

INR 5088: International Conflict

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Fall 2007

Thursdays, 1:30-4:00

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Course Description

This course examines theoretical and empirical work on the causes and consequences of militarized conflict between nation-states. We will consider causes from a variety of different levels of analysis (ranging from individual psychology to national attributes or interactions and the structure of the entire global system) and a variety of different theoretical perspectives (including work drawing from realism, institutionalism, and everything in between). After taking the course, students should be familiar with the scientific literature on militarized conflict, should be able to evaluate this literature in a critical yet constructive fashion, and should be able to begin producing their own research in this area.

It should be noted that this will not be a history course, and we will not be discussing or examining individual wars. The assigned readings emphasize generalizable theories and quantitative evidence on general patterns of conflict involvement across time and space, and this will be the focus of our discussions in this course. Students wishing to study or discuss specific conflicts/wars or current events are encouraged to take courses from the History department or to form their own discussion groups, as we will not be discussing these types of topics in this course.

This course is an important part of the Political Science Ph.D. program, and will thus be aimed at preparing Ph.D. students to pass their qualifying exams and to become serious scholars of conflict. Students from other departments or programs are welcome to take the course, as long as they can keep up with a course taught at this level. It must be emphasized that this course will involve intensive reading of advanced scholarly research; nearly every reading that is assigned involves formal mathematical models, quantitative data analysis, or both. While students are not necessarily expected to be able to produce their own quantitative and/or formal research, they must be able to understand and discuss it. Students who are unable to do this or who are unwilling to accept the validity of quantitative analyses of conflict patterns should avoid this course, as they will be wasting both their own time and that of their classmates, and their grades for participation and for the discussion papers will reflect this.

Required Texts (not ordered from the campus bookstores; available at such locations as amazon.com, barnesandnoble.com, half.com, or powells.com)

- Manus I. Midlarsky (2000). *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- John A. Vasquez (2000). *What Do We Know About War?* New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Douglas Lemke (2002). *Regions of War and Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

All other readings may be borrowed for personal usage from Dr. Hensel's office. Note that most articles from the *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Politics*, and *World Politics* may also be accessed online through JSTOR at <<http://www.jstor.org>> using an FSU computer. Articles published in the last several years are not available on JSTOR, but may generally be obtained

through FSU's e-journal collection at <<http://www.lib.fsu.edu/find/journals>>.

Course Requirements

(1) Attendance and Participation

Because this is a graduate seminar, the instructor will not run class meetings as a lecture; all students are expected to come to each class meeting prepared to discuss the readings. This will involve spending the time to read each book or article on the reading list, and thinking about what each reading contributes to the weekly topic. Class discussion every week will focus on such issues as the theoretical arguments being made (explicitly or implicitly), the empirical evidence that is marshaled to test these arguments, weaknesses or shortcomings of the work so far, and potential directions for future research. Class participation will count for 25% of the overall course grade. Note that coming to class late, or missing class without documentation of a very pressing concern, is completely unacceptable in a graduate seminar and will be penalized accordingly.

(2) In-Class Presentations

Beyond regular class attendance and active participation in class discussion, each student is expected to make three presentations to the rest of the class on the weekly topics. The presentations should involve identifying one or more important questions related to the week's topic that have been left unanswered or answered incompletely by the readings (and offering tentative suggestions on how such gaps might be filled in future research), and/or proposing some extension of the week's readings to a new question or area; the discussion questions suggested in the syllabus offer a good place to begin in thinking about these presentations. These presentations are meant to help focus the class discussion on new directions from the week's readings, and to help identify interesting directions for future research (perhaps even for this course's research paper). They should be written from a research-oriented, academic perspective, rather than a literature review or a Siskel-and-Ebert-style review ("I liked/hated this article"), and should be constructive; criticisms of assigned readings should be accompanied by one or more suggestions about how to overcome the problems, with appropriate discussion of the implications of these suggestions for the body of research. Each presentation should be described in a roughly 3-to-4-page paper to be handed in for evaluation. Together, these presentations will count for 15% of the overall course grade.

The following general grading scale will be used for participation and presentations:

- A to A-: The student made a very strong contribution to the course. Class discussion, comments, and/or presentations reflected a great deal of thought about the material, and were constructive (for example, not only identifying current weaknesses and showing how these weaknesses limit the current literature, but suggesting useful future directions that could help to overcome these weaknesses or to extend the literature in important ways).
- B+ to B-: The student contributed meaningfully to the course. Class participation and/or presentations went beyond repeating the assigned material, perhaps identifying weaknesses in the current literature, but did not make many constructive suggestions about how these weaknesses might be overcome or how the literature might usefully be extended in the future.
- C+ or lower: The student did not contribute meaningfully. Class participation and/or presentations were limited to repeating the assigned material rather than making connections or extensions, or was filled with mistakes and inaccuracies.
- F: The student was a net drain on the course, rarely if ever speaking in class or failing to make the required number of presentations.

(3) Research Paper

Another requirement is an original research paper, involving the development and systematic testing of one or more hypotheses on the causes, management, or consequences of militarized international conflict. This paper may be quantitative or qualitative in nature, depending on the nature of the question and the student's methodological training, but in any case it must be analytical and theoretical in nature rather than descriptive. The final paper must be 20-30 pages in length, and should be comparable to an academic journal article in style. Please note that this must be an original paper for this course, and can not overlap in any substantial way with a paper written for another course, such as the department's first year paper requirement; if there is any question please talk to me about it and bring me a copy of the other paper.

A proposal for each student's paper topic must be submitted to the instructor for approval no later than **October 4**. This proposal -- which must be primarily theoretical (the research design and data issues can be addressed later) -- will involve a brief (2-3 pages) description of the paper topic, including a statement of what the student plans to study and a discussion of the basic theoretical logic and hypotheses. A research design (8-10 pages) must be turned in by **November 1**, involving more detailed discussion of the paper's hypotheses, spatial-temporal domain, data sources, and similar topics; at this point the basic ideas of the paper should be finalized, with only the implementation and writeup remaining to be done. The completed paper is due at the start of the last class (**December 6**), at which point each student will make a short presentation on his or her paper to the rest of the class. This paper project will count for a total of 40% of the overall course grade, of which 5% each will be based on the initial proposal and the research design. The paper will be graded on the clarity and contribution of the theory as an addition to the literature on international conflict, as well as on the appropriateness of the analyses as a test of this theory.

(4) Take-home final exam

The course will conclude with a take-home final exam, which is meant to assess your understanding and integration of the topics covered throughout the semester. The questions for this final exam will be handed out in the last regular class meeting, and answers will be due (delivered to my office in person or emailed to me) during the official FSU exam time for this course (**Wednesday, December 12, between 7:30-9:30 AM**). The final exam will count for 20% of the overall course grade.

Outline of Course

The "Additional Readings" section lists further research on each topic that was not assigned for this course. Students may find this section to be a useful source of material for their research papers. This syllabus can not hope to list every relevant article on each topic, of course, unless it was over 100 pages long. These readings represent a combination of the seminal work in each area and some of the more interesting or innovative recent articles; students are encouraged to look through the bibliographies of these articles for references to additional work.

1. Thursday, Aug. 30: Overview of Course

- No assigned readings

2. Thursday, Sept. 6: Conceptualizing and Studying Conflict

The first substantive meeting of the course focuses on the most fundamental building block for any course on conflict: our understanding of what conflict is. This includes both conceptual and methodological concerns. Conceptually, we need to consider what "conflict," "war," and similar concepts mean as forms of human interaction. Methodologically, we need to consider how we can

measure these concepts for the purposes of empirical analysis; this will require examining some of the major data sets that have attempted to measure conflict, discussing some of their strengths and weaknesses, and perhaps suggesting our own improvements or alternatives.

In this week's readings, Vasquez and Diehl discuss a number of issues that arise in conceptualizing, measuring, and studying armed conflict and war. Sarkees et al. discuss the COW war data, which was the first major quantitative conflict dataset. Jones et al. and Ghosn et al. discuss two versions of the COW militarized interstate dispute (MID) data, which is more widely used today and offers important advances beyond the war data. Brecher et al. (ICB crisis data), and Gleditsch et al. (PRIO/Uppsala armed conflict data) then discuss two other major data sets on armed conflict, each of which includes important cases or variables that are not included in either COW data set. While doing this week's readings, think about the issues discussed by Vasquez and Diehl. How well have these data sets dealt with these issues, and are there any other important issues that these readings (or these data sets) have not addressed? Are there any other ways that we could improve the conceptualization or measurement of conflict? Also, how much of a difference does it seem to make if one data set is used rather than another -- do results seem likely to differ, and if so, how and why?

Required Readings:

- John A. Vasquez (1993). *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 14-50 (Chapter 1).
- Paul F. Diehl (2006). "Just a Phase?: Integrating Conflict Dynamics Over Time." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 23, 3 (September): 199-210.
- Meredith Reid Sarkees, Frank Wayman, and J. David Singer (2003). "Inter-State, Intra-State, and Extra-State Wars: A Comprehensive Look at Their Distribution Over Time, 1816-1997" *International Studies Quarterly* 47, 1: 49-70.
- Daniel M. Jones, Stuart A. Bremer, and J. David Singer (1996). "Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-1992: Rationale, Coding Rules, and Empirical Patterns." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 15, 2: 163-213.
- Faten Ghosn, Glenn Palmer, and Stuart Bremer (2004). "The MID3 Data Set, 1993- 2001: Procedures, Coding Rules, and Description." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 21, 2: 133-154.
- *What Do We Know About War?:* chapter by Brecher, James, and Wilkenfeld (on the ICB project)
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg, and Havard Strand (2002). "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Data Set" *Journal of Peace Research* 39, 5: 615-637.

Additional Readings:

- *Handbook of War Studies II:* chapter by Cioffi (ancient warfare)
- *What Do We Know About War?:* chapter by Singer
- Special issue of *Conflict Management and Peace Science* on the future study of war, 2002 (volume 19 issue 1)
- Geoffrey Blainey (1988). *The Causes of War*, 3rd edition. New York: The Free Press.
- Stuart A. Bremer (1993). "Advancing the Scientific Study of War." *International Interactions*, 19(1-2): 1-26.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, et al. (1985). "Symposium: Methodological Foundations of the Study of International Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 29:119-153.
- Charles S. Gochman and Zeev Maoz. (1984). "Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-1976."

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 28 (4): 585-615.

- Paul R. Hensel (2002). "The More Things Change....: Recognizing and Responding to Trends in Armed Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 19, 1: 27-52.
- Kalevi Holsti (1991). *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 306-334.
- Kalevi Holsti (1996). *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Llewellyn Howell, Jack E. Vincent, and Charles A. McClelland (1983). "Symposium: Events Data Collections." *International Studies Quarterly*: 147-177.
- Jack S. Levy (1983). *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press
- Jack S. Levy (1988). "Analytic Problems in the Identification of Wars." *International Interactions*, 14, 2: 181-186.
- Evan Luard (1986). *War in International Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Edward D. Mansfield (1988). "The Distribution of Wars over Time." *World Politics* 41, 1: 21-45.
- Lewis Fry Richardson (1960). *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels*. Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press.
- Meredith Reid Sarkees (2000). "The Correlates of War Data on War: An Update to 1997." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 18, 1: 123-144.
- J. David Singer (1970). "The Incomplete Theorist: Insight without Evidence." In Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau (eds.), *Contending Approaches to International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- J. David Singer, ed. (1979). *The Correlates of War I: Research Origins and Rationale*. New York: Free Press.
- J. David Singer and Paul F. Diehl, eds. (1990) *Measuring the Correlates of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- J. David Singer and Melvin Small (1972). *Wages of War, 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook*. New York: John Wiley.
- Melvin Small and J. David Singer (1982). *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980*. Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 31-61 (Chapter 2).
- Quincy Wright (1965). *A Study of War*, revised edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- COW2 (Correlates of War 2 Project):
<<http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>>
- EUGene (Expected Utility Generation and Data Management Program):
<<http://www.eugenesoftware.org/>>
- ICB (International Crisis Behavior Project):
<<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/>>
- The Uppsala Conflict Data Project:
<<http://www.prio.no/cwp/ArmedConflict/>>

Compilations of Wars and Other Conflicts

- Ewan Anderson (2000). *Global Geopolitical Flashpoints: An Atlas of Conflict*. London: Stationery Office.
- Jacob Bercovitch (1997). *International Conflict: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Conflicts and Their Management, 1945-1995*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997. See also their online updates to the case histories, the ICB Data Viewer:
<<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/>>

- James Ciment (1999). *Encyclopedia of Conflicts since World War II*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference.
- George Kohn (1999). *Dictionary of Wars*. New York: Facts on File.
- David Munro and Alan J. Day (1999). *A World Record of Major Conflict Areas*. London: Edward Arnold.
- OnWar.com web site ("Armed Conflict Events Data"):
<<http://www.onwar.com/aced/index.htm>>

3. Thursday, Sept. 13: Systemic Approaches: Polarity and Long Cycles

A good place to start our consideration of causes of conflict is with the structure of the international system. In this week we focus on largely static analysis of the system, including theories about polarity and hegemony; next week we will examine more dynamic theories such as power transitions, power cycles, and long cycles. Some of the earliest quantitative research on international conflict addressed the impact of polarity or of other dimensions of the international system's structure, and work in this area progressed substantially over several decades.

