

THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

Pol Sci 522

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Office Hours: Tuesday 1:30pm-2:30pm, after class, and by appointment

In this seminar we undertake a comprehensive review of the literature on the causes of war and the conditions of peace. We focus on the literature in political science but give some attention to work in other disciplines. We examine the leading theories, their key 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, and formal modeling approaches. We also give some attention to methodological questions relating to epistemology and research design. Our primary focus, however, is on the logical coherence and analytical limitations of the theories and the kinds of research designs that might be useful in testing them.

The seminar is designed primarily for graduate students who want to understand (and hopefully contribute to) the theoretical and empirical literature in political science on war, peace, and security. Students with different interests and students from other departments can also benefit from the seminar and are also welcome. Ideally, members of the seminar will have some familiarity with basic issues in international relations theory, philosophy of science, research design, and statistical methods. I recognize, however, that the IR field seminar was not offered in the Fall 2006 term, and consequently that the knowledge-base of many students will be more limited than usual. I also recognize 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.

I have tried to combine breadth of coverage of the "mainstream" scholarship in the field with flexibility for students to advance their own programs of study. For this reason I have coupled a common set of readings for all participants in the seminar with considerable freedom for individual students to select specific topics for their seminar presentations and papers. The required readings are rather extensive, though I assume that you have already read some of these in your other courses. Admittedly, the burden will be somewhat greater for first-year students 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 time of Thucydides. Some narrowing of focus is necessary for any one-semester course, and I want to be explicit about what I emphasize and what I downplay. 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 relatively high baseline of violent conflict throughout the ages. Nor do we give much attention to the causes of individual wars. Instead,

following most of the mainstream social science literature, 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? Under what conditions are wars likely to escalate or expand, and when are they likely to end? Or, as the late Stuart Bremer asked, “Who Fights Whom, Where, When, and Why?”

Our primary focus is on interstate war. Until recently this has been the emphasis of most of the “mainstream” literature in the international relations field, and most of the important theoretical developments in conflict analysis have focused on the origins and escalation of interstate war. This is slowly beginning to change, however, and the study of intrastate war, which was formerly located primarily in comparative politics and primarily descriptive in orientation, clearly now fits into the broad mainstream of the peace/war/security subfield. Given the high probability that Professor Licklider will be teaching a graduate course on civil war in the next two years, a division of labor is the optimal approach, and I continue to focus here on interstate war. But we do include a week on civil wars and ethnonational conflict towards the end of the term. In addition, a secondary theme running throughout the course is the extent to which theories of interstate war (which often have a Eurocentric, great power bias) are applicable to regional wars, civil wars, and ethnonational conflicts. Finally, despite the growing concern with terrorism, the theoretical literature on that subject is not particularly well developed, the causes of terrorism appear to be different than the causes of interstate war, and consequently we spend relatively little time on terrorism.

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

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

READING:

The following books (all paperback) are available for purchase at the Douglass campus bookstore. I recommend that you purchase these books if at all possible. I suspect that most of these books are available on the internet at a considerable discount.

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

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 2001.

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

Because much of the best literature on international conflict takes the form of articles rather than books, we will read a substantial number of articles, chapters, and working papers. I will place all of the required readings on electronic reserve at Rutgers University libraries. However, for some strange reason the library system continues to treat electronic reserves the same as pre-electronic reserves, and limits professors to forty readings per class. This is only about a third of what we need for the term. Until the library fully enters the information age, I will delete readings a week after we discuss them in order to make room for new readings for subsequent weeks. This means that you should photocopy or save the readings for each week before we discuss them in class.

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.

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, and that IR minors or non-security majors adopt the literature review track. I will say more about this later, but I should emphasize that I expect all students, regardless of track, to do all the required reading and contribute to class discussion.

1) literature review track

The literature review (due May 7, but presented in class on the day we discuss the topic, as indicated in the syllabus) should be a 20-25 page (double space) critical review of the literature on a well-defined theoretical question relating to war, peace, and security. This goes beyond the required reading to include other important literature on the topic, often but not always equivalent to a sub-section of the syllabus. Examples of possible topics include power transition theory, economic interdependence and peace, the democratic peace, the diversionary theory of war, bargaining and war, and gender and war,

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

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

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

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

The **presentation** based on each literature review will be scheduled for the day we discuss that topic in class. (Exceptions will be made only for those selecting topics from section 2 of 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 10-12 minutes, and the informal discussion will go on for a while beyond that. I expect you to benefit from the feedback from class discussion and incorporate it into your paper.

