THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

POLSGR8832

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

Sun Tzu, The Art of War

In this seminar we undertake a comprehensive review of the theoretical and empirical literature on interstate war, focusing primarily on the causes of war and the conditions of peace but giving some attention to the conduct and termination 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 disciplines can also benefit from the seminar and contribute to it, 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 other conditions, at some times rather than other times, between some states rather than other states, under the direction of some types of leaders rather than other types of leaders? 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, hybrid war, 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 consider 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. Indeed, some say that the aggressive people of Montenegro might precipitate World War III. 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 based on comparative advantage is beneficial.

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 on the termination or consequences of war, though in recent years scholars have devoted more attention to war termination and to 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 Ph.D. 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 far 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 one book and a substantial number of articles and chapters. The book,  
Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, Causes of War (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), is available for purchase at Book Culture (536 W. 112 St; 212/865-1588) and also on the internet, probably at better prices. I have asked Columbia Library to place the required book on reserve.

I will put pdf’s of all required article–length pieces (but not the book) on the Courseworks website for the class (https://courseworks.columbia.edu/), organized by week. In case any new student is unfamiliar with Courseworks, I will email you pdf’s of the readings for the first week of class, including chap. 1 from the Levy-Thompson book.

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, often with the aim of putting the current literature in the context of earlier work and other bodies of literature. We will then move to an open discussion of the material. Most weeks we will cover several distinct topics. We will focus primarily in the logical coherence of the theoretical argument, the appropriateness of the research designs and particular methods for testing the theoretical argument, and implications for other conflict theories. We want to identify the strengths as well as the weaknesses of a research program or of a particular article, and to identify useful directions for future research. We want to ask not only what is wrong with particular theories and efforts to test them, but also what is good about them and what we can do better. We are interested in historical examples illustrating various theories and their limitations, but our aim is to use these examples as vehicles for illustrating theories (or their problems), not to debate the best explanations of particular cases.

Our class discussions will be most useful if each student completes all of the required reading prior to each class meeting, comes to class prepared to discuss the reading, and actively participates in the discussion. I will try to make a few comments at the end of each class about things to think about in the reading for the following week, and which topics or readings to prioritize for discussion. In addition, I will ask each student to select, from a list provided below, three topics to which they will give special attention and come to class particularly well-prepared to discuss. This may involve reading one or two articles beyond the required reading on that topic.

The above-mentioned requirement is somewhat informal but important. The more formal requirement is to write a paper on a subject of your choice relating to war. I understand that many of you plan to focus your graduate work on topics relating to civil war, counterinsurgency, terrorism, and other topics, and for that reason I have no objection to papers on those topics as long as they related to war and peace broadly defined. Those papers should be informed by our readings for the class where they are relevant. I now turn to each of these requirements in more detail.
Requirement #1: Topics for Special Attention

Each student will select three of the following topics, read the two or (usually) three articles listed for each, and come to class especially well prepared to discuss these topics. Students will not give a formal presentation on their topics nor submit anything in writing, but I will expect you to be particularly active and well-informed in class discussion that day. If your topic comes up indirectly during a different week, I encourage you to speak out. We can have up to two students on a particular topic, so the sooner you let me know your choice of topics the better.

Many of these readings are required for the entire class, but for several topics I include one or sometimes two additional items. I have posted pdf’s of all readings not required of the entire class in the “Readings for special topics” folder on Courseworks, organized by week within the folder (required readings are in the “Week xx Readings” folder). Note that you do not have to read all of the items listed for a particular week in the “special topics” folder, only those listed with your topic in the following list. Let me know immediately if your readings are missing from Courseworks.

The list below includes the week of the term and topic number in the syllabus. I identify the readings by the author’s name and date of publication. I add the topic number on the syllabus if it is different. In some cases I give you a choice of readings. Let me know if anything is unclear.

Evolutionary approaches (2a)
   Wrangham (2006)
   Thayer (2000)
   Mead (1968)
   Gat (2009)

Security dilemma and the spiral model (3c)
   Jervis (1976)
   Jervis (1978, 3d)
   Glaser (1997)

Offensive/defensive balance (3e)
   Jervis (1978)
   Levy (1984)

Offensive realism (4a)
   Mearsheimer (2001 required reading for 4a)
   Mearsheimer (2001, chap. 5)
   Walt (2002, from 3a)
Defensive realism (4b)
Walt (1985)
Kydd (1997)
Betts (1999)

Balance of power theory (4g)
Gulick (1955, 3b)
Levy and Thompson (2010)
Levy and Thompson (2005)