The early theoretical papers by Waltz and Deutsch/Singer set the stage for this entire body of research, although they did not test their propositions systematically. Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey's chapter was one of the most prominent early quantitative studies of conflict. That chapter, when compared to the more recent studies assigned here, helps illustrate many of the problems that plagued early work on polarity -- vastly different ways to conceptualize and measure both polarity and war, vastly different results, and the dreaded "inter-century difference." Bueno de Mesquita, Wayman, Mansfield, Kadera et al., and the work discussed by Rasler and Thompson all offer improvements in one or more areas; think about each of their measures of polarity and war, their research design, and their results when trying to evaluate this body of work. Thinking about all of these readings, has the systemic study of conflict and war really advanced (and if so, how), or have things stayed where they were (and if so, why)?

Required Readings:

- Kenneth N. Waltz (1964). "The Stability of a Bipolar World." *Daedalus* 93 (Summer): 881-909.
- Karl W. Deutsch and J. David Singer (1964). "Multipolar Systems and International Stability." *World Politics*, 16: 390-406.
- J. David Singer, Stuart A. Bremer, and John Stuckey (1972). "Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820-1965." In Bruce M. Russett (ed.), *Peace, War, and Numbers*. Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 19-48.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1978). "Systemic Polarization and the Occurrence and Duration of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 22(2): 241-267.
- Frank Wayman (1984). "Bipolarity and War." *Journal of Peace Research* 21: 61-78.
- Edward D. Mansfield (1992). "The Concentration of Capabilities and the Onset of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36: 3-24.
- Kelly M. Kadera, Mark J.C. Crescenzi, and Megan L. Shannon (2003). "Democratic Survival, Peace and War in the International System." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2).

Reviews:

- *Handbook of War Studies II*: chapter by Rasler & Thompson (long cycles)

Additional Readings:

Measurement

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1975). "Measuring Systemic Polarity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 19: 187-216.
- Jacek Kugler and Marina Arbetman (1989). "Choosing Among Measures of Power: A Review of the Empirical Record." In Richard J. Stoll and Michael Ward, eds. *Power and World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 49-78
- Richard L. Merritt and Dina Zinnes (1989). "Alternative Indexes of National Power." In Richard J. Stoll and Michael Ward, eds. *Power and World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. pp. 11-28.
- William B. Moul (1989). "Measuring the "Balances of Power": A Look at Some Numbers." *Review of International Studies* 15:101-121.
- James Lee Ray (1990). "The Measurement of System Structure." In J. David Singer and Paul F. Diehl, (eds.) *Measuring the Correlates of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 99-114.
- James Lee Ray and J. David Singer (1972). "Measuring the Concentration of Power in the International System." *Sociological Methods and Research* 1: 403-437.
- 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.

Polarity

- Brecher, Michael, Patrick James, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld. 1990. "Polarity and Stability: New Concepts, Indicators, and Evidence." *International Interactions*, 16(1): 49-80.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. "Risk, Power Distributions, and the Likelihood of War." *International Studies Quarterly*, 25(4): 541-568.
- Domke, William. 1988. *War and the Changing Global System*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ted Hopf (1991). "Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War." *American Political Science Review*, 85, 2: 475-494.
- Huth, Paul, D. Scott Bennett, and Christopher Gelpi. 1992. "System Uncertainty, Risk Propensity, and International Conflict Among the Great Powers." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36:478-517.
- Patrick James (1995). "Structural Realism and the Causes of War." *Mershon International Studies Review* 39, 2: 181-208.
- Kegley, Charles W. and Gregory A. Raymond. 1992. "Must We Fear a Post-Cold War Multipolar System?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 36(3): 573-585.
- Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond (1994). *A Multipolar Peace?* New York: St. Martin's.
- Levy, Jack. (1984). "Size and Stability in the Modern Great Power System." *International Interactions* 10: 341-358.
- Edward D. Mansfield (1993). "Concentration, Polarity, and the Distribution of Power." *International Studies Quarterly* 37, 1 (March): 105-128.
- Mansfield, Edward D. 1994. *Power, Trade, and War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Morton, Jeffrey S., and Harvey Starr. 2001. "Uncertainty, Change, and War: Power Fluctuations and War in the Modern Elite Power System." *Journal of Peace Research* 38/1 (January): 49-66.
- David Rapkin, William Thompson, and Jon Christopherson (1979). "Bipolarity and Bipolarization in the Cold War Era." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23, 2: 261-295.
- Sabrosky, Alan (ed.). 1985. *Polarity and War*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Scarborough, Grace Iusi. 1988. "Polarity, Power, and Risk in International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 511-533.

- Stoll, Richard J. 1984. "Bloc Concentration and the Balance of Power." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28:25-50.
- Thompson, William R. 1988. "Polarity and Global Power Warfare," pages 196-223 in *On Global War: Historical-Structural Approaches to World Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Wallace, Michael D. 1973. "Alliance Polarization, Cross-Cutting, and International War, 1815-1964." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 17:575-603.
- Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Kenneth N. Waltz (2000). "Structural Realism after the Cold War." *International Security* 25, 1: 5-41.
- Wohlforth, William C. 1999. "The Stability of a Unipolar World." *International Security*, 24(1): 5-41.

Hegemony

- Alt, James, Randall Calvert, and Brian D. Humes. 1988. "Reputation and Hegemonic Stability: A Game-Theoretic Analysis." *American Political Science Review*, 82(2): 445-466.
- Boswell, Terry and Mike Sweat (1991). "Hegemony, Long Waves, and Major Wars: A Time-Series Analysis of System Dynamics, 1496-1967." *International Studies Quarterly*, 35(2): 123-149.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1988. "The Theory of Hegemonic War." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18 (Spring): 591-614.
- Kennedy, Paul. 1987. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. New York: Vintage Press.
- Keohane, Robert. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kupchan, Charles A. 1998. "After Pax Americana: Benign Power, Regional Integration, and the Sources of a Stable Multipolarity." *International Security*, 23(2): 40-79.
- Levy, Jack S. 1985. "Theories of General War." *World Politics* 37(3):344-374.
- Nau, Henry R. 1990. *The Myth of America's Decline: Leading the World Economy into the 1990s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nye, Joseph S. 1990. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.
- Russett, Bruce. 1985. "The Mysterious Case of Vanishing Hegemony; or Is Mark Twain Really Dead?" *International Organization*, 39: 207-231.
- Snidal, Duncan. 1985. "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability." *International Organization*, 39: 579-614.
- K. Edward Spiezio. "British Hegemony and Major Power War, 1815-1939: An Empirical Test of Gilpin's Model of Hegemonic Governance." *International Studies Quarterly*, 34, 2 (1990): 165-181.
- Stein, Arthur A. 1984. "The Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, the United States, and the International Economic Order." *International Organization*, 38: 355-386.
- Strange, Susan. 1987. "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony." *International Organization*, 41(4):551-574.
- Thomas J. Volgy and Larry Imwalle (1995). "Hegemonic Perspectives on the New World Order." *American Journal of Political Science*, November.

Long Cycles / Power Cycles / Business Cycles

- Beck, Nathaniel. 1991. "The Illusion of Cycles in International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 35:455-476.

- Colaresi, Michael. 2001. "Shocks to the System: Great Power Rivalry and the Leadership Long Cycle." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(5):569-593.
- John Conybeare. "Weak Cycles, Length, and Magnitude of War: Duration Dependence in International Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 12, 1 (1992): 99-116.
- Charles F. Doran and Wes Parsons (1980). "War and the Cycle of Relative Power." *American Political Science Review* 74, 4: 947-965.
- Charles F. Doran (1989). "Systemic Disequilibrium, Foreign Policy Role, and the Power Cycle." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33 (September): 371-401.
- Charles F. Doran (1991). *Systems in Crisis: New Imperatives of High Politics at Century's End*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldstein, Joshua. 1985. "Kondratieff Waves as War Cycles." *International Studies Quarterly*, 29: 411-444.
- Goldstein, Joshua. 1987. "Long Waves in Production, War, and Inflation: New Empirical Evidence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 31(4): 573-600.
- Goldstein, Joshua S. 1988. *Long Cycles: Prosperity and War in the Modern Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Goldstein, Joshua S. 1991. "The Possibility of Cycles in International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 35:477-480.
- Kegley, Charles W. jr., and Raymond, Gregory A. 1989. "The Long Cycle of Global War and the Transformation of Alliance Norms." *Journal of Peace Research* 26:265-284.
- Levy, Jack S. 1985. "Theories of General War." *World Politics* 344-374.
- Jack S. Levy (1991). "Long Cycles, hegemonic Transitions, and the Long Peace." In Charles W. Kegley, ed., *The Long Postwar Peace*. New York: HarperCollins, pp. 147-176.
- Manus I. midlarsky (1988). *The Onset of World War*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- George Modelski (1978). "The Long Cycle of Global Politics and the Nation-State." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20 (April): 214-235.
- Modelski, George. 1987. *Exploring Long Cycles*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Modelski, George. 1987. *Long Cycles in World Politics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- George Modelski and William R. Thompson (1989). *Seapower in Global Politics, 1494-1993*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- George Modelski and William Thompson. *Leading Sectors and World Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.
- Modelski, George and William R. Thompson. 1999. "The Long and the Short of Global Politics in the Twenty-first Century: An Evolutionary Approach." *International Studies Review*, 1(1): 109-140.
- William Moul. "Predicting the Severity of Great Power War from Its Extent: Statistical Illusions, 1816-1990." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38, 1 (1994): 160-169.
- Pollins, Brian M. and Kevin P. Murrin. 1999. "Where Hobbes Meets Hobson: Core Conflict and Capitalism, 1495-1985." *International Studies Quarterly*, 43(3); 427-454.
- Pollins, Brian M. and Randall L. Schweller. 1999. "Linking the Levels: The Long Wave and Shifts in U.S. Foreign Policy 1790-1993." *American Journal of Political Science*, 43(2): 431-464.
- Rasler, Karen A., and Thompson, William R. 1983. "Global Wars, Public Debt, and the Long Cycle." *World Politics* 489-516.
- Rasler, Karen A. and William R. Thompson. 1989. *War and State Making: The Shaping of the Global Powers*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Karen A. Rasler and William R. Thompson (1994). *The Great Powers and Global Struggle, 1490-1990*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Richard Rosecrance (1987). "Long Cycle Theory and International Relations." *International*

Organization 41 (Spring): 283-301.

- William Thompson. "Phases of the Business Cycle and the Outbreak of War." *International Studies Quarterly*, 26, 2 (1982): 301-311.
- Thompson, William R. 1983. "Uneven Economic Growth, Systemic Challenges, and Global Wars." *International Studies Quarterly*, 27: 341-355.
- William R. Thompson, ed. (1983), *Contending Approaches to World System Analysis*, Beverly Hills: Sage.
- William R. Thompson (1986). "Polarity, the Long Cycle, and Global Power Warfare." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 30, 4 (December): 587-615.
- Thompson, William R. 1988. *On Global War: Historical-Structural Approaches to World Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- William R. Thompson (1990). "Long Waves, Technological Innovation, and Relative Decline." *International Organization* 44, 2 (Spring): 201-233.
- Thompson, William R. 1992. "Dehio, Long Cycles, and the Geohistorical Context of Structural Transition." *World Politics*, 45(1): 127-152.
- William R. Thompson (1992). "Systemic Leadership and Growth Waves in the Long Run." *International Studies Quarterly* 36, 1 (March): 25-48.
- William R. Thompson and Gary Zuk (1982). "War, Inflation, and the Kondratieff Long Wave." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*: 621-644.
- Raimo Vayrynen (1983). "Economic Cycles, Power Transitions, Political Management, and Wars between Major Powers." *International Studies Quarterly* 27 (December): 389-418.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1984. *The Politics of the World-Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4. Thursday, Sept. 20: Power Transition Theory and Power Parity

This topic considers more explicitly dynamic work on systemic causes of war, focusing on fluctuations in specific countries' military and/or economic power, and includes both power transition theory and work on various types of cycles. Power transition theory was introduced by Kenneth Organski in 1958's book World Politics, and its best-known exposition came from Organski and his student Jacek Kugler in 1980's The War Ledger; the pivotal chapter of that book is included in this week's readings. Kugler's student Lemke has in turn been responsible for some interesting developments in the last decade (we will be reading his book on the subject in the final week of class); the Kugler and Lemke chapter reviews the basic literature on power transition theory (which they have argued recently might better be termed power parity theory).