For those of you selecting the literature review option, I would be happy to talk to you about what papers make most sense given your background and objectives in the program. At the end of this section I suggest certain topics for literature reviews that I think would be particularly useful. Some of these topics represent enduring questions in the field, and such topics would excellent preparation for the IR comprehensive exam. I include other 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 are somewhat lower for papers/presentations on topics that arise early in the term, so please do not let grade considerations

deter you from selecting topics early in the term. The selection of topics will help to shape the schedule of class presentations, and I ask that you select the topic for your first presentation by our February 13 meeting at the very latest.

2) **Research paper track.**

I recommend this track for all IR majors past their first year (and perhaps for many first year students as well) who are planning to write a dissertation on a subject related to peace, war, and security. Research projects may take a variety of forms. If students are just starting on a research project, a research design will be sufficient, while students who have been working in a given area are expected to implement the research design and carry out the empirical research. To help define my expectations, please provide a paragraph description of where you are on your research project.

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 20-25 pages. And please consult with me along the way. This consultation should include a 1-2 page paper that identifies the basic question you are asking and your general approach. 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 35-40 pages, which is the outer limit for most journal submissions.

We will schedule presentations of research designs and research papers late in the term, though I am happy to schedule them earlier if you are ready and if earlier feedback from the class will help you move forward on the project. I am quite tolerant of incompletes for research papers, and perhaps also for research designs, but I still expect a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

I should note that while 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 rejection. At the same time, I recognize the value of formal theory construction independent of empirical test, and I would accept something along these lines as a research paper (as long as the model is testable in principle). I also recognize that some members of the seminar will have a political theory orientation, and I would be willing to work with you to come up with a viable research project that has a more normative focus.

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.

If you want a grade (as opposed to an incomplete) for the class, please submit your paper by May 7.

Some Good Topics for Literature Reviews. You are not restricted to this list, of course. Note that how broadly you define many of these topics is negotiable; there is a tradeoff between breadth and depth of coverage. The number refers to the week of the term we discuss the topic.

realist theories of war (2)
 balance of power models (3)
 alliances and war (3)
 preventive war (3)
 territory and war (5)
 power transition theory (4)
 the bargaining model of war (6)
 prisoner's dilemma models (9)
 the selectorate model of war (Buono de Mesquita et al) (6)
 economic interdependence and peace (8)
 the democratic peace debate (9)
 democratization and war (9)
 the diversionary theory of war (10)
 political opposition and war (10)
 the clash of civilizations debate (10)
 strategic culture and war (11)
 learning and war (11)
 the steps to war model (Vasquez) (12)
 enduring rivalries (12)
 theories of escalation and entrapment (12)
 causes of civil wars (13)
 economic models of civil war (13)
 ethnonationalism and war (13)
 reputation and war (15)
 transformation of war (16)
 the termination of war (17)
 feminist theories of war (19)
 threat perception and intelligence failure (21)

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (January 16)
 - THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION I: CONCEPTUALIZING WAR
 - Overview of the Field
 - Definition of War
 - The Clausewitzian Paradigm
 - Transformation of War

2. THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION II (January 23)
 - Varieties of Causal Explanation
 - Human Nature and Instinct Theories
 - Organizing Framework: Levels of Analysis

 - REALIST THEORIES OF WAR
 - Classical Realist Theories
 - Varieties of Contemporary Realism
 - Waltz's Realism
 - Defensive Realism
 - The Spiral Model
 - Theories of Conflict and Cooperation under Anarchy
 - The Offensive/Defensive Balance
 - Offensive Realism

3. BALANCE OF POWER THEORY (January 30)
 - The Classical Balance of Power
 - Balancing vs. Bandwagoning
 - Balance of Power: Empirical Studies
 - The Definition and Measurement of Military Power
 - Game-Theoretic Models of the Balance of Power
 - Polarity and War
 - Quantitative Studies of Polarity and Systemic Capability Distribution
 - The Correlates of War Project (Singer and Small)
 - The Dyadic Balance of Power: Quantitative-Empirical Studies
 - Asymmetric Conflicts
 - The Preventive Motivation for War
 - Alliances and War
 - Data Sets on Alliances
 - Other Quantitative Studies of Alliances and War
 - Formal Models of Alliances
 - Domestic Sources of Alliances
 - Alliances and the Expansion of War

4. HEGEMONIC THEORIES (February 6)
 - Power Transition Theory (Organski/Kugler)
 - Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory
 - Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)
 - Doran's Power Cycle Theory
 - Other Theories of Transition and War
 - Hegemonic Transition Theories: Critical Reviews
 - Theories of Unipolar Politics
 - Do We Need Separate Theories for Big Wars and Little Wars?