Alliances and war (4f)
Morrow (2000)

Power transition theory (5a)
Tammen (2000)
DiCicco and Levy (1999)
Gilpin (1988, 5b)

Preventive war (5d)
Levy (2008)
Vasquez (2014: “Was the First World War a preventive War?” (focus on criteria, not WW1)
Schroeder (2011)

Strategic rivalry (5k)
Goertz and Diehl (in Midlarsky, 2000)
Thompson (2001)

Bargaining model of war (6bcd) [requires some familiarity with game theory]
Fearon (1995)
Powell (2006, 6c)
Streich and Levy (2016, 6d)

Democratic peace: Schultz Signaling Model (7e)
Russett and Starr (2000, 7b) & Owen (1994, 7b)
Schultz (2001), chap. 1-3

Democratic peace: Selectorate Model (7f)
Russett and Starr (2000, 7b) & Owen (1994, 7b)
Bueno de Mesquita et al (1999, 7f)

Economic Interdependence and the Capitalist Peace (8c, d)
Mansfield and Pollins (2001, 8c)
Gartzke and Westerwinter (2016, 8c)
McDonald (2007, 8d)
Sectoral Interests and Coalitional Politics (8i)
   Lobell (2004)
   Snyder (1991)

Diversionary theory of war (9a)
   Levy (1989)
   Haynes (2017)
   Fordham (2005)

Psychology of threat perception/misperception and war (10e)
   Jervis (1988)
   Yarhi-Milo (2013)
   Stein (2013, 10f)
   McDermott (2004)

Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History (10g)
   Jervis (1976)
   Levy (1994)
   Khong (1992, chap.2)

Prospect theory and war (11a)
   Kahneman and Tversky (1979)
   Levy (1997)
   Taliaferro (in *Political Psychology* 2004)

Civil-Military Relations (11i)
   Brooks (2008)
   Dassell (1998)

Strategic Culture (11h)
   Johnston (1995)

Intelligence failure (11j)
   Bar-Joseph & Levy (2009)

Audience costs (12c)
   Fearon (1994)
   Snyder and Borghard (2011)
   Kertzer and Brutger (2016)
Status and War (12f)
Dafoe et al (2014)
Renshon (2016)
Jervis AND Betts in 2012 SS Symposium, OR Wolf (2014)

The Expansion of War: The ConflictSpace Model (13f)
Vasquez et al (2011)
Levy (1990-91)

Counterfactual Analysis (13i)
Levy (2015)
Brands and Feaver (2017)

Requirement #2: paper

Given that students in the class will have different backgrounds and goals and may 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 topic relating to international conflict broadly defined (civil war, insurgency, terrorism, etc.), not just interstate war. Note, however, that if some of the material covered in class relates to parts of your paper on intrastate conflict, you should include it. 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 on a similar paper in other classes.

You should inform me, verbally or by email, of the topic you wish to pursue. I will probably ask for a longer written statement of your question and how you plan to go about analyzing it. For literature reviews, this might involve a preliminary outline and provisional bibliography at some point. For research papers, this might involve a 3-5 page research design. Basically, I will ask for a few intermediate products along the way to your final paper, to make sure we are on the same page and to provide hopefully feedback along the way.

Style: All papers should be single space with a space between paragraphs, with footnotes rather than endnotes, and submitted to me by email attachment. This makes papers easier to read. 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 of the paper (even though that style does not formally require a cumulative bibliography. The due date is end of day Saturday, December 15, eight days after our last class.
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. It can overlap with one or your three topics for requirement #1. The topic often coincides with a section or subsection of the course, but it sometimes spans several topics. 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).

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 (which, admittedly, vary in length).

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 or two 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Weighting</th>
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<tr>
<td>Contributions to class discussion, including on your three “special topics”</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>80%</td>
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**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)
   CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, I
   What is War?
   The Clausewitzian Paradigm
   Is Clausewitz Still Relevant? Clausewitz and Small War
   The Levels-of-Analysis Framework

2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, II (Sept. 14)
   Evolutionary and Biological Approaches: What Do They Explain?
   Typologies of War
   Concept of Total War
   Conceptualizing the Use of Force: Contemporary Clausewitzians
   Concepts of Causation

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I (Sept. 21)
   Varieties of Realist Theories
   Classical Balance of Power Theories
   Conceptual Ambiguities
   Some Historians’ Perspectives on the European System
   The Security Dilemma and the Spiral Model
   The Prisoner’s Dilemma Model (single-play)
   The Iterated Prisoner’s Dilemma Model
   The Offensive/Defensive Balance
   Neorealism, Theories of War

4. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, II (Sept. 28)
   Offensive Realism
   Defensive Realism
   Neoclassical Realism
   Debates about Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and War
   Quantitative Studies of Polarity and of Systemic Capability Concentration
   The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis
   Alliances and War
   Debates over Balancing vs. Bandwagoning
   Do Alliances Deter Provoke War? Quantitative Studies
   Formal Models of Alliances
   Alliance Data
   Alliance Cohesion in Wartime
   Domestic Sources of Alliances
   Whom Do States Balance Against? Land Powers and Sea Powers
   What Do States Balance Against? Disaggregating Power
   Is Balancing Universal? Non-Western Systems
“Soft Balancing”
Lateral Pressure Theory
Definition and Measurement of Military Power
Military Effectiveness
Asymmetric Conflicts

5. HEGEMONIC THEORIES (Oct. 5)
Power Transition Theory – The Organski et al Research Program
Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory
Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China
   Historical Perspectives
Preventive War
   Historical Applications
   Preventive Logic in the Nuclear Age
Rising Powers
Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)
Hegemonic War
Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition and War
Theories of Unipolar Politics
David Kang’s Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia

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
     Quantitative and Formal Approaches
Issues: What Do States Fight About?
Issues Correlates of War Project (ICOW)
Territory and War
   Borders and Walls

6. THE BARGAINING MODEL OF WAR (Oct. 12)
Introduction to Rational Choice Theories in IR
The Bargaining Model of War
The Commitment Problem
Informational Problems
Issue Indivisibility
Complications of Multilateral Bargaining
Other Formal Models of Bargaining
   Spatial Models
The Non-Formal Literature on Misperceptions and their Consequences
Behavioral Perspectives on the Bargaining Model of War

7. THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE (October 19)
   Societal-Level Theories of War: Overviews
   The Democratic Peace
   Quantitative Empirical Studies
     Monadic Level
     System level
   Critiques
   Schultz’s domestic oppositions signaling model
   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 THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE (Oct. 26)
   General Treatments
   Marxist-Leninist Theories
     Alternative Theories of Imperialism
   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
   World War I and Economic Liberalism
   Financing Wars
     Historical Studies
     World War I
   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
   Quantitative-Empirical Studies
Formal Theoretical Approaches
Case Studies
Diversionary Theory, Political Oppositions, and Signaling (back to Schultz)
Leaders, Institutions, Political Survival, and War
Public Opinion and War
Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies
Revolution and War

IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES
Ideology and War
Culture and War
  Race and War
Religion and War
  A Data Set
  Historical Perspectives
The “Clash of Civilizations” (Huntington)
Attitudes toward War
Norms and War
  Experimental Studies
The Law of War and Its Impact
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 of Threat Perception
  Emotions, Political Interests, Motivated Reasoning, and War
    Neurobiological Approaches
  Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History

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

ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES AND POLITICS
The Group Level
Bureaucratic Politics and 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

THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, AND WAR

12. SIGNALING, REPUTATION, RESOLVE, AND STATUS (Nov. 30)
   Signaling
   Reputation and Signaling: Formal Models
   Audience Costs
   Reputation: Empirical Studies
   Reputation and Resolve
   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
      Crisis (Mis)management
   The Expansion (Spread) of War
   The Steps-to-War Model (Vasquez)
   The ConflictSpace Model: Application to World War I
   Duration of War
      Implications of the Bargaining Model
      Psychological Perspectives and Debates

SOME ANALYTIC ISSUES
Methodological Issues: Quantitative
Methodological Issues: Qualitative
Future Directions in the Study of Interstate War
ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A-1 DATA SETS ON INTERSTATE WAR
   Since 1815
   Since 1945
   Since 1500 or Before

A-2 IS WAR DECLINING?

