

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION
030:362, SPRING 2006
W 9:30 AM – 12:20 PM, 337 SH

INSTRUCTOR:

Professor Sara McLaughlin Mitchell
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Office Hours: Monday 2-4pm

Course Description

The purpose of this course is to analyze the most important theories regarding the causes of international war and conflict. This course will: (a) introduce students to a wide range of research on international conflict (with a focus on recent empirical research) and (b) show students how to critically evaluate research, and consequently how to design their own research projects.

Required Texts (Available at Iowa Bookstore or from online bookstores)

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. *The War Trap*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Diehl, Paul F. and Gary Goertz. 2000. *War and Peace in International Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lemke, Douglas. 2002. *Regions of War and Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1993. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Most, Benjamin A. and Harvey Starr. 1989. *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press.

Vasquez, John A. 1993. *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A master copy of the required readings (except books) will be available in my office (including those available on JSTOR). Check out the readings from me, please make a copy, and return them to me (or print them on your own). Many of the readings are available electronically (through JSTOR or other library sources); search for the journal title in the library catalog.

Recommended Texts (Edited volumes useful for preliminary exam preparation)

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 2000. *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Vasquez, John A. 2000. *What Do We Know About War?* Rowman and Littlefield.

Course Requirements

1) Research Paper (50%)

Choose a research question on international conflict for which a significant difference of opinion exists, and research this based on either the historical evidence of two or more wars, or else on the basis of existing statistical data sets. The final product should take the form of a conference paper or journal article. The paper should be about 25-30 pages in length, contain a review of the relevant literature, and be written in the professional style of the American Political Science Association. You may use whatever methodology you feel is most appropriate to the issue and which you feel qualified to implement. I will not be impressed by incompetent quantitative analysis, nor will I penalize competent historical or case-study approaches.

The paper will be due in several stages:

Friday, February 24th (by 5:00p.m. in my mailbox in 341 SH): Research design, 5-7 pages identifying your research question, a brief description of the literature relevant to your question, the method of analysis you intend to employ, and any data or historical sources you will use to evaluate your hypotheses.

Friday, March 31st (by 5:00p.m. in my mailbox): First draft, at least 12 pages in length with initial drafts of all of the elements in the paper; research question, literature review, and theory should be well-developed.

Friday, April 28th (by 5:00pm in my mailbox): Second draft, with all required elements of the paper, should be distributed to instructor and all other students in class. Students should read each other's papers and come prepared with at least three written questions per paper for class on May 3rd.

Wednesday, May 3rd: Presentation of paper in class: format will follow Peace Science Society format with 20 minutes for presentation and 10 minutes for questions. Faculty & graduate students in the department will be invited to attend these presentations.

Wednesday, May 10th: Final paper due (by 5:00pm in my mailbox); you should address questions and comments raised during in-class presentations when preparing your final paper.

The paper is due in multiple stages so that I and other students in the class will have an opportunity to give you some feedback along the way. The paper will be given a final grade when I read the final draft, but I will take into consideration the quality of the research design, first draft, second draft, and in-class presentation when determining the final paper grade.

2) Class Participation and Attendance (25%)

The quality of a graduate level seminar depends to a large extent on the efforts of the students. I expect that you will come to class each week prepared to discuss the required readings. While you are reading the assigned course material, I encourage you to consider the following questions:

- a) What is the research question?
- b) What is the researcher's theoretical argument?
- c) What methods/approach does the author use to try to answer the question?
- d) Is this approach suitable for the question or theory?
- e) If the author provides empirical tests, are the operational measures of the concepts appropriate?
- f) What are the most significant research findings & how do these relate to other course readings?
- g) To what degree do you think the researcher has answered his/her research questions?

3) Weekly Quizzes (25%)

Each week at the beginning of class, I will administer a quiz covering that week's readings. The quiz will consist of 5 multiple choice questions that will highlight the most important points in the readings for that week. I will drop your two lowest quiz scores. Any missed quizzes will receive a score of 0/5.

Course Schedule

Week 1, January 18th: Studying and Conceptualizing International Conflict

1) General Approaches to the Scientific Study of International Conflict

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1985. "Toward a Scientific Understanding of International Conflict: A Personal View." *International Studies Quarterly*, 29(2): 121-136.

Vasquez, John A. *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pages 3-50 (Introduction and Chapter 1).

Ray, James Lee. 2001. "Integrating Levels of Analysis in World Politics." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 13(4): 355-388.

2) Conceptualizing and Measuring War/Conflict

Small, Melvin and J. David Singer. 1982. *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980*. Beverly Hills: Sage. (Pages 14-77).