OTHER SYSTEMIC AND DYADIC LEVEL THEORIES

Lateral Pressure Theory (Choucri and North)

WHAT DO THEY FIGHT ABOUT?

The Role of Issues

Territory and War

5. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, NORMS, AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY (Feb. 13)
 - Theories of Regimes, Institutions, and Norms
 - Institutions and Peace
 - Theories of Collective Security and Security Regimes
 - Regional Security Systems
 - Constructivist Approaches
 - Paul Schroeder's Research Program: Ideas, Norms, and Institutions
 - Quantitative Studies of Norms and War
 - The Structure of Peace
6. RATIONAL CHOICE APPROACHES (February 20)
 - Theoretical Background
 - Prisoners' Dilemma Models
 - Single-Play Models
 - Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma Models
 - The Bargaining Model of War
 - Bueno de Mesquita's Research Program on War
 - The Expected-Utility Model
 - The International Interaction Game
 - The Selectorate Model
7. no class (ISA) (February 27)
8. ECONOMIC THEORIES OF WAR (March 6)
 - Classical Liberal Theories of War
 - Marxist-Leninist Theories
 - Interdependence and Conflict: Realist and Liberal Theories

Interdependence and Conflict: Quantitative Studies
 Assessments of the Empirical Literature
 The Impact of War on Trade
 Other Economic Theories of War

Spring Break (March 13)

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES: THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE DEBATE (March 20)

Domestic Theories of War: Overviews
 Theories of the Democratic Peace
 Quantitative Empirical Studies
 Why Do Democracies Win Wars?
 Schultz's Informational Model
 The Selectorate Model (Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Siverson, and Smith)
 Intervention, Mediation, and Other Implications of the Democratic Peace
 Democratization and War

10. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES (continued) (March 27)

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

CULTURAL AND IDEATIONAL APPROACHES

The "Clash of Civilizations" (Huntington)
 Attitudes toward War
 Strategic Culture
 Historical Perspectives

THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL: POLITICS AND PROCESSES

Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes
 Applications to the Causes of War
 Military Doctrine and Military Innovation
 Command and Control
 Civil-Military Relations
 The Military-Industrial Complex
 Militarism

11. THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL: PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES (April 3)

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

12. THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT: RIVALRIES, ARMS RACES, AND THE ORIGINS OF CRISES (April 10)

Conceptual Issues
 Enduring Rivalries
 Overview
 Quantitative Studies
 Qualitative Studies
 The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries
 Arms Races and War
 The Richardson Model
 Quantitative-Empirical Studies of Arms Races and War
 Definitions of Crisis
 The Origins of Crises
 Vasquez's "Steps to War" Model
 Synthetic Approaches

THE DYNAMICS OF CRISIS ESCALATION

General Studies of Escalation
 Models of Entrapment
 Audience Costs, Domestic Politics, and Escalation
 Loss of Control and Inadvertent War

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH PROGRAMS ON CRISIS ESCALATION AND BARGAINING

The Stanford Studies in Conflict and Integration
 The Militarized Interstate Dispute Project:
 The Escalation of Disputes
 The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program:
 Crisis Bargaining
 The International Crisis Behavior Project

13. CIVIL WAR (April 17)
 - General Approaches to Third World Security
 - Conceptual Issues
 - Ethnonationalism and War
 - Conceptualizations of Nationalism
 - Economic Explanations
 - Intervention in Civil Wars
 - Termination of Civil Wars

14. NEW DIRECTIONS IN CAUSES OF WAR RESEARCH (April 24)
 - Thinking about Causation
 - Contingency, Critical Junctures, and Counterfactuals: The Case of World War I
 - Historical Background

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

15. THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING
 - Early Conceptualizations of Power and Influence
 - The Classical Deterrence Model
 - Alternative Theories of Deterrence
 - The Huth-Russett Research Program on Deterrence
 - Other Quantitative Studies of Extended 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
 - Reputation and International Conflict: General Treatments
 - Reputation, Signaling, and Deterrence: Formal Models
 - Coercive Diplomacy, Deterrence, and Crisis Management:
 - Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft
 - Other Theories of Negotiation and Bargaining
 - Conflict Resolution and Mediation

