with some of the leading journals that frequently include articles related to peace, war, and security. (For a ranking of journals in political science, see PS October 2009).

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

- *International Security*
- *International Studies Quarterly*
- *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- *Journal of Peace Research*
- *Security Studies*

Other good journals on war/peace/security issues include

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

More general or specialized journals that occasionally include useful articles on war include

- *American Political Science Review*
- *American Journal of Political Science*
- *Journal of Politics*
- *International Organization*
- *Millennium*
- *Political Psychology*
- *Political Science Quarterly*
- *Review of International Studies*
- *World Politics*

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* (primarily American)
*Diplomacy and Statecraft*
*The International History Review*
*Journal of Military History*
*Military History Quarterly*
*War in History*

**Diplomatic/International History**

The serious student of war and peace must have a solid grounding in international history, because 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 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, though they are disproportionately focused on Europe.

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


From the League of Venice (1495) to Waterloo (1815)

From Vienna (1815) to Versailles (1919) see

For the twentieth century see

For the post-1945 period, 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)

Three useful series on modern wars are
Longman "Origins of Modern Wars" series (general editor Harry Headder)
Longman "Modern Wars in Perspective" series (general editors B.W. Collins and H.M Scott)
Arnold “Modern Wars” series (general editor Hew Strachan)

For encyclopedias of names, dates, and chronologies see

Among the more useful historical atlases are:

For Compilations of Wars and Disputes see


