

Seminar in International Security

PLSC 40610

Autumn 2022

Time: Mondays, 9:30am-12:20pm

Room: Pick Hall 407

Professor: Austin Carson, Department of Political Science, acarson@uchicago.edu

Office Hours: Tues (3:45-4:45) and Thurs (2:00-3:15pm). Sign up at [this link](#).

Course description

This course introduces students the most important academic literature in International Relations (IR) on international security affairs. It covers classic topics in security such as the causes of war, the bargaining model of war, threats and coercion, the security dilemma, and nuclear weapons. Other topics expand the aperture to include the role of formal international institutions, informal norms, language, and culture in national security. We end with a look at new directions in study of international security. Each week, we will critically assess the strengths and limits of the central arguments of the readings. Written assignments ask students to synthesize and assess assigned material in a critical literature review and mock comprehensive exam (or optional research paper). Students in the Ph.D. program may opt to write an original research paper.

A note on other seminars

There is no prerequisite for this course. This syllabus does not duplicate content in other graduate seminars on international security regularly offered in our department. For example, the large literature on civil war, rebels, insurgencies, etc., is only barely covered in this course. Paul Staniland's excellent course and syllabus are the place to learn this material. There is also minimal overlap with my version of Seminar in International Relations Theory (PLSC 40600). Those planning to take the Ph.D. comprehensive exam should consult all syllabi for grad seminars regularly offered by IR faculty with topics on international security.

Required texts

Beware: there is a heavy reading load for this course! Most readings are articles. With one exception, all assigned book reading does not exceed two chapters' worth of material. I recommend purchasing these books and strongly recommend purchasing them from the Seminary Coop: <https://www.semcoop.com/>. It is also legal and fair to work with others in the class to share the assigned chapters. All articles should be available through UChicago library resources.

Assigned books:

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

Goddard, Stacie. Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Green, Brendan Rittenhouse. *The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control, and the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Jervis, Robert. 1989. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Press, Daryl G. *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. Yale University Press, 1966.

Requirements

Students are expected to attend every session and complete the assigned readings. The class grade will be based on the following. More details will be provided in class.

- Seminar participation (25%)
- Literature review (25%)
- Comp exam essay (50%) OR research paper (50%)

Seminar participation (25%). Students should attend seminar with all assigned readings completed. You should contribute to discussion each week; two to three solid comments is a good goal. I may call on students during class to ensure no one dominates discussion and to increase accountability. Note that I take student discomfort with participation in a seminar setting seriously. Please email or meet with me during office hours if you are struggling with this part of the course. I will provide an initial participation grade at end of Week 4.

Literature review (25%). Students must write a critical literature review on one of the research areas covered in the syllabus. A critical literature review summarizes existing work *and* demonstrates some form of creative value-added. Creativity can come in a few forms. You might creatively arrange the work you review into thematic “buckets.” Alternatively, you might develop how most/all existing work shares a common assumption, perspective, or analytical lens and then outline (with citations) a promising direction that would result from changing this. Creativity may also come in the form of surprising, underappreciated, or subtle insights of individual readings. Essays without creativity will read as a kind of nicely-written compilation of abstracts. Literature reviews should address readings on the topic that are assigned as well as in “Other important work.” You may also address important articles/books I may have overlooked on the syllabus. Each student should get email approval from me for their subject. Papers are due **Friday, November 18th** and should be 12-15 pages (2x-spaced, Times New Roman, 12 pnt).

[OPTION 1] Comp exam essay (50%). Students take a final exam that simulates the International Relations Ph.D. comprehensive exam. The format is a one-day open note, open book response to a prompt. The prompt will ask students to address an enduring question in the study of international security with a contemporary twist. Students will be sent the essay prompt in the morning and must send their essay by 5pm. Essays are only expected to draw on assigned readings only. More details will be given in class. “Exam” day is **Wednesday, December 7th**. Exams should be sent as Word or PDF docs to acarson@uchicago.edu. Max 14 pages double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, 1-inch margins.

[OPTION 2] Research paper (50%). This assignment is only an option for Ph.D. students. Students write an original research paper on any international security topic. The paper may be theoretical or empirical or both. I must approve the topic via email or office hours discussion. Timeline is as follows:

topic selected (Week 4); outline to Austin (Week 7); final paper (end of Friday of finals week). No length minimum or maximum.

Professionalism

Our seminar will be its own term-long community; we will get to know one another well and co-create our own intellectual culture. This culture should make all of us feel comfortable participating in developing and rigorously testing our ideas. This means we all must follow basic norms of respectful intellectual exchange. Be professional in all communications, including emails. Comments in class should be respectful of other students even as we disagree. Avoid a confrontational tone. Listen to others to help develop ways to respectfully disagree, as by suggesting a different view rather than forcefully contradicting. An essential component to this environment is one free of acts of sexual misconduct, which encompass a range of conduct from sexual assault to sexual harassment. These are unacceptable. Other forms of misconduct based on race, religion, or sexual orientation are equally unacceptable. One useful university resource on gender-based misconduct is [here](#). I encourage you to come to me with concerns about anyone's professionalism, including your own.

Email policy

Note that due to the very busy quarter structure, I may not read or respond to student emails for 24 hours and do not check email on weekends. Do not expect immediate replies.

Two tips for success

Two tips about staying organized and note-taking in a survey course like this. Think long-term about your notes. Experiment with systems that store and organize notes in a way that they can be used for years after. (I still occasionally look at my old notes from the Autumn 2007 IR field seminar I took at Ohio State!) I highly recommend experimenting with techniques that help you take “forest thinking” notes (i.e. the big picture) as well as “trees thinking” notes (i.e. detailed notes on each reading). I used to use a notes template that included a section at the top of each individual reading for a two-sentence summary as well as a bullet point for “literatures/authors this piece addresses: ____.” I also recommend experimenting with reference management systems. These can be an incredible efficiency boon, reducing the time you spend on works cited and helping organize your materials. I have used Zotero and Bibtex and recommend both.

Late policy

Deadlines are generally strict; papers/assignments received late will be dropped a full letter grade for each 24-hour period past the deadline. Exceptions include for unexpected illness (including Covid-19) or family emergencies. Advanced communication, to the extent it is possible, is always helpful. This is especially true of incompletes (and, relatedly, “pass/fail” arrangements), which must receive my approval before finals week.

Academic integrity

Language and ideas that are not your own must be properly cited. I will strictly follow the University's policy on academic integrity: “It is contrary to justice, academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit another's statements or ideas as one's own work.” More details on the policy are [here](#).

Disability accommodations

If you need any special accommodations, please provide me with a copy of an Accommodation Determination Letter (provided to you by the Student Disability Services office) as soon as possible so that you may discuss with him/her how your accommodations may be implemented in this course.

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Note on other seminars

Because the number of topics within “international security” is massive and we have a finite number of class periods, I have made tough choices about what to exclude. Where possible, I have minimized or skipped security-related topics which are covered in-depth by my colleagues in other graduate seminars. These include Staniland’s class on civil war; Poast’s class on quantitative security, Terman’s class on constructivism, Mearsheimer’s class on realisms, and Pape’s class on militant power politics. You should take these seminars, if available! Regardless, the syllabi for these courses are invaluable resources for those doing research in these areas or studying for the comprehensive exam.

Week 1. Causes of War I: Classic Answers

Date: Oct 3, 2022

This first session focuses on classic answers to the most prominent question in the field of international security: why do states go to war? We will survey a set of the most influential and diverse views, though we save one popular theoretical approach (the bargaining model of war) for a later week.

NOTE: Jack Levy’s [encyclopedic syllabus](#) on war is worth reviewing if this area interests you.

NOTE: we do not cover regime type (Democratic Peace Theory). See my IR Theory syllabus.

Required readings

Rise/fall of great powers

Levy, Jack S. "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War." *World Politics* 40.1 (1987): 82-107.

Allison, Graham. "The Thucydides Trap: Are the US and China Headed for War?" *The Atlantic* 24.9 (2015).

Security dilemma

Tang, Shiping. "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," *Security Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2009, p. 587-623.

Alliances

Leeds, Brett Ashley. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 47.3 (2003): 427-439.

Economic interdependence (or lack thereof)

Grinberg, Mariya. "Wartime Commercial Policy and Trade between Enemies." *International Security* 46.1 (2021): 9-52.

Domestic politics

Smith, Alastair. "Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems." *International Studies Quarterly* 40.1 (1996): 133-153. [skim model]

Other important work

Helpful Overviews

Blainey, Geoffrey. *Causes of War*. Simon and Schuster, 1988.