In line with this emphasis on power parity, Weede's article is an early attempt to consider the pacifying effects of relative capabilities. Houweling and Siccama use a different data set and attempt to expand the theory to cover wars between any major powers. Kim's article considers the impact of alliances, rather than just two states' own capabilities. Lemke and Werner attempt to extend the evaluation of power transition theory by improving the measurement of key concepts, and by broadening the spatial domain beyond that used in earlier work. DiCicco and Levy then review the entire research program, in order to evaluate how productive it has been over the decades.

Required Readings:

- A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler (1980). *The War Ledger*, chapter 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 13-62.
- Erich Weede (1976). "Overwhelming Preponderance as a Pacifying Condition Among Contiguous Asian Dyads, 1950-1969." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 20 (3): 395-412.

- Woosang Kim (1991). "Alliance Transitions and Great Power War." *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 833-850.
- Douglas Lemke and Suzanne Werner (1996). "Power Parity, Commitment to Change, and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (2): 235-260.

Reviews:

- *Handbook of War Studies II*: chapter by Kugler & Lemke (power transitions)
- Jonathan M. DiCicco and Jack S. Levy (1999). "Power Shifts and Problem Shifts: The Evolution of the Power Transition Research Program." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (6): 675-704.

Additional Readings:

Power Transition Theory

- De Soysa, Indra, John R. Oneal and Yong-Hee Park. 1997. "Testing Power-Transition Theory Using Alternative Measures of National Capabilities." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(4): 509-528.
- Geller, Daniel S. 1992. "Power Transition and Conflict Initiation." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 12: 1-16.
- Geller, Daniel S. (1992). "Capability Concentration, Power Transition, and War." *International Interactions* 17, 3: 269-284.
- Geller, Daniel S. 1993. "Power Differentials and War in Rival Dyads." *International Studies Quarterly*, 37: 173-194.
- Henk W. Houweling and Jan G. Siccama. (1988). "Power Transitions as a Cause of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 32 (1): 87-102.
- Houweling, Henk and Jan Siccama. 1991. "Power Transitions and Critical Points as Predictors of Great Power War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 35: 642-658.
- Kadera, Kelly M. 2001. *The Power-Conflict Story: A Dynamic Model of Interstate Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kim, Woosang. 1989. "Power, Alliance, and Major Wars, 1816-1975." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 33(2): 255-273.
- Kim, Woosang. 1992. "Power Transitions and Great Power War from Westphalia to Waterloo." *World Politics* October: 153-172.
- Woosang Kim (2002). "Power Parity, Alliance, Dissatisfaction, and Wars in East Asia, 1860-1993." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, 5. (October): 654-671.
- Woosang Kim and James D. Morrow (1992). "When Do Power Shifts Lead to War?" *American Journal of Political Science* 36:896-922.
- Kugler, Jacek and Douglas Lemke, eds. 1996. *Parity and War: Evaluations and Extensions of The War Ledger*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Richard Ned Lebow (1984). "Windows of Opportunity: Do States Jump Through Them?" *International Security* 9 (Summer): 147-186.
- Lemke, Douglas. 1997. "The Continuation of History: Power Transition Theory and the End of the Cold War." *Journal of Peace Research*, 34(1): 23-36.
- Lemke, Douglas and William Reed. 1998. "Power Is Not Satisfaction: A Comment on de Soysa, Oneal, and Park." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(4): 511-516.
- Levy, Jack S. 1987. "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War." *World Politics* 40:82-107.
- James Morrow. "The Logic of Overtaking." In Kugler and Lemke, (eds.). *Parity and War*, pp. 313-330.

- Oneal, John R., Indra De Soysa, and Yong-Hee Park. 1998. "But Power and Wealth Are Satisfying: A Reply to Lemke and Reed." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(4): 517-520.
- Organski, A.F.K. 1968. *World Politics*, 2nd edition. New York: Knopf.
- Organski, A.F.K. and Jacek Kugler. 1980. *The War Ledger*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Robert Powell (1996). "Uncertainty, Shifting Power, and Appeasement." *American Political Science Review* 90, 4 (December): 749-764.
- Ronald Tammen et. al. (2000). *Power Transitions: Strategies for the 21st Century*. New York: Chatham House.

Parity/Preponderance

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, and Ethan R. Zorick. 1997. "Capabilities, Perception, and Escalation." *American Political Science Review* 91, 1 (March): 15-27.
- Garnham, David. 1976. "Power Parity and Lethal International Violence, 1969-1973." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 20(3): 379-394.
- Kim, Woosang. 2002. "Power Parity, Alliance, Dissatisfaction and Wars in East Asia, 1860-1993." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/5 (October): 654-671
- Molinari, Cristina M. 2000. "Military Capabilities and Escalation: A Correction to Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow and Zorick." *American Political Science Review* 94/2 (June): 425-427. [see also their reply in issue 94(2): 429]
- Moul, William Brian. 1988. "Balances of Power and the Escalation to War of Serious Disputes among the European Great Powers, 1815-1939: Some Evidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 32:241-275.
- William Moul (2003). "Power Parity, Preponderance, and War between Great Powers." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47, 4 (August): 468-489.
- Randolph Siverson and Michael Sullivan (1983). "The Distribution of Power and the Onset of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 27, 3: 473-494.

5. Thursday, Sept. 27: Rational Choice Approaches

A nice contrast to the previous two weeks' emphasis on broad structures involves the study of decisions by individual leaders. Rational choice entered into the mainstream study of international conflict due to the work of scholars like Bueno de Mesquita in the 1970s and 1980s, and the field has advanced greatly as additional scholars have incorporated rational choice in their own work. Bueno de Mesquita has written two of the best known books in this area, with 1981's The War Trap and (with David Lalman) 1992's War and Reason; his 1988 article reviews the basics of expected utility theory and demonstrates some of the contributions that this approach has made with respect to international conflict (and IR more generally). Morrow's chapter similarly reviews some of the contributions made by game theory with respect to conflict, including material published in the decade since Bueno de Mesquita's review. It should be noted that this week's topic could easily be split up across various other weeks' readings, since rational choice is more of a method for theorizing than a separate topic, and many of the readings throughout the semester use rational choice to help develop their theories.

Bennett and Stam offer the first sophisticated empirical evaluation of the basic model from War and Reason. Fearon attempts to consider when leaders could rationally start a war (a topic that has been the subject of debate over the years), and Reiter reviews work using what is often called "the bargaining model" of conflict. The remaining two readings use rational choice to try to understand the linkage between alliance formation and war (Smith) and diversionary incentives for conflict (Tarar). While reading each of these articles, try to focus on the basic structure of the

author's model (what are leaders trying to achieve, and how/when/why can wars start as they try to do this?). Also consider the tests that are offered, if any (does the test seem to offer a fair and appropriate evaluation of the basic model? does the evidence leave you convinced that the model is useful?). Finally, think about what (if anything) rational choice has contributed to our understanding of these topics; have these models produced surprising hypotheses or new insights that might not have been revealed with traditional approaches, or have these articles basically amounted to much mathematical ado about nothing?

Required Readings:

- D. Scott Bennett and Allan Stam (2000). "A Universal Test of an Expected Utility Theory of War." *International Studies Quarterly* 44, 3: 451-480.
- James D. Fearon (1995). "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization*, 49: 379-414.
- Dan Reiter (2003). "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War." *Perspectives on Politics* 1/1 (March): 27-43
- Alastair Smith (1996). "To Intervene or Not to Intervene: A Biased Decision." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40, 1 (March): 16-40.
- Ahmer Tarar (2006). "Diversionary Incentives and the Bargaining Approach to War." *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (1): 169-188.

Reviews:

- *Handbook of War Studies II*: chapter by Morrow (game theory)
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1988). "The Contribution of Expected Utility Theory to the Study of International Conflict." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18: 629-652.

Additional Readings:

- Special Issue of *International Interactions*: The Expected Utility Approach to Policy Decision Making: Assessments, Forecasts, and Strategies. 1997, 23(3-4).
- Special Issue of *International Organization* on "The Rational Design of International Institutions." Autumn 2001.
- Brams, Steven J. 1994. *Theory of Moves*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. *The War Trap*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1985. "The War Trap Revisited." *American Political Science Review*, 79(1): 156-173.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman (1988). "Empirical Support for Systemic and Dyadic Explanations of International Conflict." *World Politics*: 1-20.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman (1986). "Reason and War." *American Political Science Review* 80, 4: 1113-1150.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman (1992). *War and Reason*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow (2003). *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (2006). "Game Theory, Political Economy, and the Evolving Study of War and Peace." *American Political Science Review* 100, 4 (November): 637-642.
- Joe Eyerman and Robert A. Hart (1996). "An Empirical Test of the Audience Cost Proposition: Democracy Speaks Louder than Words." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40, 4: 597-616
- James D. Fearon (1998). "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation." *International*

Organization 52, 2 (Spring), 269-306.

- James D. Fearon (1997). "Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, 1 (February), 68-90.
- Hussein, Seif. 1987. "Modeling War and Peace." *American Political Science Review*, 81(1): 221-227.
- Woosang Kim and James D. Morrow (1992). "When Do Power Shifts Lead to War?" *American Journal of Political Science* 36:896-922.
- Majeski, Stephen and David Sylvan. 1984. "Simple Choices and Complex Calculations: A Critique of *The War Trap*." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 28(2): 316-340. See also Bueno de Mesquita's response "A Critique of a Critique of *The War Trap*." (immediately following this article).
- McGillivray, Fiona and Alastair Smith. 2000. "Trust and Cooperation through Agent Specific Punishments". *International Organization* 54(4): 809-924.
- Morrow, James. 1985. "A Continuous Outcome Expected Utility Model of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 29(3): 473-502.
- Morrow, James D. 1986. "A Spatial Model of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 80:1131-1150.
- James D. Morrow (1997). "A Rational Choice Approach to International Conflict." In Nehemiah Geva and Alex Mintz , eds., *Decisionmaking on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 11-31.
- Morrow, James, Roslyn Simowitz, and Barry L. Price. 1991. "Conceptual Problems in Theorizing about International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 84: 923-940.
- Nicholson, Michael. 1987. "The Conceptual Bases of *The War Trap*." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 31(2): 346-369. See also Bueno de Mesquita's response "Conceptualizing War: A Reply" (immediately following this article).
- Nicholson, Michael. 1987. "Comment on Bueno de Mesquita's Reply." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 31(2): 383.
- Michael Nicholson. *Rationality and the Analysis of International Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Peter Partell and Glenn Palmer, "Audience Costs and Interstate Crises: An Empirical Assessment of Fearon's Model of Dispute Outcomes." *International Studies Quarterly*, 43, 2 (1999): 389-405.
- Simowitz, Roslyn and Barry Price. 1990. "The Expected Utility Theory of Conflict: Measuring Theoretical Progress." *American Political Science Review*, 84(2): 439-460.
- Alastair Smith (1995). "Alliance Formation and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 39: 405-425.
- Alastair Smith (1996). "Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems." *International Studies Quarterly* 40, 1 (March): 133-153.
- Alastair Smith (1999). "Testing Theories of Strategic Choice: The Example of Crisis Escalation." *American Journal of Political Science* 43, 4 (October): 1254-1283.
- Wagner, R. Harrison. 1983. "War and Expected Utility Theory." *World Politics*, 35: 407-423.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1999. "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies." *International Security*, 23(4): 5-48. See also replies by Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Martin, Niou, Ordeshook, Powell, and Zagare in *International Security*, Volume 24(2), Fall 1999.

