

**INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:  
A SURVEY OF THE FIELD**

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*Class:* Monday, 1:30 pm – 3:20 pm,  
Location: 1314 Social Sciences  
*Office Hours:* Friday, 10 am – 12 pm,  
or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

As its title suggests, this course is designed to guide students through the literature of one of international relations' major "sub-subfields": international security. It is intended primarily for graduate students in the Department of Political Science, though others are welcome to attend, with the instructor's permission. Four caveats:

1. As this literature is immense and ever-expanding, any course of this nature can only be a survey, hoping to whet your appetite for further exploration. It must make difficult choices, and numerous topics have received less than their full due—including, among others, theories related to individual causes of war (sociobiology, Freudian psychology, personality); war termination; grand strategy and military doctrine; arms racing and crisis escalation; enduring rivalries; economic interdependence; ethics and the use of force; war and gender. Because I also teach 8401 (The Core) and because (nearly) all of you have taken it, I have skipped over topics, such as the democratic peace, that are adequately covered in that class, and I have omitted some important readings (such as David Campbell's *Writing Security*) that we engaged with in that class.
2. This course is theoretical in orientation, and, with only the occasional exception, we will not focus on explaining the origins or consequences of *particular* wars or *particular* uses of force.
3. In part because realists have historically dominated the subfield of international security, the course's readings are somewhat biased toward the realist perspective—though I have sought to include a fair number of readings from other approaches.
4. This course also focuses largely on more traditional questions of international security. That is certainly not meant to suggest that "new" security issues have no place in the field or that I as the instructor do not have interest in them. Just the opposite. But much of this recent exciting work either draws on older theoretical apparatuses and debates or consciously positions itself in contrast to them, and one can fully appreciate the moves being made only if one has a strong grasp of the foundations. Moreover, other graduate seminars regularly offered in the Department of Political Science and across the University devote their entire syllabi to such subjects, and I have sought to minimize overlap as much as possible.

## ASSIGNMENTS

Students taking this course will be expected to complete **four** kinds of assignments.

1. Two (2) Reaction Pieces (3-4 pp.). These reaction pieces are an opportunity for you to try out new ideas in a less formal format. And, because they will not be graded (except as part of your class participation grade), you can do so with little risk. So be adventurous.
  - Each reaction piece will be due by 6 p.m. on the Sunday before the seminar meets and will be circulated by e-mail to seminar members.
  
2. Reading Questions and Presentations. For each session, all students, including auditors, will prepare 3-5 questions based on the reading to help spur class discussion. Questions must be circulated by e-mail to the seminar by 6 p.m. on the Sunday before the seminar meets.
  - Between 2 and 3 times per term (depending on the number of students), all students (including auditors) will prepare presentations (8-10 minutes). These presentations should *not* recapitulate one's own or others' questions, but rather should use those questions as a jumping off point to make an argument about a theoretical approach, an empirical phenomenon or pattern, etc.
  - Students may *not* present the same week that they write a reaction piece.
  - Students will sign up for presentations during the first class meeting.
  
3. Research Proposal (5 pp.). This may be on any topic of interest to you that falls within the broad purview of international security. If the relevant readings do not appear on this syllabus, please clear the topic with me before you delve into it too deeply. The research proposal should follow the following format:
  - a. **Question and Issue:** What are you proposing to investigate, and why should anyone care? (You might build a *very brief* literature review into this section.)
  - b. **Hypotheses and Tentative Argument:** What are potential answers to this question, and which seems likely to prove most useful/insightful/revealing/correct (pick your epistemological stance)?
  - c. **Research Plan:** Were you to write a fully fleshed out research paper, what evidence would you use to test your hypotheses/illustrate your argument/demonstrate the explanatory value of your model? Make sure you explain how you would know if you were wrong.
  - The research proposal must be circulated to all seminar members by 12 pm on **Monday, March 30**. We will meet in small groups (depending on the seminar's final size) during that week to review each other's research proposals and contribute constructive feedback.
  - *NB:* The research proposal may—and normally will—serve as the basis for the research paper.
  
4. Research Paper. A first stab at a publishable paper (no more than 10,000 words; 30-35 double-spaced pages) on a topic that falls within the seminar's themes, broadly defined. Students are encouraged to begin work on that paper as soon as possible.
  - A brief prospectus (1-2 pp.) and preliminary bibliography are due in class on **February 23**. That week, students will meet with me to discuss their prospectuses.
  - The final project is due in my mailbox in the Political Science Department main office by **12:00 p.m. on Friday, May 8**. It may, of course, be submitted before that date.
  - *NB:* The prospectus will count for 10% of the final project grade.

## GRADING

Class Participation (incl. 2 reaction pieces, reading questions, and presentations)	25%
Research Proposal	25%
Research Paper	50%

## READINGS

The following books have been ordered for purchase at the University bookstore in the Coffman Memorial Union. Copies of these books have (whenever possible) also been placed in the 8402 drawer in the 12<sup>th</sup> floor lounge.

- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy* (Princeton UP, 2008).
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Cornell UP, 2003).
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge UP, 1981).
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, rev. and enlarged ed. (Columbia UP, 2006).
- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Stuart J. Kaufman et al., eds., *The Balance of Power in World History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale UP, 1966).
- Etel Solingen, *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton UP, 2007).

Other readings may be found:

- *On-line*. Most articles are available on-line. To find the on-line article most easily, type the journal title into the search engine at: <http://www.lib.umn.edu/articles/ej.phtml>, and then click on the appropriate resource.
- *On-line II*. Readings that cannot be found through standard U of M on-line resources will be made available through the “rkrebs\_8402” folder on the Shared drive.

