

THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

POLSGR8832, Columbia University, Fall 2021

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Fridays, 10:10am – 12:00 noon
 Office Hours:
 after class & by appointment

"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 spread, 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. We look at a variety of methodological approaches: qualitative, quantitative, formal, and experimental. Our primary focus, however, is on the logical coherence and analytic limitations of theories and the kinds of research designs that might be useful in testing them.

The seminar is designed primarily for Ph.D. students (or aspiring Ph.D. 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 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 I have tried to organize the course in a way that will be useful for students with varying preparation and 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 for a typical Ph.D. 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 approach is primarily causal rather than normative. 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 international conflict 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. There are enough “hot spots” in the world today to create a non-trivial risk of interstate war, and the return of great power competition heightens the risk. The potential consequences of some of these wars – for human security, for the economy, and for 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, there is a practical consideration: Columbia has several scholars who have considerable expertise in terrorism, civil war, and other forms of intrastate conflict (Professors Fortna, Daly, and Mitts, for example), so a division of labor based on comparative advantage is beneficial. Similarly, the Columbia faculty’s expertise on nuclear weapons and strategy (Professors Betts, Biddle, Jervis, and Snyder, among others) lead me to minimize coverage of that important topic.

In our treatment of interstate war, we will not give much attention to military strategy or the 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. Finally, 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 understand, of course, that some students may have different career objectives.

This syllabus includes a far more extensive list of topics and sources than we will actually cover in the class. It serves as an analytically-organized bibliography of the field, though admittedly an incomplete and perhaps somewhat idiosyncratic one. It has evolved over many years, and I spend a lot of time updating and revising it for each new course. I hope it is useful, both now in the course and perhaps later on. If you find any typos or duplications, or have suggestions for additions, deletions, or reorganization, I would be happy to hear from you.

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 Levy-Thompson book, except for chapter 1 for our first day) on the Courseworks website for the class

(<https://courseworks.columbia.edu/>), organized by week.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

We will organize our weekly meetings as follows. I will usually begin with my own introductory comments on the readings, with the aim of putting it in the context of existing 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 will 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 can discuss historical examples bearing on various theories, but our aim is to use these examples as vehicles for illustrating theories and their limitations, not to engage in extensive debate about the best explanations of particular historical events. 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.

Our class discussions will be most useful, collectively and individually, 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. Such discussions will also make the course more enjoyable. Contributions to class discussion are an important component of a student's grade for the course. The primary component of the grade, however, is a paper on a subject of your choice relating to war or peace or to international conflict more generally.

The Paper

The paper requirement is somewhat flexible, as I understand that some students may be primarily interested in forms of international conflict other than interstate war. Consequently I will allow papers on any topic relating to international conflict broadly defined (civil war, insurgency, terrorism, etc.), not just interstate war. All papers, however, should be informed by our readings for the class where they are relevant. I also recognize that students are at different stages of their graduate programs, so anything from a literature review to a research design or a research paper is acceptable. If you are a first year Ph.D. 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, outlining your question and how you plan to answer it. 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 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. I will not formally grade these products, but doing them well will ultimately affect the quality of your final paper.

Style: 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 detailed in *Chicago Manual of Style* and adopted by *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and some other journals – 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 Wednesday, December 15 (midnight), five days after our last scheduled 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. Good paper topics often coincide with a section or subsection of the course, but sometimes span several topics. For example, a broader topic might be balance of power theory or power transition theory, while narrower topics might be preventive war, territory and war, or norms and war. In order to avoid misunderstandings, please secure my approval for your paper topic in advance.

The syllabus includes extensive bibliographies in the hope that they serve as useful guides, or at least points of departure, for many possible paper topics. I encourage you to utilize additional sources. This will be absolutely necessary on topics where my lists of sources is rather limited. 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 hopefully adding a few additional sources. 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). The order of items on the syllabus is rarely an indicator of their relative importance.

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 few models of what good papers look like. Those papers will also give you a sense of how many sources are appropriate. That varies, depending on whether your sources are primarily books or articles, but the equivalent of fifteen articles is often a good guide for a lower limit. How you organize your review and the substance of your arguments are more important than the length of your bibliography.