Levy, Jack S. "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 1, 1998, pp. 139-165.
Levy, Jack S., and William R. Thompson. *Causes of War*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Power Transition Theory & Rising/Declining Great Power

Van Evera, Stephen. *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Cornell University Press, 2013.
Copeland, Dale C. *The Origins of Major War*. Cornell University Press, 2013.
Gilpin, Robert. "The Theory of Hegemonic War." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18.4 (1988): 591-613.
Gilpin, Robert. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Goddard, Stacie E. *When Right Makes Might: Rising Powers and World Order*. Cornell University Press, 2018.
Goddard, Stacie E. "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2009): 110-142.
MacDonald, Paul K., and Joseph M. Parent. "Graceful Decline? The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment." *International Security* 35, no. 4 (2011): 7-44.
Lebow, Richard Ned, and Benjamin Valentino. "Lost in Transition: A Critical Analysis of Power Transition Theory." *International Relations* 23, no. 3 (2009): 389-410.
Shiffrinson, Joshua R. *Rising Titans, Falling Giants: How Great Powers Exploit Power Shifts*. Cornell University Press, 2018.

WWI and Causes of War

Snyder, Jack. "Better Now Than Later: The Paradox Of 1914 as Everyone's Favored Year for War." *International Security* vol. 39, no.1, 2014, p. 71-94.
Lieber, Keir A. "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory," *International Security* vol. 32, no. 2, fall 200, p. 155-191.
Correspondence: Snyder, Jack and Keir A. Lieber. "Defensive Realism and the 'New' History of World War I." *International Security*, Summer 2008.
Clark, Christopher. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*. Penguin UK, 2012.
Van Evera, Stephen. "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War." *International Security* 9, 1 (Summer 1984): 58-108.
Vasquez, John A. *Contagion and War: Lessons from the First World War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
Wolford, Scott. *The Politics of the First World War: A Course in Game Theory and International Security*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
Levy, Jack S. "Preferences, Constraints, and Choices in July 1914." *International Security*, 15, 3 (Winter 1990-91): 151-186.
Levy, Jack S., and William Mulligan, 2017. "Shifting Power, Preventive Logic, and the Response of the Target: Germany, Russia, and the First World War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, 5: 731-69.
[Symposium on WWI](#) in *International Security*: "A Century after Sarajevo: Reflections on World War I" 39 1 2014. From Ja Ian Chong and Todd H. Hall; Etel Solingen; Jack Snyder
Miller, Gregory D. *The Shadow of the Past: Reputation and Military Alliances Before the First World War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.
Wolford, Scott. *Politics of the First World War: A Course in Game Theory and International Security*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.
Levy, Jack S., and John A. Vasquez, eds., *The Outbreak of the First World War: Structure, Politics, and Decision-Making*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
Levy, Jack S., and William Mulligan, "Shifting Power, Preventive Logic, and the Response of the Target: Germany, Russia, and the First World War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, 5: 731-69.
Norrin M. Ripsman and Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, "Commercial Liberalism under Fire: Evidence from 1914 and 1936." *Security Studies* 6, 2 (Winter 1996/97): 4-50.
Rowe, David M. "The Tragedy of Liberalism: How Globalization Caused the First World War." *Security Studies*, 14, 3 (July – September 2005): 407-47.
Gartzke, Erik and Yonatan Lupu. "Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I Was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence." *International Security* 36, 4 (Spring 2012): 115–150.
Ferguson, Niall. "Public Finance and National Security: The Domestic Origins of the First World War Revisited." *Past and Present*, 142, 1 (1994): 141-68.

- Mueller, John. "Changing Attitudes Towards War: The Impact of the First World War." *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 21, no.1 (January 1991): 1-28.
- Anievas, A. "1914 In World Historical Perspective: The 'Uneven' And 'Combined' Origins of World War I." *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(4), 2013, p. 721-746.
- Gowa, J., & Hicks, R. "Commerce and Conflict: New Data About the Great War." *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(3), 2017, 653-674.
- Hall, T. H., & Ross, A. A. "Rethinking Affective Experience and Popular Emotion: World War I and the Construction of Group Emotion in International Relations." *Political Psychology*, 40(6), 2019, 1357-1372.
- Tickner, J. A., & True, J. "A Century of International Relations Feminism: From World War I Women's Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda." *International Studies Quarterly*, 62(2), 2018, 221-233.

Domestic Politics: Diversionary War and DPT

- Levy, Jack S. "Domestic politics and war." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18.4 (1988): 653-673.
- Morgan, T. Clifton, and Kenneth N. Bickers. "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36.1 (1992): 25-52.
- Christensen, Thomas J. *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Oakes, Amy. *Diversionary War: Domestic Unrest and International Conflict*. Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Joslyn N. Barnhart, Robert F. Trager, Elizabeth N. Saunders and Allan Dafoe. "The Suffragist Peace." *International Organization*, 2020.
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Jack Snyder. *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War*. MIT Press, 2007.
- [See Austin's IR Theory syllabus for more on "Regime Type in IR" for DPT material]

Alliances and War

- Snyder, Glenn H. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics," *World Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (1984), pp. 461-495.
- Kenwick, Michael R., John A. Vasquez, and Matthew A. Powers. "Do alliances really deter?." *The Journal of Politics* 77.4 (2015): 943-954.
- Fang, Songying, Jesse C. Johnson, and Brett Ashley Leeds. "To concede or to resist? The restraining effect of military alliances." *International Organization* 68.4 (2014): 775-809.
- Benson, Brett V. "Unpacking alliances: Deterrent and compellent alliances and their relationship with conflict, 1816–2000." *The Journal of Politics* 73.4 (2011): 1111-1127.
- Benson, Brett V., Patrick R. Bentley, and James Lee Ray. "Ally provocateur: Why allies do not always behave." *Journal of Peace Research* 50.1 (2013): 47-58.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. "Alliance reliability in times of war: Explaining state decisions to violate treaties." *International Organization* 57.4 (2003): 801-827.
- Tomz, Michael, and Jessica LP Weeks. "Military alliances and public support for war." *International Studies Quarterly* 65.3 (2021): 811-824.
- Kim, Tongfi. "Why alliances entangle but seldom entrap states." *Security Studies* 20.3 (2011): 350-377.

Economic Interdependence and War

- Barbieri, Katherine. "Economic interdependence: A path to peace or a source of interstate conflict?." *Journal of Peace Research* 33.1 (1996): 29-49.
- Copeland, Dale C. *Economic Interdependence and War*. Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Copeland, Dale C. "Economic interdependence and war: A theory of trade expectations." *International Security* 20.4 (1996): 5-41.
- Gartzke, Erik, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. "Investing in the peace: Economic interdependence and international conflict." *International Organization* 55.2 (2001): 391-438.
- Mansfield, Edward Deering, and Brian M. Pollins, eds. *Economic interdependence and international conflict: New perspectives on an enduring debate*. University of Michigan Press, 2009.

Security Dilemma

- Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2, January 1978, p. 167-186.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and The Security Dilemma." *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 12, no. 3, 2006, p. 341-370.

- Liff, Adam P., and John Ikenberry. "Racing Toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition In The Asia Pacific, and The Security Dilemma." *International Security* vol. 39, no. 2, 2014, p. 52-91.
- Glaser, Charles. 1997. "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50, 1:171-201.
- Kydd, Andrew. 1997. "Game Theory and the Spiral model." *World Politics* 49, 1:371-400.
- Jervis, Robert. "Deterrence, the Spiral Model, and Intentions of the Adversary." In Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 3.
- Glaser, Charles L. "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50, 1 (October 1997): 171-201.
- Kydd, Andrew. "Game Theory and the Spiral Model." *World Politics* 49, 3 (April 1997): 371-400.
- Schweller, Randall L. "Neorealism's Status Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *Security Studies*, 5, 3 (Spring 1996): 90-121.
- Montgomery, Evan Braden. "Breaking Out of the Security Dilemma: Realism, Reassurance, and the Problem of Uncertainty." *International Security*, 31, 2 (Fall 2006), 7-41.
- Jervis, Robert. "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3 (Winter 2000): 39-60.
- Alexseev, M. A. (2006). *Immigration Phobia and The Security Dilemma: Russia, Europe, And the United States*. Cambridge University Press.
- Booth, K., & Wheeler, N. *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation, and Trust in World Politics*. Springer Nature, 2007.
- Christensen, T. J. (1999). "China, The US-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia." *International Security*, 23(4), 49-80.
- Hansen, L. (2000). "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and The Absence of Gender in The Copenhagen School." *Millennium*, 29(2), 285-306.
- Posen, B. R. (1993). "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival*, 35(1), 27-47.
- Acharya, Avidit, and Kristopher W. Ramsay. "The Calculus of The Security Dilemma." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8.2 (2013): 183-203.
- Buchanan, Ben. *The Cybersecurity Dilemma: Hacking, Trust, And Fear Between Nations*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Week 2. Nuclear Stuff: Revolution, Deterrence, Proliferation, Arms Control

Date: Oct 10, 2022

This week we tackle nuclear weapons. This includes the nuclear revolution thesis and recent critiques. We also read the canonical treatment of why states seek nuclear weapons. Next we address why conventional war can sometimes escalate to nuclear use – and whether such a risk would be present in a U.S.-China war. We also get a sampling of work on cooperative agreements to limit the spread of nuclear weapons, including why arms control is hard.