## BACKGROUND READINGS

While there are no specific course prerequisites, it is assumed that students have basic familiarity with theories of international politics. Those who have taken “the core” (POL 8401) will be well prepared. All would be well served to have read Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace* (Norton, 1997).

While this course is more theoretically oriented, history is its proving ground, and empirical questions will be raised and addressed both in the assigned texts and in seminar discussions. For useful background sources on the history of war, strategy, and great power politics, consult the following:

- William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (University of Chicago Press, 1982).
- Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford UP, 1976).
- Archer Jones, *The Art of War in the Western World* (University of Illinois Press, 1987).
- Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (Cambridge UP, 1989).
- Edward Vose Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power* (W.W. Norton, 1955).
- Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford UP, 1994).
- A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford UP, 1992 [1954]).
- William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World: An International History* (Oxford UP, 1984).  
-----, *A World of Nations: The International Order Since 1945* (Oxford UP, 2003).
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 1994).
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (Random House, 1987).

## CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

\* = required reading

§ = highly recommended reading

(Translation: I would have assigned it if I were not already assigning you too much reading. But if you have not read it yet, you eventually should.)

Guide to Journal Abbreviations

<i>AJPS</i>	<i>American Journal of Political Science</i>	<i>ISR</i>	<i>International Studies Review</i>
<i>ARPS</i>	<i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>	<i>JCR</i>	<i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>
<i>APSR</i>	<i>American Political Science Review</i>	<i>JOP</i>	<i>Journal of Politics</i>
<i>EJIR</i>	<i>European Journal of Int'l Relations</i>	<i>JPR</i>	<i>Journal of Peace Research</i>
<i>FA</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	<i>PoP</i>	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>
<i>IO</i>	<i>International Organization</i>	<i>RIS</i>	<i>Review of International Studies</i>
<i>IS</i>	<i>International Security</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>Security Studies</i>
<i>ISQ</i>	<i>International Studies Quarterly</i>	<i>WP</i>	<i>World Politics</i>

Jan. 26 Introduction: Security, Strategy, and the Uses of Force

*What is Security?*

- \* Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol," in his *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1962) 147-165.
  - \* Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security," *IS* 8:1 (summer 1983) 129-153.
  - \* Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *IS* 26:2 (fall 2001) 87-102.
  - \* Barry Buzan et al., *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner, 1998) chap. 2 (pp. 21-47).
  - \* Jutta Weldes et al., "Introduction: Constructing Insecurity," in Weldes et al., eds., *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999) 1-25.
  - \* Paul Chilton, "The Meaning of *Security*," in Francis A. Beer, and Robert Hariman, eds., *Post-Realism: The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations* (Michigan State University Press, 1996) 193-216.
  - \* R.B.J. Walker, "The Subject of Security," in Keith Krause and Michael Williams, eds., *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997) 61-81.
  - \* Elke Krahnemann, "Security: Collective Good or Commodity?" *EJIR* 14:3 (2008) 379-404.
- Steven Miller, "*International Security* at Twenty-Five: From One World to Another," *IS* 26:1 (summer 2001) pp. 5-39.
- David A. Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War," *WP* 48:1 (October 1995) pp. 117-141.
- § Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *ISQ* 35:2 (June 1991) pp. 211-239.
- § Edward Kolodziej, "Renaissance in Security Studies? Caveat Lector!" *ISQ* 36:4 (December 1992) pp. 421-438.

- § Peter J. Katzenstein, "Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security," in Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia UP, 1996) pp. 1-32.
- § Emma Rothschild, "What is Security?" *Daedalus* 124:3 (summer 1995) pp. 53-98.
- Daniel Deudney, "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security," *Millennium* 19:3 (winter 1990) 461-476.
- Keith Krause and Michael Williams, eds., *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997) esp. essays by Krause and Williams, Walker, Ayoob, Acharya.
- J. Ann Tickner, "Re-visioning Security," in Ken Booth and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theory Today* (Polity Press, 1995).

#### *The Nature of Strategy*

- \* Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton UP, 1976) p. 75 (s. 2), pp. 80-81 (s. 11), pp. 86-88 (s. 23-26), pp. 605-610.
- \* Richard K. Betts, "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *IS* 25:2 (fall 2000) pp. 5-50.
- § Alan Beyerchen, "Clausewitz, Nonlinearity, and the Unpredictability of War," *IS* 17:3 (winter 1992-1993) pp. 59-90.
- § Robert Jervis, *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton UP, 1997) chapter 7 ("Acting in a System"), pp. 253-295.
- Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Sun Tzu, Clausewitz, and Jomini*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Frank Cass, 2001).

#### *The Uses of Force*

- \* Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power?" *IS* 4:4 (spring 1980) pp. 3-14.
- § Robert J. Art, "American Foreign Policy and the Fungibility of Force," *SS* 5:4 (summer 1996) pp. 7-42.
- § David A. Baldwin, "Force, Fungibility, and Influence," and Robert J. Art, "Force and Fungibility Reconsidered," *SS* 8:4 (summer 1999) pp. 173-189.
- Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Harvard UP, 1960) esp. part I, "Elements of a Theory of Strategy," pp. 3-80.
- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale UP, 1966) esp. "The Diplomacy of Violence," pp. 1-34.
- Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, *The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might* (Cambridge UP, 2002) chapter 1.

