

THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

Political Science 522

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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 give most attention to research in political science but some to work in other disciplines. We examine the leading theories, their key variables and interaction effects, 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 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 which 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 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? 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 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. The focus of war studies in the International Relations field has shifted significantly in the last decade, however, 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.

We focus on interstate wars for both practical and intellectual reasons. Professor Licklider will be teaching a course on civil war this term, and a division of labor seems like the optimum way to cover the most material. 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 danger points to make the risk of interstate war a serious concern, ranging from disputes and 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 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, 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 required reading for the class includes the following books, all paperback. They are each available for purchase at the Rutgers University bookstore in Ferrin Mall. They are also available on the internet, perhaps at better prices. 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.

Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*
 John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle Revisited*
 John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*

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 three 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.

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. 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 Monday, May 9, 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. Please put a hard copy in my mailbox and send an email attachment as well. Your review should go beyond the required reading to include other important literature on the topic, often but not always equivalent to a sub-section of the syllabus. A few 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. It is important to note that since literature reviews must be presented in class on the day that topic is scheduled to be discussed, it is important that you select a topic as soon as possible, while it is still feasible.

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. Please provide a separate bibliography even if you use a traditional footnoting style. I prefer (single-space) footnotes to endnotes since the former are easier to read.

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 10-12 minutes maximum, 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 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 8 meeting if possible.

2) **Research paper track.** (papers due Monday, May 9)

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

If 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 20-30 pages. 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 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 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 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.

As I said, papers are due Monday, May 9. If you cannot make this deadline, please consult with me, but please recognize that my expectations gradually rise for papers submitted significantly after May 9.

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (January 18)

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

Patterns of Warfare

Conceptualization of War

The Clausewitzian Paradigm

Contemporary Clausewitzian Perspectives

Organizing Framework: Levels of Analysis

2. ADDITIONAL CONCEPTUAL ISSUES (January 25)

Evolutionary, Biological, and Other Human Nature Perspectives

Typologies of War

Thinking Dynamically about War

REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I: CLASSICAL REALISM & NEOREALISM

Varieties of Realist Theories

Classical Realism

Waltz's Neorealism

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, II (February 1)

Theories of Conflict and Cooperation under Anarchy

The Spiral Model

Defensive Realism

The Offensive/Defensive Balance

Neoclassical Realism

Offensive Realism

4. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, III: BALANCE OF POWER THEORIES (February 8)

Classical Balance of Power Theories

Balancing vs. Bandwagoning

Soft Balancing

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 Power Parity Hypothesis: Quantitative-Empirical Studies

Asymmetric Conflicts

Alliances and War

 Data Sets on Alliances

 Other Quantitative Studies of Alliances and War

 Formal Models of Alliances

 Domestic Sources of Alliances

 Alliances and the Expansion of War

Lateral Pressure Theory (Choucri and North)

HEGEMONIC THEORIES (February 8)

Power Transition Theory (Organski/Kugler)

Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory

Shifting Power and Preventive War

Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)

Doran's Power Cycle Theory

World Systems Theories

Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition and War

Hegemonic Transition Theories: Critical Reviews

Theories of Unipolar Politics

Do We Need Separate Theories for Big Wars and Little Wars?

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Institutions and Peace

Theories of Collective Security and Security Regimes

Regional Security Systems

The Structure of Peace

5. RIVALRIES, TERRITORY, AND THE “STEPS TO WAR” MODEL (February 15)
 - International Rivalries
 - Overview
 - The Diehl & Goertz Research Program
 - The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program
 - Other Approaches to Rivalry
 - Territory and War
 - The Steps to War Model (Vasquez)
 - Issues: Early Theorizing
 - The Issues Correlates of War (ICOW) Project

6. RATIONAL CHOICE THEORIES (February 22)
 - Theoretical Background
 - Prisoners' Dilemma Models
 - Single-Play Models
 - Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma Models
 - The Bargaining Model of War
 - Applications to the Termination of War
 - Bueno de Mesquita's Early Research Program on War
 - The Expected-Utility Model
 - The International Interaction Game
 - Commitment Strategies
 - The Selectorate Model (Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Siverson, and Smith)

7. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I: THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE (March 1)
 - Domestic Theories of War: Overviews
 - Theories of the Democratic Peace
 - Quantitative Empirical Studies
 - Schultz's Informational Model
 - The Selectorate Model (Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Siverson, and Smith)
 - Does Regime Type Matter?
 - Democratic Regimes
 - A Dictatorial Peace?
 - Why Do Democracies Win Wars?
 - Other Implications of the Democratic Peace
 - Democratization and War
 - A Democratic Civil Peace?

8. ECONOMIC THEORIES OF PEACE AND WAR (March 8)

General Treatments
 Marxist-Leninist Theories
 Does Trade Promote Peace?
 Theoretical Arguments
 Quantitative Studies
 Assessments of the Empirical Literature
 Interdependence and Conflict: Beyond Trade
 The Impact of War on Trade
 Globalization and Militarized Conflict
 The World War I Anomaly
 The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries
 Models of Coalitional Politics
 Other Research on the Political Economy of War and Peace

March 17. Spring Break

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II (March 22)

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
 Revolution and War
 Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies

IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES

Ideology and War
 Cultural Difference and War
 The “Clash of Civilizations” (Huntington)
 Attitudes toward War
 Strategic Culture
 Religion and War
 Attitudes toward War
 Constructivist Approaches
 Paul Schroeder’s Research Program on Ideas and Norms
 Quantitative Studies of Norms and War

10. DECISION-MAKING: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL (March 29)

Overview
 Beliefs and Images
 Images of the Enemy
 Leaders
 Misperception and War
 Learning and War
 Prospect Theory Goes to War
 Alternative Approaches to Risk
 Polyheuristic Theory (Mintz)
 Crisis Decision-making: The Impact of Stress
 Psychoanalytic Approaches

11. DECISION-MAKING: THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL (April 5)

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 and War

DECISION-MAKING: THE SMALL GROUP LEVEL

12. THE DYNAMICS OF CRISIS ESCALATION (April 10)

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
 Definitions of Crisis
 The Origins of Disputes and Crises
 General Studies of Crisis 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. "NEW WARS" AND CIVIL WAR (April 17)
 - New Wars and Old Wars
 - Security Issues in the Third World World
 - Conceptual Issues in the Study of Civil War
 - Ethnonationalism and War
 - Economic Explanations
 - Intervention in Civil Wars
 - Termination and Settlement of Civil Wars
 - Links between Civil War and Interstate War
 - Datasets

14. REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY OF WAR (April 26)
 - General
 - Alternative Conceptions of Causation
 - Other Methodological Issues

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

- A-1 THE CHANGING NATURE OF WAR
 - Historical Trends in War
 - A Decline in Violence?
 - Speculations on the Future of War
- A-2 THE NUCLEAR ERA
 - 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?
 - Nuclear Proliferation
- A-3 THE "MILITARY REVOLUTION" AND THE RISE OF THE STATE
- A-4 THE CONTEMPORARY "REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS"
- A-5 THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING
 - Conceptualizations of Power and Influence
 - Classical Deterrence: Models and Critiques
 - Alternative Theories of Deterrence
 - The Huth-Russett Research Program on Deterrence
 - The Lebow/Stein Research Program on Deterrence
 - Debates over Rational Deterrence Theory
 - Deterrence and Selection Effects
 - Formal Models of Deterrence and Bargaining
 - Spatial Models of Bargaining
 - Brams' Theory of Moves
 - Other Theories of Negotiation and Bargaining
 - Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft

- A-6 REPUTATION AND CONFLICT
 - General Treatments
 - Reputation, Signaling, and Deterrence: Formal Models
 - Conflict Resolution and Mediation
- A-7 CONFLICT RESOLUTION
- A-8. WAR TERMINATION
- A-9. THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR
 - Winners and Losers
 - Economic Costs of War
 - The Diffusion of War
- A-10 FEMINIST THEORIES OF PEACE AND WAR
 - Quantitative Empirical Studies of Gender and Conflict
- A-11. ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, & INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
 - New Conceptions of Security
 - The Human Impact of War
 - Environmental Scarcity and Conflict
 - Demography, Security, and Conflict
 - Refugees and Conflict

- A-12 THREAT PERCEPTION AND INTELLIGENCE FAILURE

- A-13 TERRORISM
 - Historical Perspectives
 - Normative Perspectives
- A-14 COUNTERINSURGENCY

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- Reviews of the Literature on the Causes of Interstate War
- "Classical" Theories of War
- General Studies
- Classical Strategic Thought
- Anthologies
- Collections of Quantitative Studies
- Anthropological Perspectives on the Origins of War
- Archaeological Perspectives
- Sociological Perspectives
- 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 18)
 course organization, requirements, paper topics, etc.;
 brief overview of the International Relations field

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1a. Patterns of Warfare

Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *The Arc of War: Origins, Escalation, Transformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2nd ed., rev. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

J. David Singer and Melvin Small, *The Wages of War, 1816-1965*. New York: Wiley, 1965.

J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr. *Peace and Conflict 2010*. Boulder, Col: Paradigm Publishers, 2010. Summary at

<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/publications/publication.asp?pubType=book&id=31>

See also section A-1 (under Additional Topics, p. 75)

1b. Conceptualization of War

* John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chap. 1.

* Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. 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.

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).

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

Hidemi Suganami, "Explaining War: Some Critical Observations." *International Relations*, 16, 3 (Dec 2002): 307-326.

See also section 13 on New Wars and Old Wars

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. Introductory essays are also useful.
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.
Hew Strachan, *Carl von Clausewitz's On War*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007.
Hew Strachan and Andreas Herberg-Rothe, eds. *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Andreas Herberg-Rothe, *Clausewitz's Puzzle: The Political Theory of War*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Antulio J. Echevarria II, *Clausewitz & Contemporary War*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Sun Tzu (1963) *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith. New York: Oxford University Press.

Contemporary Clausewitzian Perspectives

- * Thomas Schelling, "The Diplomacy of Violence." In Schelling, *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Chap. 1.
- Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security* 4, 4 (Spring 1980): 3-35.

1d. **Organizing Framework: Levels of Analysis**

- * Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Chap. 1.
- * Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 1.
James N. Rosenau, "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy." In R. B. Farrell, ed., *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966; reprinted in James N. Rosenau, *Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. London: Francis Pinter, 1980. Chap. 6.
J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Politics." *World Politics*, 14, 1 (October 1961): 77-92. Reprinted in James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1969. Pp. 20-29.
James Lee Ray, "Integrating Levels of Analysis in World Politics." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13, 4 (2001): 355-88.
Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory." *International Organization* 41 (Summer 1987): 335-70.

2. ADDITIONAL CONCEPTUAL ISSUES (January 25)

2a. Evolutionary, Biological, and Other Human Nature Perspectives

- * Azar Gat, "So Why Do People Fight? Evolutionary Theory and the Causes of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 15, 4 (2009): 571-99.
Azar Gat, *War in Human Civilization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Richard Wrangham and Dale Peterson, *Demonic Males: Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin/Mariner Books, 1996.
- Jo Groebel and Robert A. Hinde, eds., *Aggression and War: Their Biological and Social Bases*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Part B.
- 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.
- 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, 3 (September 1990): 553-82.
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IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES

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10. **DECISION-MAKING: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL** (March 29)

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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 his/her literature review or research paper (and class presentation) on that topic.

A-1 THE CHANGING NATURE OF WAR

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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. (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
Security Studies

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
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)
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.

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

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From Westphalia (1648) to Waterloo (1815) see

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From Vienna (1815) to Versailles (1919) see

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

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