Required readings

- Jervis, Robert. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989. Chapter 1.
- Green, Brendan Rittenhouse. *The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control, and the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. Chapters 1, 3.
- Sagan, Scott D. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb." *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1996-1997, p. 54-86.
- Talmadge, C. (2017). "Would China Go Nuclear? Assessing the Risk of Chinese Nuclear Escalation in a Conventional War with the United States." *International Security*, 41(4), 50-92.
- Coe, Andrew J., and Jane Vaynman. "Why Arms Control Is So Rare." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 114, no. 2, 2020, p. 342-355. [skim model]

Other important work

Nuclear Revolution Thesis

- Wohlsetter, A. (1959). "The Delicate Balance of Terror." *Foreign Affairs*, 37(2), 211-34.
- Jervis, Robert. "Author Response: Reflections on The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution, 30 Years Later," *Texas National Security Review*, April 30, 2020. <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/book-review-roundtable-the-meaning-of-the-nuclear-revolution-30-years-later/>.
- Brodie, Bernard. *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order*. Harcourt, Brace, 1946.
- Mueller, John. "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *International Security* 13:2 (fall 1988), pp. 55-79.
- Jervis, Robert. "The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons: A Comment," *International Security* 13:2 (fall 1988), pp. 80-90.
- Powell, Robert. *Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Search for Credibility*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Sechser, Todd S., and Matthew Fuhrmann, "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail," *International Organization*, 67/1 (Winter 2013): 173-95.
- Matthew Kroenig, "Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes," *International Organization*, vol. 67, no.1, Winter 2013, p. 141-171.
- Kroenig, Matthew. *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy: Why Strategic Superiority Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Roundtable: Matthew Kroenig, *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy: Why Strategic Superiority Matters*. Read Charles Glaser, Rachel Whitlark.
- Roundtable: "The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution 30 Years Later." Read Nina Tannenwald, Charles Glaser. TNSR
- Lieber, K. A., & Press, D. G. (2006). "The End Of MAD? The Nuclear Dimension of US Primacy. *International Security*." 30(4), 7-44.
- Lieber, K. A., & Press, D. G. *The Myth of The Nuclear Revolution: Power Politics in The Atomic Age*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020.
- Long, Austin, and Brendan Rittenhouse Green. "Stalking the Secure Second Strike: Intelligence, Counterforce, and Nuclear Strategy." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38.1-2 (2015): 38-73.
- Green, Brendan R., and Austin Long. "The MAD Who Wasn't There: Soviet Reactions to the Late Cold War Nuclear Balance." *Security Studies* 26.4 (2017): 606-641.

Lieber, Keir A., and Daryl G. Press. "The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence." *International Security* 41.4 (2017): 9-49.

Nuclear Escalation During War

Posen, Barry R. "Inadvertent Nuclear War? Escalation and NATO's Northern Flank." *International Security* 7.2 (1982): 28-54.

Posen, B. R. (1991). *Inadvertent Escalation: Conventional War and Nuclear Risks*. Cornell University Press.

Nuclear Proliferation, Non-Proliferation, and Arms Control

Sagan, Scott D. 2011. "The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 14(1): 225-244.

Narang, Vipin. "Strategies of nuclear proliferation: How states pursue the bomb." *International Security* 41.3 (2016): 110-150.

Narang, Vipin. *Seeking the Bomb: Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation*. Princeton University Press, 2022.

Sagan, Scott, and Kenneth Waltz. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 3rd Edition. New York: WW Norton and Company, 2012.

Gavin, Francis J. *Nuclear Statecraft*. Cornell University Press, 2012.

Gavin, Francis J. "Strategies of inhibition: US grand strategy, the nuclear revolution, and nonproliferation." *International Security* 40.1 (2015): 9-46.

Gavin, Francis J. *Nuclear Weapons and American Grand Strategy*. Brookings Institution Press, 2020.

Narang, Vipin. *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era*. Princeton University Press, 2014.

Freedman, Lawrence, and Jeffrey Michaels. *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy: New, Updated and Completely Revised*. Springer, 2019.

Miller, Steven E. *Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence*. Princeton University Press, 2014.

Kaplan, Fred. *The Wizards of Armageddon*. Stanford University Press, 1991.

Sagan, Scott Douglas. *Moving targets: Nuclear strategy and national security*. Princeton University Press, 1990.

Glaser, Charles L. "The Causes and Consequences of Arms Races." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3.1 (2000): 251-276.

Glaser, Charles L. "When Are Arms Races Dangerous? Rational Versus Suboptimal Arming." *International Security* 28.4 (2004): 44-84.

Solingen, Eitel. 1994. "The Political Economy of Nuclear Restraint." *International Security*. 19(2): 126-169.

Hymans, Jacques E. C. 2006. *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation. Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 16-46).

Hymans, Jacques E.C. 2012. *Achieving Nuclear Ambitions: Scientists, Politicians, and Proliferation*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 41-78).

Sagan, Scott Douglas. *The Limits of Safety*. Princeton University Press, 2020.

Rublee, Maria Rost. 2009. *Nonproliferation Norms: Why States Choose Nuclear Restraint*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.

Solingen, Eitel. 2007. *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 3-22).

Fuhrmann, Matthew. "Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements." *International Security*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2009, p. 7-41.

Way, Christopher and Jessica Weeks. 2014. "Making it Personal: Regime Type and Nuclear Proliferation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 58(3): 705-719.

Singh, Sonali and Christopher R. Way. 2004. "The Correlates of Nuclear Proliferation: A Quantitative Test." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 48(6): 859-885.

Kroenig, Matthew. 2009. "Exporting the Bomb: Why States Provide Sensitive Nuclear Assistance." *American Political Science Review*. 103(1): 113-133.

Fuhrmann, Matthew. 2012. *Atomic Assistance: How 'Atoms for Peace' Programs Cause Nuclear Insecurity*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press

Monteiro, Nuno P., and Alexandre Debs. 2014. "The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation." *International Security*, 39(2): 7-51

Debs, Alexandre and Nuno P. Monteiro. 2017. *Nuclear Politics: The Strategic Logic of Proliferation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gheorghe, E. (2019). "Proliferation and the Logic of the Nuclear Market." *International Security*, 43(4), 88-127.

- Coe, Andrew J., and Jane Vaynman. "Collusion and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime." *The Journal of Politics* 77.4 (2015): 983-997.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew, and Yonatan Lupu. "Do Arms Control Treaties Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty." *International Studies Quarterly* 60.3 (2016): 530-539.
- Andrew Kydd, "Trust, Reassurance, and Cooperation," *International Organization* 54:2 (Spring 2000), pp. 725- 758.
- Glaser, Charles L. "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help." *International Security* 19.3 (1994): 50-90.
- Gavin, F. J. (2015). "Strategies of Inhibition: US Grand Strategy, The Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation." *International Security*, 40(1), 9-46.
- Miller, N. (2014). "The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions." *International Organization*, 68(4), 913-44.
- Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. "The Disclosure Dilemma: Nuclear Intelligence and International Organizations." *American Journal of Political Science* 63.2 (2019): 269-285.
- Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. "The Spotlight's Harsh Glare: Rethinking Publicity and International Order." *International Organization* 72.3 (2018): 627-657.

