
PO 8008
International Conflict

Michaelmas 2015
IIS Seminar Room, Th. 10–12

Contact Information

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Description

This course is intended for graduate students. It is about the causes and consequences of conflicts between nations, as well as theories of international security. Existing empirical results will also be emphasized and particular attention will be paid to the relevance of the concepts introduced to contemporary geopolitical issues and conflicts.

Requirements and grading

Each week we will discuss a particular topic using the readings as a basis. We will also debate current international security affairs as they unfold in the world, and as they relate to the theories and concepts in this class. Your grade will be calculated as follows:

Participation (20 %)

Participation and attendance are essential. This is a seminar and I will not lecture. Coming prepared means having read and understood each of the required readings. You should come to class ready to a. summarize each paper's main findings; b. explain the method used in each paper; and c. have thought about possible improvements to the paper or feasible extensions.

Response Papers (30%)

Students are required to submit five response papers (500–700 words) throughout the semester. A sixth one may optionally be submitted, in which case the weakest score will be dropped. At least one of these papers must be submitted before the seminar of week 3. Students are required to choose one of the required or suggested readings for that week (readings marked with a star may not be used) and do two things:

- Identify either a limitation of the paper (e.g., how a variable is operationalized, or an unreasonable/unnecessary assumption) or a possible extension. Either way you should have only *one* argument in these papers.
- Suggest a possible remedy to that limitation or describe how you would carry out the extension. Note that what you propose should be feasible (ideally by you). If, for example, you find the author's data weak, then you should identify better data, or at least propose a plausible way of collecting these data. If you think the method is wrong, explain why and suggest a better one. If the conclusions do not follow from the premises, discuss what conclusions are actually supported. A specific course of action should be outlined. This process might help you down the line in finding a dissertation topic.

I am not interested in a summary of the paper. Not even if it is short. The idea is for you to try out ideas for future research projects, the research paper for this seminar, or even your dissertation. I will try to grade papers submitted before Wed. noon before class the next day. Either way, you must submit the paper before the beginning of class. I may ask you to present your idea if relevant to the class.

Research Paper (50%)

The research paper (10 pages) will be due at the latest on December 20, 23:59. It should outline a research design for a larger project (possibly a first step towards your dissertation) and is due at the end of the term. The paper needs to follow a clear structure:

1. What is your motivating question? Avoid questions that start with 'How'.
2. How does your project relate to existing work?
3. What are your hypotheses?
4. What relevant data are available, or could *feasibly* be collected?

5. What method would you use to test your hypotheses? This may include any combination of comparative case studies, interviews, statistical analysis, computer simulation, mathematical modeling, etc.
6. How do you expect the results would support or falsify the hypotheses?

For both the response and researcher papers I am looking for *creativity*, with feasibility and theoretical or empirical fruitfulness as your only constraints. *Concise and clear* writing is also essential. Papers merely reviewing existing work or listing historical facts will not receive a passing grade.

Turnitin

Please submit all your written work, including response papers, through Turnitin: (turnitin.com).

- Class ID: 10765148
- Password: PO8008

Plagiarism

Please follow the standard of academic honesty set forth in the College Calendar (<http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/calendar>) and online: <http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism>. You should also complete the online tutorial on avoiding plagiarism <http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/ready-steady-write>.

Readings

There is no textbook for this class. Instead, three types of readings are required: (1) scholarly articles and (2) policy-oriented pieces are listed in this syllabus. Students must read *all* readings listed in the 'required' section for each class and be ready to discuss each of them in class. The required readings are either on Blackboard or on reserve in the library. Some weeks (3, 5 & 6) require a large amount of reading, so I advise you to plan ahead (on average 145 pages per week). Finally, students are also expected to have read (3) the news and relevant sources of information such as:

- Council on Foreign Relations (<http://www.cfr.org/>)
- Foreign Affairs (<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/>)
- Foreign Policy (<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>)
- The Economist (<http://www.economist.com/>)
- The New York Times (<http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/index.html>)

- The Washington Post (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/>)
- The Financial Times (e.g., <http://www.ft.com/intl/comment/columnists/gideonrachman>)

Course Outline

Week 1. Introductory Session: The End of War?	5
Week 2. Is War in our Genes?	6
A. War in Human Nature?	
B. The Evolution of Cooperation	
Week 3. War and Society	7
A. The Emergence of the State	
B. History of Warfare	
Week 4. Anarchy, Polarity and War	8
A. Realist approaches	
B. Polarity	
C. Power Transition Theory	
Week 5. The Security Dilemma and Arms Races	9
A. The Security Dilemma	
B. Offense-Defense Theory	
C. Arms Races	
Week 6. Alliance Formation and Reliability	10
A. Alliance Formation	
B. Burden-Sharing	
C. Alliance Reliability	
Week 7. Reading Week: no seminar	11
Week 8. Bargaining and Conflict	11
A. Incomplete Information	
B. Commitment Problems	
Week 9. Domestic Politics and War	12
A. Commitment, Signaling and Audiences	
B. The Democratic Peace	
Week 10. Economic Interdependence and Conflict	13
Week 11. Conflict Outcomes	14
A. Combat Outcomes	
B. The Duration of Peace	
Week 12. Recent Trends in Armed Conflicts	15

Schedule

Week 1. Introductory Session: The End of War?

