

THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE

POLSGR8832, Columbia University, Fall 2023

Jack S. Levy
jsl2169@columbia.edu
jacklevy@polisci.rutgers.edu *
<https://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/levy/>

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*

The Russo-Ukrainian War does not necessarily confirm the saying that “only the dead have seen the end of war,” but it does suggest that forecasts of the continuing decline of international war are probably premature. 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 causal 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 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 those from other subfields and disciplines can also benefit from the seminar and contribute to it in important ways. Members of the seminar should have some familiarity with theories of international relations and (ideally) some exposure to principles of research design and to statistical, experimental, and/or game theoretic methods. I recognize, however, that students will bring rather diverse backgrounds to the seminar. I have tried to organize the course in a way that will be useful for students with different academic backgrounds and career objectives. I have tried to combine breadth of coverage of the “mainstream” scholarship in the field with flexibility for students to advance their own programs of study. 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 topics for their paper for the class. The required readings are rather extensive, though no more extensive than for most Ph.D. seminars.

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, Thucydides, and Kautilya. 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 primary concern, following most of the social science literature on the topic, 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 focus primarily on interstate war. True, the most common forms of international conflict in recent decades have involved civil war, insurgency, counterinsurgency, terrorism, and various forms of communal violence, while wars between states have declined. But the Russo-Ukrainian War, China’s increasingly assertive behavior toward Taiwan, and many regional conflicts remind us of the “return of great power competition” and the increasing potential for interstate wars. The potential consequences 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, at the practical level, Columbia has numerous scholars with expertise in terrorism, civil war, and other forms of intrastate conflict (Professors Biddle, Daly, Fortna, and Mitts, for example). A division of labor based on comparative advantage is beneficial.

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 and depth of coverage. 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.

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. For

additional coverage of topics related to the domestic sources of foreign policy, see my Foreign Policy Analysis syllabus at <https://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/levy/> .

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 have put pdf's of all required article-length pieces on the Courseworks website for the class (<https://courseworks.columbia.edu/>), organized by week. In addition, I have posted chap. 1 of the Levy-Thompson book on Courseworks for our first day of class, for those who have not yet been able to acquire the book or who are uncertain about their interest in the seminar.

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 them 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 on the logical coherence of theoretical arguments, the appropriateness of particular research designs and methods for testing them, and implications for other conflict theories. 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 (however interesting that might be). 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. Although the primary component of the grade is a paper on a subject of your choice relating to war or peace or to international conflict more generally, significant contributions to class discussion are usually a necessary condition for an A grade.

The Paper

Given that some students' primary scholarly interests focus on forms of war or international conflict other than the interstate war focus of our weekly meetings, and given my hope of making the seminar useful to students with a wide range of interests, I will allow papers on any topic relating to international conflict broadly defined (civil war, insurgency, terrorism, etc.). All papers, however, should be informed by our readings for the class where those readings are relevant, as many of them are. I also recognize that students are at different stages of their graduate programs, so I will accept anything from a literature review to a research design or a research paper.

If you are a first year Ph.D. student, or perhaps someone outside of the IR field, a literature review paper might be appropriate and useful. 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.

I am happy to discuss your ideas for paper topics – in person or by email. In either case, I want an email confirmation 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 designs or research papers, I will ask for a paragraph topic statement, and then for research papers a 2-4 page research design. This is to make sure we are on the same page and to provide feedback along the way. I will not formally grade these intermediary products, but doing them well will help me provide better feedback and ultimately affect the quality of your final paper. I would like each student to begin a preliminary discussion of a paper topic with me no later than October 6, the end of the fifth week of class.

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). Personally, I find the parenthetical, in-text citation style (author, date, page) the easiest to use in my initial drafts, but that is up to you. Whatever style you use, any citations to quotes or specific pieces of evidence must include a specific page or page range, so that the reader can easily follow up.

The due date for papers is Friday, December 15, noon, a week after our last scheduled class. This is the latest date I can be reasonably confident of completing my grading for this class and my Rutgers seminar. Please submit the paper via the Assignment tab on the Courseworks site for the 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 international conflict. 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 the nuclear taboo. 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 my list of sources is much longer, you may need to narrow the list considerably, while hopefully adding a few additional sources. For topics with lengthy bibliographies on the syllabus, feel free to consult with me about prioritizing among them. Please do not assume that the order of items on the syllabus reflects 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 themes, 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.