Week 3. Threats in Crises Before War

Date: Oct 17, 2022

This week focuses on disputes between states short of war, specifically threats to compel and deter (also known as “Schelling Week”). We will read one of Schelling’s most influential books which sets out the fundamental issue: credibility. We also learn about the influential thesis that domestic politics affects threat credibility (Fearon) and whether a state’s past behavior and reputation affect threat credibility (Press). Turning to more recent work, we will read an analysis of China’s view of threats and reputation as well as new work assessing how stereotypes (gender, in this case) shape perceptions of threat (Schwartz and Blair).

NOTE: We do not address specific domains of coercion, like air power or cyber weapons. See Pape’s work and others.

Required readings

Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. Yale University Press, 1966. Entire book.

Fearon J. “Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes.” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 88, 1994, p. 577–92.

Press, Daryl G. *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005. Chapter 1.

Zhang, Ketian. “Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing’s Use of Coercion in the South China Sea.” *International Security* 44.1 (2019): 117-159.

Schwartz, Joshua A., and Christopher W. Blair. “Do Women Make More Credible Threats? Gender Stereotypes, Audience Costs, and Crisis Bargaining.” *International Organization* (2020): 1-24.

Other important work

Jervis, Robert. 1979. “Deterrence Theory Revisited.” *World Politics*, 31: 289–324.

George, Alexander, and Richard Smoke. 1974. *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Huth Paul, and Bruce Russett. 1990. “Testing Deterrence Theory.” *World Politics*, 42: 466–501.

Lebow, Richard N., and Janice G. Stein. 1990. “Deterrence, The Elusive Dependent Variable.” *World Politics*, 42: 336–69.

Jervis, Robert. “Deterrence and Perception” *International Security* 7:3 (Winter 1982/83), pp. 3-30.

Pape, Robert A. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Mearsheimer, John. 1983. *Conventional Deterrence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Huth, Paul. 1988. *Extended Deterrence and the Prevention of War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Huth, P. K. “Deterrence and International Conflict: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Debate”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 2, 1999, p. 25–48.

George, Alexander, David Hall, and William Simons. *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy*. Boston: Little Brown, 1971.

Russett, Bruce. “The Calculus of Deterrence,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, (June 1963), 97-109.

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

Lebow, Richard N., and Janice G. Stein. 1998-1999. “Rational Deterrence Theory.” *World Politics* 41: 208–24.

Achen, Christopher, and Duncan Snidal, “Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies,” *World Politics* 41:2 (January 1989), pp. 143-169.

Fearon, James. 1994a. “Domestic Political Audiences and The Escalation of International Disputes.” *American Political Science Review* 88: 577–92.

Fearon, James. 1994b. “Signaling Versus the Balance of Power and Interests. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38: 236–69.

Fearon, James. 1997. “Signaling Foreign Policy Interests. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41: 68–90.

Kertzer, Joshua D., Jonathan Renshon, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. “How Do Observers Assess Resolve?” *British Journal of Political Science*, 2015, p. 1-23.

- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries." *International Security* 38.1 (2013): 7-51.
- Drezner, D. W. (1998). "Conflict Expectations and The Paradox of Economic Coercion." *International Studies Quarterly*, 42(4), 709-731.
- Drezner, D. W. *The Sanctions Paradox: Economic Statecraft and International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Carson, Austin, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret." *Security Studies* 26.1 (2017): 124-156.
- Favretto, K. (2009). "Should Peacemakers Take Sides? Major Power Mediation, Coercion, And Bias." *American Political Science Review*, 248-263.
- Hultman, L., & Peksen, D. (2017). "Successful or Counterproductive Coercion? The Effect of International Sanctions on Conflict Intensity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(6), 1315-1339.
- Levy, J. S. (1996). "Loss Aversion, Framing, And Bargaining: The Implications of Prospect Theory for International Conflict." *International Political Science Review*, 17(2), 179-195.
- Ross, R. S. (2000). "The 1995–96 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, And the Use of Force." *International Security*, 25(2), 87-123.
- Snyder, Glenn. *Deterrence and Defense*. Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Thompson, A. (2006). "Coercion through International Organizations: The Security Council and the logic of information transmission." *International Organization*, 60(1): 1-34.
- Katagiri, Azusa, and Eric Min. "The Credibility of Public and Private Signals: A Document-Based Approach." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 113, no.1, 2019, p. 156-172.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries." *International Security* 38.1 (2013): 7-51.

For more readings on domestic audience costs: see my syllabus for PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations, on my website.

Week 4. Causes of War II: The Bargaining Model

Date: Oct 24, 2022

We return to the topic of the causes of war from Week 1. This week, we focus on the most influential approach to studying war in the last two decades: the bargaining model. We carefully read the canonical statement (Fearon's "Rationalist Explanations for War"). We also engage work which engages the themes of information problems, commitment problems, and indivisible territory. Finally, we engage one application of the bargaining model to the Iraq War to help us see the complexities in applying the framework to specific events.

Required readings

- Fearon, James D. Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization*, vol. 49, 1995, p. 379–414. [read carefully!]
- Powell, Robert. "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization* 60/1 (Winter 2006): 169-203. [skim model]
- Debs, Alexandre. "Mutual Optimism and War, and the Strategic Tensions of the July Crisis." *American Journal of Political Science* 66.2 (2022): 271-284. [skim model]
- Goddard, Stacie. *Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Chapters 1, 7.
- Lake, David A. "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War." *International Security* 35.3 (2010): 7-52.

Other important work

Overviews

- Reiter, Dan. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1:1 (March 2003), pp. 27-43.
- Powell, Robert. "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5 (2002): 1-30.

Information, Commitment, Territory

- Levy, Jack S., and William R. Thompson. *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2010. Pp. 63-70.
- Bas, Muhammet A., and Robert Schub. "Peaceful Uncertainty: When Power Shocks Do Not Create Commitment Problems." *International Studies Quarterly* 61, 4 (December 2017), 850–866.
- Kirshner, Jonathan. "Rationalist Explanations for War?" *IS* 10/1 (Autumn 2000): 143-50.
- Lake, David A. "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War." *International Security* 35/3 (Winter 2010/11): 7-52.
- Weisiger, Alex. *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. *Military Threats: The Costs of Coercion and the Price of Peace*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Leventoglu, Bahar, and Ahmer Tarar, "Does Private Information Lead to Delay or War in Crisis Bargaining?" *International Security*, 52/3 (September 2008): 533-53.
- Wagner, Harrison. "Bargaining and War." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44, 3 (2000): 469-85.
- Smith, Alastair, and Allan C. Stam. "Bargaining and the Nature of War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48/6 (December 2004): 783- 813.
- Fey, Mark, and Kristopher W. Ramsay, "The Common Priors Assumption: A Comment On 'Bargaining and the Nature of War.'" pp. 607-13.
- Meiowitz, Adam, and Anne E. Sartori, "Strategic Uncertainty as a Cause of War." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, 4 (2008): 327–52.
- Slantchev, Branislav L., and Ahmer Tarar, "Mutual Optimism as a Rationalist Explanation for War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, 1 (January 2011): 135–148.
- Ramsay, Kristopher W. "Information, Uncertainty, and War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 505-27.

- Bas, Muhammet A., and Robert Schub. "Mutual Optimism as a Cause of Conflict: Secret Alliances and Conflict Onset." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, 3, (September 2016), 552–564.
- Spaniel, William, and Peter Bils. "Slow to Learn: Bargaining, Uncertainty, and the Calculus of Conquest." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 62, 4 (April 2018): 774-96.
- Debs, Alexander, and Nuno P. Monteiro, "Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War." *International Organization* 68, 1 (January 2014): 1-31.
- Lindsey, David. "Mutual Optimism and Costly Conflict: The Case of Naval Battles in the Age of Sail." *The Journal of Politics*, 81(4): 1181-1196.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. "The Power to Hurt: Costly Conflict with Completely Informed States." *American Political Science Review*, 97/1 (February 2003): 123-33.
- Little, Andrew T., and Thomas Zeitzoff. "A Bargaining Theory of Conflict with Evolutionary Preferences." *International Organization* 71, 3 (Summer 2017): 523-57.
- Gartzke, Erik. "War Is in The Error Term." *International Organization* 53/3 (Summer 1999): 567-87.
- Walt, Stephen M. "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies." *International Security* 23/4 (Spring 1999): 5- 48.
- Goddard, Stacie. "Uncommon Ground: Territorial Conflict and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60, no. 1 (January 2006): 35-68.
- Hassner, Ron. "To Halve and Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility." *Security Studies*, 12/4 (Summer 2003): 1-33.
- Hassner, Ron E. *War on Sacred Grounds*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Streich, Philip, and Jack S. Levy. "Information, Commitment, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12, 4 (October 2016): 489-511.
- McKoy, Michael K., and David A. Lake. "Bargaining Theory and Rationalist Explanations for the Iraq War." *International Security* 36, 3 (Winter 2011/12): 172– 178.
- Wolford, Scott. *Politics of the First World War: A Course in Game Theory and International Security*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Week 5. International Institutions, Law, Norms

Date: Oct 31, 2022

We pivot this week to a cluster of topics related to war and other security topics: international institutions of various forms. We assess the roles of formal international organizations in the diplomacy surrounding war and in curtailing nuclear proliferation. We analyze whether international law regarding the rules of war can affect wartime behavior and through what mechanisms. We also assess the role of more informal international – norms – in shaping security behavior, including a classic thesis on the nuclear use taboo.