Research designs should identify the question you are trying to answer, ground it in the relevant 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 (with most at the lower end), 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:

Contributions to class discussion,	20%	
Paper	80%	(due Wednesday, December 15)

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
CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, I
What is War?
Typologies of War
 The Concept of Total War
The Clausewitzian Paradigm
Is Clausewitz Still Relevant?
Trends in War
2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, II
The Use of Force: Conceptual Distinctions
The Levels-of-Analysis Framework
Evolutionary and Primatological Approaches
Concepts of Causation
3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I
Varieties of Realist Theories
 Geopolitics
The Security Dilemma and the Spiral Model
 The Single-Play Prisoner's Dilemma Model
Neorealist Theories of War
Offensive Realism
Defensive Realism
The Offensive/Defensive Balance
Neoclassical Realism
Definition and Measurement of Military Power
Military Effectiveness
4. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, II
Classical Balance of Power Theories
 Conceptual Ambiguities
 Historians' Perspectives
Polarity and War
 Quantitative Studies of Polarity/Systemic Capability Concentration and War
The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis
Alliances
 Alliance Data
 Domestic Sources of Alliances
 Do Alliances Deter War or Provoke War?
 Formal Models of Alliances
 Wartime Military Coalitions

Balancing

Balancing vs. Bandwagoning

Whom Do States Balance Against? Land Powers and Sea Powers

What Do States Balance Against? Disaggregating Power

Balancing (or not) in Non-Western Systems

“Soft Balancing”

Lateral Pressure Theory

Issues: What Do States Fight About?

Issues Correlates of War Project (ICOW)

Territory and War

Borders and Walls

The Steps-to-War Model

Asymmetric Conflicts

Realist Theory and Great Power Cooperation

The Iterated Prisoner’s Dilemma Game

5. HEGEMONIC THEORIES

Power Transition Theory – The Organski et al Research Program

Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory

Historical Perspectives

Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China

Preventive War

Historical Applications

Preventive Logic in the Nuclear Age

The Status Quo/Revisionist Distinction

Rising and Declining Powers

Systemic Leadership and Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)

Hegemonic War (General/Systemic/World War)

Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition and War

Theories of Unipolar Politics

David Kang’s Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia

RIVALRIES AND ARMS RACES

International Rivalries

Overview

The Diehl & Goertz Research Program

The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program

Rivalry Termination

Other Approaches to Rivalry

Arms Races and War

Historical Studies

Quantitative and Formal Approaches

Arms Control

6. THE BARGAINING MODEL OF WAR
 - Rational Choice Theories: Introduction
 - The Bargaining Model of War
 - The Commitment Problem
 - Informational Problems
 - Issue Indivisibility
 - Complications of Multilateral Bargaining
 - Other Formal Models of Bargaining
 - Spatial Models
 - Behavioral Perspectives on the Bargaining Model of War

7. THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE
 - Societal-Level Theories of War: Overviews
 - The Democratic Peace
 - Kant
 - Measurement and Datasets
 - Quantitative Empirical Studies
 - Monadic Level
 - System level
 - Critiques
 - Domestic Oppositions and Signaling (Schultz)
 - Alternative Models of Political Oppositions and Signaling
 - Selectorate Theory (Burno de Mesquita et al)
 - 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
 - Datasets

8. ECONOMIC THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE
 - General Treatments
 - Marxist-Leninist Theories
 - Alternative Theories of Imperialism
 - Resources and War
 - Does Trade Promote Peace?
 - Quantitative-Empirical Studies
 - The Globalization of Production
 - The Capitalist Peace
 - The Contractual Peace
 - The Impact of War on Trade; Trading with the Enemy

The Militarization of Commercial Rivalries
 World War I: An Anomaly in Economic Liberalism?
 Finance and War
 Historical Perspectives
 The First World War
 Sectoral Interests and Coalitional Politics
 The Costs of Conflict

9. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES (continued)

The Diversionary Theory of War
 Social Identity Theory
 Debates over Mechanisms
 Quantitative-Empirical Studies
 Formal Theoretical Approaches
 Historical Case Studies
 Leaders, Institutions, Political Survival, and War
 Diversionary Theory, Political Oppositions, and Signaling (back to Schultz)
 Public Opinion and War
 The Media
 Gendered Attitudes towards War
 Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies
 Revolution and War

IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES

Constructivist Approaches (Background)
 Ideas, 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
 General
 The Nuclear Taboo
 Other Weapons
 The Territorial Integrity Norm
 Other Issues
 Experimental Studies
 Rhetoric, Justification, and Legitimacy
 The Law of War and Its Impact
 Paul W. Schroeder’s Research Program

10. DECISION-MAKING: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, I:
BELIEFS AND INFORMATION PROCESSING
 - Overviews
 - Do Leaders Matter?
 - Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders
 - Beliefs and Images
 - Images of the Enemy
 - Misperception and the Causes of War
 - Psychology of Threat Perception
 - Emotions, Interests, Motivated Reasoning, and War
 - Interpersonal Relationships and Face-to-Face Diplomacy
 - Neurobiological Approaches
 - Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History
 - Gender Differences in Decision-Making