6. Thursday, Oct. 4: Psychological Approaches

Another important contrast comes from comparing the rational choice approaches from last week with work suggesting that psychological issues can prevent truly rational decision-making. This approach is embodied most prominently in academic research on misperception and on

“prospect theory,” although some of the additional readings listed below have gone beyond these two areas. If this approach is correct, then rational choice models of decision-making (as well as other approaches that implicitly depend on rationality) might be flawed, and any understanding of conflict based on such models might be incomplete or misleading.

Levy’s chapter reviews academic work on prospect theory, which was begun by the pioneering work of scholars such as Quattrone and Tversky. Levy’s and Jervis’ articles consider misperception as a source of militarized conflict and war, both suggesting hypotheses on the role of misperception and discussing troublesome issues in the evaluation of these hypotheses. Much of the work on both prospect theory and misperception, though, has been based on either psychological laboratory studies or on intensive analyses of individual cases. Herek et al., Kaufmann, and Kim and Bueno de Mesquita all suggest different ways that these types of studies can be applied in larger-N analyses of conflict patterns. Does any of these three approaches offer a convincing way to evaluate the impact of psychological processes on conflict (and if not, why not)? Is there anything that they have left out that needs to be studied or anything that you feel has not been done convincingly, and if so, how would you propose to improve the literature?

Required Readings:

- George A. Quattrone and Amos Tversky (1988). "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice." *American Political Science Review* 82:719-736.
- Jack S. Levy (1983). "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems." *World Politics* 36: 76-99.
- Robert Jervis (1988). "War and Misperception." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18: 675-700.
- Gregory M. Herek, Irving L. Janis, and Paul K. Huth (1987). "Decision Making During International Crises: Is Quality of Process Related to Outcome?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 203-226.
- Chaim D. Kaufmann (1994). "Out of the Lab and into the Archives: A Method for Testing Psychological Explanations of Political Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 38: 557-586.
- Woosang Kim and Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1995). "How Perceptions Influence the Risk of War." *International Studies Quarterly*. 39:51-65.

Reviews:

- *Handbook of War Studies II*: chapter by Levy (prospect theory)

Additional Readings:

- William Boettcher (1995). "Context, Methods, Numbers, and Words: Prospect Theory in International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39, 3L 561-583.
- Christopher K. Butler (2007). "Prospect Theory and Coercive Bargaining." *Journal Of Conflict Resolution* 51, 2 (April): 227-250.
- George, Alexander L. 1969. "The "Operational Code": A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 190-222.
- Betty Glad (1990). *Psychological Dimensions of War*. Newbury Park,. CA: Sage.
- Margaret Hermann, Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, and Timothy Shaw, "Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals" *International Studies Review*, 3, 2 (2001): 83-131
- Margaret Hermann, "How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Framework" *International Studies Review*, 3, 2 (2001): 47-81.
- Janis, Irving L. *Crucial Decisions*. New York: Free Press.

- Jervis, Robert (1968). "Hypotheses on Misperception." *World Politics* 454-479.
- Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Jervis, Robert. 1983. "Deterrence and Perception." *International Security* 57-83.
- Jervis, Robert, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Stein. 1985. *Psychology and Deterrence*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins.
- Kahneman, Daniel, and Tversky, Amos. 1979. "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk." *Econometrica* 263-291.
- Paul Kowert and Margaret Hermann (1997). "Who Takes Risks? Daring and Caution in Foreign Policy Making." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, 5: 611-637.
- Lebow, Richard Ned. 1981. *Between Peace and War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- Levy, Jack S. 1992. "Prospect Theory and International Relations: Theoretical Applications and Analytical Problems." *Political Psychology* 13:283-310.
- Jack Levy, (1997). "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 2: 241-270.
- Alex Mintz, Nehemia Geva, Steven Redd and Amy Carnes (1997). "The Effect of Dynamic and Static Choices on Political Decision Making: An Analysis Using the Decision Board Platform". *American Political Science Review*.
- Alex Mintz and Nehemiah Geva (1997). "The Poliheuristic Theory of Foreign Policy Decisionmaking." In Nehemiah Geva and Alex Mintz (eds.), *Decisionmaking on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 81-101.
- Alex Mintz ed. *Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Alex Mintz (2004). "How Do Leaders Make Decisions? A Poliheuristic Perspective." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, 1: 3-13.
- Shepard, Graham H. 1988. "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1969-1984: A Second Test of Interpersonal Generalization Theory." *International Studies Quarterly* 32:91-123.
- Stein, Arthur. 1982. "When Misperception Matters." *World Politics* 505-526.
- Janice Gross Stein (1989). "The Misperception of Threat." In Robert Matthews, Arthur Rubinoff, and Janice Gross Stein, eds., *International Conflict and Conflict Management*, 2nd edition. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, pp. 30-44.
- Janice Gross Stein and David Welch, "Rational and Psychological Approaches to the Study of International Conflict: Comparative Strengths and Weaknesses." In Nehemiah Geva and Alex Mintz (eds.), *Decisionmaking on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997, pp. 51-77.
- Tversky, Amos, and Kahneman, Daniel. 1981. "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice." *Science* 453-458.
- Michael Young and Mark Schafer (1998). "Is There Method in Our Madness? Ways of Assessing Cognition in International Relations." *Mershon International Studies Review* 42, 1: 63-96.

7. Thursday, Oct. 11: Arms Races and Conflict

The impact of arms races has spawned a long debate among scholars, which has lasted several decades and helped propel several careers. The seminal study of arms races and war came from Michael Wallace in 1979, and was quickly followed by a number of both theoretical and empirical challenges such as Diehl's article (among others by Altfeld and Weede, as discussed in the other readings). Morrow developed a formal model to suggest when arms races are most likely to end in war. Diehl and Kingston and Gibler et al. extended the study of arms races by looking at

their possible impact on the initiation of armed conflict, rather than its escalation (as studied by Wallace and by the majority of other work in this area).

After a period of relative neglect, the study of arms races reemerged at the end of the 1990s as several scholars returned to the old debate. Sample's work (such as this chapter) tried to improve the empirical study of the arms race-conflict linkage, while Diehl and Crescenzi suggested improvements in theory and in research design. In reading this literature, one thing to consider (and a major emphasis of most of the past work) is the appropriateness of the various data sets and measures that are used. At least as important, though, think about this research theoretically. How (if at all) does each piece contribute theoretically to our potential understanding of arms races and conflict? What does each piece add to the literature, and how well is it supported by the empirical analyses that are conducted?

Required Readings:

- Michael D. Wallace (1979). "Arms Races and Escalation: Some New Evidence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23, 1: 3-16.
- Paul F. Diehl (1983). "Arms Races and Escalation: A Closer Look." *Journal of Peace Research* 20: 205-210.
- James D. Morrow (1989). "A Twist of Truth: A Reexamination of the Effects of Arms Races on the Occurrence of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33, 3: 500-529.
- Paul F. Diehl and Jean Kingston (1987). "Messenger or Message? Military Buildups and the Initiation of Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 49, 4: 789-799.
- Douglas M. Gibler, Toby J. Rider, and Marc L. Hutchison (2005). "Taking Arms Against a Sea of Troubles: Conventional Arms Races During Periods of Rivalry." *Journal of Peace Research* 42, 2: 131-147.
- Paul F. Diehl and Mark J. C. Crescenzi (1998). "Reconfiguring the Arms Race-War Debate." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, 1: 111-118.

Reviews:

- *What Do We Know About War?:* chapter by Sample (military buildups)

Additional Readings:

- Note that this list covers empirical research on arms races and war, but does not include the vast literature on formal/dynamic models of arms races (building on Richardson's work).
- Altfeld, Michael F. 1983. "Arms Races? And Escalation? A Comment on Wallace." *International Studies Quarterly*, 27(2): 225-231.
- Bolks, Sean and Richard J. Stoll. 2000. "The Arms Acquisition Process: The Effect of Internal and External Constraints on Arms Race Dynamics." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(5): 580-603.
- Conybeare, John A. 1994. "Arms versus Alliances: The Capital Structure of Military Enterprise." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38(2): 215-235.
- Diehl, Paul F. 1985. "Arms Races to War: Testing Some Empirical Linkages." *The Sociological Quarterly*, 26: 331-349.
- Diehl, Paul F. 1985. "Armaments without War: An Analysis of Some Underlying Effects." *Journal of Peace Research* 22: 249-259.
- Charles Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics*, 50, 1 (1997): 171-201.
- Hammond, Grant. 1993. *Plowshares Into Swords: Arms Races and International Politics, 1840-1991*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Houweling, Henk W. and Jan G. Siccama. 1981. "The Arms Race-War Relationship: Why Serious

Disputes Matter." *Arms Control*, 2: 157-197.

- Kinsella, David and Herbert K. Tillema. 1995. "Arms and Aggression in the Middle East: Overt Military Interventions, 1948-1991." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39(2): 306-329.
- Andrew Kydd (1997). "Game Theory and the Spiral Model." *World Politics* 49, 3 (April).
- Andrew Kydd (2000). "Arms Races and Arms Control: Modeling the Hawk Perspective." *American Journal of Political Science* 44, 2 (April).
- Ido Oren (1994). "The Indo-Pakistani Arms Competition: A Deductive and Statistical Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38(2): 185-214.
- Oren, Ido. 1998. "A Theory of Armament." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 16(1): 1-29.
- Richardson, Lewis Fry. 1960. *Arms and Insecurity*. Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press.
- Sample, Susan G. 1997. "Arms Races and Dispute Escalation: Resolving the Debate." *Journal of Peace Research*, 34(1): 7-22.
- Susan G. Sample (1998). "Military Buildups, War, and Realpolitik: A Multivariate Model." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, 2: 156-175.
- Susan G. Sample (1998). "Furthering the Investing into the Effects of Arms Buildups." *Journal of Peace Research* 35 (1): 122-126.
- Susan G. Sample (2002). "The Outcomes of Military Buildups: Minor States vs. Major Powers." *Journal of Peace Research* 39, 6 (November): 669-691
- Susan Sample. "The Outcomes of Military Buildups: Minor States vs. Major Powers" *Journal of Peace Research*, 39, 6 (2002): 669-691.
- Singer, J. David. 1958. "Threat-Perception and the Armament-Tension Dilemma." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2:90-115.
- Smith, Theresa Clair. 1988. "Risky Races? Curvature Change and the War Risk in Arms Racing." *International Interactions*, 14(3): 201-228.
- Wallace, Michael D. 1980. "Some Persistent Findings: A Reply to Professor Weede." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 24(2): 289-292.
- Wallace, Michael D. 1981. "Old Nails in New Coffins: The Para Bellum Hypothesis Revisited." *Journal of Peace Research*, 18: 91-95.
- Wallace, Michael D. 1982. "Armaments and Escalation: Two Competing Hypotheses." *International Studies Quarterly*, 26(1): 37-56.
- Wallace, Michael D. 1983. "Arms Races and Escalation---A Reply to Altfeld." *International Studies Quarterly*, 27(2): 233-235.
- Wallace, Michael D. 1998. "Comments on the Articles by Sample and Diehl & Crescenzi." *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(1): 119-121.
- Weede, Erich. 1980. "Arms Races and Escalation: Some Persisting Doubts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 24(2): 285-287.
- Suzanne Werner and Jacek Kugler. "Power Transitions and Military Buildups: Resolving the Relationship Between Arms Races and War." In Kugler and Lemke, (eds.). *Parity and War*, pp. 187-207.

8. Thursday, Oct. 18: Deterrence, Bargaining, and Crisis Escalation

Although the subject of deterrence received considerable attention by both scholars and leaders during the Cold War, it did not become the subject of frequent quantitative analyses until the 1980s. Huth offers the best quantitative assessment of deterrence theory up to this point in time (the late 1980s), although Lebow and Stein challenge his approach. Fearon then offers a more rational choice-based approach.

Crisis bargaining theory is closely related to deterrence theory, although with somewhat less

restrictive case selection thresholds. The Wilkenfeld/Brecher and Leng chapters offer overviews of the crisis behavior literature, to which these respective authors have contributed significantly over the years. Gochman and Leng offer a relatively early quantitative analysis of crisis escalation, while Bueno de Mesquita et al. offer a more advanced analysis and Filson and Werner offer a model of crisis bargaining that attempts to cover everything from the onset of crisis to the outcome of war. When reading these articles, consider each one in relation to the work that has come before. Has each article advanced the field? Does each article offer an appropriate test of deterrence/crisis bargaining theory? How could each article be improved?