Required Readings (125 pages):

- Steven Pinker. *The better angels of our nature: The decline of violence in history and its causes*. Penguin UK, 2011. Chapter 5: “The Long Peace”. 80 pages
- Joshua S Goldstein. War Really Is Going Out of Style. *The New York Times*. December 17, 2011. 3 pages *
- Walter R Mead. The Return of Geopolitics. *Foreign Affairs*. 17 Apr. 2014. 7 pages *
- John G Ikenberry. The Illusion of Geopolitics. *Foreign Affairs*. 17 Apr. 2014. 7 pages *
- Bear Braumoeller. Is war disappearing? In *APSA Chicago 2013 Meeting*, 2013. 28 pages

Suggested Readings:

- Donald Kagan, Eliot A Cohen, Charles F Doran, and Michael Mandelbaum. Is major war obsolete? An exchange. *Survival*, 41(2):139–152, 1999.

Week 2. Is War in our Genes?Required Readings (153 pages):*A. War in Human Nature?*

- Azar Gat. *War in Human Civilization*. Oxford University Press, 2006. ch. 1–3, 6,7 (pp. 3–55, 114–145).
- Frans De Waal. *Chimpanzee Politics: Power and Sex among Apes*. JHU Press, 2007. Introduction, pp. 3–39.
- Kenneth N Waltz. *Man, the state, and war: a theoretical analysis*. Columbia University Press, 2001. Ch. 2 ('The First Image', pp. 16–41).

B. The Evolution of Cooperation

- Robert Axelrod and William D Hamilton. The evolution of cooperation. *Science*, 211(4489):1390–1396, 1981.
- Martin A Nowak. Five rules for the evolution of cooperation. *Science*, 314(5805):1560–1563, 2006.

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Axelrod. The emergence of cooperation among egoists. *The American Political Science Review*, pages 306–318, 1981.
- Robert M Axelrod. *The evolution of cooperation*. Basic books, 2006. ch. 1&2, pp. 3-54
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Donald A Cress. *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Hackett Publishing, 1992. *
- Thomas Hobbes. *Leviathan*. Yale University Press, 1928. *

Week 3. War and Society

Required Readings (153 pages):

A. The Emergence of the State

- Charles Tilly. *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1992*. Blackwell Oxford, 1992 pp. 67–95
- Hendrik Spruyt. Institutional selection in international relations: state anarchy as order. *International Organization*, 48(04):527–557, 1994

B. History of Warfare

- Geoffrey Best. *War and society in revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1998. Ch. 3, pp. 29–46
- John A Lynn. The evolution of army style in the modern west, 800–2000. *The International History Review*, 18(3):505–545, 1996.
- Geoffrey Parker. *The military revolution: Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800*. Cambridge University Press, 1996. pp. 6–44.

Suggested Readings:

- Hendrik Spruyt. *The sovereign state and its competitors: an analysis of systems change*. Princeton University Press, 1996. Ch. 8
- Larry H Addington. *The patterns of war since the eighteenth century*. Indiana University Press, 1994. *
- Richard Arthur Preston, Sydney F Wise, Herman O Werner, and Alex Roland. *Men in arms: a history of warfare and its interrelationships with Western society*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979. *
- Paul Kennedy. *The rise and fall of the great powers*. Random House LLC, 2010. *
- Michael Duffy. *The Military Revolution and the State 1500-1800*. Humanities Press, 1980. *
- Michael Howard. *War in European history*. Oxford University Press, 2001. *
- John Keegan. *A history of warfare*. Random House, 2004. *

Week 4. Anarchy, Polarity and War

Required Readings (141 pages):

A. Realist approaches

- Kenneth N Waltz. The origins of war in neorealist theory. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18(4):615–628, 1988. (skim)
- John J Mearsheimer. *The tragedy of great power politics*. WW Norton & Company, 2001. Ch. 2, pp. 29–54. (Simple intro to neorealism. Skim if still fresh in your memory)
- John J Mearsheimer. Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault. *Foreign Affairs*. 18 Aug. 2014. *

B. Polarity

- William C Wohlforth. The stability of a unipolar world. *International Security*, 24(1):5–41, 1999.
- Robert Jervis. Unipolarity: A structural perspective. *World Politics*, 61(01):188–213, 2009.

