THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

POLS GR8832

Jack S. Levy Columbia University Fall 2017
jsl2169@columbia.edu
Office Hours: Thursdays 4-6pm, IAB

"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 theoretical and empirical literature on interstate war, focusing on the causes of war and the conditions of peace but giving some attention to the conduct, termination, and consequences of war. We emphasize research in political science but include some coverage of work in other disciplines. We examine the leading theories, their key causal variables, the paths or mechanisms through which those variables lead to war or to peace, and the degree of empirical support for various theories. Our survey includes research utilizing a variety of methodological approaches: qualitative, quantitative, experimental, formal, and experimental. 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 ultimately 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 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. To this end 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 paper for the class. The required readings are rather extensive, though no more extensive than the typical graduate seminar.

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 we will and will not emphasize. Our main task, following most of the social science literature on war and peace, is 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?”
We will focus primarily on interstate war, for many reasons. Although the most common forms of war in the international system have shifted in recent decades away from interstate war and towards civil war, insurgency, counterinsurgency, terrorism, and various forms of communal violence, there is little reason to believe that the era of interstate war has ended. Indeed, there are enough “hot spots” in the world today to make the risk of interstate war a serious concern. The potential consequences of some of these wars – in terms of their human and economic consequences and their potential impact on the evolution of the international system – alone make them worthy of study. In addition, many important theoretical debates in the IR field are closely linked the origins and escalation of interstate war, so that a familiarity with this literature is quite valuable for those wishing to engage the IR field as a whole. Finally, a practical consideration: the Department at Columbia has several scholars who have considerable expertise in terrorism, civil war, and other forms of intrastate conflict, so a division of labor is prudent.

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 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.

I have included in this syllabus a more extensive list of topics and sources than we will actually cover in the class. The syllabus serves as an analytically-organized bibliography of the field, though admittedly an incomplete one. 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 duplications, or if you have suggestions for additions or deletions or shifting particular works from one category to another, 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 Book Culture (536 W. 112 St; 212/865-1588) and also on the internet, perhaps at better prices. I have also asked Columbia Library to place these books on reserve.

  (note that an earlier version, Vasquez, *The War Puzzle* [1993] is NOT acceptable)

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 send you pdf’s of the readings for the first week of class, at which point we will talk about the best way to make the readings for the rest of the term available.
COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

We will organize our weekly meetings as follows. We will usually begin with my own introductory comments on a particular body of literature, though each student will have one week in which s/he leads the discussion of important topics. We will then move to an open discussion of the material. Most weeks we will cover several distinct topics. It is important that each student complete all of the required reading prior to each class meeting, come to class prepared to discuss the reading, and actively participate.

There are two formal requirements for the class. Each student will
1) lead class discussion of a particular topic for a particular week;
2) write a paper on a subject of your choice relating to war.

Requirement #1: leading class discussion
Each student will pick one of the following topics and lead class discussion of that topic in the designated week of the term (as indicated in parentheses). These topics generally do not cover all of the required readings in a given week. Instead, the aim is to focus on one particularly important topic and go into a little more detail than the required reading. This will entail reading a few additional articles, selected in coordination with the professor, in addition to the required reading. The student will then have 10-15 minutes to summarize the main arguments and debates and suggest lines of criticism, to be followed by questions from the class and a general discussion. No written summary is necessary. Please select a topic that does not directly overlap with your major paper for the class.