Required readings

Thompson, Alexander. "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* (2006): 1-34.

Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. "The Disclosure Dilemma: Nuclear Intelligence and International Organizations." *American Journal of Political Science* 63.2 (2019): 269-285. [skim model]

Stanton, Jessica A. "Rebel Groups, International Humanitarian Law, and Civil War Outcomes in the Post-Cold War Era." *International Organization* 74.3 (2020): 523-559.

Jo, Hyeran, and Beth A. Simmons. "Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?" *International Organization* 70, no. 3 (2016): 443-475.

Class "Debate"

½ class: Tannenwald, Nina. "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use." *International Organization*, vol. 53, no. 3, 1999, p. 433-68.

½ class: Press, Daryl G., Scott D. Sagan, and Benjamin A. Valentino. "Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons." *American Political Science Review* 107.1 (2013): 188-206.

Other important work

Multilateralism, IOs, and security

Ruggie, J. G. (1992). "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of An Institution." *International Organization* 46(3): 561-598.
Haftendorn, Helga, Robert Keohane, and Celeste Wallender, eds. *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions Over Time and Space*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Rathbun, B. C. (2011). "Before Hegemony: Generalized Trust and The Creation and Design of International Security Organizations." *International Organization*, 243-273.

Rathbun, Brian C. *Trust in International Cooperation: International Security Institutions, Domestic Politics and American Multilateralism*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Chapman, Terrence L. "International Security Institutions, Domestic Politics, And Institutional Legitimacy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51.1 (2007): 134-166.

Thompson, Alexander. *Channels of Power: The UN Security Council and US Statecraft in Iraq*. Cornell University Press, 2015.

Voeten, Erik. "The Political Origins of The UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59.3 (2005): 527-557.

Voeten, Erik. 2000. "Clashes in The Assembly." *International Organization* 54(2): 185-215.

Busby, Joshua, et al. "Multilateralism and The Use of Force: Experimental Evidence on The Views of Foreign Policy Elites." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16.1 (2020): 118-129.

Wallander, Celeste A. "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War." *International Organization* (2000): 705-735.

Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19.3 (1994): 5-49.

Lake, David A. "Beyond Anarchy: The Importance of Security Institutions." *International Security* 26.1 (2001): 129-160.

Wertheim, Stephen. "Instrumental Internationalism: The American Origins of the United Nations, 1940–3." *Journal of Contemporary History* 54.2 (2019): 265-283.

International (humanitarian) law and war

- Mantilla, Giovanni. "Forum Isolation: Social Opprobrium and the Origins of the International Law of Internal Conflict." *International Organization* 72.2 (2018): 317-349.
- Mantilla, Giovanni. *Lawmaking under Pressure: International Humanitarian Law and Internal Armed Conflict*. Cornell University Press, 2020.
- Valentino, Benjamin A. "Why we kill: The political science of political violence against civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (2014): 89-103.
- Balcells, Laia, and Jessica A. Stanton. "Violence Against Civilians During Armed Conflict: Moving Beyond the Macro-and Micro-Level Divide." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2020).
- Carpenter, R. Charli. "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups": Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as A Transnational Issue." *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2005): 295-334.
- Valentino, Benjamin A. *Final solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century*. Cornell University Press, 2004.
- Valentino, Benjamin. "Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killing and Genocide." *Security Studies* 9, no. 3 (2000): 1-59.
- Downes, Alexander B. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Downes, Alexander B. "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War." *International Security* 30, no. 4 (2006): 152-195.
- Sagan, Scott D., and Benjamin A. Valentino. "Revisiting Hiroshima In Iran: What Americans Really Think About Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants." *International Security* 42, no. 1 (2017): 41-79.
- Carpenter, Charli, and Montgomery, Alexander H. "The Stopping Power of Norms: Saturation Bombing, Civilian Immunity, and U.S. Attitudes toward the Laws of War". *International Security* 2020 45:2, 140-169.
- Simmons, Beth A., and Allison Danner. "Credible Commitments and The International Criminal Court." *International Organization* (2010): 225-256
- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War." *American Political Science Review* (2006): 429-447.
- Stanton, Jessica A. *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in The Shadow of International Law*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Harff, Barbara. "No Lessons Learned from The Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder Since 1955." *American Political Science Review* (2003): 57-73.
- Straus, Scott. "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint." *Perspectives on Politics* (2012): 343-362.
- Bell, A. M. (2016). "Military Culture and Restraint Toward Civilians in War: Examining the Ugandan Civil Wars." *Security Studies*, 25(3), 488-518.
- Fujii, L. A. (2013). "The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence. *Perspectives on Politics*." 11(2), 410-426.
- Hinton, A. L. (2012). "Critical Genocide Studies." *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 7(1), 4-15.
- Hultman, L., Kathman, J., & Shannon, M. (2013). "United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4), 875-891.
- Orford, A. (2003). *Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ratner, S. R., Abrams, J. S., & Bischoff, J. L. (2009). *Accountability for Human Rights Atrocities in International Law: Beyond the Nuremberg Legacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shaw, M. (2012). "From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide In 20th-Century Europe." *European Journal of International Relations*, 18(4), 645-668.
- Wood, R. M., Kathman, J. D., & Gent, S. E. (2012). "Armed Intervention and Civilian Victimization in Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(5), 647-660.
- Zvobgo, K. (2019). "Designing Truth: Facilitating Perpetrator Testimony at Truth Commissions." *Journal of Human Rights*, 18(1), 92-110.
- Zvobgo, K. (2020). "Demanding Truth: The Global Transitional Justice Network and The Creation of Truth Commissions." *International Studies Quarterly*, 64(3), 609-625.

Norms in Security

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International norm dynamics and political change." *International organization* 52.4 (1998): 887-917.

Tannenwald, Nina. "Stigmatizing the bomb: Origins of the nuclear taboo." *International Security* 29.4 (2005): 5-49.

Price, Richard. "A genealogy of the chemical weapons taboo." *International Organization* 49.1 (1995): 73-103.

Price, Richard M. *The Chemical Weapons Taboo*. Cornell University Press, 2018.

Price, Richard. "Syria and the Chemical Weapons Taboo." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4.1 (2019): 37-52.

Legro, Jeffrey. *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II*. Cornell University Press, 1995.

Legro, Jeffrey W. "Which norms matter? Revisiting the "failure" of internationalism." *International Organization* 51.1 (1997): 31-63.

Price, Richard. "Reversing the gun sights: transnational civil society targets land mines." *International organization* 52.3 (1998): 613-644.

Davis Gibbons, Rebecca, and Keir Lieber. "How durable is the nuclear weapons taboo?." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42.1 (2019): 29-54.

Kahl, Colin H. "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and US Conduct in Iraq." *International Security* 32.1 (2007): 7-46.

Carpenter, Charli, and Alexander H. Montgomery. "The Stopping Power of Norms: Saturation Bombing, Civilian Immunity, and US Attitudes toward the Laws of War." *International Security* 45.2 (2020): 140-169.

[For more, see Terman syllabus, Constructivism seminar]

Related literatures to explore if interested: collective security; multilateral peacekeeping.

Week 6. Language in International Security

Date: Nov 7, 2022

Extending ideas introduced in the readings on norms, the next two weeks address the role of language and culture in international security. This week we focus on a set of readings that focus on how talk about security matters in intimate settings, public debate, and the high politics of great powers. We analyze the use of technical language by national security specialists, justifications revisionists provide for territorial changes, and the Cold War consensus. We also engage securitization theory – which analyzes how issues become matters of “security” in the first place – as well as the role of diplomatic practices in debates about military intervention.