Required Readings:

- Paul K. Huth (1988). "Extended Deterrence and the Outbreak of War." *American Political Science Review* 82, 2: 423-443.
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Stein (1990). "Deterrence: the Elusive Dependent Variable." *World Politics* 42, 3: 336-369.
- James D. Fearon (1994). "Signaling versus the Balance of Power and Interests: An Empirical Test of a Crisis Bargaining Model." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38, 2: 236-269.
- Charles S. Gochman and Russell J. Leng (1983). "Realpolitik and the Road to War: An Analysis of Attributes and Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly* 27, 1 (March): 97-120.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, and Ethan Zorick (1997). "Capabilities, Perception, and Escalation." *American Political Science Review* 91, 1: 15-27.
- Darren Filson and Suzanne Werner (2002). "A Bargaining Model of War and Peace: Anticipating the Onset, Duration, and Outcome of War." *American Journal of Political Science* 46, 4 (October): 819-837

Reviews:

- *Handbook of War Studies II*: chapter by Wilkenfeld & Brecher (interstate crises)
- *What Do We Know About War?:* chapter by Leng (crises)

Additional Readings:

Deterrence

- Note that this list covers empirical research on deterrence and war, but does not include much of the vast literature on formal models of deterrence or policy-based analyses.
- Various Authors. 1989. *World Politics* (Special issue on the deterrence debate). January.
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9. Thursday, Oct. 25: Liberal Peace I: Democracy

No topic in the study of conflict has received more scholarly attention in the past decade than the so-called "democratic peace." What began in the 1970s and early 1980s with the simple observation that political democracies rarely if ever fight wars against each other has spawned thousands of books, articles, and working papers. Portions of this work has attempted to determine whether the democratic peace applies in different spatial-temporal domains, whether democracies behave differently with regard to other dependent variables besides war, why democracies seem to behave differently, and whether the apparent democratic peace can actually be explained by some other factor(s).

This week's readings address the pacific nature of democracy itself. Ray reviews this burgeoning literature, while Morgan & Campbell and Maoz & Russett offer some of the most influential works from the topic's early days as it was just reaching prominence. Bueno de Mesquita et al. offer a different approach to the topic, while Mansfield and Snyder suggest a potential limitation to the democratic peace, suggesting that weak or transitional democratic regimes may not be as pacific as their more established counterparts. Rosato offered a prominent critique (note also the two responses), and Bennett addresses a possible broadening of the relationship between regime type and peace. Consider for each reading how convincing the theory is, as well as how appropriate (and how convincing) the empirical analyses are. Are you convinced that democracy is associated with peace, and that these authors understand why? If not, why not?

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- Quinn, Dennis P., and John T. Woolley. 2001. "Democracy and National Economic Performance: The Preference for Stability." *American Journal of Political Science* 45/3 (July): 634-657
- Raymond, Gregory A. 1994. "Democracies, Disputes, and Third-Party Intermediaries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38: 24-42.
- Raymond, Gregory A. 1996. "Demosthenes and Democracies: Regime Type and Arbitration Outcomes." *International Interactions*, 22: 1-20.
- Shultz, Kenneth, and Barry Weingast. 2003. "The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition." *International Organization* 57/1 (Winter): 3-42
- Harvey Starr (1991). "Democratic Dominoes: Diffusion Approaches to the Spread of Democracy in the International System." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35, 2: 356-381.
- Stevenson, Randolph T. 2001. "The Economy and Policy Mood: A Fundamental Dynamic of Democratic Policies?" *American Journal of Political Science* 45/3 (July): 620-633

10. Thursday, Nov. 1: Liberal Peace II: Trade and Institutions

This week's readings extend beyond last week's by considering whether there is a corresponding liberal peace beyond the impact of democracy itself. Topics covered range from trade and interdependence, economic development, and type of economic system to shared membership in international institutions (with many readings considering several of these factors as well as democracy). Consider for each reading how convincing the theory is, as well as how appropriate (and how convincing) the empirical analyses are. Are you convinced that economic factors and/or institutions are associated with peace, and that these authors understand why? If not, why not? Based on this evidence, are you convinced that these factors replace or supplement the democratic peace, or are they really secondary to democracy?

Required Readings:

- Katherine Barbieri (1996). "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 33: 29-49.
- John R. Oneal and Bruce M. Russett (1999). "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 52 (October): 1-37.
- Michael Mousseau (2000). "Market Prosperity, Democratic Consolidation, and Democratic Peace." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, 4: 472-507.
- Erik Gartzke (2007). "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 166–191.
- Erik Gartzke, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer (2001). "Economic Interdependence and International Conflict." *International Organization* 55, 2 (Spring): 391-437.
- Jon Pevehouse and Bruce Russett (2006). "Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace." *International Organization* 60, 4 (October): 969-1000.

Reviews:

- *Handbook of War Studies II*: chapter by Russett and Starr (Kantian peace)

Additional Readings:

- *Journal of Peace Research* special issue on trade and conflict: July 1999, 36(4).
- Anderton, Charles H., and John R. Carter. 2001. "The Impact of War on Trade: An Interrupted Times-Series Study." *Journal of Peace Research* 38/4 (July): 445-457
- Anderton, Charles H., and John R. Carter. 2001. "On Disruption of Trade by War: A Reply to Barbieri and Levy." *Journal of Peace Research* 38/5 (September): 625-628
- Katherine Barbieri. *The Liberal Illusion: Does Trade Promote Peace*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Barbieri, Katherine & Jack S. Levy, 1999. 'Sleeping with the Enemy: The Impact of War on Trade', *Journal of Peace Research* 36(4): 463–479.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Jack S. Levy. 2001. "Does War Impede Trade? A Response to Anderton and Carter." *Journal of Peace Research* 38/5 (September): 619-624
- Katherine Barbieri and Gerald Schneider, "Globalization and Peace: Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research*, 36, 4 (1999): 387-404.
- Bearce, David H. 2003. "Grasping the Commercial Institutional Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 47/3 (September): 347-370
- Bearce, David H., and Eric O'N. Fisher. 2002. "Economic Geography, Trade and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/3 (June): 365-393
- Dale Copeland (1996). "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." *International Security*, 20, 4: 5-41.
- Vesna Danilovic and Joe Clare (2007). "The Kantian Liberal Peace (Revisited)." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (2): 397–414.
- De Vries, Michael S. 1990. "Interdependence, Cooperation, and Conflict: An Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Peace Research*, 27: 429-444.
- Dorussen, Han. 2002. "Trade and Conflict in Multi-Country Models: A Rejoinder." *Journal of Peace Research* 39/1 (January): 115-118
- Benjamin Fordham, "The Politics of Threat Perception and the Use of Force: A Political Economy Model of US Uses of Force, 1949-1994." *International Studies Quarterly*, 42, 3 (1998): 567-590.

- Gasiorowski, Mark. 1986. "Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: Some Cross-National Evidence." *International Studies Quarterly*, 30: 23-38.
- Gasiorowski, Mark and Solomon W. Polachek. 1982. "Conflict and Interdependence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 26: 709-729.
- Håvard Hegre (2000). "Development and the Liberal Peace: What Does it Take to be a Trading State?" *Journal of Peace Research* 37(1): 5–30.
- Håvard Hegre (2002). "Trade Decreases Conflict More in Multi-Actor Systems: A Comment on Dorussen." *Journal of Peace Research* 39/1 (January): 109-114.
- Håvard Hegre (2004). "Size Asymmetry, Trade, and Militarized Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 403–429.
- Håvard Hegre (2005). "Identifying How Trade Matters in Empirical Studies of Interstate Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22, 3 (October): 217-224. See also Erik Gartzke and Quan Li, "Mistaken Identity: A Reply to Hegre" (reply immediately following Hegre's article).
- Edward D. Mansfield (1994). *Power, Trade, and War* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Brian Pollins. "The Study of Interdependence and Conflict" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45, 6 (2001): 834-859.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Brian M. Pollins, eds. (2003). *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press .
- McMillan, Susan M. 1997. "Interdependence and Conflict." *Mershon International Studies Review*, 41(1): 33-58.
- Morrow, James, 1999. 'How Could Trade Affect Conflict?' , *Journal of Peace Research* 36(4): 481–489.
- Oneal, John R., Frances H. Oneal, Zeev Maoz, and Bruce M. Russett. 1996. "The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy, and International Conflict, 1950-1985." *Journal of Peace Research*, 33: 11-28.
- Oneal, John R. and Bruce M. Russett. 1997. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985." *International Studies Quarterly*, 41: 267-294.
- John R. Oneal, Bruce M. Russett, and Michael L. Berbaum (2003). "Causes of Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1886-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 47(3): 371-393.
- Papayoanou, Paul A. 1997. "Economic Interdependence and the Balance of Power." *International Studies Quarterly*, 41(1): 113-140.
- Paul Papayoanou, *Power Ties: Economic Interdependence, Balancing, and War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Jon C. Pevehouse (2004). "Interdependence Theory and the Measurement of International Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 66, 1: 247–266.
- Polachek, Solomon W. 1980. "Conflict and Trade." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 24: 57-78.
- Pollins, Brian R. 1989a. "Does Trade Still Follow the Flag?" *American Political Science Review*, 83: 465-480.
- Pollins, Brian R. 1989b. "Conflict, Cooperation, and Commerce: The Effects of International Political on Bilateral Trade Flows." *American Journal of Political Science*, 33: 737-761.
- Pollins, Brian. "Global Political Order, Economic Change, and Armed Conflict: Coevolving Systems and the Use of Force." *American Political Science Review*, 90, 1 (1996): 103-117.
- Reuveny, Rafael & Heejoon Kang, 1998. 'Bilateral Trade and Political Conflict/Cooperation: Do Goods Matter?' , *Journal of Peace Research* 35(5): 581-602.
- Gerald Schneider, Katherine Barbieri, and Nils Petter Gleditsch (eds.) *Globalization and Armed*

Conflict. Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

11. Thursday, Nov. 8: Politics, Economics, and Other Domestic Pressures

Although the democratic peace has gotten the most scholarly attention, the last two decades have also seen the emergence of a large literature on other connections between domestic politics and international conflict. Much of this literature is related to the famous (but weakly supported) "diversionary theory" of conflict; Stoll considers a connection to electoral campaigns, while Morgan and Bickers examine support in the president's own party. Ostrom and Job consider a wider range of possible domestic and international influences on foreign conflict involvement and are still frequently cited two decades later, but both Meernik & Waterman and Mitchell & Moore offer substantial criticisms of their work. Finally, Leeds and Davis offer an alternative explanation based on strategic interaction that they test on a wider set of cases, and Mitchell and Prins examine relations with a particular rival rather than general conflict propensities.

In evaluating these readings, consider the impact that domestic pressures have on armed conflict. Are you convinced by the theoretical arguments? How about the empirical evidence? What could be done to improve these studies, or to extend this general body of research to areas that have not been covered yet?

Required Readings:

- Richard J. Stoll (1984). "The Guns of November: Presidential Reelections and the Use of Force, 1947-1982." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28, 2 (June): 231-246.
- T. Clifton Morgan and Kenneth N. Bickers (1992). "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, 1: 25-52.
- Charles W. Ostrom, Jr., and Brian L. Job (1986). "The President and the Political Use of Force." *American Political Science Review* 80, 2: 541-566.
- James Meernik and Peter Waterman (1996). "The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Force by American Presidents." *Political Research Quarterly* 49, 3: 573-590.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Will H. Moore (2002). "Presidential Use of Force During the Cold War: Aggregation, Truncation, and Temporal Dynamics." *American Journal of Political Science* 46, 2 (April).
- Brett Ashley Leeds and David R. Davis (1997). "Domestic Political Vulnerability and International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, 6: 814-834.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Brandon C. Prins (2004). "Rivalry and Diversionary Uses of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48: 937 - 961.