Topics for Short Presentations
Balance of power theory (4)
Power transition theory (5)
Strategic rivalry (5)
Bargaining model of war (6)
Democratic peace (7)
Economic Interdependence and the Capitalist Peace (8)
Diversionary theory of war (9)
Audience costs (9)
Psychology of threat perception/misperception and war (10)
Organizational politics and processes (11)
Signaling - Fearon & Schultz (12)
Status and War (12)
Requirement #2: paper

Given that students in the class will have different backgrounds and goals and be at different stages in the graduate program, the paper requirement is somewhat flexible. I recognize that some of you may be primarily interested in forms of conflict other than interstate war, and consequently I will allow papers on any level of international conflict, broadly defined (civil war, insurgency, etc.). In terms of the type of paper, it can be a literature review, research design, or research paper. If you are a first year student, or perhaps someone outside of the IR field, a literature review paper might be appropriate. If you are further along and have an idea for a research paper but are just getting started on it, maybe a research design would be best. If you are a more advanced student and have started to do research on a particular topic, then a research paper makes more sense. The type of paper is up to you, but whatever you do must go significantly beyond what you have done before, and you must consult with me.

All papers should be single space with a space between paragraphs, with footnotes rather than endnotes, and submitted to me by email attachment. Any citation style is acceptable, as long as you are consistent. However, even if you use a traditional footnote style – as reflected in the journals *International Security* or *Security Studies* or in the *Chicago Manual of Style* – please include a separate bibliography at the end. The due date is December 14, 11:59pm.

**Literature reviews** should be 11-15 pages. This 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, but not significantly overlapping the topic that you have chosen to lead discussion in class (requirement #1). The topic often coincides with a section or subsection of the course, but it sometimes spans several topics. It can be one of the 10-12 topics listed above for the first requirement, or it can be something narrower, or another topic altogether. For example, a broader topic might be balance of power theory or power transition theory, while narrower topics might be alliances and war, preventive war, or territory and war. In order to avoid misunderstandings, you must secure approval for your paper topic from me in advance.

If the topic of your literature review relates to one of the sub-sections of the course, the required and optional readings from the relevant section of the syllabus may serve as a useful guide to the literature on any given topic, or at least as a point of departure. On topics where the list of sources is rather limited, you will need to go far beyond the sources listed. 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. On topics where the list of sources is much longer, you may need to narrow the list considerably, while adding other sources as well. In either case, please consult me for suggestions as to possible additions to the list and/or priorities among them (if the number of items is quite large). At some point during the term (I may be specific later) please provide a provisional bibliography, to make sure we are on the same page.

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.

**Research designs** should identify the question you are trying to answer, ground it in the theoretical literature, 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). Please consult with me along the way, starting with a one page statement early in the term. I am hoping for research designs that are roughly equivalent to rough drafts of dissertation proposals or grant proposals.

**Research papers** include research designs and basically implement them. For the purposes of this class, the research need not necessarily be complete. For example, if your design calls for four comparative case studies, and you complete only one for this class, that is fine. There is no set length for the paper. However, if you are aiming at an article-length paper that will ultimately be submitted to a journal, note that most journals have word limits ranging from 12-15,000 words, including footnotes and references but not including any technical appendices. (I think that works out to 23-27 pages, single space, though journals always require double space.) The paper for this class need not be that long.

**Grading**

Grades for the course will be based on the following weighting:

- Leading class discussion: 15%
- Other contributions to class discussion: 15%
- Paper: 70%

**Academic Integrity**

The intellectual venture in which we are all engaged requires of faculty and students alike the highest level of personal and academic integrity. As members of an academic community, each one of us bears the responsibility to participate in scholarly discourse and research in a manner characterized by intellectual honesty and scholarly integrity.

Scholarship, by its very nature, is an iterative process, with ideas and insights building one upon the other. Collaborative scholarship requires the study of other scholars' work, the free discussion of such work, and the explicit acknowledgement of those ideas in any work that inform our own. This exchange of ideas relies upon a mutual trust that sources, opinions, facts, and insights will be properly noted and carefully credited.
In practical terms, this means that, as students, you must be responsible for the full citations of others' ideas in all of your research papers and projects; you must be scrupulously honest when taking your examinations; you must always submit your own work and not that of another student, scholar, or internet agent.