C. Power Transition Theory

- AFK Organski. *World politics*. Knopf New York, 1968. Ch. 12, pp. 299–338

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Powell. *In the shadow of power: States and strategies in international politics*. Princeton University Press, 1999. Ch. 2, pp. 40–81 (technical but recommended)
- Robert Jervis. Unipolarity: A structural perspective. *World Politics*, 61(01):188–213, 2009.
- Karl W Deutsch and J David Singer. Multipolar power systems and international stability. *World Politics*, 16(03):390–406, 1964.
- Emerson MS Niou and Peter C Ordeshook. Stability in anarchic international systems. *The American Political Science Review*, 84(4):1207–1234, 1990.

Week 5. The Security Dilemma and Arms Races

Required Readings (138 pages):

A. The Security Dilemma

- Charles L Glaser. The security dilemma revisited. *World politics*, 50(01):171–201, 1997. (Read Jervis (see suggested readings) if the concept of the “Security Dilemma” is unclear)

B. Offense-Defense Theory

- Stephen Van Evera. Offense, defense, and the causes of war. *International Security*, 22(4):5–43, 1998.
- Charles L Glaser and Chairn Kaufmann. What is the offense-defense balance and how can we measure it? *International Security*, 22(4):44–82, 1998.

C. Arms Races

- Charles L Glaser. The causes and consequences of arms races. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1):251–276, 2000.
- James B. Steinberg and Michael O’Hanlon. Keep Hope Alive. *Foreign Affairs*. 16 Sept. 2014. *

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Jervis. Cooperation under the security dilemma. *World politics*, 30(02):167–214, 1978. (Read if Glaser below is unclear. Otherwise skip)
- Emerson MS Niou and Peter C Ordeshook. Stability in anarchic international systems. *The American Political Science Review*, 84(4):1207–1234, 1990.
- Karl W Deutsch and J David Singer. Multipolar power systems and international stability. *World Politics*, 16(03):390–406, 1964.

Week 6. Alliances

Required Readings (130 pages):

A. Alliance formation

- James D Morrow. Alliances: Why write them down? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1):63–83, 2000.
- James D Morrow. Arms versus allies: trade-offs in the search for security. *International Organization*, 47(02):207–233, 1993.

B. Burden-Sharing

- Thomas J Christensen and Jack Snyder. Chain gangs and passed bucks: Predicting alliance patterns in multipolarity. *International Organization*, 44(02):137–168, 1990.
- Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley. Economics of alliances: The lessons for collective action. *Journal of Economic Literature*, pages 869–896, 2001.

C. Alliance Reliability

- Brett Ashley Leeds. Alliance reliability in times of war: Explaining state decisions to violate treaties. *International Organization*, 57(04):801–827, 2003.

Suggested Readings:

- Stephen M Walt. Alliance formation and the balance of world power. *International Security*, pages 3–43, 1985.
- Erik Gartzke and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. Why democracies may actually be less reliable allies. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4):775–795, 2004.
- James D Morrow. Alliances and asymmetry: An alternative to the capability aggregation model of alliances. *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 904–933, 1991.
- David A Lake. Anarchy, hierarchy, and the variety of international relations. *International Organization*, 50(01):1–33, 1996.
- Brett Ashley Leeds. Do alliances deter aggression? the influence of military alliances on the initiation of militarized interstate disputes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(3):427–439, 2003.
- Joanne Gowa and Edward D Mansfield. Power politics and international trade. *American Political Science Review*, 87(02):408–420, 1993.
- Douglas M Gibler. The costs of renegeing reputation and alliance formation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52(3):426–454, 2008.

Week 7. Reading Week: no seminar**Week 8. Bargaining and Conflict**Required Readings (134 pages):*A. Incomplete Information*

- James D Fearon. Rationalist explanations for war. *International Organization*, 49(03):379–414, 1995. (Read carefully)
- Erik Gartzke. War is in the error term. *International Organization*, 53(03):567–587, 1999. (Difficult)

B. Commitment Problems

- AFK Organski. *World politics*. Knopf New York, 1968. (Review from week 4.)
- Robert Powell. War as a commitment problem. *International Organization*, 60(01):169–203, 2006. (Somewhat technical. Read carefully)

C. The Iraq War

- David A Lake. Two cheers for bargaining theory: Assessing rationalist explanations of the Iraq war. *International Security*, 35(3):7–52, 2011.

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Powell. *In the shadow of power: States and strategies in international politics*. Princeton University Press, 1999. Ch. 3, pp. 82–114 (technical reading)
- James D Fearon. Bargaining over objects that influence future bargaining power. In *annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August*, pages 28–31, 1996.
- Thomas Chadeaux. Bargaining over power: when do shifts in power lead to war? *International Theory*, 3(02):228–253, 2011.
- Dan Reiter. Exploring the bargaining model of war. *Perspective on Politics*, 1(01):27–43, 2003.
- Alastair Smith and Allan C Stam. Bargaining and the nature of war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(6):783–813, 2004.