A-3 THE EVOLUTION OF WAR
   Biological and Evolutionary Perspectives
   Anthropological studies of the origins of war
   Archaeological Perspectives
   Historians’ Treatments
   The “Military Revolution” and the Rise of the State

A-4 THE NUCLEAR ERA
   Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory
   Nuclear Weapons and the Long Peace
   Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons: Qualitative
   Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons I: Quantitative
   Nuclear Weapons and Crisis Bargaining
   Nuclear Proliferation
   Misc

A-5 THE CHANGING NATURE OF WAR

A-6 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
   Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft
   The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program on Crisis Bargaining

A-7 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND SECURITY REGIMES
   Institutions and Peace
   Collective Security and Security Regimes
   Regional Security Systems

A-8 CONFLICT RESOLUTION

A-9 WAR TERMINATION
A-10 PEACEKEEPING

A-11 THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR
   Winners and Losers
   Economic Costs of War
   Human Costs of War

A-12 ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, & INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
   Environmental Change, Scarcity, and Conflict
   Climate Change and War
   Water and War
   Demography, Security, and Conflict
   Refugees and Conflict
   War

A-13 SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

A-14 THEORIES OF JUST WAR
   Religious Perspectives
   Nuclear Age
   Anticipatory Self-Defense

A-15 GENDER AND WAR
   Quantitative Empirical Studies
   Biological Perspectives

A-16 THE STUDY OF PEACE

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES
Reviews of the Literature on the Causes of Interstate War
Encyclopedias
Philosophers of Peace and War
Theories of Strategy
Anthologies of War and Peace Studies
   Quantitative studies
Interdisciplinary Perspectives
   Sociology
   Geography
   Anthropology
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 here, not in the
alphabetical order on Courseworks.

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (September 7)
Organizational meeting and theoretical introduction.
required reading (*) in sections a, b, c

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, I

1a. What is War?

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

**Is Clausewitz Still Relevant? Clausewitz and Small War**

1c. **The Levels-of-Analysis Framework**
2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, II (September 14)
Required reading in sections a, b, d, e

2a. Evolutionary Approaches: What Do They Explain?
See more extended bibliography in Appendix A-3.

2b. Typologies of War

2c. Concept of Total War

2d. Conceptualizing the Use of Force: Contemporary Clausewitzians
2e. **Concepts of Causation**


3. **REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I** (September 21)

Required readings in sections a-f

3a. **Varieties of Realist Theories**


3b. **Classical Balance of Power Theories**


**Conceptual Ambiguities**


**Some Historians’ Perspectives on the European System**


**3c. The Security Dilemma and the Spiral Model**


3d. **The Prisoner’s Dilemma Model (single-play)**


**The Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma Model**


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

3f. Neorealist Theories of War

4. REALIST THEORIES, II (September 28)
Required readings in sections a-c, e-h

4a. Offensive Realism
  chap. 2, 7 (pp. 234-38, 264-66), and 8 (pp. 267-72, 329-33).

4b. Defensive Realism


4c. **Neoclassical Realism**


Brian Rathbun, “A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism.” *Security Studies* 17, 2 (2008), 294-321.


4d. **Debates about Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and War**


Quantitative Studies of Polarity and of Systemic Capability Concentration

4e. The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis
See also week 5 on power transition theory.

4f. Alliances and War


**Debates over Balancing vs. Bandwagoning**


**Do Alliances Deter or Provoke 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


4g. **Whom Do States Balance Against? Land Powers and Sea Powers**


4h. **What Do States Balance Against? Disaggregating Power**


See also defensive realism

4i. **Balancing (or Not) in Non-Western Historical Systems**


4j. "Soft Balancing"

4k. Lateral Pressure Theory

4l. Definition and Measurement of Military Power
4m. Military Effectiveness


4n. Asymmetric Conflicts


5. **HEGEMONIC THEORIES** (October 5)
   Required readings in sections a-d, k, l, o

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

5b. **Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory**
5c. **Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China**

  https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydides-trap/406756/


**Historical Perspectives**


5d. **Preventive War**

(Fits equally well under balance of power theory.)


**Formal Models of Preventive War**

See week 6 on the commitment problem

**Historical Applications**


**Preventive Logic in the Nuclear Age**


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**5e. Rising Powers**


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


5g. **Hegemonic War**


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


5i. **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.


Daniel J. Sargent, “Paz Americana: Sketches for an Undiplomatic History.” *Diplomatic History* 42, 3 (June 2018): 357-76.
5j. **David Kang’s Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia**


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

5k. **International Rivalries**

**Overview**


**The Diehl & Goertz Research Program on Rivalry**


The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program


Rivalry Termination


Other Approaches to Rivalry


See also week 8 on “The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries”

### 51. Arms Races and War


### Historical Studies


Quantitative and Formal Approaches

5m. Issues: What Do States Fight About?
5n. **Issues Correlates of War Project (ICOW, Paul Hensel and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell)**

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


5o. **Territory and War**


**Borders and Walls**


6. THE BARGAINING MODEL OF WAR (October 12)
Required reading in sections a, b, c, h

6a. Introduction to Rational Choice Theories in IR

6b. The Bargaining Model of War

6c. The Commitment Problem


### 6d. Informational Problems


### 6e. 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.

6f. **Complications of Multilateral Bargaining**

6g. **Other Formal Models of Bargaining**

**Spatial Models**
6h. The Non-Formal Literature on Misperceptions and their Consequences
++ On the sources of misperception see week 10 on the Psychology of Threat Perception.