Any breach of this intellectual responsibility is a breach of faith with the rest of our academic community. It undermines our shared intellectual culture, and it cannot be tolerated. Students failing to meet these responsibilities should anticipate being asked to leave Columbia.

**Disability Accommodations**

In order to ensure their rights to reasonable accommodations, it is the responsibility of students to report any learning-related disabilities, to do so in a timely fashion, and to do so through the Office of Disability Services. Students who have documented conditions and are determined by DS to need individualized services will be provided a DS-certified ‘Accommodation Letter.’ It is students’ responsibility to provide this letter to all their instructors and in so doing request the stated accommodations.

If you are a student with a disability and have a DS-certified ‘Accommodation Letter,’ please come to my office hours to confirm your accommodation needs. If you believe that you might have a disability that requires accommodation, you should contact Disability Services at 212-854-2388 and disability@columbia.edu. For more information, please visit http://www.college.columbia.edu/rightsandresponsibilities.
TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (Sept. 7)
   THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION
   What is War?
   The Clausewitzian Paradigm
   Clausewitz and Small War
   The Levels-of-Analysis Framework

2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, continued (Sept. 14)
   Evolutionary, Biological, and Human Nature Perspectives: What Do They Explain?
   Typologies of War
   Concept of Total War
   The Use of Force
   Concepts of Causation

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I (Sept. 21)
   Varieties of Realist Theories
   Classical Realism
   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 (Sept. 28)
   Classical Balance of Power Theories
   Critiques and Reformulations
   Balancing vs. Bandwagoning
   “Soft Balancing”
   Is Balancing Universal? Continental Systems and Maritime Systems
   Is Balancing Universal? Non-Western Systems
   Game-Theoretic Models of the Balance of Power
   Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and War
   Quantitative Studies of Polarity and of Systemic Capability Concentration
   The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis
   Alliances and War
   Quantitative Studies
   Formal Models of Alliances
   Alliance Data
   Alliance Cohesion in Wartime
   Domestic Sources of Alliances
   Lateral Pressure Theory
   Collective Security
5. **HEGEMONIC THEORIES (Oct. 5)**  
   Power Transition Theory – The Organski et al Research Program  
   Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory  
   Preventive War  
      Preventive Logic in 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  
   Theories of Unipolar Politics  
   David Kang’s Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia

6. **RIVALRIES, ARMS RACES, ISSUES, AND TERRITORY**  
   International Rivalries  
      Overview  
         The Diehl & Goertz Research Program on Rivalry  
         The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program  
         Rivalry Termination  
         Other Approaches to Rivalry  
   Arms Races and War  
      Historical Studies  
      The Richardson Model  
      Quantitative and Formal Approaches  
   Issues: What Do States Fight About?  
   Issues Correlates of War Project (ICOW)  
   Territory and War

   Introduction to Rational Choice Theories in IR  
   The Bargaining Model of War  
   The Commitment Problem  
   Informational Problems  
   Applications to the Duration and Termination of War  
   Behavioral Modifications of the Bargaining Model of War  
   Issue Indivisibility
7. THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE (March 3)
   Societal-Level Theories of War: Overviews
   The Democratic Peace
   Quantitative Empirical Studies
   Critiques
   Selectorate Theory
   The Territorial Peace
   Why Do Democracies Win Wars?
   Other Implications of the Democratic Peace
      Covert Action
      A Democratic Civil Peace?
   Democratization and War
   Presidential and Parliamentary Democracies
   Autocracies, War, and Peace

8. ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE CAPITALIST PEACE (Oct. 26)
   (and Other Economic Theories of Peace and War)
   General Treatments
   Marxist-Leninist Theories
   Does Trade Promote Peace?
      Quantitative Studies
      The Globalization of Production
   The Capitalist Peace
      The Contractual Peace
   The Impact of War on Trade
   The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries
   The World War I Anomaly in Economic Liberalism
   Finance and War
      Historical Studies
   Sectoral Interests and Coalitional Politics
   The Costs of Conflict