Week 9. Domestic Politics and War

Required Readings (143 pages):

A. Commitment, Signaling and Audiences

- Thomas C Schelling. *Arms and Influence: With a New Preface and Afterword*. Yale University Press, 2008. ch. 2 (pp. 35–91)
- Bruce Bueno De Mesquita. *Principles of international politics*. CQ press, 5th edition, 2015. Chapter 6, pp 206–238. (Read carefully)
- Akbar Ganji. Who Is Ali Khamenei? *Foreign Affairs*. 12 Aug. 2013. * (Skim)

B. The Democratic Peace

- James Lee Ray. Does democracy cause peace? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1(1):27–46, 1998. (Read carefully)
- Sebastian Rosato. The flawed logic of democratic peace theory. *American Political Science Review*, 97(04):585–602, 2003.

Suggested Readings:

- James D Fearon. Signaling foreign policy interests: Tying hands versus sinking costs. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(1):68–90, 1997 (technical).
- Alexandre Debs and Hein E Goemans. Regime type, the fate of leaders, and war. *American Political Science Review*, 104(03):430–445, 2010.
- Christopher Layne. Kant or cant: The myth of the democratic peace. *International Security*, pages 5–49, 1994.
- Henry S Farber and Joanne Gowa. Politics and peace. *International Security*, pages 123–146, 1995.

Week 10. Economic Interdependence and International Conflict

Required Readings (128 pages):

- Edward Deering Mansfield and Brian M Pollins. *Economic interdependence and international conflict: New perspectives on an enduring debate*. University of Michigan Press, 2003. Part I (pp. 31–59, 89–147).
- Marina Ottaway, David Ottaway. How the Kurds Got Their Way. *Foreign Affairs*. 17 Apr. 2014. * (Skim)
- Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu. Trading on preconceptions: Why world war I was not a failure of economic interdependence. *International Security*, 36(4):115–150, 2012.

Suggested Readings:

- Mark JC Crescenzi. Economic exit, interdependence, and conflict. *Journal of Politics*, 65(3):809–832, 2003.
- Bruce M Russett and John R Oneal. *Triangulating peace: Democracy, interdependence, and international organizations*, volume 9. Norton, 1909.
- Zeev Maoz. The effects of strategic and economic interdependence on international conflict across levels of analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(1):223–240, 2009.
- Erik Gartzke, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. Investing in the peace: Economic interdependence and international conflict. *International Organization*, 55(02):391–438, 2001.

Week 11. Conflict Outcomes

Required Readings (157 pages):

A. Combat Outcomes

- Stephen Biddle. *Military power: Explaining victory and defeat in modern battle*. Princeton University Press, 2010. pp. 28–77.
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft. How the weak win wars: A theory of asymmetric conflict. *International Security*, 26(1):93–128, 2001.
- Stephen Biddle. Ending the War in Afghanistan. *Foreign Affairs*. 12 Aug. 2013. *

B. The Duration of Peace

- Virginia Page Fortna. Scraps of paper? Agreements and the durability of peace. *International Organization*, 57(02):337–372, 2003.
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen. Making and keeping peace. *International Organization*, 59(02):261–292, 2005.

Suggested Readings:

- Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter. Ensuring peace: Foreign-imposed regime change and postwar peace duration, 1914–2001. *International Organization*, 62(04):717–736, 2008.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C Stam. *Democracies at war*. Princeton University Press, 2002. pp. 10–38.
- US Army Counter-insurgency handbook, chapter 2.
<http://usacac.army.mil/cac/repository/materials/coin-fm3-24.pdf> *
- Branislav L Slantchev. How initiators end their wars: The duration of warfare and the terms of peace. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4):813–829, 2004

Week 12. Recent Trends in WarfareRequired Readings (81 pages), **subject to change:**

- Brandon Valeriano and Ryan C Maness. The dynamics of cyber conflict between rival antagonists, 2001–11. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(3):347–360, 2014.
- Peter H Gleick. Water and conflict: Fresh water resources and international security. *International Security*, pages 79–112, 1993.
- Sarah Kreps, Micah Zenko. The Next Drone Wars. *Foreign Affairs*. 12 Feb. 2014. *
- Daniel Byman. Why Drones Work. *Foreign Affairs*. 11 June 2013. *
- Audrey K Cronin. Why Drones Fail. *Foreign Affairs*. 11 June 2013. *
- Max Boot. The Evolution of Irregular War. *Foreign Affairs*. 5 Feb. 2013. *

Suggested Readings:

- Elisabeth Bumiller and Thom Shanker. War evolves with drones, some tiny as bugs. *New York Times*, 20, 2011. *