Jones, Daniel M., Stuart A. Bremer, and J. David Singer. 1996. "Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-1992: Rationale, Coding Rules, and Empirical Patterns." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 15(2): 163-213.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg, and Havard Strand. 2002. "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 39(5): 615-637.

Gerner, Deborah J., Philip A. Schrodt, Ronald A. Francisco, Judith L. Weddle. 1994. "Machine Coding of Events Data Using Regional and International Sources." *International Studies Quarterly*, 38: 91-119.

Week 2, January 25th: Methodological Issues & International Politics

Most, Benjamin A. and Harvey Starr. 1989. *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press.

Braumoeller, Bear F. and Gary Goertz. 2000. "The Methodology of Necessary Conditions." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(4): 844-858.

Dion, Douglas. 1998. "Evidence and Inference in the Comparative Case Study." *Comparative Politics*, 30(2): 127-145.

Week 3, February 1st: Power Transition Theory

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1993. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 129-163

Kadera, Kelly M. 2001. *The Power-Conflict Story: A Dynamic Model of Interstate Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 10-50

Lemke, Douglas. 2002. *Regions of War and Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Chapters 1, 3-5, 7

Kugler, Jacek and Douglas Lemke, eds. 1996. *Parity and War: Evaluations and Extensions of The War Ledger*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 35-73 (Chapters 2-3)

Reed, William. 2000. "A Unified Model of Conflict Onset and Escalation." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(1): 84-93.

Week 4, February 8th: Polarity, Hegemony, and Long Cycles

1) Overview

Levy, Jack S. 1985. "Theories of General War." *World Politics* 37(3): 344-374.

2) Polarity

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1964. "The Stability of a Bipolar World." *Daedalus*, 93(Summer): 881-909.

Singer, J. David, Stuart A. Bremer and John Stuckey. 1972. "Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820-1965," in Bruce M. Russett (ed.), *Peace, War, and Numbers*, Beverly Hills: Sage.

3) Hegemony

Deudney, Daniel and G. John Ikenberry. 1999. "The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order." *Review of International Studies* 25: 179-196.

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

4) Long Cycles/Power Cycles

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1993. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 23-54 (Modelski and Thompson)
- Pages 83-110 (Doran)

Week 5, February 15th: Arms Races and War

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1989. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 195-218 (Chapter 8, Siverson & Diehl)
- Pages 219-236 (Chapter 9, Intriligator & Brito)

Wallace, Michael D. 1979. "Arms Races and Escalation: Some New Evidence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 23(1): 3-16.

Smith, Theresa Clair. 1980. "Arms Race Instability and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 24(2): 253-284.

Diehl, Paul F. and Jean Kingston. 1987. "Messenger or Message? Military Buildups and the Initiation of Conflict." *Journal of Politics*, 49(4): 789-799.

Kydd, Andrew. 1997. "Game Theory and the Spiral Model." *World Politics*, 49(3): 371-400.

Kollias, Christos and Stelios Makrydakis. 1997. "Is There a Greek-Turkish Arms Race? Evidence from Cointegration and Causality Tests." *Defence and Peace Economics*, 8:355-379.

Sample, Susan G. 1998. "Military Buildups, War, and Realpolitik: A Multivariate Model." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(2): 156-175.

Gibler, Douglas M., Toby J. Rider, and Marc L. Hutchison. 2005. "Taking Arms against a Sea of Troubles: Conventional Arms Races during Periods of Rivalry." *Journal of Peace Research*, 42(2): 131-147.

Week 6, February 22nd: Alliances and War

1) Alliance Formation

Morrow, James D. 1991. "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances." *American Journal of Political Science*, 35(4): 904-933.

Siverson, Randolph M. and Juliann Emmons. 1991. "Birds of a Feather: Democratic Political Systems and Alliance Choices in the Twentieth Century." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 35: 285-306.

Smith, Alastair. 1995. "Alliance Formation and War." *International Studies Quarterly*, 39(4): 405-425.

Lai, Brian and Dan Reiter. 2000. "Democracy, Political Similarity, and International Alliances, 1816-1992." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(2): 203-227.

2) Alliance Reliability & Deterrence

Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(3): 427-439.

Gibler, Douglas M. and John A. Vasquez. 1998. "Uncovering the Dangerous Alliances, 1495-1980." *International Studies Quarterly*, 42(4): 785-807.

Sabrosky, Alan. 1980. "Interstate Alliances: Their Reliability and the Expansion of War," in J. David Singer (ed.), *The Correlates of War II: Testing Some Realpolitik Models*. New York: Free Press.

Leeds, Brett Ashley, Andrew G. Long, and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2000. "Reevaluating Alliance Reliability: Specific Threats, Specific Promises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(5):686-699.

3) Alliance Duration

Bennett, D. Scott. 1997. "Testing Alternative Models of Alliance Duration, 1816-1984." *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(3): 846-878.