Feb. 2

## The System: The Balance of Power

*NB:* This week overlaps greatly with many readings you have done or will do in the IR core, POL 8401. The reading assignments presume your familiarity with basic realist arguments about the nature of international anarchy and the workings of the balance of power, and so the assigned readings focused largely on states' failure to balance. For those less familiar with the conventional arguments, the Levy reading (under Overviews) will be quite helpful, though now a bit dated.

- \* Kaufman et al., eds., *The Balance of Power in World History*, chaps. 1, 10, and 4 of 8 empirical chapters (to be assigned).
- \* William C. Wohlforth et al., "Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History," *EJIR* 13:2 (2007) 155-185.
- \* John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (Norton, 2001) pp. 138-167.
- \* Randall Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *IS* 29:2 (fall 2004) pp. 159-201.
- \* Stacie E. Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia's Rhetoric Overturned the Balance of Power," *IS* 33:3 (winter 2008/2009) 110-142.
- \* Robert Pape, "Soft Balancing Against the United States," *IS* 30:1 (summer 2005) pp. 5-49.
- \* Keir Lieber and Gerard Alexander, "Waiting for Soft Balancing: Why the World is not Pushing Back," *IS* 30:1 (summer 2005) pp. 109-139.
- \* Deborah Boucoyannis, "The International Wanderings of a Liberal Idea, or Why Liberals Can Learn to Stop Worrying and Love the Balance of Power," *PoP* 5:4 (December 2007) 703-727.

*Overviews*

- § Jack Levy, "The Causes of War: A Review of Theories," in Philip E. Tetlock, Jo L. Huber, Robert Jervis, Paul C. Stern, and Charles Tilly, eds., *Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War*, vol. 1 (Oxford UP, 1989).
- § Jack S. Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," *ARPS* (June 1998) pp. 139-165.
- § Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Free Press, 1988 [1973]).
- § Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (Columbia UP, 1954).

*Balancing: Concepts, Logic, and Evidence*

- ♠ Both the Mearsheimer and the Waltz are essential structural realist readings. If you have not read them before, you should do so soon. ♠
- § John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (Norton, 2001).
- § Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (McGraw-Hill, 1979).
- § Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, "Hegemonic Threats and Great-Power Balancing in Europe, 1495-1999," *SS* 14:1 (Jan.-March 2005) pp. 1-30.
- § Ernest B. Haas, "The Balance of Power: Prescription, Concept or Propaganda?" *WP* 5:4 (July 1953) 442-477.
- Richard Little, *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths, and Models* (Cambridge UP, 2007).
- Timothy W. Crawford, "Wedge Strategy, Balancing, and the Deviant Case of Spain, 1940-41," *SS* 17:1 (2008) 1-38.
- Daniel H. Nexon, "The Balance of Power in the Balance" [review essay] *WP*, forthcoming.

*Why States Fail to Balance*

§ Victoria Tin-Bor Hui, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe," *IO* 58:1 (winter 2004) pp. 175-205.

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge UP, 2005).

§ Paul W. Schroeder, "Historical Reality Versus Neo-Realist Theory," *IS* 19:1 (1994) pp. 108-148.

§ Colin Elman, "Extending Offensive Realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony," *APSR* 98:4 (November 2004) pp. 563-576.

Steven R. David "Explaining Third World Alignment," *World Politics* 43:2 (Jan. 1991) pp. 233-256.

*US Hegemony and Balancing* (in addition to above)

William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *IS* 24:1 (1999) 5-41.

G. John Ikenberry, "Is American Multilateralism in Decline?" *PoP* 1:3 (September 2003) pp. 533-550.

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "International Relations Theory and the Case Against Unilateralism," *PoP* (September 2005) pp. 509-524.

T.V. Paul, "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy," *IS* 30:1 (2005) 46-71.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing," *IS* 30:1 (2005) 72-108.

Robert J. Art, et al., "Correspondence: Striking the Balance," *IS* 30:3 (2005/2006) 177-196.

Barry R. Posen, "European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?" *SS* 15:2 (July 2006) 149-186.

Stephen M. Walt, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy* (Norton, 2005).

T.V. Paul, et al., eds. *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Stanford UP, 2004).

Feb. 9           The System: Dynamics of Power

\* Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge UP, 1981) all.

\* Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Cornell UP, 2000) 1-55.

§ Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," *WP* 40:1 (October 1987) pp. 82-107.

Randall Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *WP* 44:2 (January 1992) pp. 235-269.

Jacek Kugler and Douglas Lemke, "The Power Transition Research Program: Assessing Theoretical and Empirical Advances," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *The Handbook of War Studies II* (University of Michigan Press, 2000).

A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger* (University of Chicago Press, 1980).

§ Dan Reiter, "Exploding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen," *IS* 20 (fall 1995) pp. 5-34.

Feb. 16           NO CLASS MEETING DUE TO ISA

Feb. 23 Between State and System: Security Institutions—Alliances, Security Communities, IOs

**RESEARCH PAPER PROSPECTUS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE IN CLASS TODAY.**

- \* Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes," *IO* 36:2 (spring 1982) 357-378; reprinted in Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Cornell UP, 1983) 173-194.
- \* Johnston, *Social States*, all.
- \* David A. Lake, "Beyond Anarchy: The Importance of Security Institutions," *IS* 26:1 (summer 2001) pp. 129-160.
- \* Erik Voeten, "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force," *IO* 59:3 (summer 2005) pp. 527-557.
- \* Alexander Thompson, "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission," *IO* 60:1 (2006) 1-34.