Additional Readings:

- Baker, William D. and John R. Oneal. 2001. "Patriotism or Opinion Leadership? The Nature and Origins of the 'Rally Round the Flag' Effect." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(5):661-687.
- Baum, Matthew A. 2002. "The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-The-Flag Phenomenon." *International Studies Quarterly* 46/2 (June): 263-298
- Matthew A. Baum (2002). "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96, 1 (March): 91-109
- Brace, Paul and Barbara Hinckley. 1992. *Follow the Leader: Opinion Polls and the Modern Presidents*. New York, New York: Basic Books.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 2002. "Domestic Politics and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 46/1 (March) 1-9
- Chiozza, Giacomo. 2002. "Is There a Clash of Civilizations? Evidence from Patterns of

- International Conflict Involvement, 1946-97." *Journal of Peace Research* 39/6 (November): 711-734
- Chiozza, Giacomina and H. E. Goemans. 2003. "Peace through Insecurity: Tenure and International Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47/4 (August): 443-467
 - Patrick Conge. *From Revolution to War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
 - Graeme Davies (2002). "Domestic Strife and the Initiation of International Conflicts: A Directed Dyad Analysis, 1950-1982." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, 5: 672-692.
 - DeRouen, Karl R., Jr. 1995. "The Indirect Link: Politics, the Economy, and the Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39(4): 671-695.
 - DeRouen, Karl R., Jr. 2000. "Presidents and the Diversionary Use of Force: A Research Note." *International Studies Quarterly*, 44(2): 317-328.
 - James D. Fearon (1994). "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88: 577-592.
 - Fearon, James D. 1997. "Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands Versus Sinking Costs." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(1): 68-90.
 - Fordham, Benjamin. 1998. "Partisanship, Macroeconomic Policy, and U.S. Uses of Force, 1949-1994." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(4): 418-439.
 - Fordham, Benjamin. 1998. "The Politics of Threat Perception and the Use of Force: A Political Economy Model of U.S. Uses of Force, 1949-1994." *International Studies Quarterly*, 42(3): 567-590.
 - Fordham, Benjamin O. 2002. "Another Look at "Parties, Voters, and the Use of Force Abroad." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/4 (August): 572-593
 - Fordham, Benjamin O. and Christopher C. Sarver. 2001. "Militarized Interstate Disputes and United States Uses of Force." *International Studies Quarterly*, 45(3): 455-466.
 - Gartner, Scott Sigmund and Gary M. Segura. 1998. "War, Casualties, and Public Opinion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 42(3): 278-300.
 - Gartner, Scott Sigmund and Gary M. Segura. 2000. "Race, Opinion, and Casualties in the Vietnam War." *Journal of Politics*. 62(1): 115-146.
 - Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor. 1991. "Election Cycles and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 35(2): 212-244.
 - Gelpi, Christopher. 1997. "Democratic Diversions: Governmental Structure and the Externalization of Domestic Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(2): 255-282.
 - Gelpi, Christopher, and Peter D. Feaver. 2002. "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick? Veterans in the Political Elite and the American Use of Force." *American Political Science Review* 96/4 (December): 779-793
 - Gelpi, Christopher and Joseph M. Grieco. 2001. "Attracting Trouble: Democracy, Leadership Tenure, and the Targeting of Militarized Challenges, 1918-1992." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(6): 794-817.
 - Gordon, Michael R. 1974. "Domestic Conflict and the Origins of the First World War: The British and the German Cases." *Journal of Modern History* 191-226.
 - Guisinger, Alexandra, and Alastair Smith. 2002. "Honest Threats: The Interaction of Reputation and Political Institutions in the International Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/2 (April): 175-200
 - Hagan, Joe D. 1986. "Domestic Political Conflict, Issue Areas, and Some Dimensions of Foreign Policy Behavior Other Than Conflict." *International Interactions*, 12: 291-313.
 - Joe Hagan (1994). "Domestic Political Systems and War Proneness." *Mershon International Studies Review* 38, 2: 183-207.

- Hazelwood, L. A. 1973. "Externalizing Systemic Stress: International Conflict as Adaptive Behavior," in Jonathan Wilkenfeld (ed.), *Conflict Behavior and Linkage Politics*. New York: David McKay.
- Heldt, Birger. 1999. "Domestic Politics, Absolute Deprivation, and the Use of Armed Force in Interstate Territorial Disputes, 1950-1990." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43(4): 451-478.
- Hoole, Francis W. and Chi Huang. 1989. "The Global Conflict Process." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 33(1): 142-163.
- James, Patrick and John R. ONeal. 1991. "Influences on the President's Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 35(2): 307-332.
- Brian Lai and Dan Reiter (2005). "Rally 'Round the Union Jack? Public Opinion and the Use of Force in the United Kingdom, 1948-2001." *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2): 255-272.
- Brett Ashley Leeds and David Davis, "Domestic Political Vulnerability and International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41, 6 (1997): 814-834.
- Jack S. Levy (1989). "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique." In Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 259-288.
- Levy, Jack S. 1988. "Domestic Politics and War." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18: 653-73.
- Lian, Bradley and John R. ONeal. 1993. "Presidents, the Use of Military Force, and Public Opinion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 37(2): 277-300.
- Meernik, James. 1994. "Presidential Decision Making and the Political Use of Military Force." *International Studies Quarterly*, 38(1): 121-138.
- Miller, Ross A. 1995. "Domestic Structures and the Diversionary Use of Force." *American Journal of Political Science*, 39: 760-785.
- Miller, Ross A. 1999. "Regime Type, Strategic Interaction, and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43(3): 388-402.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, and Will H. Moore. 2002. "Presidential Uses of Force During the Cold War: Aggregation, Truncation, and Temporal Dynamics." *American Journal of Political Science* 46/2 (April): 438-452
- Morgan, T. Clifton and Christopher J. Anderson. 1999. "Domestic Support and Diversionary External Conflict in Great Britain, 1950-1992." *Journal of Politics*, 61(3): 799-814.
- Morgan, T. Clifton, and Kenneth N. Bickers. 1992. "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36:25-52.
- ONeal, John R., Brad Lian, and James H. Joyner, Jr. 1996. "Are the American People 'Pretty Prudent'? Public Responses to U.S. Uses of Force, 1950-1988." *International Studies Quarterly*, 40(2): 261-280.
- John R. ONeal and Jaroslav Tir (2006). "Does the Diversionary Use of Force Threaten the Democratic Peace? Assessing the Effect of Economic Growth on Interstate Conflict, 1921-2001." *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (4): 755-779.
- Partell, Peter J. and Glenn Palmer. 1999. "Audience Costs and Interstate Crises: An Empirical Assessment of Fearon's Model of Dispute Outcomes." *International Studies Quarterly*, 43(2): 389-405.
- Philip B. K. Potter (2007). "Does Experience Matter?: American Presidential Experience, Age, and International Conflict." *Journal Of Conflict Resolution* 51, 3: 351-378.
- Brandon Prins, "Domestic Politics and Interstate Disputes: Examining US MID Involvement and Reciprocation, 1870-1992." *International Interactions*, 26, 4 (2000): 411-428.
- Prins, Brandon C. 2003. "Institutional Instability and the Credibility of Audience Costs: Political Participation and Interstate Crisis Bargaining, 1816-1992." *Journal of Peace Research* 40/1 (January): 67-84

- Putnam, Robert. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games", *International Organization* 42(3).
- Richards, Diana, T. Clifton Morgan, Rick K. Wilson, Valerie L. Schwebach, and Garry D. Young. 1993. "Good Times, Bad Times, and the Diversionary Use of Force: A Tale of Some Not-So-Free Agents." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 37(3): 504-535.
- Ross, Marc Howard. 1985. "Internal and External Conflict and Violence: Cross-Cultural Evidence and a New Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 29(4): 547-579.
- Russett, Bruce. 1983. "International Interactions and Processes: The Internal vs. External Debate Revisited." in Finifter, Ada, ed., *The State of the Discipline*.
- Russett, Bruce M. 1988. "Economic Decline, Electoral Pressure, and the Initiation of Interstate Conflict," in Charles Gochman and Alan N. Sabrosky (eds.), *Prisoners of War? Nation-States in the Modern Era*. Lexington: D.C. Heath.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. 2001. "Looking for Audience Costs." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (February):32-60.
- Scolnick, Joseph. 1974. "An Appraisal of Studies of the Linkages Between Domestic and International Conflict." *Comparative Political Studies*, 6: 485-509.
- Shapiro, Robert Y., and Benjamin I. Paige. "Foreign Policy and the Rational Public." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 32: 211-247.
- Smith, Alastair. 1996. "Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems." *International Studies Quarterly*, 40: 133-153.
- Smith, Alastair. 1998. "International Crises and Domestic Politics." *American Political Science Review* 92/3 (September): 623- 638
- Harvey Starr. "Revolution and War: Rethinking the Linkage Between Internal and External Conflict." *Political Research Quarterly*, 47, 3 (1994): 481-507.
- Stohl, Michael. 1980. "The Nexus of Civil and International Conflict," in Ted Robert Gurr (ed.), *Handbook of Political Conflict*. New York: Free Press. (Good review article)
- Stoll, R. J. 1984. "The Guns of November: Presidential Re-elections and the Political Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 28(2): 379-416.
- Jack Snyder. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Allan Stam. *Win, Lose, or Draw: Domestic Politics and the Crucible of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Stephen Walt. *Revolution and War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996, pp. 18-45.
- Wang, Kevin H. 1996. "Presidential Responses to Foreign Policy Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40(1): 68-97.
- Ward, Michael Don and U. Widmaier. 1982. "The Domestic-International Conflict Nexus: New Evidence and Old Hypotheses." *International Interactions*, 9(1): 75-101.
- Wilkenfeld, Jonathan and Dina A. Zinnes. 1973. "A Linkage Model of Domestic Conflict Behavior," in Jonathan Wilkenfeld (ed.), *Conflict Behavior and Linkage Politics*. New York: David McKay.
- Zinnes, Dina A. 1980. "Why War? Evidence on the Outbreak of International Conflict," in Ted Robert Gurr (ed.), *Handbook of Political Conflict*. New York: Free Press.

12. Thursday, Nov. 15: Geography and Issues

Another development in the last decade or so has been the emergence of work on geography and issues as influences on conflict behavior. The Hensel chapter in Vasquez' book reviews earlier literature on contiguity or proximity and conflict. The remaining readings for this week emphasize

territorial issues as sources of conflict behavior, making the argument that the most important impact of geography lies in the specific issues over which states contend rather than in the simple geographic location of states.

Diehl's article discusses major problems in the study of issues, which has influenced much of the work that has been done more recently. Hensel's chapter examines the differences between militarized disputes over territorial and other issues, and finds strong evidence of a conflictual impact of territory; Senese and Vasquez expand on this with more sophisticated methodology and a somewhat different data set. Mitchell and Prins look at a subset of militarized disputes, those between democracies, to examine the various types of issues over which they contend. Hensel's article introduces the Issue Correlates of War (ICOW) project, which takes the study of issues to new heights (or new lows?) with long-term data collection on issues, issue salience, and attempts to settle or manage issues; Huth and Allee use data from a similar project in their study. Finally, Gibler looks at the impact of settling borders on both democracy and conflict.

Note that much more detail on these topics is available on my Contexts and IR syllabus, which can be downloaded from my web site.

Required Readings:

- Paul F. Diehl (1992). "What are they Fighting for? The Importance of Issues in International Conflict Research." *Journal of Peace Research* 29(3): 333-344.
- Paul D. Senese and John A. Vasquez (2003). "A Unified Explanation of Territorial Conflict: Testing the Impact of Sampling Bias, 1919-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 47, 2 (June): 275-298
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Brandon C. Prins. (1999). "Beyond Territorial Contiguity: Issues at Stake in Democratic Militarized Interstate Disputes." *International Studies Quarterly* 43:169-183.
- Paul R. Hensel (2001). "Contentious Issues and World Politics: The Management of Territorial Claims in the Americas, 1816-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 1: 81-109.
- Paul K. Huth and Todd L. Allee (2002). "Domestic Political Accountability and the Escalation and Settlement of International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/6 (December): 754-790.
- Douglas M. Gibler (2007). "Bordering on Peace: Democracy, Territorial Issues, and Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 51: 509-532.

Reviews:

- *What Do We Know About War?:* chapters by Hensel and Huth (territory)

Additional Readings:

Geography and Conflict

- Special Issue in *International Interactions: New Research in Geopolitics*. 1991, 17(1).
- Special Issue of *Political Analysis* on Spatial Methods in Political Science. Summer 2002.
- Luc Anselin and John O'Loughlin (1992), "Geography of International Conflict and Cooperation: Spatial Dependence and Regional Context in Africa." In Michael Don Ward, ed., *The New Geopolitics*. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, pp. 39-75.
- Kenneth Boulding (1962). *Conflict and Defense*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Paul F. Diehl (1985), "Contiguity and Escalation in Major Power Rivalries, 1816-1980." *Journal of Politics* 47, 4 (November): 1203-1211.
- Paul F. Diehl (1991), "Geography and War: A Review and Assessment of the Empirical Literature." *International Interactions* 17, 1: 11-27.
- Paul F. Diehl and Nils Petter Gleditsch, eds. (2001). *Environmental Conflict*. New York: Westview

Press.