11. DECISION-MAKING – THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, II
 - Prospect Theory Goes to War
 - Other Approaches to Risk and Uncertainty
 - Time Horizons
 - Other Psychological Models of Conflict
 - Psychoanalytic Approaches

- DECISION-MAKING – THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL
 - Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Processes
 - Applications to the Causes of War
 - The Small Group Level
 - Advisory Systems
 - Crisis Decision-making
 - Definitions of Crisis
 - The Impact of Stress
 - Strategic Culture
 - Civil-Military Relations
 - Militarism
 - Intelligence Failure
 - Historical Cases
 - Military Doctrine and Military Innovation
 - Command and Control
 - The President and Congress: War Powers

12. SIGNALING, REPUTATION, RESOLVE, AND STATUS
 - Signaling
 - Reputation and Signaling: Formal Models
 - Reputation: Empirical, Experimental, and Conceptual Studies
 - Reputation and Resolve
 - Audience Costs
 - Status and War
 - Humiliation, Disrespect, and Revenge

13. THE ESCALATION AND EXPANSION OF CRISES AND WAR
 - General Studies of Crisis Escalation
 - Models of Entrapment
 - Loss of Control and Inadvertent War
 - Crisis (Mis)management
 - The Expansion (Spread) of War
 - The First World War
 - Duration of War
 - Implications of the Bargaining Model
 - Psychological Perspectives and Debates

SOME ANALYTIC ISSUES

- Methodological Issues: Quantitative
- Methodological Issues: Experimental
- Methodological Issues: Qualitative
- Future Directions in the Study of Interstate War

APPENDICES

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

- A-2 IS WAR DECLINING?
 - Forecasting War

- A-3 THE EVOLUTION OF WAR
 - Biological, Primatological, and Evolutionary Perspectives
 - Anthropological studies of the origins of war
 - Archaeological Perspectives
 - The History of Warfare

- 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
 - Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons, II: Quantitative
 - Nuclear Weapons and Crisis Bargaining
 - Nuclear Strategies (US and Others')
 - Nuclear Proliferation

- A-5 THE CHANGING NATURE OF WARFARE

- A-6 THEORIES OF DETERRENCE AND BARGAINING
 - Classical Deterrence: Models and Critiques
 - The Huth-Russett Research Program on Deterrence
 - The Lebow/Stein Research Program on Deterrence
 - Further 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
 - Other Studies of Coercion and 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 and Social 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

A-13 SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

A-14 THEORIES OF JUST WAR

Theological Perspectives

Just War in the Nuclear and Information Age

Anticipatory Self-Defense

A-15 FEMINIST THEORIES OF WAR

A-16 THE STUDY OF PEACE

A-17 WAR AND STATE-MAKING

The “Military Revolution” and the Rise of the State

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Reviews (of the causes of interstate war)

Encyclopedias

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on War and Peace

General

Philosophy

Anthropology

Sociology

Geography

Economics

Theories of Strategy

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 10)

Organizational meeting and theoretical introduction.

required reading (*) in sections 1 a, b, c, e

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, I

1a. **What is War?**

- * John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chap. 1.
- * Margaret Mead, "Warfare Is Only an Invention –Not a Biological Necessity." *Asia* 40 (1940): 402-05. Reprinted in Leon Bramson and George W. Goethals, eds. *War*, rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 1968. Pp. 269-74.
- * Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Chap. 1.
- Raymond C. Kelly, *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000. Pp. 1-10.
- Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2nd ed., rev. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. Pp. 8-13.
- Bronislaw Malinowski, "An Anthropological Analysis of War." *American Journal of Sociology* 46 (1941): 521-50.
- Julian Lider, *On the Nature of War*. Westmead, England: Saxon House, 1977. Chap. 2 and pp. 269-72.
- Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chap. 1-2.
- Hidemi Suganami, "Explaining War: Some Critical Observations." *International Relations*, 16, 3 (Dec 2002): 307-326.

1b. **Typologies of War**

- * John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chap. 2, pp. 67-77 only.
- John A. Vasquez and Brandon Valeriano, "Classification of Interstate Wars." *Journal of Politics* 72, 2 (April 2010): 292-309.

The Concept of Total War

Hew Strachan, "On Total War and Modern War." *International History Review* 22, 2 (June 2000).

Roger Chickering, "Total War: The Use and Abuse of a Concept." In Manfred F. Boemeke, Roger Chickering, and Stig Förster, eds., *Anticipating Total War: The German and American Experiences, 1871-1914*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press/German Historical Institute, 1999. Pp. 13-28.