*Alliances and other Security Institutions*

- ♣ I presume most of you have read Mearsheimer 1994 elsewhere. Walt 1987 is an important work, but its realist logic is fairly straightforward, with the innovative move being the replacement of power with threat. Barnett 1996 is a good application of Wendtian constructivist logic to the Middle East. ♣
- § Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Cornell UP, 1987) pp. 1-49.
- § John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *IS* 19:3 (1994) pp. 5-49 (and the responses by Keohane and Martin, Wendt, and Kupchan and Kupchan appearing in *IS*, summer 1995).
- § Michael N. Barnett, "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia UP, 1996) pp. 400-447.
- § Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *IS* 24:1 (summer 1999) pp. 42-63.
- § Paul W. Schroeder, "Alliances, 1815-1945: Weapons of Power and Tools of Management," in Klaus Knorr, ed., *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems* (University Press of Kansas, 1976) pp. 227-262.
- Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics* (Cornell UP, 1997).
- Jeremy Pressman, *Warring Friends: Alliance Restraint in International Politics* (Cornell UP, 2008).
- Robert Jervis, *System Effects* (Princeton UP, 1997) chapters 5 and 6.
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *IO* (spring 1990) pp. 137-168.
- James Morrow, "Arms Versus Allies: Trade-Offs in the Search for Security," *IO* 47:2 (spring 1993) pp. 207-233.
- § James D. Morrow, "Alliances: Why Write Them Down?" *ARPS* 3 (2000) pp. 63-83.
- Ronald R. Krebs, "Perverse Institutionalism: NATO and the Greco-Turkish Conflict," *IO* 53:2 (spring 1999) pp. 343-377.
- Michael N. Barnett and Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The Case of Egypt, 1962-1973," *IO* 45:3 (Summer 1991) pp. 369-395.
- John S. Duffield, *Power Rules: The Evolution of NATO's Conventional Force Posture* (Stanford UP, 1995).
- Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism," *IO* 56:3 (summer 2002) pp. 575-608.
- Dan Reiter, "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy," *IS* 25:4 (spring 2001) pp. 41-67.
- IO* 59:4 (fall 2005), special issue on international institutions and socialization in Europe and beyond, esp. Jeffrey Checkel's introduction, and Alexandra Ghescu, "Security Institutions

as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the ‘New Europe’” *IO* 59:4 (fall 2005) pp. 973-1012.

Alastair Iain Johnston, “Treating International Institutions as Social Environments,” *International Studies Quarterly* 45:3 (December 2001) pp. 487-515.

Carol Atkinson, “Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972-2000,” *ISQ* 50 (2006) 509-537.

Ian Hurd, “The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992–2003,” *IO* 59:3 (summer 2005) pp. 495-526.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World International Organizations in Global Politics* (Cornell UP, 2004).

#### *Security Communities and Regimes*

§ Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge UP, 1998) chapters 1-2 (pp. 3-65). [recommended: chapter 12-13]

§ Jennifer Mitzen, “Reading Habermas in Anarchy: Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Public Spheres,” *APSR* 99:3 (August 2005) pp. 401-417.

§ G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton UP, 2001) pp. 3-79.

Richard H. Ullman, *Securing Europe* (Princeton UP, 1991).

Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies* (Princeton UP, 1995); and/or “Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of NATO,” in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia UP, 1996) pp. 357-399.

Neta Crawford, “A Security Regime Among Democracies,” *IO* (summer 1994) pp. 345-385.

#### *Collective Security*

Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, “Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe,” *IS* 16:1 (summer 1991) pp. 114-161.

Richard K. Betts, “Systems for Peace or Causes of War? Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe,” *IS* 17:1 (summer 1992) pp. 5-30. [note: you need not read pp. 30-43 on arms control, which is quite dated]

Inis Claude, *Power and International Relations* (New York: Random House, 1962) chapter 4 (“Collective Security: An Alternative to Balance of Power?”).

March 2

## Culture, Language, and the Politics of National Security

- \* Michael C. Williams, *Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security* (Routledge, 2007) chaps. 2, 4 (pp. 22-41, 62-91).
- \* Mark L. Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989* (Cornell UP, 2005) 1-39, 105-145.
- \* Colin Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy* (Princeton UP, 2006) 1-43, 82-113.
- \* Jeffrey Legro, *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order* (Cornell UP, 2005) pp. 1-48, 122-160.
- \* Theo Farrell, "World Culture and Military Power," *SS* 14:3 (July-September 2005) 448-488.
- \* Jack Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture," *IO* 56:1 (winter 2002) pp. 7-46.
- \* Michael C. Desch, "Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies," *IS* 23 (summer 1998) pp. 141-170.
- § John Duffield, Richard Price, and Theo Farrell, "Correspondence—Isms and Schisms: Culturalism versus Realism in Security Studies" [i.e. responses to Desch], *IS* 24:1 (summer 1999) pp. 156-180.
- § John S. Duffield, "Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism," *IO* 53 (autumn 1999) pp. 765-803.
- § Peter Katzenstein, "Same War—Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism," *IO* 57:4 (fall 2003) pp. 731-760.
- § Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia UP, 1996) esp. chapters by Elizabeth Kier (pp. 186-215), Iain Johnston (pp. 216-268), and Thomas Berger (pp. 317-356).
- Theo Farrell, "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program," *International Studies Review* 4:1 (spring 2002) pp. 49-72.
- John Duffield, *World Power Forsaken: Political Culture, International Institutions, and German Security Policy After Unification* (Stanford UP, 1998).
- Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton UP, 1995).
- Elizabeth Kier, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine Between the Wars* (Princeton UP, 1997).
- Jeffrey Legro, *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II* (Cornell UP, 1995).
- Stephen Peter Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and its Armies* (Cornell UP, 1996).
- Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms & National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan* (Cornell UP, 1996).
- Thomas Berger, *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1998).
- Jonathan Monten, "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy," *IS* 29:4 (spring 2005) pp. 112-156.
- Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Cornell UP, 2006).
- Daniel Drezner, "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion," *PoP* 6:1 (March 2008) 51-. The American public is more comfortable with realism than folks like Dueck think. Does it matter?