After I know the likely paper topics for the class, I will post copies of a few sample literature reviews from previous courses, to give you a few samples of what good papers look like. Those papers will also give you a sense of how many sources are appropriate. That depends in part 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 and their underlying causal logic, 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 the implementation. For the purposes of this class, the research need not necessarily be complete. For example, if your design calls for both a statistical and case study component, it is okay to complete only one component for the class. 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 Friday, December 15, noon)

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.

For a complete GSAS statement on academic integrity, see <https://gsas.nyu.edu/about-gsas/policies-and-procedures/gsas-statement-on-academic-integrity.html>

Artificial Intelligence

You need permission from the instructor to use ChatGPT or other artificial intelligence programs to prepare and/or write your paper for the class. If you want to use AI, please contact the professor and explain how you want to use what kind of AI and for what purpose.

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 contact the professor 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>.

OUTLINE

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION
 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF WAR
 What is War?
 Typologies of War
 The Concept of Total War
 The Clausewitzian Paradigm
 Is Clausewitz Still Relevant?
 The Use of Force: Conceptual Distinctions

2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES: LEVELS AND CAUSATION
 War as a Dynamic Process
 Militarized Interstate Disputes
 The Levels-of-Analysis Framework
 The Individual Level: Biological and Evolutionary Approaches (and a Critique)
 Concepts of Causation

 REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, I
 Varieties of Realist Theories
 Neorealist Theories of War
 Geopolitics

3. REALIST THEORIES OF WAR, II
 Offensive Realism
 Defensive Realism
 The Security Dilemma and the Spiral Model
 The Single-Play Prisoner's Dilemma Model
 The Iterated Prisoner's Dilemma Game and the Evolution of Cooperation
 Reciprocity
 The Offensive/Defensive Balance
 Neoclassical Realism
 Definition and Measurement of Military Power
 Diffusion of Military Power
 Military Effectiveness

4. BALANCE OF POWER THEORIES
 Classical Balance of Power Theories
 Conceptual Ambiguities
 Historians' Perspectives
 Balancing
 Balancing vs. Bandwagoning
 Whom Do States Balance Against? Land Powers and Sea Powers

What Do States Balance Against? Disaggregating Power
 Regional Balancing
 Balancing (or not) in Non-Western Systems
 “Soft Balancing”
 Concerts and Collective Security
 Realist Theory and Great Power Cooperation
 Polarity and War
 Quantitative Studies of Polarity/Systemic Capability Concentration and War
 The Dyadic Power Parity Hypothesis
 Asymmetric Wars
 Alliances: Formation and Strategies
 Alliance Formation
 Formal Models of Alliances
 Alliance Strategies
 Domestic Sources of Alliances
 Reliability and Reassurance
 Alliance Data
 Do Alliances Deter or Provoke War?
 Wartime Military Coalitions
 Lateral Pressure Theory

ISSUES: WHAT DO STATES FIGHT ABOUT?

General Treatments
 The Issues Correlates of War Project (ICOW)
 Territory and War
 Data
 Borders and Walls

5. POWER SHIFTS AND HEGEMONIC THEORIES

Power Transition Theory – The Organski et al Research Program
 Data
 Gilpin's Hegemonic Transition Theory
 Historical Perspectives
 Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China
 Preventive War
 Historical Applications
 The Status Quo/Revisionist Distinction
 Rising and Declining Powers
 Systemic Leadership and Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)
 Theories of General/Hegemonic/Systemic/World War
 Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition, and War
 Theories of Unipolar Politics and Hegemony
 David Kang's Research Program on Hierarchy in Asia

RIVALRIES AND ARMS RACES

International Rivalries

Overview

The Diehl and Goertz Research Program

The Thompson/Rasler/Colaresi Research Program

Strategic Triangles and Rivalry

Rivalry Duration and Termination

Other Approaches to Rivalry

Arms Races and War

Historical Studies

Quantitative and Formal Approaches

Arms Control

The Steps-to-War Model

6. BARGAINING AND WAR

Rational Choice Theories: Introduction

Early Work on Bargaining

The Bargaining Model of War

The Commitment Problem

Informational Problems

Issue Indivisibility

Third Parties, Domestic and Foreign

Other Formal Models of Bargaining

Spatial Models

Behavioral Perspectives on the Bargaining Model of War

Methodological Interlude

7. SIGNALING, REPUTATION, RESOLVE, AND STATUS

Signaling

Cheap Talk

Reputation and Signaling: Formal Models

Reputation: Empirical, Experimental, and Conceptual Studies

Reputation and Resolve

The Psychological Dimension

The Domestic Dimension

Audience Costs

Historical Applications

Domestic Political Oppositions and Signaling (Schultz)