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, continued (Nov. 2)
   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
   Public Opinion and War
   Audience Costs
   Revolution and War
   Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies
IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES
Ideology and War
Culture and War
Race and War
Religion and War
The “Clash of Civilizations” (Huntington)
Attitudes toward War
Norms and War
Paul Schroeder’s Research Program on Ideas and Norms

10. DECISION-MAKING: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL (Nov. 9)
Overviews
Do Leaders Matter?
Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders
Beliefs and Images
   Images of the Enemy
Psychology and Threat Perception
Emotions, Motivated Reasoning, and War
   Neurobiological Approaches

11. INDIVIDUAL DECISION-MAKING, II (Nov. 16)
Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History
Prospect Theory Goes to War
Time Horizons
Other Psychological Models of Conflict
Psychoanalytic Approaches

ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES AND POLITICS
The Group Level
Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes
   Applications to the Causes of War
Crisis Decision-making: The Impact of Stress
   Definitions of Crisis
Strategic Culture
Civil-Military Relations
Militarism
Intelligence Failure
   Historical Cases
Military Doctrine and Military Innovation
Command and Control
Congress, the President, and War
12. SIGNALING, RESOLVE, REPUTATION, AND STATUS (Nov. 30)
   Reputation and Signaling
   Reputations and Signaling: Formal Models
   Domestic Oppositions and Signaling: Kenneth Schultz
   Domestic Oppositions: Other Perspectives
   Reputation and Resolve: Individual-Level Determinants
   Status and War

13. THE ESCALATION AND EXPANSION OF WAR (Dec. 7)
   General Studies of Crisis Escalation
   Models of Entrapment
   Loss of Control and Inadvertent War
   The Expansion (Spread) of War
   Applications to the First World War
   The Steps-to-War Model (Vasquez)
   World Wars

14. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THEORIES OF CONFLICT (??)
   Historiographical Debates
   International Relations Debates

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A-1 IS WAR DECLINING?
   Data Sets on Interstate War
   The Future of War

A-2 POWER
   Definition and Measurement of Military Power
   Military Effectiveness

A-3 ASYMMETRIC CONFLICTS

A-4 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, SECURITY REGIMES, AND PEACE
   Institutions and Peace
   Security Regimes
   Regional Security Systems
   Peace and Its Causes
   The Role of Law

A-5 ITERATED PRISONERS’ DILEMMA MODELS

A-6 THE NUCLEAR ERA
   Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory
   Nuclear Weapons and the Long Peace
   Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons
   Nuclear Proliferation
   Misc
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
The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program on Crisis Bargaining
Other Theories of Negotiation and Bargaining

TERRORISM
Historical and Normative Perspectives

COUNTERINSURGENCY

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

WAR TERMINATION

THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR
Winners and Losers
Economic Costs of War
Long-Term Consequences

GENDER AND WAR
Quantitative Empirical Studies

ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, & INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
Environmental Change, Scarcity, and Conflict
Climate Change and War
Water and War
Demography, Security, and Conflict
Refugees and Conflict
The Human Impact of War

SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

THEORIES OF JUST WAR
Religious Perspectives
Nuclear Age
Preemptive and Preventive Attack

THE "MILITARY REVOLUTION" AND THE RISE OF THE STATE
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 of Interstate War
Biological and Evolutionary Perspectives
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
COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

main number refers to week of the term
letter indicates multiple topics each week;
* indicates required reading; the other reading is included for those doing papers on the topic and for future reference.
for each week I recommend that you read in the order the items are listed.

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (September 7)
course organization, requirements, paper topics, etc.;
brief overview of the International Relations field

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1a. What is War?

1b. The Clausewitzian Paradigm
“Clausewitz Special Section,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, 6-7 (2014).