1c. The Clausewitzian Paradigm

- * Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Book I, chap. 1.
- Peter Paret, "Clausewitz." In Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Pp. 186-213.
- Michael Howard, *Clausewitz*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983.
- Raymond Aron, *Clausewitz*, trans. by Christine Booker and Norman Stone. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986.
- Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Michael I. Handel, *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy*. London: Cass, 1986.
- Beatrice Heuser, *Reading Clausewitz*. London: Pimlico, 2002.
- Hew Strachan, *Carl von Clausewitz's On War: A Biography*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007.
- Hew Strachan and Andreas Herberg-Rothe, eds. *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Andreas Herberg-Rothe, *Clausewitz's Puzzle: The Political Theory of War*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Antulio J. Echevarria II, *Clausewitz & Contemporary War*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Thomas Waldman, *War, Clausewitz and the Trinity*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013.
- "Clausewitz Special Section," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, 6-7 (2014).
- George Dimitriu, Clausewitz and the politics of war: A contemporary theory, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 43, 5 (2020), 645-685.

1d. Is Clausewitz Still Relevant?

- Christopher Daase and James W. Davis, eds., *Clausewitz on Small War*. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2015.
- Jack S. Levy, "Clausewitz and People's War." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, 3 (2017): 450-56.
- Antulio J. Echevarria II, "Hostility and War, Small or Otherwise." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 40, 3 (2017): 443-49.
- Mary Kaldor, "Inconclusive Wars: Is Clausewitz Still Relevant in these Global Times?" *Global Policy* 1, 3 (2010): 271-81.
- Sibylle Scheipers, *On small war: Carl von Clausewitz and people's war*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018.

R. Gerald Hughes & Alexandros Koutsoukis, "Clausewitz first, and last, and always: war, strategy and intelligence in the twenty-first century." *Intelligence and National Security* 34, 3 (2019): 438-55.

1e. Trends in War

- * Steven Pinker, "A History of Violence." Excerpt from Pinker, *A History of Violence*, Edge Master Class 2011. <http://edge.org/conversation/mc2011-history-violence-pinker>
Either read excerpt on Courseworks or watch video (watch the first minute introduction, move to minute 15:00 and the section on "The Long Peace," continue to the beginning of the discussion of genocide at minute 27:15)
Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of our Nature: The Decline of Violence and its Psychological Roots*. London: New York: Penguin, 2011.
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, ed., "Forum: The Decline of War," *International Studies Review* 15, 3 (September 2013): 396-419.
- Joshua S. Goldstein, *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*. New York: Penguin/Dutton, 2011.
- "Has Violence Declined in World Politics? A Discussion of Joshua S. Goldstein's *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, 2 (2013): 566-77.
- Bear F. Braumoeller, "Trends in Interstate Conflict." In Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and John A. Vasquez, "What Do We Know about War?" In Mitchell and Vasquez eds., *What Do We Know about War?* 3rd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021. pp. 272-89.
- Therése Pettersson, "Organized Violence 1989–2020, with a special emphasis on Syria" *Journal of Peace Research* 58, 4 (July 2021), 809-25.
- Jack S. Levy, Thomas C. Walker, and Martin S. Edwards, "Continuity and Change in the Evolution of War." In Zeev Maoz, ed., *War in a Changing World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- +++ see Appendix A-2, Is War Declining?

2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES, II (September 17)

Required reading in sections 2a, b, c, d

2a. The Use of Force: Conceptual Distinctions

- * Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Chap. 1-2: "The Diplomacy of Violence" and "The Art of Commitment."
- Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security* 4, 4 (Spring 1980): 3-35.
- Robert J. Art, "Force and Fungibility Reconsidered." *Security Studies*, 8, 4 (Summer 1999), 183-189.
- Alexander George, Hall and Simons, *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy*. 2nd ed. Boulder, Col.: Westview, 1994. Chap. 1-3.

2b. The Levels-of-Analysis Framework

no need to re-read the next two if you are familiar with them.

- * Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Chap. 1.
- * Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 1.
- J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Politics." *World Politics*, 14, 1 (October 1961): 77-92.
- James Lee Ray, "Integrating Levels of Analysis in World Politics." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13, 4 (2001): 355-88.
- James N. Rosenau, "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy." In R. B. Farrell, ed., *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966.
- Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory." *International Organization* 41, 3 (Summer 1987): 335-70.