Required readings

- Cohn, Carol. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687-718.
- Krebs, Ronald R. "How Dominant Narratives Rise and Fall: Military Conflict, Politics, and the Cold War Consensus." *International Organization* (2015): 809-845.
- Goddard, Stacie E. "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2009): 110-142.
- McDonald, Matt. "Securitization and the Construction of Security." *European Journal of International Relations* 14.4 (2008): 563-587.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Vincent Pouliot. "Power in Practice: Negotiating the International Intervention in Libya." *European Journal of International Relations* 20.4 (2014): 889-911.

Other important work

- Krebs, Ronald R., and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson. "Twisting Tongues and Twisting Arms: The Power of Political Rhetoric." *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 1 (2007): 35-66.
- Goddard, Stacie E. *When right makes might: Rising powers and world order*. Cornell University Press, 2018.
- Mattern, Janice Bially. *Ordering International Politics: Identity, Crisis and Representational Force*. Routledge, 2005.
- Dixon, Jennifer M. "Rhetorical Adaptation and Resistance to International Norms." *Perspectives on Politics* 15.1 (2017): 83-99.
- Krebs, Ronald R. *Narrative and The Making of US National Security*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Goddard, Stacie E. "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and The Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* (2006): 35-68.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, Ole Wæver, and Jaap De Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.
- Finnemore, Martha. "Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity." *World Politics*, 61 (2009): 58.
- Williams, Michael C. "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2003): 511-531.
- Williams, Michael. *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security*. Routledge, 2007.
- Goddard, Stacie E., and Ronald R. Krebs. "Rhetoric, Legitimation, and Grand Strategy." *Security Studies* 24.1 (2015): 5-36. NOTE: Also see other contributions to special issue on “Rhetoric and Grand Strategy”
- Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. *Power in Concert: The 19th Century Origins of Global Governance*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. "Reading Habermas in Anarchy: Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Public Spheres." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 99, no. 03, 2005, pp. 401–17.
- Detraz, N., & Betsill, M. M. (2009). "Climate Change and Environmental Security: For Whom the Discourse Shifts." *International Studies Perspectives*, 10(3), 303-320.
- Edwards, P., & Arnon, D. (2019). "Violence on Many Sides: Framing Effects on Protest and Support for Repression." *British Journal of Political Science*, 1–19.

- Howell, A., & Richter-Montpetit, M. (2020). "Is Securitization Theory Racist? Civilizationism, Methodological Whiteness, And Antiblack Thought in The Copenhagen School." *Security Dialogue*, 51(1), 3–22.
- Skonieczny, A. (2001). "Constructing NAFTA: Myth, Representation, and the Discursive Construction of U.S. Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly*, 45(3), 433–454.
- Stern, M. (2011). "Gender and Race in The European Security Strategy: Europe As A 'Force for Good'?" *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 14(1), 28–59.
- Hurd, Ian. "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN sanctions, 1992-2003." *International Organization* (2005): 495-526.
- Krebs, Ronald R., and Jennifer K. Lobasz. "Fixing the Meaning Of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion, And the Road to War in Iraq." *Security Studies* 16, no. 3 (2007): 409-451.
- Hagström, Linus, and Karl Gustafsson. "Narrative power: how storytelling shapes East Asian international politics." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 32.4 (2019): 387-406.
- Foley, Frank. "The (de) legitimization of torture: rhetoric, shaming and narrative contestation in two British cases." *European Journal of International Relations* 27.1 (2021): 102-126.

For more readings on the practice turn: see my syllabi for PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations, on my website.

Week 7. Cultures of International Security

Date: Nov 14, 2022

We turn here to a variety of coherent cultures that affect security. Cultures encompass language and norms so work in this week is broader in scope and focused on particular communities or organizations. We read an influential realist text on the causes of war which introduced an early cultural story focused on the military. We also read a response which highlights the role of gender and masculinity in such dynamics. We then learn from a pair of readings which jointly suggest ways that race and white supremacy can affect perceptions of threat, both state and non-state. We end engaging with work on cultures at international organizations and how those can affect responses to civil war, atrocities, and genocide.

****Reminder: Literature Review due Nov 18th (5pm) to acarson@uchicago.edu****

Required readings

- Snyder, Jack. "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984." *International Security* 9.1 (1984): 108-146.
- Wilcox, Lauren. "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive." *Security Studies* 18.2 (2009): 214-240.
- Búzás, Zoltán I. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." *Security Studies* 22, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 573–606.
- Meier, Anna A. "The Idea of Terror: Institutional Reproduction in Government Responses to Political Violence." *International Studies Quarterly* 64.3 (2020): 499-509.
- Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Cornell UP, 2004. Chapters 2, 5.

Other important work

Cultures of National Security

- Katzenstein, Peter K. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Kier, Elizabeth. "Culture and Military Doctrine: France Between the Wars." *International Security* 19.4 (1995): 65-93.
- Kier, Elizabeth. *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars*. Princeton University Press, 2017.
- Snyder, Jack. *The Ideology of The Offensive: Military Decision Making and The Disasters Of 1914*. Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Snyder, Jack. "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984." *International Security* 9.1 (1984): 108-146.
- Legro, Jeffrey W. "Military culture and inadvertent escalation in World War II." *International Security* 18.4 (1994): 108-142.
- Drezner, Daniel W. "Ideas, bureaucratic politics, and the crafting of foreign policy." *American Journal of Political Science* (2000): 733-749.
- Barry R. Posen's *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain and Germany between the World Wars* (Ithaca, 1984)
- Katzenstein, Peter J. *Cultural norms and national security: Police and military in postwar Japan*. Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*. Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Thinking about Strategic Culture." *International Security* 19.4 (1995): 32-64.
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Gender and Security

[A great collection of syllabi on gender, conflict, feminist approaches, and more [is available here.](#)]

- Sjoberg, Laura. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. Columbia University Press, 2013.
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- Naurin, Nils Daniel, Elin Naurin, and Amy Alexander. "Gender Stereotyping and Chivalry in International Negotiations. A Survey Experiment in The Council of The European Union." *International Organization* 73.2 (2019): 469-488.
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- Enloe, Cynthia. 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wilcox, Lauren B. *Bodies of Violence: Theorizing Embodied Subjects in International Relations*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Race, Racism, and White Supremacy in Security

- Kelebogile Zvobgo and Meredith Loken, "Why Race Matters in International Relations," *Foreign Policy*, June 19, 2020.
- Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Reviews and reactions to Vitalis's *White World Order, Black Power Politics*.
 "White World Order, Black Power Politics: [A Symposium](#)," *The Disorder of Things*, June 6, 2016.
 Contributions in "Review Symposium: *White World Order, Black Power Politics*" *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, December 2016.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. "Race in the Ontology of International Order." *Political Studies* 56.4 (2008): 907-927.
- Thompson, Debra. "Through, Against and Beyond the Racial State: The Transnational Stratum of Race." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26.1 (2013): 133-151.

- Bell, Duncan. *Dreamworlds of Race: Empire and the Utopian Destiny of Anglo-America*. Princeton University Press, 2020.
- D'Orazio, Vito, and Idean Salehyan. "Who Is A Terrorist? Ethnicity, Group Affiliation, and Understandings of Political Violence." *Int'l Interactions* 44.6 (2018): 1017-1039.
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- Henderson, Errol A. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26.1 (2013): 71-92.
- Jones, Matthew. *After Hiroshima: The United States, Race and Nuclear Weapons in Asia, 1945–1965*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Bell, Duncan. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 20.3 (2014): 647-670.
- Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Henderson, Errol A. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 71–92.
- Lake, David A. "White Man's IR: An Intellectual Confession." *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 1112–22.
- Symposium on "Confronting the Global Colour Line: Space, Race and Imperial Hierarchy in World Politics," in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol 26, 2013.
- Anievas, Alexander, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam. *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. Routledge, 2014.
- Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Shilliam, Robbie. "'Open the Gates Mek We Repatriate': Caribbean Slavery, Constructivism, and Hermeneutic Tensions." *International Theory* 6, no. 2 (July 2014): 349–72.
- Krishna, Sankaran. "Race, Amnesia, and the Education of International Relations." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 26, no. 4 (2001): 401–24.
- Barkawi, Tarak. "Decolonising War." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 02 (2016): 199–214.
- Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Hobson, John M. *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. *Decolonizing International Relations*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.
- Vitalis, Robert. "The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 331–56.
- Hemmer, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (July 2002): 575–607.
- Karp, Matthew. *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Grovogui, Siba N. "Come to Africa: A Hermeneutics of Race in International Theory." *Alternatives* 26, no. 4 (2001): 425–448.
- Grovogui, Siba N. "Rituals of Power: Theory, Languages, and Vernaculars of International Relations." *Alternatives* 23, no. 4 (1998): 499–529.
- Doty, Roxanne Lynn. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Biswas, Shampa. "'Nuclear Apartheid' as Political Position: Race as a Postcolonial Resource?" *Alternatives* 26, no. 4 (2001): 485–522.
- Vucetic, Srdjan. *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations*. Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. "Good Governance' And 'State Failure': The Pseudo-Science of Statesmen in Our Times." *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. Routledge, 2014.