**Clausewitz and Small War**

1c. **The Levels-of-Analysis Framework**

2. **CONCEPTUAL ISSUES**, continued (September 14)
Required reading in sections a, b, d, e

2a. **Evolutionary, Biological, and Human Nature Perspectives: What Do They Explain?**
See more extended bibliography in Appendix A-2.

2b. **Typologies of War**

2c. **Concept of Total War**

2d. **The Use of Force**

2e. **Concepts of Causation**
3. **REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I** (January 21)
   Required readings in sections a, c-h

3a. **Varieties of Realist Theories**
   
   
   


3b. **Classical Realism**


3c. **Neorealist Theories of War**


3d. **The Spiral Model**

3e. **The Prisoner’s Dilemma Model (single-play)**
   - see appendices in iterated prisoner’s dilemma games

3f. **The Offensive/Defensive Balance**
3g. **Defensive Realism**


3h. **Offensive Realism**

  chap. 2, 7 (pp. 234-38, 264-66), and 8 (pp. 267-72, 329-33).

3i. **Neoclassical Realism**

4. **REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, II: BALANCE OF POWER THEORIES** (September 28)

required readings in sections a, e, i, j, l

4a. **Classical Balance of Power Theories**


**Historians’ Perspectives**


4b. **Critiques and Reformulations**


4c. **Balancing vs. Bandwagoning**


Symposium in *Security Studies*, 1, 3 (Spring 1992).


4d. “Soft Balancing”

4e. Is Balancing Universal? Continental Systems and Maritime Systems

4f. Is Balancing Universal? Non-Western Systems
4g. **Game-Theoretic Models of the Balance of Power**


4h. **Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and War**


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


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


See also section 5 on power transition theory.

4j. **Alliances and War**


**Quantitative Studies**


Formal Models of Alliances

Alliance Data
http://dmgibler.people.ua.edu/alliance-data.html
http://atop.rice.edu/data

Alliance Cohesion in Wartime

Domestic Sources of Alliances
4k. **Lateral Pressure Theory**  

4l. **Collective Security**  
  Chap. 4-7.  
See also bibliographies on security regimes.

5. **HEGEMONIC THEORIES** (October 5)  
Required readings in sections a, c, d, i, j, m

5a. **Power Transition Theory – The Organski et al Research Program**  


5b. **Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory**


Ronald Rogowski, "Structure, Growth, and Power: Three Rationalist Accounts."


5c. **Preventive War**

(Fits equally well under section on balance of power theory.)


**Formal Models of Preventive War**

See section 6 on the commitment problem

**Preventive Logic in the Nuclear Age**


**Applications to the First World War**


5d. **Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)**


5e. **Doran's Power Cycle Theory**


5f. **Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition and War**


5g. **Theories of Unipolar Politics**


“International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity.” Special issue, *World Politics*, 57, 2 (January 2009). Articles by Ikenberry, Mastanduno, and Wohlforth; Wohlforth; Finnemore; Walt; Masanduno; Snyder, Shapiro, Bloch-Elkon; Jervis.


5h. **David Kang’s Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia**


RIVALRIES, ARMS RACES, ISSUES, AND TERRITORY  (October 5)

5i. International Rivalries

Overview


The Diehl & Goertz Research Program on Rivalry


The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program


Rivalry Termination

Other Approaches to Rivalry
See also section on “The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries”
5j. **Arms Races and War**


**Historical Studies**


**The Richardson Model**


**Quantitative and Formal Approaches**


5k. **Issues: What Do States Fight About?**


5l. **Issues Correlates of War Project (ICOW, Paul Hensel and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell)**

http://www.paulhensel.org/icow.html


5m. **Territory and War**


6. **THE BARGAINING MODEL OF WAR** (October 12)

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


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


6c. **The Commitment Problem**


6d. **Informational Problems**


6e. **Applications to the Duration and Termination of War**


6e. Behavioral Modifications of the Bargaining Model of War


6g. Issue indivisibility


Ron E. Hassner, “To Halve and to Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility.” *Security Studies* 12, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 1–33;