Week 7, March 1st: Expected Utility, Strategic Choice, & Psychological Approaches

1) Expected Utility

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. *The War Trap*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Pages 1-92

Bennett, D. Scott and Allan Stam. 2000. "A Universal Test of an Expected Utility Theory of War." *International Studies Quarterly*, 44(3): 451-480.

2) Strategic Choice

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 2000. *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 164-192 (James D. Morrow)

Signorino, Curtis S. 2002. "Strategy and Selection in International Relations." *International Interactions*, 28(1): 93-115.

3) Psychological Approaches

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 2000. *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 193-221 (Jack S. Levy)

McDermott, Rose and Jacek Kugler. 2001. "Comparing Rational Choice and Prospect Theory Analyses: The US Decision to Launch Operation 'Desert Storm', January 1991." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 24(3): 49-85.

Jervis, Robert. 1988. "War and Misperception." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18:675-700.

Week 8, March 8th: Deterrence and Reciprocity

1) Deterrence

Achen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal. 1989. "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies." *World Politics*, 41: 143-169.

George, Alexander and Richard Smoke. 1989. "Deterrence and Foreign Policy." *World Politics*, 41: 170-182.

Huth, Paul and Bruce Russett. 1984. "What Makes Deterrence Work: Cases from 1900 to 1980." *World Politics*, 36: 496-526.

Fearon, James D. 1994. "Signaling versus the Balance of Power and Interests: An Empirical Test of a Crisis Bargaining Model." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38(2): 236-269.

Danilovic, Vesna. 2001. "The Sources of Threat Credibility in Extended Deterrence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(3): 341-369.

Sagan, Scott. 1994. "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons." *International Security*, 18(4): 66-107.

2) Reciprocity

Goldstein, Joshua S. and John R. Freeman. 1991. "U.S.-Soviet-Chinese Relations: Routine, Reciprocity, or Rational Expectations?" *American Political Science Review*, 85(1): 17-35.

Goldstein, Joshua S and Jon C. Pevehouse. 1997. "Reciprocity, Bullying, and International Cooperation: Time-series Analysis of the Bosnia Conflict." *American Political Science Review*, 91(3): 515-529.

Leng, Russell J. 1983. "When Will They Ever Learn? Coercive Bargaining in Recurrent Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 27(3): 379-419.

Week 9, March 15th: No Class, Spring Break

Week 10, March 22nd: No Class, International Studies Association Meeting

Week 11, March 29th: Diversionary Theories and Public Opinion in Foreign Policy

1) Theoretical Foundations

Ostrom, Charles W. Jr. and Brian L. Job. 1986. "The President and the Political Use of Force." *American Political Science Review*, 80(2): 541-566.

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1989. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 259-288 (Chapter 11, Levy)

Smith, Alastair. 1996. "Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems." *International Studies Quarterly*, 40: 133-153.

Enterline, Andrew J. and Kristian S. Gleditsch. 2000. "Threats, Opportunity, and Force: Repression and Diversion of Domestic Pressure, 1948-1982." *International Interactions*, 26: 21-53.

2) Empirical Assessments

Meernik, James and Peter Waterman. 1996. "The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Force by American Presidents." *Political Research Quarterly*, 49(3): 573-590.

Leeds, Brett Ashley and David R. Davis. 1997. "Domestic Political Vulnerability and International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(6): 814-834.

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Brandon C. Prins. 2004. "Rivalry and Diversionary Uses of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(6): 937-961.

3) Design Issues

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Will H. Moore. 2002. "Presidential Use of Force during the Cold War: Aggregation, Truncation, and Temporal Dynamics." *American Journal of Political Science*, April (46(2)).

Fordham, Benjamin O. and Christopher C. Sarver. 2001. "Militarized Interstate Disputes and United States Uses of Force." *International Studies Quarterly*, 45(3): 455-466.

Week 12, April 5th: Regime Type and War

1) Theoretical Foundations

Kant, Immanuel. 1991 [1795]. "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," in Hans Reiss (ed.), *Kant Political Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rummel, R. J. 1985. "Libertarian Propositions on Violence Within and Between Nations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 29: 419-455.

Maoz, Zeev and Bruce Russett. 1993. "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review*, 87: 624-38.

Dixon, William J. 1994. "Democracy and the Peaceful Settlement of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review*, 88: 14-32.

Schultz, Kenneth A. 1999. "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War." *International Organization*, 53(2): 233-266.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999. "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review*, 93(4): 791-807.

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin. 2002. "A Kantian System? Democracy and Third Party Conflict Resolution." *American Journal of Political Science*, October, 46(4): 749-759.