- David Garnham (1976). "Dyadic International War, 1816-1965: The Role of Power Parity and Geographic Proximity." *Western Political Quarterly* 29: 231-242.
- Kristian S. Gleditsch (2002). *All International Politics is Local: The Diffusion of Conflict, Integration, and Democratization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gleditsch, Kristian S., and Michael D. Ward. 2000. "War and Peace in Space and Time: The Role of Democratization." *International Studies Quarterly* 44:1-29
- Kristian S. Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward (2001). "Measuring Space: A Minimum Distance Database and Applications to International Studies." *Journal of Peace Research* 38:739-58
- Nils Petter Gleditsch and J. David Singer (1975). "Distance and International War, 1816-1965." In M. R. Kahn, ed., *Proceedings of the International Peace Research Association, Fifth General Conference*. Oslo: International Peace Research Association.
- Charles S. Gochman (1991) "Interstate Metrics: Conceptualizing, Operationalizing, and Measuring the Geographic Proximity of States since the Congress of Vienna." *International Interactions* 17 (1): 93-112.
- Greig, J. Michael. 2002. "The End of Geography? Globalization, Communications, and Culture in the International System." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/2 (April): 225-243
- Paul R. Hensel (1996). "Charting a Course to Conflict: Territorial Issues and Interstate Conflict, 1816-1992." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 15, 1 (Fall): 43-73.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon and Jessica Blitt (eds.), *Ecoviolence: Links Among Environment, Population, and Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Benjamin Most and Harvey Starr (1980). "Diffusion, Reinforcement, Geopolitics, and the Spread of War." *American Political Science Review* 74, 4 (December): 932-946.
- Benjamin Most, Harvey Starr, and Randolph Siverson (1988). "The Logic and Study of the Diffusion of International Conflict." In Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, pp. 111-139.
- John O'Loughlin, Michael D. Ward, Corey L. Lofdahl, Jordin S. Cohen, David S. Brown, David Reilly, Kristian S. Gleditsch, and Michael Shin. (1998). "The Diffusion of Democracy, 1946-1994." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, 4: 545-574.
- Frederic S. Pearson (1974). "Geographic Proximity and Foreign Military Intervention." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 18, 3 (September): 432-460.
- Karen A. Rasler and William R. Thompson (2006). "Contested Territory, Strategic Rivalries, and Conflict Escalation." *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (1): 145-168.
- Randolph M. Siverson and Harvey Starr (1991). *The Diffusion of War: A Study of Opportunity and Willingness*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Randolph M. Siverson and Harvey Starr (1990), "Opportunity, Willingness, and the Diffusion of War." *American Political Science Review* 84, 1: 47-67.
- Harvey Starr (2001). "Using Geographic Information Systems to Revisit Enduring Rivalries: The Case of Israel." *Geopolitics*.
- Harvey Starr (2001). "Opportunity, Willingness, and Geographic Information Systems (GIS): Reconceptualizing Borders in International Relations." *Political Geography*.
- Harvey Starr and William W. Bain (1995). "The Application of Geographic Information Systems to International Studies." *International Studies Newsletter* 20, 2: 1-8.
- Harvey Starr and Benjamin A. Most (1976). "The Substance and Study of Borders in International Relations Research." *International Studies Quarterly* 20: 581-620.

- Harvey Starr and Benjamin Most (1978). "A Return Journey: Richardson, Frontiers, and War in the 1945-1965 Era." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22, 3 (September): 441-462.
- Harvey Starr and Benjamin Most (1983). "Contagion and Border Effects on Contemporary African Conflicts." *Comparative Political Studies* 16, 1 (April): 206-229.
- Harvey Starr and Benjamin Most (1985). "The Forms and Processes of War Diffusion: Research Update on Contagion in African Conflict." *Comparative Political Studies* 18, 2 (July): 206-229.
- Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas (2002). "The 'Nature' of Contiguous Borders: Ease of Interaction, Salience, and the Analysis of Crisis." *International Interactions* 28: 213-235.
- Michael D. Ward and Kristian S. Gleditsch (2002). "Location, Location, Location: An MCMC Approach to Modeling the Spatial Context of War and Peace." *Political Analysis* 10: 244-60.
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13. Thursday, Nov. 22: NO CLASS (Thanksgiving)

14. Thursday, Nov. 29: Conflict Management and Consequences

Having spent most of the semester looking at causes of conflict behavior, we will now spend a week on its outcomes and consequences. This includes short-term consequences such as outcomes (Bennett and Stam), as well as longer-term consequences such as future conflict patterns (Garnham and the Goertz/Diehl chapter). This week also includes attempts to manage and resolve conflicts, whether during ongoing armed conflict or in more peaceful times. After an extensive literature developed with advice for mediators or negotiators -- drawn as much from settling corporate disputes or divorces as from settling international conflicts -- this topic is beginning to get serious attention from quantitative scholars of international conflict. Dixon contributed some of the most important early work in this area. Andersen et al. then extended this general topic to the study of conflict management within long-term rivalries, while Greig and Gartner/Bercovitch focus on mediation.

Note that much more detail on recurrent conflict, rivalry, and other consequences of conflict is available on my Contexts and IR syllabus.

Required Readings:

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Reviews:

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Additional Readings:

Conflict Outcomes

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Conflict Duration / Termination

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- *What Do We Know About War?:* chapter by Raymond (normative orders)
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15. Thursday, Nov. 30: Wrapup: Global Applicability?

*****I try to schedule an informal opportunity for students to present brief summaries of their papers to the class, typically in the back room of a restaurant or in a cookout at my house. We will try to arrange a time that works for the majority of the class.*****

The final meeting of the semester will conclude by considering the global applicability of research on armed conflict. Most of our theories have been designed and tested as general theories that should (in principle) be relevant across time and space. Yet there is reason to believe that many of these theories may not be very appropriate for many countries or types of countries (and may be inappropriate for entire regions of the world). Or in the words of Most and Starr's article, we may need "nice" laws rather than general, universally "true" theories that explain all of time and space.

Lemke's book offers one of the few attempts to study this question systematically. Lemke begins by considering Organski and Kugler's power transition theory, which was developed to explain major wars among the great powers of the international system. His book is basically an investigation of the extent to which this theory can apply to relations among minor powers in specific regional settings. In reading this book, consider the extent to which you are convinced by Lemke's work with his chosen theory -- but more importantly, also consider what his book suggests about Most and Starr's arguments, as well as the extent to which other theories might hold up under similar regional (or other) sub-analyses rather than focusing on the great powers or the entire international system.

- Lemke, *Regions of War and Peace*: all
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Some Methodological Issues in Studying Conflict

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- Michelle A. Benson (2005). "The Relevance of Politically Relevant Dyads in the Study of Interdependence and Dyadic Disputes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22, 2 (July): 113-133.
- Braumoeller, Bear F. and Gary Goertz. 2000. "The Methodology of Necessary Conditions." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(4): 844-858.
- Bear F. Braumoeller (2004). "Hypothesis Testing and Multiplicative Interaction Terms." *International Organization* 58, 4: 807-820.
- Stuart Bremer, Patrick Regan, and David Clark (2003). "Building a Science of World Politics: Emerging Methodologies and the Study of Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 47, 1: 3-12.
- Halvard Buhaug (2005). "Dangerous Dyads Revisited: Democracies May Not Be That Peaceful After All." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22, 2 (July): 95-111.
- Clark, David H., and Timothy Nordstrom (2003). "Risky Influence: Unobserved Treatment Effects in Conflict Studies." *International Studies Quarterly* 47/3 (September): 417-429
- Raymond Dacey (2005). "The Status of Likelihood Claims in International Relations and Peace Science." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22, 3 (October): 189-200.
- Erik Gartzke (1999). "War is in the Error Term." *International Organization* 53 (summer): 567-587.
- King, Gary, and Langche Zeng (2001). "Explaining Rare Events in IR." *International Organization* 55 (Summer): 693-716.
- Douglas Lemke and William Reed, "The Relevance of Politically Relevant Dyads." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45, 1 (2001): 126-144.
- Benjamin Most and Harvey Starr (1989). *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. (most of this book's chapters were originally published as articles and are available on JSTOR)
- William Reed 2000. "A Unified Statistical Model of Conflict Onset and Escalation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 44(1): 84-93.
- Signorino, Curtis S., and Kuzey Yilmaz. 2003. "Strategic Misspecification in Regression Models." *American Journal of Political Science* 47/3 (July): 551-566
- William R. Thompson 2003. "A Street Car Named Sarajevo: Catalysts, Multiple Causation Chains, and Rivalry Structures." *International Studies Quarterly* 47/3 (September): 453-474

Taking Stock / Lit Reviews

- *Handbook of War Studies II*: chapter by Geller (patterns and theories)
- *What Do We Know About War?:* chapters by Bremer, Levy, Midlarsky, Vasquez
- Stuart A. Bremer and Thomas R. Cusack, eds. (1995). *The Process of War: Advancing the Scientific Study of War*. Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1980). "Theories of International Conflict: An Analysis and an Appraisal." in Gurr, Ted Robert, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict*. New York: Free Press.
- Daniel Geller and J. David Singer. *Nations at War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Brian H. Gibbs and J. David Singer (1993). *Empirical Knowledge on World Politics: A Summary of Quantitative Evidence, 1970-1991*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Ted Gurr, ed. (1980). *Handbook of Political Conflict*. New York: Free Press.
- Kalevi J. Holsti (1989). "Mirror, Mirror, on the Wall, Which are the Fairest Theories of All?" *International Studies Quarterly*, 33: 255-261.
- Francis Hoole and Dina Zinnes (1976). *Quantitative International Politics*. New York: Praeger.

- Susumu Suzuki, Volker Krause, and J. David Singer (2002). "The Correlates of War Project: A Bibliographic History of the Scientific Study of War and Peace, 1964-2000." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 19, 2: 69-107,
- John A. Vasquez (1987). "The Steps to War: Toward a Scientific Explanation of the Correlates of War Findings." *World Politics* 20 (October): 108-145.
- Dina A. Zinnes 1980. "Three Puzzles in Search of a Researcher." *International Studies Quarterly*, 24: 315-342.

Wednesday, Dec. 12: TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAM DUE (at my office, by 9:30 AM)

Additional Topics Not Covered This Semester

Unfortunately, there are not enough weeks in the semester to address every possible topic in the scientific study of conflict, so I have been forced to avoid topics that would have been covered in an ideal world of longer semesters. The final section of this syllabus is meant to provide a brief description of several other topics that were considered for the course, and to list a few readings in each topic that might usefully be examined in studying that topic. This might prove to be useful for students wishing to write their research papers on one of these topics, or to pursue further study in these areas.

Alliances and Conflict

An extensive literature has addressed formal military alliances. Various parts of this literature examine the formation of alliances, their duration, and military and economic decisions within alliances. Other studies have examined alliance reliability or effectiveness, initially measuring reliability by whether or not the allies joined each other in wartime; more recent work has reconsidered this by treating the deterrence or avoidance of war as a success and by examining whether allies have kept the terms of their alliance commitments. A few studies have also examined the subject of armed conflict between formal allies.

- Vasquez, *What Do We Know About War?:* chapters by Maoz and Gibler (alliances)
- Altfeld, Michael F. 1984. "The Decision to Ally: A Theory and Test." *Western Political Quarterly* 37:523-544.
- Altfeld, Michael F., and Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1979. "Choosing Sides in War." *International Studies Quarterly* 87-112.
- Barnett, Michael N., and Jack S. Levy. 1991. "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The Case of Egypt, 1962-73." *International Organization* 45:369-395.
- Bennett, D. Scott. 1997. "Testing Alternative Models of Alliance Duration, 1816-1984." *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(3): 846-878.
- Christensen, Thomas J. and Jack Snyder. 1990. "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization*, 44(2): 137-168.
- Faber, J., and Weaver, R. 1984. "Participation in Conferences, Treaties, and Warfare in the European System, 1816-1915." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28:522-534.
- Gibler, Douglas M. 1999. "An Extension of the Correlates of War Formal Alliance Data Set, 1648-1815." *International Interactions*, 25(1): 1-28.
- Gibler, Douglas M. and John A. Vasquez. 1998. "Uncovering the Dangerous Alliances, 1495-1980." *International Studies Quarterly*, 42: 785-807.
- Holsti, Ole R., P. Terrance Hopmann, and John D. Sullivan. 1973. *Unity and Disintegration in*

International Alliances. New York: Wiley.