Stacie Goddard, *Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010);

The Democratic Peace (October 19)

Required reading in sections a, b, e, i, k

7a. Societal-Level Theories of War: Overviews


7b. The Democratic Peace


### 7c. Quantitative Empirical Studies


**Critiques**


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


7e. **Selectorate Theory**


---

**The Capitalist Peace**

See week 8
7f. **The Territorial Peace**

7g. **Why Do Democracies Win Wars?**
45


7h. **Other Implications of the Democratic Peace**


DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017 0007123416000247

**Covert Action**


**A Democratic Civil Peace?**

Democratization and War


see also week 9 on the diversionary theory of war
7j. **Presidential and Parliamentary Democracies**

7k. **Autocracies, War, and Peace**
  Introduction & chap. 1.
Barbara Geddes, “What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2, no. 1 (1999): 115-144. (classification of authoritarian regimes)
Nam Kyu Kim, “Are Military Regimes Really Belligerent?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* online first, 1/5/17
8. **ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE CAPITALIST PEACE**  
(and Other Economic Theories of Peace and War)  
(October 26)

Required reading in sections a, c, d, i

8a. **General Treatments**


8b. **Marxist-Leninist Theories**

8c. **Does Trade Promote Peace?**


**Quantitative Studies**


**The Globalization of Production**


8d. **The Capitalist Peace**


**The Contractual Peace**


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


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


8g. **The World War I “Anomaly” in Economic Liberalism**


8h. **Finance and War**

**Historical Studies**

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


8j. **The Costs of Conflict**


9. **SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES**, continued (November 2)

(with some institutional arguments mixed in)

Required reading in sections a, b, d, g, j

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.


Formal Theoretical Approaches
Diana Richards, et al., "Good Times, Bad Times, and the Diversionary Use of Force."


### 9b. Leaders, Institutions, Political Survival, and War


See also week 7 on the selectorate model.

### 9c. Public Opinion and War


Matthew A. Baum and Tim Groeling, “Reality asserts itself: Public opinion on Iraq and the elasticity of reality.” *International Organization* 64 (Summer 2010), 443–479.


9d. **Audience Costs**


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


Branislav L. Slantchev, “Politicians, the Media, and Domestic Audience Costs.”


Jessica L. Weeks, “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve.”


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

9e. **Revolution and War**

9f. **Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies**
Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42 (Summer 1988): 427-60. Reprinted (pp. 431-68)in
IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES

9g. Ideology and War

9h. Culture and War
Vincenzo Bove, Gunes Gokmen, “Cultural Distance and Interstate Conflicts.” *British Journal of International Politics*, online 1/19/2016, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123415000551
See week 11 on strategic culture.
Race and War

Religion and War


**Historical Perspectives**


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


9k. **Attitudes toward War**


---

9l. **Norms and War**


**9m. Paul W. 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."

**10. DECISION-MAKING: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, I** (November 9)

Required reading in sections a, b, c, e, f

**10a. Overviews**


* Joshua D. Kertzer, and Dustin Tingley, “Political Psychology in International Relations: Beyond the Paradigms.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, forthcoming.


10b. **Do Leaders Matter?**


10c. **Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders**


10d. **Beliefs and Images**


**Images of the Enemy**


10e. **Psychology of Threat Perception**


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


10f. **Emotions, Motivated Reasoning, and War**


**Neurobiological Approaches**


11. **INDIVIDUAL DECISION-MAKING, II** (November 16)

   Required reading in sections b, f, g, i, l

11a. **Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History**


11b. **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.


11c. **Time Horizons**

11d. **Other Psychological Models of Conflict**

11e. **Psychoanalytic Approaches**
ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES AND POLITICS (November 16, cont.)