2) Skeptical Views of the Democratic Peace

Farber, Henry S. and Joanne Gowa. 1995. "Politics and Peace." *International Security*, 20(2): 123-146.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 1995. "Democratization and the Danger of War." *International Security*, 30: 5-38.

Peceny, Mark, Caroline C. Beer, and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. 2002. "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 15-26.

Rosato, Sebastian. 2003. "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory: 97(4): 585-602.

Week 13, April 12th: Economic Interdependence and Environmental Conflict

1) Economic Interdependence & Peace

Oneal, John R., Frances H. Oneal, Zeev Maoz, and Bruce M. Russett. 1996. "The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy, and International Conflict, 1950-1985." *Journal of Peace Research*, 33: 11-28.

Barbieri, Katherine. 1996. "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research*, 33:29-49.

Morrow, James D. 1999. "How Could Trade Affect Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research*, 36(4): 481-489.

Gartzke, Erik, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. 2001. "Economic Interdependence and International Conflict." *International Organization*, 55/2 (Spring): 391-437.

Crescenzi, Mark J.C. 2003. "Economic Exit, Interdependence, and Conflict: An Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Politics*, 65(3): 809-832.

2) Environmental Conflict

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1989. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 289-326 (Chapter 12, Choucri & North)

Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. 1994. "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases." *International Security* 19(1): 5-40.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter. 2003. "Environmental Conflict: Neomalthusians vs. Cornucopians." In *Security and the Environment in the Mediterranean: Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts* ed. H. G. Brauch. Springer, Berlin.

Cooley, J.K. 1984. "The War over Water." *Foreign Policy* 54 (Spring), 3-26.

Toset, Hans Petter Wollebaek, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Haavard Hegre. 2000. "Shared Rivers and Interstate Conflict." *Political Geography* 19(8): 971-996.

Week 14, April 19th: Geography, the Diffusion of War, and Issues in World Politics

1) The Expansion and Diffusion of War

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1989. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Pages 111-139 (Chapter 5, Most, Starr, and Siverson)

Gartner, Scott Sigmund and Randolph M. Siverson. 1996. "War Expansion and War Outcome." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40(1): 4-15.

Werner, Suzanne and Douglas Lemke. 1997. "Opposites Do Not Attract: The Impact of Domestic Institutions, Power, and Prior Commitments on Alignment Choices." *International Studies Quarterly*, 41(3): 529-546.

Vasquez, John A. 1993. *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pages 225-262.

2) Territorial Conflict

Vasquez, John A. 1995. "Why Do Neighbors Fight? Proximity, Interaction, or Territoriality." *Journal of Peace Research*, 32(3): 277-293.

Hensel, Paul R. 2001. "Contentious Issues and World Politics: The Management of Territorial Claims in the Americas, 1816-1992." *International Studies Quarterly*, 45(1): 81-109.

Huth, Paul K. and Todd L. Allee. 2002. "Domestic Political Accountability and the Escalation and Settlement of International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46(6): 754-790.

Senese, Paul D. and John A. Vasquez. 2003. "A Unified Explanation of Territorial Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(2): 275-298.

3) Contentious Issues in World Politics

Diehl, Paul F. 1992. "What are they Fighting for? The Importance of Issues in International Conflict Research." *Journal of Peace Research*, 29(3): 333-344.

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Brandon Prins. 1999. "Beyond Territorial Contiguity: Issues at Stake in Democratic Militarized Disputes." *International Studies Quarterly*, 43(1): 169-183.

Week 15, April 26th: Rivalry

Diehl, Paul F. and Gary Goertz. 2000. *War and Peace in International Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (Chapters 1-4, 6-7)

Thompson, William R. 1995. "Principal Rivalries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39(2): 195-223.

Vasquez, John A. *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pages 51-224 (Chapters 2-6)

Grieg, J. Michael. "Moments of Opportunity: Recognizing Conditions of Ripeness for International Mediation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(6): 691-718.

Week 16, May 3rd: Outcomes and Consequences of War, Research Paper Presentations

Reiter, Dan and Allan C. Stam III. 1998. "Democracy, War Initiation, and Victory." *American Political Science Review*, 92(2): 377-389.

Reed, William and David H. Clark. 2000. "War Initiation and War Winners: The Consequences of Linking Theories of Democratic War Success." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(3): 378-395.

Werner, Suzanne. 1999. "The Precarious Nature of Peace: Resolving the Issues, Enforcing the Settlement, and Renegotiating the Terms." *American Journal of Political Science*, 43(3): 912-934.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Randolph M. Siverson. 1995. "War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability." *American Political Science Review*, 89:841-853.

Organski, A.F.K. and Jacek Kugler. 1977. "The Costs of Major War: The Phoenix Factor." *American Political Science Review*, 71(4): 1347-1366.