16. THE TRANSFORMATION OF WAR
 - Historical Trends in War
 - The Nuclear Revolution
 - Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory
 - Nuclear Weapons and the Long Peace
 - Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons
 - Is Major Power War Becoming Obsolete?
 - The Military Revolution
 - New Wars and Old Wars
 - General Commentaries
17. WAR TERMINATION
18. THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR
 - Winners and Losers
 - Economic Costs of War
 - War, the Military Revolution, and the Rise of the State
 - The Diffusion of War
19. FEMINIST THEORIES OF PEACE AND WAR
 - Quantitative Empirical Studies of Gender and Conflict
20. ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
 - New Conceptions of Security
 - Environmental Scarcity and Conflict
 - Demography, Security, and Conflict
 - Refugees and Conflict
21. THREAT PERCEPTION AND INTELLIGENCE FAILURE
22. TERRORISM

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

"Classical" Theories of War
 General Studies
 Classical Strategic Thought
 Anthologies
 Collections of Quantitative Studies
 Reviews of the Literature on War
 Anthropological Perspectives on the Origins of War
 Historical Evolution of War
 Journals
 Diplomatic/International History
 Encyclopedias and Atlases
 Compilations of Wars

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

main number indicates topic, corresponding 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 those doing papers.

- 1. COURSE INTRODUCTION** (January 16)
 course organization, requirements, paper topics, etc.;
 preliminary theoretical considerations

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION I: CONCEPTUALIZING WAR

1a. Overview of the Field

- Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies." *International Studies Quarterly* 35,2 (June 1991): 211-39.
 Edward A. Kolodziej, "Renaissance in Security Studies? Caveat Lector!" *International Studies Quarterly* 36,4 (December 1992): 421-38.
 Richard K. Betts, "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *World Politics* 50,1 (October 1997): 7-33.
 Steven E. Miller, "International Security at Twenty-five: From One World to Another." *International Security*, 26, 1 (Summer 2001), 5-39.
 David A. Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War." *World Politics* 48,1 (October 1995): 117-41.
 David A. Baldwin, "The Concept of Security." *Review of International Studies*, 23 (1997): 5-26.
 Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods." *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40,2 (October 1996): 229-54.
 Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, 26, 2 (Fall 2001), 87-102.

1b. Definition of War

- * John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Chap. 1.
- * Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *The Arc of War*, unpublished manuscript, chap. 1.
- Raymond C. Kelly, *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000. Pp. 1-10.
- Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2nd ed., rev. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. Pp. 8-13.
- Bronislaw Malinowski, "An Anthropological Analysis of War." *American Journal of Sociology* 46 (1941): 521-50. Reprinted in Leon Bramson and George W. Goethals, eds., *War*. New York: Basic Books, 1968. Pp. 245-68.
- Julian Lider, *On the Nature of War*. Westmead, England: Saxon House, 1977. Chap. 2 and pp. 269-72.
- J. David Singer and Melvin Small, *The Wages of War, 1816-1965*. New York: Wiley, 1965. Chap. 1-2.

Jack S. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983. Chap. 3-4 (especially pp. 50-53).

John F. Guilmartin, Jr., "Ideology and Conflict: The Wars of the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1606." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (Spring 1988): 721-47.

Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chap. 1-2.

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

1c. **The Clausewitzian Paradigm**

- * Peter Paret, "Clausewitz." In Peter Paret, *Makers of Modern Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Pp. 186-213.
- Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Book I, chap. 1-2; Book VIII, chap. 6. See also essays by Peter Paret, Michael Howard, and Bernard Brodie.
- Michael Howard, *Clausewitz*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983.
- Raymond Aron, *Clausewitz*, trans. by Christine Booker and Norman Stone. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986.
- Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Michael I. Handel, *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy*. London: Cass, 1986.
- Richard Ned Lebow, *The Tragic Vision of Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chap. 5.
- Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security* 4 (Spring 1980): 3-35.