11f. The Group Level

11g. Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes

Applications to the Causes of War

11h. Crisis Decision-making: The Impact of Stress
(includes individual, group, and governmental levels)
Definitions of Crisis

11i. Strategic Culture

11j. Civil-Military Relations


**11k. Militarism**


**11l. Intelligence Failure**


**Historical Cases**


---

**11m. Military Doctrine and Military Innovation**


---

**11n. Command and Control**


110. **Congress, the President, and War** (needs reclassification)

12. **SIGNALING, RESOLVE, REPUTATION, AND STATUS** (November 30)
required reading in sections a, b, c, d, f

12a. **Reputation and Signaling**


12b. Reputation and Signaling: Formal Models


12c. **Domestic Oppositions and Signaling:** Kenneth Schultz  

12d. **Domestic Oppositions: Other Perspectives**  

12e. **Reputation and Resolve: Individual-Level Determinants**  

12f. **Status and War**  

13. THE ESCALATION AND EXPANSION OF WAR (December 7)

13a. General Studies of Crisis Escalation

13b. Models of Entrapment


see also week 11 on prospect theory

13c. **Loss of Control and Inadvertent War**

13d. **The Expansion (Spread) of War**
Applications to the First World War

13e. The Steps-to-War Model (Vasquez)
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123415000068

13f. World Wars
See week 4 on long cycle theory.
14. **THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THEORIES OF CONFLICT**

### 14a. Historiographical Debates


### 14b. International Relations Debates

* Read Copeland, Levy, and three more


Note that many of the following bibliographies need to be updated.

A-1 IS WAR DECLINING?


Data Sets on Interstate War

Since 1815


http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/MIDs


Since 1945


Since 1500 or before

**The Future of War**


A-2. **POWER**

**Definition and Measurement of Military Power**

**Military Effectiveness**
A-3 ASYMMETRIC CONFLICTS

A-4 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, SECURITY REGIMES, AND PEACE
Institutions and Peace

Security Regimes


See also week 5 on Collective Security

**Regional Security Systems**


**Peace and Its Causes**


**The Role of Law**


**ITERATED PRISONERS' DILEMMA MODELS**


A-6 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


Misc (need to be categorized)

A-7 THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING

Conceptualizations of Power and Influence

Classical Deterrence: Models and Critiques
Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics. Chap. 3.


### 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

The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program (BCOW) on Crisis Bargaining
Other Theories of Negotiation, Bargaining, and Deterrence

A-8 TERRORISM


**Historical and Normative Perspectives**


**A-9 COUNTERINSURGENCY**


A-10. CONFLICT RESOLUTION


A-11 WAR TERMINATION

See also week 6 on the bargaining model and war termination


### A-12 THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

**Winners and Losers**


**Economic Costs of War**


**Long-Term Consequences**


### A-13 GENDER AND WAR


**Quantitative Empirical Studies**


A-14 ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, & INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

**Environmental Change, Scarcity, and Conflict**


on scarcity see also week 4 on lateral pressure theory

Climate Change and War


Water and War


### Demography, Security, and Conflict


### Refugees and Conflict


Gil Loescher and Alan Dowty, "Refugee Flows as Grounds for International Action."


The Human Impact of War

A-15 SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD
A-16. THEORIES OF JUST WAR
Magnus Reitberger, “License to kill: is legitimate authority a requirement for just war?” International Theory 5, 1 (March 2013): 64-93.

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:
The International Studies Encyclopedia, ed. by Robert A. Denemark and Renée Marlin-Bennett, at http://www.isanet.org/Publications (for members)

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:
Biological and Evolutionary Perspectives

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*
- *Conflicts Management and Peace Science*
- *Journal of Strategic Studies*
- *Armed Forces and Society*
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 European 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. Deeakin)
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” series (general editor Hew Strachan)
For **encyclopedia**s of names, dates, and chronologies see internet sources, plus


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

*The Anchor Atlas of World History."
Rand McNally *Historical Atlas of the World."
Hammond *Historial Atlas of the World."*