March 9

## Coercion: Deterrence and Compellence (Conventional and Nuclear)

*The Theory of Coercion*

\* Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale UP, 1966), chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-189).

[recommended: entire book]

Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, *The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might* (Cambridge UP, 2002) esp. pp. 1-124.

Patrick M. Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis* (Sage, 1977).

John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Cornell UP, 1983).

*Crisis Bargaining and Audience Costs*

\* James D. Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *APSR* 88 (September 1994) 577-592.

\* Michael Tomz, "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach," *IO* 61:4 (Fall 2007) 821-840.

Jessica L. Weeks, "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve," *IO* 62:1 (winter 2008) 35-64. Democracies have no signaling advantage over most kinds of autocratic regimes.

*Nuclear Deterrence and Compellence, Theory and History*

\* John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *IS* 13:2 (fall 1988) pp. 55-79.

\* Robert Jervis, "The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons: A Comment," *IS* 13:2 (fall 1988) pp. 80-90.

\* Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *IO* 53:3 (summer 1999) pp. 433-468.

Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," *FA* 37 (January 1959) pp. 209-234.

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§ Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Cornell UP: 1989) pp. 1-106.

§ John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," *IS* 10:4 (spring 1986) pp. 99-142.

§ Randolph M. Siverson and Michael D. Ward, "The Long Peace: A Reconsideration," *IO* 56:3 (summer 2002) pp. 679-691.

Robert Powell, *Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Search for Credibility* (Cambridge UP, 1990).

Marc Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy* (Princeton UP, 1991).

§ Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Macmillan, 1989).

McGeorge Bundy, *Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years* (Vintage, 1988).

Scott D. Sagan, *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons* (Princeton UP, 1993).

Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *IS* 29:4 (spring 2005) pp. 5-49.

Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge UP, 2007).

*Alternatives to Coercion: Reassurance, Engagement, Appeasement*

- \* Randall Schweller, "Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (Routledge, 1999) pp. 1-31.
- \* Andrew Kydd, "Trust, Reassurance, and Cooperation," *IO* 54:2 (spring 2000) pp. 725-758.
- \* Marc Lynch, "Why Engage? China and the Logic of Communicative Engagement," *EJIR* 8:2 (June 2002) pp. 187-230.
- § David Baldwin, "The Power of Positive Sanctions," *WP* 24 (October 1971) pp. 19-38.
- § Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence and Reassurance," in Philip E. Tetlock, et al., *Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War*, vol. 2 (Oxford UP, 1991) pp. 8-72.
- § Deborah Welch Larson, *Anatomy of Mistrust: U.S.-Soviet Relations During the Cold War* (Cornell UP, 1997) pp. 1-34.
- Janice Gross Stein, "Reassurance in International Conflict Management," *Political Science Quarterly* 106:3 (autumn 1991) pp. 431-451.
- Robert Powell, "Uncertainty, Shifting Power, and Appeasement," *APSR* 90:4 (1996) pp. 749-764.
- J.L. Richardson, "New Perspectives on Appeasement: Some Implications for International Relations Theory," *WP* 40 (April 1988) pp. 289-316.
- Andrew Kydd, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations* (Princeton UP, 2005).
- Daniel Triesman, "Rational Appeasement," *IO* 58:2 (spring 2004) pp. 345-373.
- Norin M. Ripsman and Jack S. Levy, "Wishful Thinking or Buying Time? The Logic of British Appeasement in the 1930s," *IS* 33:2 (fall 2008) 148-181.

*The Rational Deterrence Debate*

- § Christopher Achen and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," *WP* 41:2 (January 1989) pp. 143-169.
- § Robert Jervis, "Rational Deterrence: Theory and Evidence," *WP* 41:2 (January 1989) pp. 183-207.
- § Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Therefore I Deter," *WP* 41:2 (January 1989) pp. 208-224.
- § George W. Downs, "The Rational Deterrence Debate," *WP* 41:2 (January 1989) pp. 225-237.
- Alexander George and Richard Smoke, "Deterrence and Foreign Policy," *WP* 41:2 (January 1989) pp. 170-182.
- § Thomas Schelling, "What is Game Theory?" in his *Choice and Consequence: Perspectives of an Errant Economist* (Harvard UP, 1984) pp. 213-242.
- § Robert Jervis, "Realism, Game Theory, and Cooperation," *WP* 40:3 (April 1988) pp. 317-349.

*Deterrence: An Empirical Debate*

- Paul K. Huth and Bruce Russett, "What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980," *WP* 36:4 (July 1984) pp. 496-526.
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable," *WP* 42:3 (April 1990) pp. 336-369.
- Paul K. Huth and Bruce Russett, "Testing Deterrence Theory: Rigor Makes a Difference," *WP* 42:4 (July 1990) pp. 466-501.
- Jack Levy, "Quantitative Studies of Deterrence Success and Failure," in Paul Stern et al., eds., *Perspectives on Deterrence* (Oxford UP, 1989) pp. 98-133.
- Paul K. Huth, *Standing Your Ground* (University of Michigan Press, 1996).
- Paul K. Huth, *Extended Deterrence and the Prevention of War* (Yale UP, 1988).