Alternative Models of Domestic Politics and Signaling

Status and War

Humiliation, Disrespect, and Revenge

8. THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE
 - Societal-Level Theories of War: Overviews
 - General Theoretical Treatments of the Democratic Peace
 - Kantian Foundations
 - Measurement and Datasets
 - (More) Quantitative Empirical Studies
 - Monadic Level
 - System level
 - Experimental Approaches
 - Critiques
 - Constructivist Approaches
 - Selectorate Theory (Buono de Mesquita et al)
 - The Territorial Peace
 - Why Do Democracies Win Wars?
 - Other Implications of the Democratic Peace
 - Democratization and War
 - Presidential and Parliamentary Democracies

9. ECONOMIC THEORIES OF WAR AND PEACE
 - General Treatments
 - Marxist-Leninist Theories
 - Critiques and Alternative Theories of Imperialism
 - Resources and War
 - Does Trade Promote Peace?
 - Quantitative-Empirical Studies
 - The Globalization of Production
 - The Capitalist Peace
 - Industrialization and Modernity
 - The Contractual Peace
 - Trading with the Enemy, and the Impact of Conflict on Trade
 - 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 Military-Industrial Complex
 - The Costs of Conflict

10. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II
- The Diversionary Theory of War
 - Social Identity Theory
 - Debates over Mechanisms
 - Quantitative-Empirical Studies
 - Formal Theoretical Approaches
 - Historical Case Studies
 - Leaders, Political Survival, and War
 - Leader Turnover
 - Data
 - Public Opinion and War
 - Hawks and Doves
 - Casualties and Public Support for War
 - The Media
 - Autocracies, War, and Peace
 - Datasets
 - Nationalism and War
 - Revolution and War
 - Gender and War
 - Other Domestic Frameworks and Studies

IDEATIONAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES

- Constructivist Approaches – General
- Ideas, Ideology, and War
- Culture, Identity, and War
 - Historical Memory
- Race and War
 - Historical Applications
- Religion and War
 - Data Sets
 - Historical Perspectives
- The “Clash of Civilizations” (Huntington)
- Attitudes toward War
- Rhetoric, Justification, and Legitimacy
- Norms and War
 - General
 - The Territorial Integrity Norm
 - Taboos
- The Law of War and Its Impact

11. DECISION-MAKING: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, I:
BELIEFS AND INFORMATION PROCESSING

Do Leaders Matter?

Introduction: Political Psychology and International Relations

Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders

Beliefs and Images

Images of the Enemy

Misperception and the Causes of War

Psychology of Threat Perception

Metaphors

Emotions, Interests, and Motivated Reasoning

Fear, Anger, and Hatred

Morality and Fairness

Interpersonal Relationships and Face-to-Face Diplomacy

Neurobiological Approaches

Trust

12. DECISION-MAKING – THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, II

Prospect Theory Goes to War

Other Approaches to Risk and Uncertainty

Time Horizons

Analogical Reasoning and Learning from History

Gender Differences in Decision-Making

Other Psychological Models of Conflict

Personality

Psychoanalytic Approaches

DECISION-MAKING – THE ORGANIZATIONAL & GOVERNMENTAL LEVELS

Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Processes

Applications to the Causes of War

Strategic Culture

The Small Group Level of Decision-Making

Advisory Systems

Crisis Decision-making

Definitions of Crisis

The Impact of Stress

Civil-Military Relations

Comparative Perspectives

Militarism

Intelligence Failure

Historical Cases

Military Doctrine and Military Innovation

Diffusion of Military Power

The President and Congress: War Powers

13. CRISIS ESCALATION AND THE NUCLEAR ERA

CRISIS ESCALATION AND EXPANSION

General Studies of Crisis Escalation

Models of Entrapment

Inadvertent War

 Accidental War

 Crisis (Mis)management

Preemption

The Expansion (Spread) of War

The First World War

The Duration of War

 Implications of the Bargaining Model

 Psychological Perspectives and Debates

THE NUCLEAR ERA

Debate over the “Nuclear Revolution”