2c. Evolutionary and Primatological Approaches

- * Robert Wrangham, "Why Apes and Humans Kill." In Martin Jones and A.C. Fabian, eds., *Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. 43-62.
 - Azar Gat, "So Why Do People Fight? Evolutionary Theory and the Causes of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 15, 4 (2009): 571-99.
 - Azar Gat, *War in Human Civilization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
 - Bradley A. Thayer, "Bringing in Darwin: Evolutionary Theory, Realism, and International Politics." *International Security* 25, 2 (Fall 2000): 124-51.
 - Bradley A. Thayer, *Darwin and International Relations: On the Evolutionary Origins of War and Ethnic Conflict*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.
 - Duncan Bell and Paul McDonald, "Start the Evolution without Us," *International Security*, 26, (Summer 2001): 187-194. Response to Thayer
 - Stephen Peter Rosen, *War and Human Nature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
 - Greg Cashman, *What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: 2014. Chap. 2.
 - Robert A. Hinde, "Aggression and War: Individuals, Groups, and States." In Philip E. Tetlock, et. al., *Behavior, Society, and International Conflict*, vol. III. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Chap. 1.
 - Anthony Lopez, "The Evolution of War: Theory and Controversy." *International Theory* 8, (March 2016): 97-137.
- +++ See more extended bibliography in Appendix A-3.

2d. Concepts of Causation

- * Gary Goertz and Jack S. Levy, "Causal Explanation, Necessary Conditions, and Case Studies." In Gary Goertz and Jack S. Levy, eds., *Explaining War and Peace: Case Studies and Necessary Condition Counterfactuals*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Pp. 9-45.
- Henry E. Brady, "Causation and Explanation in Social Science." In Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Henry E. Brady, and David Collier, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. 217-70.
- Peter Hedstrom and Petri Ylikoski, "Causal mechanisms in the social sciences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010): 49-67.
- John L. Mackie, 1965. "Causes and Conditions." *American Philosophical Quarterly* 2:45-64. (on INUS causes)
- Jack S. Levy, "The 'Paths-to-War' Concept." In John A. Vasquez, ed., *What Do We Know about War?* 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012. Pp. 281-90. uses INUS to define causal path

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I (September 24)

Required readings in sections 3 a-d, f

3a. Varieties of Realist Theories

- * Stephen M. Walt, "The Enduring Relevance of the Realist Tradition." In Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, eds., *Political Science: State of the Discipline*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002. Pp. 197-230.
- * Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Chap. 2.
- Michael W. Doyle, "The Range of Realism." In Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997. Chap. 2.
- Stephen G. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms." *International Organization* 51, 3 (Summer, 1997), 445-477.
- William C. Wohlforth, "Realism." In Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. 131-49.
- "Roots of Realism." Special Issue, ed. Benjamin Frankel, *Security Studies* 5, 2 (Winter 1995).
- "Realism: Restatements and Renewal." Special Issue, ed. Benjamin Frankel, *Security Studies* 5, 3 (Spring 1996).
- Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.
- Keir A. Lieber, ed., *War, Peace, and International Political Realism: Perspectives from The Review of Politics*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.
- Yuan-kang Wang, *Harmony and War: Confucian Culture and Chinese Power Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Geopolitics

Halford J. MacKinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History." *Geographical Journal* 23, no. 4 (1904): 421–437.

Colin Flint, ed., *The Geography of War and Peace*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, 3rd Edition. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

3b. The Security Dilemma and the Spiral Model

* Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30, 2 (January 1978), 167-186. (we read the rest in 3f)

* Robert Jervis, "Deterrence, the Spiral Model, and Intentions of the Adversary." In Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 3.

Charles L. Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50, 1 (October 1997): 171-201.

Andrew Kydd, "Game Theory and the Spiral Model." *World Politics* 49, 3 (April 1997): 371-400.

Randall L. Schweller, "Neorealism's Status Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *Security Studies*, 5, 3 (Spring 1996): 90-121.

Evan Braden Montgomery, "Breaking Out of the Security Dilemma: Realism, Reassurance, and the Problem of Uncertainty." *International Security*, 31, 2 (Fall 2006), 7-41.

Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3 (Winter 2000): 39-60.

Ken Booth and Nicholas J. Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Allan Dafoe, Sophia Hatz, and Baobao Zhang, "Coercion and Provocation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2021 65(2-3) (February-March):372-402.

Dan Reiter, "Exploding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen." *International Security* 20, 2 (Fall 1995): 5-34.

The Single-Play Prisoner's Dilemma Game

R. Harrison Wagner, "The Theory of Games and the Problem of International Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 77, 2 (June 1983): 330-346.

Glenn Snyder and Paul Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977. Chap. II.

Thomas Schelling, *Micromotives and Macrobehavior* New York: Norton, 1978.

Bruce Russett, *The Prisoners of Insecurity*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1983. Chap. 5-6.

3c. Neorealist Theories of War

- * Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18, 4 (Spring): 615-28.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Realism and International Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Colin Elman, "Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" *Security Studies*, 6, 1 (Autumn 1996), 7-53. Plus Waltz reply and Elman response.
- Patrick James, "Structural Realism and the Causes of War." *Mershon International Studies Review* 39 (1995): 181-208.
- Davide Fiammenghi, "The Security Curve and the Structure of International Politics: A Neorealist Synthesis." *International Security* 35, 4 (Spring 2011): 126–154.
- Joseph M. Parent and Sebastian Rosato, "Balancing in Neorealism." *International Security* 40, 2 (Fall 2015): 51-86.