*Some Cases of Extended Deterrence and Compellence*

Alexander George and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Columbia UP, 1974) part 2.

Richard K. Betts, *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (Brookings, 1987).

Jutta Weldes, *Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence and Compellence in the Gulf, 1990-1991," *IS* 17:2 (autumn 1992) pp. 147-179.

March 16

NO CLASS—SPRING BREAK

## March 23 Reputation, Honor, Coercion, and Beyond

- \* Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton UP, 1976) chapter 3 (“Deterrence, the Spiral Model, and Intentions of the Adversary”), pp. 58-113.
- \* Jonathan Mercer, *Reputation and International Politics* (Cornell UP, 1996) pp. 14-43 [recommended: pp. 44-73].
- \* Daryl G. Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Cornell UP, 2005) chaps. 1-2 (pp. 1-79).
- \* Jennifer Milliken, “Metaphors of Prestige and Reputation in American Foreign Policy and American Realism,” in Francis A. Beer, and Robert Hariman, eds., *Post-Realism: The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations* (Michigan State University Press, 1996) pp. 217-238.
- \* Barry O’Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War* (University of Michigan Press, 1999) chapters 1 (pp. 3-8), 6-8 (pp. 85-138). (recommended: all)

*Psychological Critiques of Deterrence Theory*

- \* Robert Jervis, “Signaling and Perception: Drawing Inferences and Projecting Images,” in Kristen R. Monroe, ed., *Political Psychology* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002) 293-309.
- § Robert Jervis, “Deterrence and Perception,” *IS* 7:3 (winter 1982/83) pp. 3-30.
- Richard Ned Lebow, “Deterrence: A Political and Psychological Critique,” in Paul Stern et al., eds., *Perspectives on Deterrence* (Oxford UP, 1989).
- Robert Jervis et al., *Psychology and Deterrence* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1985).
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, *We All Lost the Cold War* (Princeton UP, 1994).

March 30 Nuclear Proliferation

**RESEARCH PROPOSALS TO BE CIRCULATED BY EMAIL TODAY, 12 PM.  
SMALL GROUP MEETINGS (OR THE SEMINAR AS A WHOLE, DEPENDING ON  
THE SEMINAR'S FINAL SIZE) TO BE HELD THIS WEEK.**

- \* Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *IS* 21 (winter 1996/97) pp. 54-86.
- \* Solingen, *Nuclear Logics*, chaps. 1-2, 3, 6, 8-10, 12 (pp. 1-53, 57-81, 118-139, 164-228, 249-299).
- \* Jacques E.C. Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge UP, 2006) 1-46, 85-113 (skim chap. 3).

William C. Potter and Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova, "Divining Nuclear Intentions: A Review Essay," *IS* 33:1 (summer 2008) 139-169.

Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Norton, 2003).

Peter D. Feaver, "Command and Control in Emerging Nuclear Nations," *IS* 17:3 (Winter 1992/93).

Peter D. Feaver, "Proliferation Optimism and Theories of Nuclear Operations," *SS* 2:3/4 (Spring/Summer 1993).

David J. Karl, "Proliferation Pessimism and Emerging Nuclear Powers," *IS* 21:3 (winter 1996/1997).

Peter D. Feaver, "Neo-Optimists and the Enduring Problems of Nuclear Proliferation," *SS* 6:4 (Summer, 1997).

Avery Goldstein, "Understanding Nuclear Proliferation: Theoretical Explanation and China's National Experience," *SS* 2:3/4 (spring/summer 1993) 213-255.

Ariel E. Levite, "Never Say Never Again: Nuclear Reversal Revisited," *IS* 27:3 (winter 2002/03) 59-88.

S. Paul Kapur, "India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia is not like Cold War Europe," *IS* 30:2 (fall 2005) 127-152.

Llewelyn Hughes, "Why Japan Will Not Go Nuclear (Yet): International and Domestic Constraints on the Nuclearization of Japan," *IS* 31:4 (spring 2007) 67-96.

Peter Liberman, "The Rise and Fall of the South African Bomb," *IS* 26:2 (fall 2001) 45-86.

Mitchell Reiss, *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constraint Their Nuclear Capabilities* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995).

Alexander H. Montgomery, "Ring in Proliferation: How to Dismantle an Atomic Bomb Network," *IS* 30:2 (fall 2005) 153-187.

David Mutimer, "Reimagining Security: The Metaphors of Proliferation," in Keith Krause and Michael Williams, eds., *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