6i. Behavioral Perspectives on the Bargaining Model of War
7. **THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE** (October 19)
Required reading in sections a, b, e, f, j

7a. **Societal-Level Theories of War: Overviews**

7b. **The Democratic Peace**


7c. **Quantitative Empirical Studies**


Monadic Level

System Level

7d. Critiques
Forum, *American Political Science Review*, 99, 3 (August 2005), including
7e. **Schultz’s domestic oppositions signaling model**


++ see critique of Schultz’s model in 9b

7f. **Selectorate Theory**


**The Capitalist Peace**

See week 8
7g. The Territorial Peace
DOI: 10.1177/0022002717708599

7h. Why Do Democracies Win Wars?


### 7i. Other Implications of the Democratic Peace


#### Covert Action


#### A Democratic Civil Peace?

7j. **Democratization and War**


see also week 9 on the diversionary theory of war

7k. **Presidential and Parliamentary Democracies**


7l. **Autocracies, War, and Peace**


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)


8. **ECONOMIC THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE** (October 26)

Required reading in sections a, c, d, h, i

8a. **General Treatments**


8b. **Marxist-Leninist Theories**


**Alternative Theories of Imperialism**

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. **World War I and Economic Liberalism**


   Jack S. Levy and William Mulligan, “Neglected Paths from Economic Interdependence to War: The 1914 Case and Beyond,” 2018 working paper.
8h. **Financing Wars**


**Historical Studies**


World War I

8i. Sectoral Interests and Coalitional Politics

8j. The Costs of Conflict
9. **SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES**, continued (November 2)
   Required reading in sections a, b, d, g, j

9a. **The Diversionary Theory of War**

**Social Identity Theory**
Leonie Huddy, “From Group Identity to Political Cohesion and Commitment.” In

**Theoretical Applications to International Relations**

**Quantitative-Empirical Studies**


Ross A. Miller, "Regime Type, Strategic Interaction, and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43, 3 (June 1999), 388-402.


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


Formal Theoretical Approaches

Case Studies
9b. **Diversionary Theory, Political Oppositions, and Signaling** (back to Schultz)

9c. **Leaders, Institutions, Political Survival, and War**
See also week 7 on the selectorate model.

9d. **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.


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


**9f. Revolution and War**


**IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES**

(societal or system level)

**9g. Ideology and War**

9h. **Culture and War**
Mary L. Dudziak, “‘You didn’t see him lying…beside the gravel road in France’: Death, Distance, and American War Politics.” *Diplomatic History* 42, 1 (January 2018): 1-16.

See week 11 on strategic culture.

**Race and War**

9i. **Religion and War**


**A Data Set**


**Historical Perspectives**


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


9k. Attitudes toward War


91. **Norms and War**


Experimental Studies

9m. The Law of War and Its Impact
9n. **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, e-g

10a. **Overviews**


10b. **Do Leaders Matter?**
++ see reading in week 13 on counterfactual analysis

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, Political Interests, Motivated Reasoning, and War


**Neurobiological Approaches**


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


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

Required reading in sections a, f, g-j

**11a. 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.


11b. **Time Horizons**


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


11d. **Psychoanalytic Approaches**

**ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES AND POLITICS** (November 16, cont.)

11e. **The Group Level**

11f. **Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Processes**
Applications to the Causes of War

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

Definitions of Crisis
11h. **Strategic Culture**


11i. **Civil-Military Relations**


**Militarism**


11j. **Intelligence Failure**


**Historical Cases**


11k. Military Doctrine and Military Innovation

11l. Command and Control

THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, AND WAR
12. **SIGNALING, REPUTATION, RESOLVE, & STATUS** (November 30)
required reading in sections a, b, f
++ recall Schultz from week 7 and Morrow from week 4

12a. **Signaling**

12b. **Reputation and Signaling: Formal Models**


12c. Audience Costs


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


12d. Reputations: Empirical and Experimental Studies


12e. **Reputation and Resolve**


12f. **Status and War**


13. **THE ESCALATION AND EXPANSION OF CRISIS AND WAR** (Dec 7)

Required readings in sections c, e, f, i

13a. **General Studies of Crisis Escalation**


13b. **Models of Entrapment**


++ see also week 11 on prospect theory

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


### Crisis (Mis)Management


### 13d. The Expansion (Spread) of War


13e. **The Steps-to-War Model (Vasquez)**

13f. **The ConflictSpace Model: Application to World War I**

13g. **Duration of war**

**Implications of the Bargaining Model**


**Psychological Perspectives and Debates**


Dan Reiter, “Unifying the Study of the Causes and Duration of Wars, 168–77.