- Kegley, Charles W., Jr., and Raymond, Gregory A. 1982. "Alliance Norms and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 572-595.
- Kim, Woosang. 1989. "Power, Alliance, and Major Wars, 1816-1975." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 33(2): 255-274.
- Anessa L. Kimball (2006). "Alliance Formation and Conflict Initiation: The Missing Link." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, 4: 371-389.
- Lalman, David and David Newman. 1991. "Alliance Formation and National Security." *International Interactions*, 16(4): 239-253.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley, Andrew G. Long, and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2000. "Reevaluating Alliance Reliability: Specific Threats, Specific Promises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(5): 686-699.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 47/3 (July): 427-439
- Brett Ashley Leeds and Michaela Mattes (2007). "Alliance Politics during the Cold War: Aberration, New World Order, or Continuation of History?" *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24, 3 (September): 183-199
- Andrew G. Long and Brett Ashley Leeds (2006). "Trading for Security: Military Alliances and Economic Agreements." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, 4: 433-451.
- Levy, Jack. 1981. "Alliance Formation and War Behavior: An Analysis of the Great Powers, 1495-1975." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 25(4): 581-613.
- Liska, George. 1962. *Nations in Alliance: The Limits of Interdependence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Midlarsky, Manus. 1988. *The Onset of World War*. Boston: Allen and Unwin. (Chapter 9)
- Morrow, James D. 1991. "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances." *American Journal of Political Science*, 35(4): 904-933.
- Morrow, James D. 1993. "Arms Versus Allies: Trade-offs in the Search for Security." *International Organization*, 47(2): 207-233.
- Morrow, James D. 1994. "Alliances, Credibility, and Peacetime Costs." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38(2): 270-297.
- Oren, Ido. 1990. "The War Proneness of Alliances." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 34: 208-233.
- Ostrom, Charles W. and Frank W. Hoole. 1978. "Alliances and War Revisited." *International Studies Quarterly*, 22(2): 215-236.
- Palmer, Glenn and J. Sky David. 1999. "Multiple Goals or Deterrence: A Test of Two Models in Nuclear and Nonnuclear Alliances." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43(6): 748-770.
- Kathy L. Powers (2006). "Dispute Initiation and Alliance Obligations in Regional Economic Institutions." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, 4: 453-471.
- Ray, James Lee. 1990. "Friends as Foes: International Conflict and Wars Between Formal Allies," in Charles Gochman and Alan Sabrosky (eds.), *Prisoners of War? Nation-States in the Modern Era*. Lexington: D.C. Heath.
- Sabrosky, Alan. 1980. "Interstate Alliances: Their Reliability and the Expansion of War," in J. David Singer (ed.), *The Correlates of War II: Testing Some Realpolitik Models*. New York: Free Press.
- Sabrosky, Alan N. 1980. "Alliance Aggregation, Capability Distribution, and the Expansion of Interstate War," in J. David Singer (ed.), *The Correlates of War II: Testing Some Realpolitik Models*. New York: Free Press.

- Sandler, Todd. 1993. "The Economic Theory of Alliances: A Survey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 37(3): 446-483.
- Signorino, Curtis S. and Jeffrey M. Ritter. 1999. "Tau-B or Not Tau-B: Measuring the Similarity of Foreign Policy Positions." *International Studies Quarterly*, 43(1): 115-144.
- Simon, Michael W. and Erik Gartzke. 1996. "Political System Similarity and the Choice of Allies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40: 617-635.
- Singer, J. David and Melvin Small. 1966. "Formal Alliances, 1815-1939: A Quantitative Description." *Journal of Peace Research*, 3: 1-31. (Contains a bibliographic list for each alliance in this time period)
- Singer, J. David and Melvin Small. 1966. "Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of War, 1815-1945," in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence*. New York: Free Press.
- Siverson, Randolph M. and Juliann Emmons. 1991. "Birds of a Feather: Democratic Political Systems and Alliance Choices in the Twentieth Century." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 35: 285-306.
- Siverson, Randolph and Joel King. 1980. "Attributes of National Alliance Membership and War Participation, 1815-1965." *American Journal of Political Science*, 24(1): 1-15.
- Siverson, Randolph M. and Harvey Starr. 1994. "Regime Change and the Restructuring of Alliances." *American Journal of Political Science*, 38(1): 145-161.
- Randolph Siverson and Michael Sullivan. "Alliances and War: A New Examination of an Old Problem." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 8, 1 (1984): 1-16.
- Siverson, Randolph M. and Michael R. Tennefoss. 1984. "Power, Alliance, and the Escalation of International Conflict, 1815-1965." *The American Political Science Review* 78: 1057-69.
- Alastair Smith (1995). "Alliance Formation and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 39: 405-425.
- Alastair Smith. "To Intervene or Not to Intervene: A Biased Decision." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40, 1 (1996): 16-40.
- Snyder, Glenn. 1984. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics." *World Politics* 36:461-495.
- Snyder, Glenn H. 1991. "Alliances, Balance, and Stability." *International Organization*, 45: 121-142.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ward, Michael D. 1982. "Research Gaps in Alliance Dynamics." *Monograph Series in World Affairs* 19(1). Denver: Graduate School of International Affairs, University of Denver.
- Frank Wayman. "Alliances and War: A Time-Series Analysis." in Charles Gochman and Alan Sabrosky (eds.), *Prisoners of War?: Nation-States in the Modern Era*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990: 93-114.
- Werner, Suzanne and Douglas Lemke. 1997. "Opposites Do Not Attract: The Impact of Domestic Institutions, Power, and Prior Commitments on Alignment Choices." *International Studies Quarterly*, 41(3): 529-546.

Anthropological and Biological Approaches

Some scholars have argued that aggression and warfare are part of human nature, and thus use anthropological or biological approaches to try to understand these phenomena. These are a few leading works in this area, but there are many others, and the debate over these approaches (nature or nurture?) remains unresolved.

- Richard A. Falk and Samuel S. Kim, eds. (1980). *The War System*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

- Morton Fried, Marvin Harris, and Robert Murphy, eds. (1967). *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression*. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press.
- Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Lawrence H. Keeley (1996). *War Before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Konrad Lorenz (1963). *On Aggression*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.
- Bronislaw Malinowski (1968). "An Anthropological Analysis of War." In Leon Bramson and George M. Goethals, eds., *War*, rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, pp. 245-268.
- Margaret Mead (1968). "Warfare is Only an Invention -- Not a Biological Necessity." In Leon Bramson and George M. Goethals, eds., *War*, rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, pp. 269-274.
- Marc Howard Ross. *The Culture of Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 183-201.
- R. Paul Shaw and Yuwa Wong (1989). *Genetic Seeds of Warfare: Evolution, Nationalism, and Patriotism*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Albert Somit (1990). "Humans, Chimps, and Bonobos: The Biological Bases of Aggression, War, and Peacemaking." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 34, 3 (September): 553-582.

Conflict Expansion: Contagion / Diffusion / Joining

Another topic that is related to crisis bargaining and escalation processes is the expansion of conflict (often termed contagion, diffusion, or joining). Numerous studies have examined the factors that lead additional states to join conflict, whether by choosing to intervene or by being the victim of the spread of conflict. Some of this work has focused on simple probability models, while other studies have focused on the impact of such factors as geographic borders / distance or formal military alliances.

- Michael Altfeld and Bruce Bueno de Mesquita. "Choosing Sides in War." *International Studies Quarterly*, 23, 1 (1979): 87-112.
- Cederman, Lars Erik. 2003. "Modeling the Size of Wars: From Billiard Balls to Sandpiles." *American Political Review* 97/1 (February): 123-133
- Davis, W. W., G. Duncan, and R. Siverson. 1978. "The Dynamics of Warfare, 1816-1965." *American Journal of Political Science*, 22: 722-792.
- Houweling, Henk W. and Jan G. Siccama. 1985. "The Epidemiology of War, 1816-1980." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 29(4): 641-663.
- Kadera, Kelly M. 1998. "Transmission, Barriers, and Constraints: A Dynamic Model of the Spread of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(3): 367-387.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley, Andrew Long, and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, "Reevaluating Alliance Reliability: Specific Threats, Specific Promises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44, 5 (2000): 686-699.
- Levy, Jack S. 1982. "The Contagion of Great Power War Behavior, 1495-1975." *American Journal of Political Science*, 26: 562-584.
- Most, Benjamin A., Philip Schrodt, Randolph Siverson, and Harvey Starr. 1990. Border and Alliance Effects on the Diffusion of Major Power Conflict, 1816-1965. In C. S. Gochman and A. N. Sabrosky (eds.), *Prisoners of War?* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 209-229.
- Most, Benjamin and Harvey Starr. 1980. "Diffusion, Reinforcement, Geopolitics, and the Spread of War." *American Political Science Review*, 74(4): 932-946.
- Most, Benjamin, Harvey Starr, and Randolph Siverson. "The Logic and Study of the Diffusion of

International Conflict" in Manus Midlarsky (ed.), *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, pp. 111-139.

- Randolph Siverson and Joel King. "Alliances and the Expansion of War." in John Vasquez and Marie Henehan (eds.), *The Scientific Study of Peace and War*, New York: Lexington Books, 1992, pp. 161-176.
- Rasler, Karen and William R. Thompson. 1999. "Predatory Initiators and Changing Landscapes for Warfare." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43(4): 411-433.
- Sabrosky, Alan N. 1980. "Alliance Aggregation, Capability Distribution, and the Expansion of Interstate War," in J. David Singer (ed.), *The Correlates of War II: Testing Some Realpolitik Models*. New York: Free Press.
- Sabrosky, Alan. 1980. "Interstate Alliances: Their Reliability and the Expansion of War," in J. David Singer (ed.), *The Correlates of War II: Testing Some Realpolitik Models*. New York: Free Press.
- Simowitz, Roslyn. 1998. "Evaluating Conflict Research on the Diffusion of War." *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(2): 211-230.
- Simowitz, Roslyn, and Matthew C. Sheffer. 1998. "Cumulation, Evaluation, and the Research Process: A Response to Starr and Siverson." *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(2): 238-244.
- Siverson, Randolph M. and Joel King. 1979. "Alliances and the Expansion of War," in J. David Singer and Michael Wallace (eds.), *To Augur Well*, Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Siverson, Randolph and Harvey Starr. 1990. "Opportunity, Willingness, and the Diffusion of War, 1815-1965." *American Political Science Review*, 84(1): 47-67.
- Siverson, Randolph and Harvey Starr, *The Diffusion of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Starr, Harvey and Benjamin A. Most. 1983. "Contagion and Border Effects on Contemporary African Conflict." *Comparative Political Studies*, 16: 92-117.
- Starr, Harvey and Randolph M. Siverson. 1998. "Cumulation, Evaluation, and the Research Process: Investigating the Diffusion of Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(2): 231-237.
- Yamamoto, Yoshinobu. 1990. Rationality or Chance: The Expansion and Control of War. In C. S. Gochman and A. N. Sabrosky (eds.), *Prisoners of War?* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 231-255.
- Yamamoto, Yoshinobu and Stuart A. Bremer. 1980. Wider Wars and Restless Nights: Major Power Intervention in Ongoing War. In J. David Singer (ed.), *The Correlates of War: II*. New York: Free Press, pp. 199-299.

Organizational Factors

A final topic that we have not covered here includes the impact of organizations on conflict, and lies somewhere between individual-level and state-level approaches to conflict. Examples include work on the military doctrines and strategies, civil-military relations, the offense-defense balance, and the "cult of the offensive."

Recommended Readings

- Biddle, Stephen. 2001. "Rebuilding the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory." *Journal of Politics* 63(3): 741-74.
- Glaser, Charles and Chaim Kaufmann. 1998. "What is the Offense-Defense Balance and How Can We Measure it?" *International Security* 22(4): 44-82.
- Elizabeth Kier. 1995. "Culture and Military Doctrine" *International Security* 19(4): 65-93.
- Levy, Jack S. 1986. "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War." *International Studies*

Quarterly 30:193-222.

- Reiter, Dan (1999). "Exploding the Powderkeg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen." *International Security*, 20, 2 (1995): 5-34.
- Dan Reiter, "Military Strategy and the Outbreak of International Conflict: Quantitative Empirical Tests, 1903-1992." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43, 3 : 366-387.
- Reiter and Meek. 1999. "Determinants of Military Strategy, 1903-1944". *International Studies Quarterly* 43(2): 363-388.
- Sagan, Scott D. 1986. "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability." *International Security* 11:151-175.
- Snyder, Jack. 1984a. "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984." *International Security* 9:108-146.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. "The Coming of the First World War: A Reassessment." In Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Van Evera, Stephen W. 1984. "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War." *International Security* 9:58-107.