IOs and cultures of security

- Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. "The politics, power, and pathologies of international organizations." *International organization* 53.4 (1999): 699-732.

Nielson, Daniel L., Michael J. Tierney, and Catherine E. Weaver. "Bridging the rationalist–constructivist divide: re-engineering the culture of the World Bank." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 9.2 (2006): 107-139.

Week 8. New Directions in the Study of International Security

Date: Nov 28, 2022

We end with a week devoted to six areas of research that represent some of the newest work on international security. This includes new perspectives on domestic political actors (leaders; elites; bureaucratic organizations) as well as work using experiments to unpack psychological biases in assessing security issues. The readings also engage headline-driving topics like Covid-19 and artificial intelligence. We also read one new article addressing an area of my own research interest: how infrastructures, of various kinds, structure and shape power politics and security.

****Reminder: mock comprehensive exam is December 7th****

****Prompt emailed 8am. Essays due 5pm to acarson@uchicago.edu****

Required *topic/readings*

Leaders & elites in war

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision Making." *International Organization* 71.S1 (2017): S219-S247.

Bureaucracy & security (beyond Graham Allison)

Schub, Robert. "Informing the Leader: Bureaucracies and International Crises." *American Political Science Review* (2022): 1-17.

Psychology, experiments, and security

Kertzer, Joshua D., Jonathan Renshon, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "How Do Observers Assess Resolve?." *British Journal of Political Science* 51.1 (2021): 308-330.

Infrastructure and security

Gade, Emily Kalah. "Social Isolation and Repertoires of Resistance." *American Political Science Review* 114.2 (2020): 309-325.

Emerging technology

Jensen, Benjamin M., Christopher Whyte, and Scott Cuomo. "Algorithms at War: The Promise, Peril, and Limits of Artificial Intelligence." *International Studies Review* 22.3 (2020): 526-550.

Disease and security

Fazal, Tanisha M. "Health Diplomacy in Pandemical Times." *International Organization* (2020): 1-20.

Other important work

Bureaucracy and security

Mabee, Bryan. "Historical Institutionalism and Foreign Policy Analysis: The Origins of the National Security Council Revisited." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7.1 (2010): 27-44.

Zegart, Amy B. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*. Stanford University Press, 2000.

Horowitz, Michael C. *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

Levy, Jack S. "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *International Studies Quarterly*, 30 (June 1986): 193-222.

Welch, David A. "The Organizational and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect." *International Security* 17 (fall 1992) pp. 112-146.

Nguyen, Liên-Hang T. "The War Politburo: North Vietnam's Diplomatic and Political Road to the Tet Offensive." *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 1, 1-2 (2006), 4-58.

Nonstate Actors and The Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism MC Horowitz - International Organization, 2010.

Allison, Graham T., and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Rev. ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999.

Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63, 3 (September 1969): 689-718.

Bendor, Jonathan, and Thomas H. Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review*, 86 (June 1992) pp. 301-322.

Krasner, Stephen. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," *Foreign Policy* 7 (summer 1972) pp. 159-179.

Art, Robert J. "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique," *Policy Sciences* 4 (1973) pp. 467-90.

Psychology of security

[If interested in this area, see Josh Kertzer's excellent [syllabus](#).]

Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 1976.

Jervis, Robert. *The Logic of Images in International Relations*. Columbia University Press, 1989.

Herrmann, Richard K., and Michael P. Fischerkeller. "Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive–Strategic Research After the Cold War." *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (1995): 415-450.

McDermott, Rose. *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy*. University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Levy, Jack S. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, And International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1997): 87-112.

Mercer, Jonathan. "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics." *International Organization* (2005): 77-106

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake, and David G. Victor. "The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations." *International Organization* 71, supp. S1 (2017): 1-31.

Khong, Yuen Foong. *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton University Press, 1992. Chapters 1, 7.

McDermott R. 2004. "The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science." *Perspectives in Politics* 2: 691–706.

Kertzer, Joshua D., and Thomas Zeitzoff. "A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion About Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 61.3 (2017): 543-558.

Kertzer, Joshua D., and Ryan Brutger. "Decomposing Audience Costs: Bringing the Audience Back into Audience Cost Theory." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (2016): 234-249.

Renshon, Jonathan. "Losing Face and Sinking Costs: Experimental Evidence on The Judgment of Political and Military Leaders." *International Organization* (2015): 659-695.

Davis, James W., and Rose McDermott. 2020. "The Past, Present, and Future of Behavioral IR." *International Organization*: 1-31.

Kertzer, Joshua D., Brian C. Rathbun, and Nina Srinivasan Rathbun. "The Price of Peace: Motivated Reasoning and Costly Signaling in International Relations." *International Organization* 74.1 (2020): 95-118.

Kertzer, Joshua D., and Dustin Tingley. "Political Psychology in International Relations: Beyond the Paradigms." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 319-339.

Kertzer, Joshua. *Resolve in International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2016.

Goldgeier J, Tetlock P. 2001. "Psychology and International Relations Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 67–92.

Levy J.S. 2013. "Psychology and Foreign Policy Decision-Making." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. L Huddy, DO Sears, JS Levy. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press. 2nd ed, pp. 301–33.

Tomz M. 2007. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61: 821–40

Press DG, Sagan SD, Valentino BA. 2013. "Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, And the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons." *American Political Science Review* 107: 188–206.

McDermott R. 2004a. "The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science." *Perspectives on Politics* 2: 691–706.

Tingley DH. 2011. "The Dark Side of The Future: An Experimental Test of Commitment Problems in Bargaining." *International Studies Quarterly*, 55: 521–44.

- Little AT, Zeitzoff T. 2017. "A Bargaining Theory of Conflict with Evolutionary Preferences." *International Organization* 71: 523–57.
- Holmes M. 2013. "Mirror Neurons and The Problem of Intentions." *International Organization* 67: 829–61.
- Hymans JE. 2006. *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosen SP. 2005. *War and Human Nature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Herrmann, R. K. (2017). "How Attachments to The Nation Shape Beliefs About the World: A Theory of Motivated Reasoning." *International Organization*, 71, S61-S84.
- Landau-Wells, M., & Saxe, R. (2020). "Political Preferences and Threat Perception: Opportunities for Neuroimaging and Developmental Research." *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, 34, 58-63.
- Lopez, A. C., McDermott, R., & Petersen, M. B. (2011). "States in Mind: Evolution, Coalitional Psychology, And International Politics." *International Security*, 36(2), 48-83.

Leaders, elites, and security

- Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Elites in the making and breaking of foreign policy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 25 (2022): 219-240.

[See also: my syllabus for PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations, on my website.]

Emerging technology: drones, cyber, and AI

- Gartzke, Erik. "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down To Earth." *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 41-73.
- Lindsay, Jon R. "Stuxnet And the Limits of Cyber Warfare." *Security Studies* 22, no. 3 (2013): 365-404.
- Gartzke, Erik, and Jon R. Lindsay. "Weaving Tangled Webs: Offense, Defense, And Deception in Cyberspace." *Security Studies* 24, no. 2 (2015): 316-348.
- Valeriano, Brandon, and Ryan C. Maness. "The Dynamics of Cyber Conflict Between Rival Antagonists, 2001–11." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3 (2014): 347-360.
- Rid, Thomas. "Cyber War Will Not Take Place." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 35, no. 1 (2012): 5-32.
- Kello, Lucas. "The Meaning of The Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft." *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 7-40.
- Lin-Greenberg, Erik. "Allies and Artificial Intelligence: Obstacles to Operations and Decision-Making." *Texas National Security Review* 3, no. 2 (2020).
- Kreps, Sarah, and Jacquelyn Schneider. "Escalation Firebreaks in The Cyber, Conventional, And Nuclear Domains: Moving Beyond Effects-Based Logics." *Journal of Cybersecurity* 5, no. 1 (2019)
- Carr, M. (2016). "Public–Private Partnerships in National Cyber-Security Strategies." *International Affairs*, 92(1), 43-62.
- Hansen, L., & Nissenbaum, H. (2009). "Digital Disaster, Cyber Security, and the Copenhagen School." *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(4), 1155-1175.
- Horowitz, M. C., Allen, G. C., Kania, E. B., & Scharre, P. (2018). *Strategic Competition in An Era of Artificial Intelligence*. Center for a New American Security.
- Horowitz, Michael C. "Do Emerging Military Technologies Matter for International Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 385-400.