Alex Weisiger, “Conclusion to the Symposium on War Duration”

**SOME ANALYTIC ISSUES**

13h. **Methodological Issues: Quantitative**


“Dyadic Research Designs in International Studies.” *International Studies Quarterly* 60, 2 (June 2016), including

13i. **Methodological Issues: Qualitative**


13j. **Future Directions in the Study of Interstate War**

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

Note: some of the following bibliographies need to be updated.

A-1 DATA SETS ON INTERSTATE WAR

Since 1815
http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/MIDs


Since 1945


Since 1500 or before

A-2 IS WAR DECLINING?
Steven Pinker, “A History of Violence.”
http://edge.org/conversation/mc2011-history-violence-pinker


A-3 THE EVOLUTION OF WAR

**Biological and Evolutionary Perspectives**


Anthropological studies of the origins of war
Archaeological Perspectives


Historians’ Treatments


The “Military Revolution” and the Rise of the State

A-4 THE NUCLEAR ERA

**Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Theory**
**Nuclear Weapons and the "Long Peace"**


**Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons I: Qualitative**


Marc Trachtenberg, "The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Security* 10 (Summer 1985):


**Empirical Studies of Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence: Quantitative**


Nuclear Weapons and Crisis Bargaining
Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, “Crisis bargaining and nuclear blackmail.”
Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy.

Nuclear Proliferation

A-5 THE CHANGING NATURE OF WAR (needs updating)

A-6 THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING

Conceptualizations of Power and Influence
**Classical Deterrence: Models and Critiques**


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


The Lebow/Stein Research Program on Deterrence

Debates over Rational Deterrence Theory
Includes
Christopher Achen and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," 143-69.
Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, "Deterrence and Foreign Policy," 170-82.

Deterrence and Selection Effects
Alexander George's Research Program on Force and Statecraft

The Behavioral Correlates of War Research Program (BCOW) on Crisis Bargaining
A-7  INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND SECURITY REGIMES

Institutions and Peace

Collective Security and Security Regimes

Regional Security Systems


A-8. **CONFLICT RESOLUTION**


A-9 WAR TERMINATION

See also week 6 on the bargaining model and war termination
A-10 PEACEKEEPING (includes civil wars)

A-11 THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

**Winners and Losers**

**Economic Costs of War**

**Human Costs of War**
A-12 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


**A-13 SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD**


**A-14. THEORIES OF JUST WAR**


**Religious Perspectives**


Nuclear Age

Anticipatory Self-Defense

A-15 GENDER AND WAR


**Quantitative Empirical Studies**


**Biological Perspectives**

Rose McDermott, “Sex and Death: Gender Differences in Aggressions and Motivations for Violence.” *International Organization* 69, 3 (Summer 2015), 753-775.
THE STUDY OF PEACE
ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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

Encyclopedias:

Philosophers of Peace and War

Theories of Strategy


**Anthologies** of war and peace studies


Collections of **quantitative** studies of interstate war:


**Interdisciplinary perspectives**

**Sociology**

**Geography**

**Anthropology**

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

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

Other good journals on war/peace/security issues include

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

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

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

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

- *Foreign Affairs*
- *Foreign Policy*
- *The National Interest*
- *Orbis*
- *Survival*
- *Washington Quarterly*

Useful Historical Journals Include

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

The serious student of war and peace must have a solid grounding in international history, because it is from historical experience that many theories are generated and against which they must ultimately be tested. To the extent that the American IR literature engages with history the focus is generally the Western experience, especially the 19th and 20th centuries, though scholars have recently been giving a little more attention to Asia. Here I offer a few suggestions.

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

From the League of Venice (1495) to the Congress of Vienna (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 Hearer)

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

Arnold “Modern Wars” series (general editor Hew Strachan)
For **encyclopedias** of names, dates, and chronologies see internet sources, plus


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

- Rand McNally *Historical Atlas of the World*.
- Hammond *Historical Atlas of the World*.

There is much more online, of course.