1d. **The Transformation of Warfare**

- * Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Chap. 1.
 - * Mary Kaldor, *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999. Chap. 1-2.
 - Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War*. New York: Free Press, 1991.
 - Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- See section on the transformation of war in Additional Bibliographies at end of syllabus

2. THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION II (January 23)

2a. Human Nature and Instinct Theories

- * Greg Cashman, *What Causes War?* New York: Macmillan, 1993. Chap. 2.
- Stephen Peter Rosen, *War and Human Nature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Konrad Lorenz, *On Aggression*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1963.
- Robert Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*. New York: Dell, 1966.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
Chap.2
- Stephen D. Nelson, "Nature/Nurture Revisited I: A Review of the Biological Bases of Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 18 (June 1974): 285-335.
- Samuel Kim, "The Lorenzian Theory of Aggression and Peace Research: A Critique." In Richard Falk and Samuel Kim, eds., *The War System*. Boulder: Westview, 1980. Chap. 4.
- R. Paul Shaw and Yuwa Wong, *Genetic Seeds of Warfare: Evolution, Nationalism, and Patriotism*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Albert Somit, "Humans, Chimps, and Bonobos: The Biological Bases of Aggression, War, and Peacemaking." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 34 (September 1990): 553-82.
- Leonard Berkowitz, "Biological Roots: Are Humans Inherently Violent?" In Betty Glad, ed., *Psychological Dimensions of War*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1990. Pp. 24-40.
- Robert A. Hinde, "Aggression and War: Individuals, Groups, and States." In Tetlock, et. al., *Behavior, Society, and International Conflict*, vol. III. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Chap. 1.
- Jo Groebel and Robert A. Hinde, eds., *Aggression and War: Their Biological and Social Bases*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Richard Wrangham and Dale Peterson, *Demonic Males: Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin/Mariner Books, 1996.

2b. Organizing Framework: Levels of Analysis

- * Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
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ADDITIONAL TOPICS

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

15. DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING

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

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

International Security
International Studies Quarterly
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Security Studies
World Politics

Other good journals on war/peace/security issues include

International Interactions
Journal of Peace Research
Conflict Management and Peace Science
Journal of Strategic Studies
Armed Forces and Society
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
International Political Science Review
Millennium
Political Psychology
Political Science Quarterly
Review of International Studies

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

Foreign Affairs
Foreign Policy
The National Interest
Orbis
Survival
Washington Quarterly

Useful Historical Journals Include

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

Diplomatic/International History

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

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

"European Diplomacy and Wars (c. 1500-1914)," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., vol. 6, pp. 1081-1115. Contributions by Roland Mousnier, Leo Gershoy, and Albrecht-Carrie.
 M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919*. New York: Longman, 1993.
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 Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Random House, 1987.

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

David Jayne Hill, *A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe*, 3 Vols. (roughly 30 B.C. to 1789 A.D.)

- M.S. Anderson, *The Origins of the Modern European State System, 1494-1618*. London: Longman, 1998.
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From Westphalia to Waterloo see

- Derek McKay & H.M. Scott, *The Rise of the Great Powers, 1648-1815*. London: Longman, 1983.
- Jeremy Black, *The Rise of the European Powers, 1679-1793*. London: Edward Arnold, 1990.

From Vienna (1815) to Versailles (1919) see

- M.S. Anderson, *The Ascendancy of Europe, 1815-1914*. New York: Longman, 1985.
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- René Albrecht-Carrié, *A Diplomatic History of Europe since the Congress of Vienna*, rev. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for the Mastery of Europe, 1848-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- F.R. Bridge and Rogert Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European State System, 1815-1914*. London: Longman, 1980.
- Norman Rich, *Great Power Diplomacy, 1814-1914*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992.
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994.

For the twentieth century see

- René Albrecht-Carrié, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*, rev. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- James Joll, *Europe Since 1870: An International History*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World: An International History*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Graham Ross. *The Great Powers and the Decline of the European States System, 1914-1945*. London: Longman, 1983.
- Michael Howard and Wm. Roger Lewis, eds., *The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998.

For the post-1945 period, see

- Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics Since 1945*. 6th ed. New York: Longman, 1991.
- P.M.H. Bell, *The World Since 1945: An International History*. London: Arnold, 2001.
- William I. Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe*. New York: Anchor, 2003.
- John W. Young and John Kent, *International Relations since 1945: A Global History*. New York: New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin, 2005.

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 Hearder)

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

Arnold "Modern Wars" (general editor Hew Strachan)

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

William L. Langer, ed. *An Encyclopedia of World History*. 5th ed. rev. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972. Updated as

Peter N. Sterns, ed., *The Encyclopedia of World History*. 6th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.

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Trevor N. Dupuy, Curt Jounson, and David L. Bongard, *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military Biography*. Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 1992.

Among the more useful **historical atlases** are:

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For **Compilations of Wars** see

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