Infrastructure and security

- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security* 44.1 (2019): 42-79.
- Van Noort, Carolijn. *Infrastructure Communication in International Relations*. Routledge, 2020.
- Khalili, Laleh. "The roads to power: The infrastructure of counterinsurgency." *World Policy Journal* 34.1 (2017): 93-99.
- Sowers, Jeannie, and Erika Weinthal. "Humanitarian challenges and the targeting of civilian infrastructure in the Yemen war." *International Affairs* 97.1 (2021): 157-177.
- Holt, Thomas J., and Max Kilger. "Examining willingness to attack critical infrastructure online and offline." *Crime & Delinquency* 58.5 (2012): 798-822.
- Aradau, Claudia. "Security that matters: Critical infrastructure and objects of protection." *Security Dialogue* 41.5 (2010): 491-514.

Cooley, Alexander, and Daniel H. Nexon. "'The Empire Will Compensate You': The Structural Dynamics of the US Overseas Basing Network." *Perspectives on Politics* 11.4 (2013): 1035, 1037.

Bueger, Christian, and Tobias Liebetrau. "Protecting Hidden Infrastructure: The Security Politics of the Global Submarine Data Cable Network." *Contemporary Security Policy* 42.3 (2021): 391-413.

Yao, Joanne. *The Ideal River: How Control of Nature Shaped the International Order*. Manchester University Press, 2022.

Kardon, Isaac B., and Wendy Leutert. "Pier Competitor: China's Power Position in Global Ports." *International Security* 46.4 (2022): 9-47.

Important topics not covered

Reminder: I have made tough choices about what to include and leave out. The quarter system is particularly difficult – we only have eight weeks of instruction this term. Some important security-related topics are not covered because my colleagues cover them in other graduate seminars. These include Staniland's class on civil war; Poast's class on quantitative security, Terman's class on constructivism, Mearsheimer's class on realisms, and Pape's class on militant power politics. You should take these seminars if interested and consult those syllabi to help build your Ph.D. comprehensive exam reading list. See below for a set of topics and readings that supplement what we cover in the course.

Military effectiveness

- Biddle, Stephen D. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton University Press, 2004. Chapter 3.
- Talmadge, Caitlin. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cornell University Press, 2015. Chapter 1.
- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam III. "Democracy and battlefield military effectiveness." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42.3 (1998): 259-277.
- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam. "Democracy, war initiation, and victory." *American Political Science Review* 92.2 (1998): 377-389.
- Schultz, Kenneth A., and Barry R. Weingast. "The democratic advantage: institutional foundations of financial power in international competition." *International organization* 57.1 (2003): 3-42.
- De Mesquita, Bruce Bueno, et al. "An institutional explanation of the democratic peace." *American Political Science Review* 93.4 (1999): 791-807.
- Talmadge, Caitlin. "The puzzle of personalist performance: Iraqi battlefield effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq war." *Security Studies* 22.2 (2013): 180-221.
- Talmadge, Caitlin. "Different threats, different militaries: Explaining organizational practices in authoritarian armies." *Security Studies* 25.1 (2016): 111-141.
- Reiter, Dan, and William A. Wagstaff. "Leadership and military effectiveness." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 14.4 (2018): 490-511.
- Lyall, Jason. *Divided Armies: Inequality and Battlefield Performance in Modern War*. Princeton University Press, 2020.

Alliances: formation, coordination

- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliance*. Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Henke, Marina E. *Constructing Allied Cooperation: Diplomacy, Payments, and Power in Multilateral Military Coalitions*. Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Poast, Paul. *Arguing about Alliances: The Art of Agreement in Military-pact Negotiations*. Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Glenn H. Snyder, "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics." *World Politics*, 36/4 (July 1984): 461-95.
- Stephen M. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." *International Security* 9/4 (Spring 1985): 3- 41.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In." *International Security* 19/1 (Summer 1994): 72-107.
- Thomas Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44/2 (Spring 1990): 137-68
- James Morrow, "Arms Versus Allies: Trade-Offs in the Search for Security." *International Organization* 47:2 (spring 1993), 207-233.
- Fang, Songying, Jesse C. Johnson, and Brett Ashley Leeds. "To Concede or To Resist? The Restraining Effect of Military Alliances." *International Organization* 68, no. 4 (2014): 775-809.
- Wolford, Scott. *The Politics of Military Coalitions*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Kreps, Sarah E. *Coalitions of Convenience: United States Military Interventions After the Cold War*. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Poast, Paul. "Does Issue Linkage Work? Evidence from European Alliance Negotiations, 1860 To 1945." *International Organization* 66, no. 2 (2012): 277-310.

- Beckley, Michael. "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of US Defense Pacts." *International Security* 39, no. 4 (2015): 7-48.
- Henke, Marina E. "The Politics of Diplomacy: How the United States Builds Multilateral Military Coalitions." *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2017): 410-424.
- Weitsman, Patricia A. *Waging War: Alliances, Coalitions, And Institutions of Interstate Violence*. Stanford University Press, 2013.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on The Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 47.3 (2003): 427-439.
- Morrow, James D. "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to The Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances." *American Journal of Political Science* (1991): 904-933.
- McManus, Roseanne W., and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "The Logic Of "Offstage" Signaling: Domestic Politics, Regime Type, And Major Power-Protégé Relations." *International Organization* 71.4 (2017): 701-733.
- Beckley, M. (2015). "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of US Defense Pacts." *International Security*, 39(4), 7-48.
- Davis, D. R., & Moore, W. H. (1997). "Ethnicity Matters: Transnational Ethnic Alliances and Foreign Policy Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly*, 41(1), 171-184.
- Gartzke, E., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2004). "Why Democracies May Actually Be Less Reliable Allies." *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4), 775-795.
- Izumikawa, Y. (2020). "Network Connections and the Emergence of the Hub-and-Spokes Alliance System in East Asia." *International Security*, 45(2), 7-50.
- Lai, B., & Reiter, D. (2000). "Democracy, Political Similarity, And International Alliances, 1816-1992." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(2), 203-227.
- Leeds, B. A. (2003). "Alliance Reliability in Times of War: Explaining State Decisions to Violate Treaties." *International Organization*, 801-827.
- Walt, S. M. (2009). "Alliances in A Unipolar World." *World Politics* 61(1): 86-120.

Counterinsurgency & terrorism

- Kaufmann, Chaim. "Threat Inflation and The Failure of The Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of The Iraq War." *International Security* 29, no. 1 (2004): 5-48.
- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 49-80.
- Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson III. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* (2009): 67-106.
- Chenoweth, Erica. "Terrorism and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16 (2013): 355-378.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Laia Balcells. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of The Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." *American Political Science Review* (2010): 415-429.
- Arreguin-Toft, Ivan. "How the weak win wars: A theory of asymmetric conflict." *International security* 26.1 (2001): 93-128.
- Biddle, Stephen, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro. "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 7-40.
- Berman, Eli, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. *Small Wars, Big Data: The Information Revolution in Modern Conflict*. Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Mir, Asfandiyar. "What Explains Counterterrorism Effectiveness? Evidence from The US Drone War in Pakistan." *International Security* 43, no. 2 (2018): 45-83.
- Crenshaw, Martha. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13, no. 4 (1981): 379-399.
- Chenoweth, Erica. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity." *The Journal of Politics* 72, no. 1 (2010): 16-30.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69, no. 3 (2015): 519-556.
- Amoore, L. (2006). "Biometric Borders: Governing Mobilities In the War on Terror." *Political Geography*, 25(3), 336-351.
- Anghie, A. (2007). *On Making War on The Terrorist: Imperialism as Self-Defence*. In *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Stampnitzky, L. (2013). *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented "Terrorism."* Cambridge University Press.
- Pape, R. A. (2003). "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review*, 343-361.

Rapoport, David C. "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions." *The American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984): 658-677.

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