3d. Offensive Realism

- * John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 2001. chap. 2, 7 (pp. 234-38, 264-66), and 8 (pp. 267-72, 329-33).
- Glenn H. Snyder, "Mearsheimer's World—Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay." *International Security*, 27, 1 (Summer 2002), 149-73.
- Barry R. Posen, "The Best Defense." *The National Interest* 67 (Spring 2002), 119-26.
- Eric J. Labs, "Beyond Victory: Offensive Realism and the Expansion of War Aims." *Security Studies*, 6 (summer), 1-49.
- Colin Elman, "Extending Offensive Realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony." *American Political Science Review*, 98, 4 (November 2004), 563-76.
- Keir A. Lieber, *War and the Engineers: The Primacy of Politics over Technology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Yuan-Kang Wang, *Harmony and War: Confucian Culture, Chinese Power Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Shiping Tang, "Fear in International Politics: Two Positions." *International Studies Review* 10, 3 (2008), 451–471.

3e. Defensive Realism

- Andrew Kydd, "Sheep in Sheep's Clothing: Why Security Seekers Do Not Fight Each Other." *Security Studies* 7, 1 (Autumn 1997): 114-54.
- Charles L. Glaser, "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help," *Security Studies*, 5, 3 (Spring 1996): 122-63.
- Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Richard K. Betts, "Must War Find a Way? A Review Essay." *International Security*, 24, 2 (Fall 1999): 166-198. (review of Van Evera)
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, *Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Charles L. Glaser, *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Shiping Tang, *A Theory of Security Strategy for Our Time: Defensive Realism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

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

- * Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30, 2 (January 1978), pp. 186-213.
- Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War." *International Security* 9, 1 (Summer 1984): 58-108.
- Steven Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War." *International Security* 22, 4 (1998): 5-43.
- Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Jack S. Levy, "The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology and the Incidence of War." *International Studies Quarterly* 28, 2 (June 1984): 219-238.
- Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Offense-Defense Theory and Its Critics." *Security Studies* 4 (Summer 1995): 660-91.
- Charles L. Glaser and Chaim Kaufman, "What Is the Offense-Defense Balance and How Can We Measure It." *International Security* 22, 4 (Spring 1998): 44-82.
- James W. Davis, James W., Bernard I., Finel, Stacie E. Goddard, Stephen Van Evera, Charles L. Glaser, and Chaim Kaufmann, "Correspondence: Taking Offense at Offense-Defense Theory. *International Security* 23, 3 (1998-1999):179-206.
- Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999. Chap. 3, 6-7.
- Stephen Biddle, "Rebuilding the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory." *Journal of Politics* 63, 3 (August 2001): 741-774.
- Michael Brown and Owen R. Coté, eds., *Offense, Defense, and War*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004.
- Karen Ruth Adams, "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance." *International Security* 28, 3 (Winter 2003-04): 45-83.
- Shiping Tang, "Offence-Defence Theory: Towards a Definitive Understanding," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer 2010).
- Keir A. Lieber, "Mission Impossible: Measuring the Offense-Defense Balance with Military Net Assessment," *Security Studies*, 20, 3 (2011), pp. 451-459.
- Rebecca Slayton, "What Is the Cyber Offense-Defense Balance? Conceptions, Causes, and Assessment," *International Security* (2017): 72-109.

3g. Neoclassical Realism

- Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016. Intro & chap. 1.
- Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics*, 51, 1 (October 1998), 144-72.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2004):159– 201.
- Randall L. Schweller, *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource-Extractive State." *Security Studies* 15, 3 (2006): 464-95.
- Shiping Tang, "Taking Stock of Neoclassical Realism," *International Studies Review*, 11, 4 (2009): 799– 803.
- 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.
- Nicholas Kitchen, "Systemic pressures and domestic ideas: a neoclassical realist model of grand strategy formation." *Review of International Studies* 36, 1 (December 2009): 117-43.