April 6

## Complying with the Laws of War: Noncombatant Immunity

- \* Alexander B. Downes, "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War," *IS* 30:4 (spring 2006) 152-195.
  - \* Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, and Sarah Croco, "Covenants without the Sword: International Law and the Protection of Civilians in Times of War," *WP* 58:3 (2006) 339-377.
  - \* Colin H. Kahl, "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq," *IS* 32:1 (summer 2007) 7-46.
  - \* Neta C. Crawford, "Individual and Collective Moral Responsibility for Systemic Military Atrocity," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 15:2 (June 2007) 187-212.
  - \* Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *APSR* 100:3 (August 2006) 429-447.
  - \* Helen M. Kinsella, "Gendering Grotius: Sex and Sex Difference in the Laws of War," *Political Theory* 34:2 (April 2006) 161-191.
  - \* R. Charli Carpenter, "Women and Children First: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans, 1991-95," *IO* 57:4 (October 2003) 661-694.
  - \* Laura Sjoberg, "Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism," *ISQ* 50 (December 2006) 889-910.
  - § Helen M. Kinsella, "Discourses of Difference: Civilians, Combatants, and Compliance with the Laws of War," *RIS* (2006).
  - R. Charli Carpenter, "'Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups': Gender, Strategic Frames, and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue," *ISQ* 49:2 (June 2005).
  - James D. Morrow, "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *APSR* 101:3 (2007) 559-572.
  - Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Cornell UP, 2008).
  - Hugo Slim, *Killing Civilians: Method, Madness, and Morality in War* (Columbia UP, 2008).
- Highly Recommended: The Ethics of Force*
- § George Kennan, "Morality and Foreign Policy," *FA* 64:2 (winter 1985/86) 205-218.
  - § Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (Basic Books, 1977). Classic text on both the ethics of war and ethics within war.
  - Joseph Boyle, "Just War Doctrine and the Military Response to Terrorism," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 11:2 (2003) 153-170.
  - Neta Crawford, "Just War Theory and Counterterrorism War," *PoP* 1:1 (March 2003) 5-25.
  - § Michael Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror* (Princeton UP, 2004).
  - § Arnold Wolfers, "Statesmanship and Moral Choice," in *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1962) 47-65.
  - Jean Bethke Elshtain, ed., *Just War Theory* (Blackwell, 1992).
  - Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton UP, 1979).
  - Charles Beitz et al., eds., *International Ethics* (Princeton UP, 1985).
  - Robert L. Holmes, *On War and Morality* (Princeton UP, 1989).
  - Richard Norman, *Ethics, Killing, and War* (Cambridge UP, 1995).
  - R.G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris, eds., *Violence, Terrorism, and Justice* (Cambridge UP, 1991).

April 13

## Terrorism

- \* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, chapters 1, 4-7 (pp. 1-41, 81-228). Optional: for good historical background, chaps. 2-3. A lot of pages, but this book is a pretty quick read (except for chapter 1, which is more terminological and analytical).
- \* Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *IS* 31:2 (fall 2006) 42-78.
- \* Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *APSR* 97:3 (August 2003) pp. 343-361.
- \* Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara Walter, "Strategies of Terrorism," *IS* 31:1 (2006) 49-80.
- \* Max Abrahms, "What Terrorists Really Want: Motives and Counterterrorist Strategy," *IS* 32:4 (spring 2008) 78-105.
- \* Michael Mousseau, "Market Civilization and Its Clash with Terror," *IS* 27:3 (winter 2002/03) pp. 5-29.
- \* Peter Katzenstein, "Same War—Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism," *IO* 57:4 (fall 2003) pp. 731-760.
- \* Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "Politics and the Suboptimal Provision of Counterterrorism," *IO* 61:1 (winter 2007) 9-36.
- \* Ethan Bueno de Mesquita and Eric S. Dickson, "The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization," *AJPS* 51:2 (2007) 364-381.
- \* Arjun Chowdhury and Ronald R. Krebs, "Making and Mobilizing Moderates: Rhetorical Strategy, Political Networks, and Counterterrorism," *SS* (forthcoming).

§ Robert Pape, *Dying to Win : The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (Random House, 2005).

Scott Ashworth et al., "Design Inference and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *APSR* 102 (2008) 269-273; with reply from Pape, pp. 275-277.

Mia Bloom, *Dying To Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (Columbia UP, 2005).

§ *The 9/11 Commission Report* (Norton, 2004).

§ Nicholas Lemann, "What Terrorists Want," *New Yorker*, 29 October 2001.

Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context* (Pennsylvania State UP, 1995).

§ Alan Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 9074, July 2002 ([www.nber.org/papers/w9074](http://www.nber.org/papers/w9074)).

James A. Piazza, "Incubators of Terror? Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism," *ISQ* 52:3 (Sept. 2008) 469-488.

Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Brookings, 2001).

§ Timothy Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism* (Basic Books, 2005).

Daniel Byman, *Five Front War: The Better Way to Fight Global Jihad* (Wiley, 2008).

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence," *IO* 59:1 (winter 2005) 145-176.

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "The Quality of Terror," *AJPS* 49:3 (2005) 515-530.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *IS* 31:1 (2006) 7-48.

§ Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson, eds., *Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons from the Past* (USIP Press, 2007) esp. chap. 16.

Arjun Chowdhury and Ronald R. Krebs, "Talking about Terror: Counterterrorist Campaigns and the Logic of Representation." *EJIR* (forthcoming).

- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Praeger, 1966).
- Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam* (Praeger, 1966).
- Nathan Leites and Charles Wolf, Jr., *Rebellion and Authority: An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts* (Markham, 1970).
- D. Michael Shafer, *Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy* (Princeton UP, 1988).
- John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (University of Chicago Press, 2007).
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *APSR* 97:1 (2003) 75–90.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge UP, 2006).
- Jeremy M. Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge UP, 2007).
- Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam* (Cambridge UP, 2003).
- Ivan Arreguín-Toft, *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict* (Cambridge UP, 2006).
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *IO* 63:1 (winter 2009) 67-106.

April 20

## Peacekeeping, Intervention, and Occupation

- \* Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Cornell UP, 2003) chaps. 1, 3-5 (pp. 1-23, 52-161).
- \* Page Fortna, "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects," *WP* 50:4 (July 2004) pp. 481-519.
- \* Roland Paris, "Peacekeeping and the Constraints of Global Culture," *EJIR* 9:3 (Sept. 2003) pp. 441-473.
- \* Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (Routledge, 2006) 37-54, 82-87, 95-147 (you can read these last 50 pages quickly).
- \* David M. Edelstein, *Occupational Hazards: Success and Failure in Military Occupation* (Cornell UP, 2008) 1-57, 87-90.
- \* James Fearon and David Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *IS* 28:4 (spring 2004) pp. 5-43.
  
- § Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War & Building Peace* (Princeton UP, 2006).
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen, "Making and Keeping Peace," *IO* 59:2 (spring 2005) pp. 261-292.
- § Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War* (Princeton UP, 2008).
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs, "Intervention and Democracy," *IO* 60:3 (summer 2006) 627-650.
- Jeffery Pickering and Mark Peceny, "Forging Democracy at Gunpoint," *ISQ* 50:3 (September 2006) 539-560.
  
- § Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (Harper, 2003).
- Alan Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda* (Brookings, 2001).
- Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Cornell UP, 2003).
  
- § Stephen D. Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," *IS* 29:2 (fall 2004) pp. 85-120.
- David M. Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *IS* 29: 1 (summer 2004) pp. 49-91.
- Michael Barnett, "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States After War," *IS* 30:4 (spring 2006) 87-112.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *IS* 20:4 (Spring 1996) 136-175.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century," *IS* 23:2 (fall 1998) 120-156.
- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *WP* 52 (July 2000) 437-483.
- Carter Johnson, "Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars," *IS* 32:4 (spring 2008) 140-170. A large-n study of the efficacy of partition.
- Thomas Chapman and Philip G. Roeder, "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions," *APSR* 101:4 (November 2007) 677-691. Defending partition as a source of stability and democracy after civil war.

Apr. 27

## Globalization and Security

- \* Stephen G. Brooks, *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict* (Princeton UP, 2005) chapters 1,3,6 (pp. 1-15, 47-79, 161-206). [recommended: chapters 2, 5, 7]
- \* Christopher Rudolph, "Security and the Political Economy of International Migration," *APSR* 97:4 (November 2003) pp. 603-620.
- \* Myron Weiner, "Security, Stability, and International Migration," *International Security* 17:3 (winter 1992) pp. 91-126.
- \* Fiona Adamson, "Crossing Borders International Migration and National Security," *IS* 31:1 (2006) 165-199.
- \* Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (Zed Books, 2001) 1-43, 108-135.

*Economic Interdependence and Conflict*

- § Bruce M. Russett and John R. Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (Norton, 2001) chaps. 4-6.
- § Dale Copeland. "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," *IS* 20:4 (spring 1996) 5-41. A realist twist on commercial liberalism: turning the theory on its head...
- § Patrick J. McDonald and Kevin Sweeney, "The Achilles Heel of Liberal IR Theory? Globalization and Conflict in the Pre-WW I Era," *WP* 59 (April 2007) 370-403. Not just any old kind of trade, but *free* trade.
- Patrick J. McDonald, "The Purse Strings of Peace," *AJPS* 51:3 (July 2007) 569-582.
- Richard Rosecrance and Peter Thompson, "Trade, Foreign Investment, and Security," *ARPS* 6 (2003) pp. 377-398.
- Erik Gartzke, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer, "Economic Interdependence and International Conflict," *IO* 55 (spring 2002) 391-438.
- David Rowe, "The Tragedy of Liberalism How Globalization Caused the First World War," *SS* 14:3 (spring 2005).
- Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (Basic Books, 1986).
- Peter Liberman, *Does Conquest Pay?* (Princeton UP, 1996).
- Katherine Barbieri, *The Liberal Illusion: Does Trade Promote Peace?* (University of Michigan Press, 2002).
- Barry Buzan, "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case," *IO*, 38:4 (autumn 1984) 223-254.
- Paul Papayoanou, "Economic Interdependence and the Balance of Power," *ISQ*, 41:1 (March 1997) 113-140; Papayoanou, "Interdependence, Institutions, and the Balance of Power," *IS* 20:4 (spring 1996) pp. 42-76; or Papayoanou, *Power Ties: Economic Interdependence, Balancing, and War* (University of Michigan Press, 1999).
- Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, Edward D. Mansfield, and Norrin M. Ripsman, eds., "Power and the Purse: Economic Statecraft, Interdependence, and National Security," special issue, *SS* 9:1/2 (autumn 1999–winter 2000).
- Joanne Gowa and Edward D. Mansfield, "Power Politics and International Trade," *APSR* 87 (June 1993) pp. 408-420.
- Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Free Press, 1988 [1973]) chapter 2 ("Paradise is a Bazaar"), pp. 18-32.
- Symposium on Brooks' *Producing Security*, *SS* 16:4 (October 2007).

May 4

## The Present and Future of International Order and Security

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## FURTHER READING

*Offense-Defense Theory*

Offense-defense theory derives from Jervis 1978. Van Evera's article and book are a good example of how far offense-defense theory can be taken (and how loosely it can be understood). Lieber's article and book and the Shimshoni article are fine critiques. I, for one, am tired of this literature, but good portions of the field continue to mine it.

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*Rationality, Bargaining, and War*

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*The Democratic Peace*

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*War Termination*

After spending so much time on the causes of war, it seems incongruous not to spend any time on the implications of the conduct of war or on how wars end (or, as it has sometimes been put, on how peace breaks out). Oddly political scientists have rarely devoted much attention to either question, though there are emerging fascinating literatures in each. Recommended readings on war termination follow, including some readings on a case—the end of the Cold War. Goemans 2000 is the contemporary touchstone.

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