Empirical Studies of the Impact of Nuclear Weapons

 Qualitative

 The “Long Peace”

 Quantitative

Nuclear Weapons and Crisis Bargaining

Escalation in the Nuclear Age

The Nuclear Taboo

Public Opinion and Nuclear Weapons

U.S. Nuclear Strategy

Command and Control

Nuclear Proliferation

Preventive Logic in the Nuclear Age

Early Thinking about Nuclear Weapons and Strategy

APPENDICES

- A-1 DATA SETS ON INTERSTATE CONFLICT/WAR
 - Since 1945
 - Since 1815
 - Militarized Interstate Disputes (COW)
 - Other datasets
 - Since 1500 (and Earlier)

- A-2 IS WAR DECLINING?

- A-3 THE EVOLUTION OF WAR
 - Biological, Primatological, and Evolutionary Perspectives
 - Anthropological and Archaeological Studies of the Origins of War
 - History of Warfare

- A-4 CHANGING NATURE OF WARFARE

- A-5 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
 - International Crisis Behavior Project (ICB)
 - Other Studies of Coercion and Bargaining

- A-6 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND SECURITY REGIMES
 - Concerts, Collective Security, and Security Regimes
 - Paul W. Schroeder's Research Program: Concerts and New Thinking
 - Regional Security Systems
 - Other Studies of International Institutions and Security
 - Data on International Organizations

- A-7 CONFLICT RESOLUTION

- A-8 WAR TERMINATION

- A-9 PEACEKEEPING

- A-10 THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR
 - Winners and Losers
 - Economic and Social Costs
 - Human Costs

- A-11 ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, MIGRATION, & INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
 - Environmental Change, Scarcity, and Conflict
 - Climate Change and Interstate Conflict
 - Water and War
 - Demography, Security, and Conflict
 - Refugees and Conflict

- A-12 SECURITY ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

- A-13 JUST WAR THEORIES AND THE LAW OF WAR
 - Theological Perspectives
 - Just War in the Nuclear and Information Age
 - Anticipatory Self-Defense

- A-14 FEMINIST THEORIES OF WAR

- A-15 THE STUDY OF PEACE

- A-16 WAR AND STATE-MAKING
 - From Anthropology
 - The “Military Revolution” and the Rise of the State

- A-17 STRATEGY AND GRAND STRATEGY

- A-18 REVIEWS, CAUSES OF INTERSTATE WAR (POLITICAL SCIENCE)
 - Encyclopedias

- A-19 INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES ON WAR AND PEACE
 - General
 - Philosophy
 - Sociology
 - Anthropology
 - Archaeology
 - Economics
 - Geography

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 8)
Organizational meeting and theoretical introduction.
required reading (*) in sections 1 a, b, c, d

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF WAR

1a. What is War?

- * John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chap. 1.
- * Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Chap. 1.
- * Meredith Reid Sarkees, "Defining and Categorizing Wars." Chap. 2 in Sarkees and Frank Whelon Wayman, *Resort to War, 1816-2007*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010.
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), 341-70.

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.

Talbot Imlay, "Total War." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 30, 3 (2007), 547-570.

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.
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4. **BALANCE OF POWER THEORIES** (September 29)

Required readings in sections 4 a, b, g, h, l

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5. **POWER SHIFTS AND HEGEMONIC THEORIES** (October 6)

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

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- Glenn Hubbard and Time Kane, *Balance: The Economics of Great Powers from Ancient Rome to Modern America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013.
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5d. Preventive War

(central to balance of power theory as well)

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5g. Systemic Leadership and Long Cycle Theory (Thompson, Rasler, Modelski)

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5i. Other Theories of Hierarchy, Transition, and War

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RIVALRIES AND ARMS RACES

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13. CRISIS ESCALATION AND THE NUCLEAR ERA (December 8)
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CRISIS ESCALATION AND EXPANSION

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 Thomas M. Dolan, “Moving Beyond Pathology: Why Psychologists Should Care
 About Short Wars,” 201–14.
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THE NUCLEAR ERA

13g. Debate over the “Nuclear Revolution”

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APPENDICES

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

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