3h. Definition and Measurement of Military Power

- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*. New York: Knopf, 1948. Part III.
- A.F.K. Organski, *World Politics*. New York: Knopf, 1958. Chap. 6-9.
- Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*. Trans. Richard Howard and Annette Baker Fox. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966 [1960]. Chap. II.
- David A. Baldwin, *Paradoxes of Power*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- David A. Baldwin, "Force, Fungibility, and Influence." *Security Studies*, 8, 4 (Summer 1999), 173-83.
- Klaus Knorr, *Military Power and Potential*. Lexington: DC Heath, 1970.
- David A. Baldwin, *Paradoxes of Power*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- J. David Singer, "Reconstructing the Correlates of War Dataset on Material Capabilities of States, 1816–1985," *International Interactions* 14, 2 (April 1988): 115–132.
- Jacek Kugler and William Domke, "Comparing the Strength of Nations." *Comparative Political Studies* 19 (April 1986): 39-69.
- Joseph S. Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- William C. Wohlforth, *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Ann Hironaka, *Tokens of Power: Rethinking War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Chap. 2.

Michael Beckley, "The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters." *International Security* 43, 2 (Fall 2018): 7–44.

Caleb Pomeroy and Michael Beckley, "Correspondence: Measuring Power in International Relations." *International Security*, 44, 1 (Summer 2019), 197–200.

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics." *International Organization* 59, 1 (Winter 2005), 39-75.

+++ see also next section and sections on defensive realism and on disaggregating power

3i. **Military Effectiveness**

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

"*Military Power: A Roundtable Review*," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 3 (June 2005). Articles by Eliot Cohen, Lawrence Freedman, Michael Horowitz and Stephen Rosen, Martin van Creveld, and Stephen Biddle.

Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley, ed., *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.

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Richard K. Betts, *Military Readiness: Concepts, Choices, Consequences*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1995.

Stephen Peter Rosen, "Military Effectiveness: Why Society Matters." *International Security* 19, 4 (Spring 1995): 5-31.

Stephen Peter Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and Its Armies*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996.

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Theo Farrell, "Figuring Out Fighting Organisations: The New Organisational Analysis in Strategic Studies." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 19, 1 (March 1996): 122-35.

William C. Martel, *Victory in War: Foundations of Modern Military Policy*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Patricia L. Sullivan, *Who Wins? Predicting Strategic Success and Failure in Armed Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Jasen Castillo, *Endurance and War: The National Sources of Military Cohesion*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014.

Cathal J. Nolan, *The Allure of Battle: A History of How Wars Have Been Won and Lost*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Michael Beckley, "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, 1 (2010): 43–79.

Errol Henderson and Resat Bayer, "Wallets, Ballots or Bullets: Does Wealth, Democracy, or Military Capabilities Determine War Outcomes?" *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (2013): 303–17.

4. **REALIST THEORIES, II** (October 1)

Required readings in sections 4 a, d, e, h, i,

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

- * Randall L. Schweller, "The Balance of Power in World Politics." In William R. Thompson, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Empirical International Relations Theory*, 4 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. Vol. 1, pp. 143-57.
- * Robert Jervis, *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. pp. 131-39 only.
- Edward Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1955. Chap. 2.
- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 4th ed. New York: Knopf, 1967. Part IV.
- Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations*. New York: Random House, 1962. Chap. 1-3.
- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: The Study of Order in World Politics*. London: Macmillan, 1977.
- Moorhead Wright, ed., *Theory and Practice of the Balance of Power, 1486–1914: Selected European Writings*. London: Dent, 1975.
- Special Issue, The Balance of Power, *Review of International Studies*, 15, 2 (April 1989).
- Michael Sheehan, *The Balance of Power: History and Theory*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Richard Little, *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths, and Models*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Morton A. Kaplan, "Balance of Power, Bipolarity, and Other Models of International Systems," *American Political Science Review* 51, 3 (September 1957), 684-95.
- Stella Ghervas, "Balance of Power vs. Perpetual Peace: Paradigms of European Order from Utrecht to Vienna, 1713-1815." *International History Review* 39, 3 (2017): 404-25.

Conceptual Ambiguities

- Ernest B. Haas, "The Balance of Power: Prescription, Concept, or Propaganda?" *World Politics* 5, 4 (July 1953): 442-77.
- Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations*. New York: Random House, 1962.
- Jack S. Levy, "Balances and Balancing: Concepts, Propositions, and Research Design." In John A. Vasquez and Colin Elman, eds., *Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2003. Pp. 128-53.

Historians' Perspectives

- Brendan Simms, *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy from 1453 to the Present*. New York: Basic Books, 2013.
- A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for the Mastery of Europe, 1848-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Ludwig Dehio, *The Precarious Balance: Four Centuries of the European Power Struggle*. New York: Random House/Vintage, 1962.

4b. Polarity and War

- Karl Deutsch and J. David Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability," in James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1969. Chap. #29, pp. 315-24.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 129-138, 161-76.
- John Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System." *International Security* 10, 4 (Spring 1986), pp. 105-110 only.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 2001.
- Ted Hopf, "Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War." *American Political Science Review* 85 (June 1991): 475-94.
- R. Harrison Wagner, "What Was Bipolarity?" *International Organization* 47 (Winter 1993): 77-106.
- Øystein Tunsjø, *The Return of Bipolarity in World Politics: China, the United States, and Geostuctural Realism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.

Quantitative Studies of Polarity/Systemic Capability Concentration and War

- D. Scott Bennett and Allan C. Stam, *The Behavioral Origins of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Alan Sabrosky, ed., *Polarity and War*. Boulder, Col.: Westview, 1985. including Jack S. Levy, "The Polarity of the System and International Stability: An Empirical Analysis," pp. 41-66.
- Frank Whelon Wayman and T. Clifton Morgan (1990). "Measuring Polarity in the International System" In J. David Singer and Paul F. Diehl (eds.), *Measuring the Correlates of War*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bear F. Braumoeller, *The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective*. New York: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- James Lee Ray and Patrick Bentley, "Power Concentration and Interstate Conflict: Is there a Connection?" *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 22, 4 (October 2010): 407-29.

4c. The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis

- Stuart A. Bremer, "Dangerous Dyads: Conditions Affecting the Likelihood of Interstate War, 1816-1965." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36 (June 1992): 309-41.
- Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman, "Empirical Support for Systemic and Dyadic Explanations of International Conflict." *World Politics* 41, 1 (October 1988): 1-20.
- Douglas Lemke and Suzanne Werner, "Power Parity, Commitment to Change, and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (June 1996): 235-60.
- D. Scott Bennett and Allan C. Stam, *The Behavioral Origins of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Håvard Hegre, "Gravitating toward War: Preponderance May Pacify, but Power Kills," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, 4 (August 2008), pp. 566-589.
- Daniel S. Morey and Kellyl M. Kadera, "Dyadic Power Distribution and War." In Mitchell and Vasquez eds., *What Do We Know about War?* 3rd ed., chap. 2.
- See also week 5 on power transition theory.

4d. Alliances

- * Stephen M. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." *International Security* 9, 4 (Spring 1985): 3-43.
- * John A. Vasquez, "What Do We Know about War?" In John A. Vasquez, ed., *What Do We Know about War?* 3rd ed. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2021. Pp. 319-42. (on alliances, territorial disputes, rivalries, and other topics covered this week)
- * Paul Poast, *Arguing about Alliances: The Art of Agreement in Military-Pact Negotiations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019. Introduction & Chap. 1.
- Timothy W. Crawford, "Preventing Enemy Coalitions: How Wedge Strategies Shape Power Politics." *International Security*. 35, 4 (Spring 2011): 155-89.
- Stephen M. Walt, *Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Glenn H. Snyder, *Alliance Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- James D. Morrow, "Alliances: Why Write Them Down?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3 (2000): 63-83. (see also later sections on signaling)
- Ole R. Holsti, P. Terrence Hopmann, and John D. Sullivan, *Unity and Disintegration in International Alliances: Comparative Studies*. New York: Wiley, 1973.
- Paul W. Schroeder. "Alliances, 1815-1945: Weapons of Power and Tools of Management." In Klaus Knorr, ed., *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems*. Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 1976. Pp. 227-62.
- Benjamin Fordham and Paul Poast, "All Alliances are Multilateral: Rethinking Alliance Formation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. August 2016: 840-865.
- Marina E. Henke, "Buying Allies: Payment Practices in Multilateral Military Coalitions." *International Security* 43, 4 (2019), 128-62.
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44 (Spring 1990): 137-69.
- Thomas S. Wilkins, "'Alignment,' not 'Alliance' the Shifting Paradigm of International Security Cooperation: Toward a Conceptual Taxonomy of Alignment." *Review of International Studies*, 38, 1 (2012): 53-76.
- Tongfi Kim, "Why Alliances Entangle But Seldom Entrap States." *Security Studies*, 20, 3 (2011): 350-377.
- Gregory D. Miller, *The Shadow of the Past: Reputation and Military Alliances Before the First World War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Yasuhiro Izumikawa, "To Coerce or Reward? Theorizing Wedge Strategies in Alliance Politics." *Security Studies* 22, 3 (2013): 498-531.
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Alliance Data

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Brett Ashley Leeds, Jeffrey M. Ritter, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Andrew G. Long. "Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions, 1815-1944." *International Interactions* 28 (2002): 237-260.

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Brandon J. Kinne, "The Defense Cooperation Agreement Dataset (DCAD)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64, 4 (2020): 729-755.

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RIVALRIES AND ARMS RACES

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The Capitalist Peace

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APPENDICES

Many of the following are viable topics for papers. Check with me.

A-1 DATA SETS ON INTERSTATE CONFLICT/WAR

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