

Seminar in International Security

PLSC 40610

Winter 2021

Time: Mon & Weds, 1:50-3:10pm

Room: Virtual

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

Virtual Office Hours: Mon & Weds, 3:15-4:15pm. *Sign up at my website:*

<https://austinmcarson.com/teaching/>

Course description

This course introduces students the literature on international security affairs. One set of topics focus on traditional war-related topics, including the causes of war, alliances, military effectiveness, and civilian victimization in war. A second set of topics focuses on pre-war and short-of-war issues such as coercive threats, arms racing under the security dilemma, the nuclear revolution thesis, and covert uses of force. A third set of topics focuses on ideas, individuals, and institutions, including race and white supremacy, security-related multilateralism, rhetorical coercion, and the relationship between American political development and international security. Each week, our purpose will be to critically assess the strengths and limits of the central arguments of the readings, on their own terms. Written assignments ask students to synthesize and assess assigned material in a critical literature review and mock comprehensive exam. 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!

There is no textbook for this course. Many 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/>. But it is also legal and fair to work with others in the class to share the assigned excerpts. All articles should be available through UChicago library resources.

The one book assigned in its entirety is:

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

Books with assigned chapters:

Bell, Duncan. *Dreamworlds of Race: Empire and the Utopian Destiny of Anglo-America*. Princeton University Press, 2020.

Biddle, Stephen D. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton University Press, 2004.

Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. *Secrets in Global Governance: Disclosure Dilemmas and the Challenge of International Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

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

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

Henke, Marina E. *Constructing Allied Cooperation: Diplomacy, Payments, and Power in Multilateral Military Coalitions*. Cornell University Press, 2019.

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

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

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

Kreps, Sarah. *Taxing Wars: The American Way of War Finance and The Decline of Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Poast, Paul. *Arguing about Alliances: The Art of Agreement in Military-Pact Negotiations*. Cornell University Press, 2019.

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

Sjoberg, Laura. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. Columbia University Press, 2013.

Talmadge, Caitlin. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cornell University Press, 2015.

Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliance*. Cornell University Press, 1990.

Zakaria, Fareed. *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. Princeton University Press, 1999.

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 and having watched the recorded mini-lecture. You should expect to contribute to discussion each week. Beyond typical weekly contributions, each student must also serve as a designated

discussant for one or two sessions. Discussants will not provide rote summaries of the readings. Instead, their primary duty is to prepare extra material to push our understanding of the assigned readings further. Discussants will be able to choose from a set of exercises I will describe in our first meeting. An example is selecting two unassigned readings that you recommend others put on their “to read” list and explaining why. Sign up will be sorted out in Week 1. Note that I take student discomfort with participation in a seminar setting seriously. Please meet with me during office hours if you foresee or are struggling with this part of the course. I will provide an initial participation grade at end of Week 3.

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 analytical creativity. Creativity can come in a few forms. You might creatively arrange existing research into thematic “buckets” in a novel way. You might argue that existing work shares a common assumption, perspective, or analytical lens and briefly describe an alternative one that might foster a new “turn” in the literature. Creativity can also come in the form of noting surprising, underappreciated, or subtle features of individual readings. Avoid a rote, plodding, publication-by-publication summary. Note that the literature review should cover both assigned and supplemental material on the syllabus and may include material not on the syllabus. Each student should get email approval from me for their literature of choice. Papers are due **Friday, February 19th** and should be 12-15 pages (2x-spaced, Times New Roman, 12 pnt).

[OPTION 1] Comp exam essay (50%). Students will respond to one essay prompt modeled on the international security question in the International Relations Ph.D. comprehensive exam. The exam 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 by email and have eight hours to write. The format is open book/note. Essays are only expected to draw on assigned readings on this syllabus. More details will be given in class. “Exam” day is **Thursday, March 18th**. 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%). Students will 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); outline + 5 draft pages swapped with a peer for feedback (Week 8); final paper (end of Friday of finals week). No length minimum or maximum. Note: this assignment is only available to Ph.D. students who have received an A or A- on a mock comp exam in a previous graduate course.

Note-taking and source management tips

Two tips about staying organized and note-taking. 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 consult my notes from grad seminars at Ohio State in 2007-2008! I highly recommend note-taking systems that include both a “trees” perspective (details of individual readings) and a “forest” perspective (big picture sense of a reading or a literature as a whole). Most students naturally tend toward thinking and note-taking that emphasizes on one or the other. For example, take detailed notes as you read; include a section for each reading that summarizes in your own words in five

sentences or fewer; create stand-alone notes documents on different literatures that synthesize those short five-sentence summaries. You should also experiment 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 use Zotero and Bibtex. I recommend both.

Professionalism

Our seminar will be its own term-long community with an intellectual culture we co-create. My goal is for all of us to feel comfortable participating in developing and rigorously testing our ideas. To ensure this, all of us must follow basic norms of respectful intellectual exchange. Be professional in all communications (including emails). Comments in class should be respectful of other students. Avoid a confrontational tone. Practice learning how to respectfully disagree by suggesting a different view rather than forcefully contradicting. Essential to this environment is abstaining from sexual misconduct, which encompass a range of conduct from sexual assault to sexual harassment. These will be treated as violations of the standards of our community and 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](#).

Email policy

Note that in general I may not read or respond to student emails in the evening and on weekends. Do not expect immediate replies.

Late policy and incompletes in the time of covid-19

I normally treat deadlines as strict (“papers/assignments received late will be dropped a full letter grade for each 24 hour period past the deadline”) and discourage students from incompletes (i.e. finishing final course assignments in a subsequent quarter). However, given the challenges from covid-19, distance learning, the 2020 election, police violence (the list goes on)... I will be understanding and accommodating if students need deadline extensions or request an incomplete. Advanced communication, to the extent it is possible, is important for any alterations to deadlines. This is especially true of incompletes (and, relatedly, “pass/fail” arrangements), which must receive my approval before finals week.

Academic integrity

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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Session 0. Background

There is no prerequisite knowledge or coursework for this seminar. You may want to skim my syllabus for Seminar on International Theory to get a sense of how I see the field and what I consider to be essential material for understanding the field as a whole. I do not expect you to have read material from that course, though prior exposure to it may help you. 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 left out 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. Even if you can’t, you should find a recent version of the syllabus for each and – if taking the Ph.D. comprehensive exam – do the required readings.

Session 1. Course Overview

In this first session, we will go over syllabus and take care of some early administrative chores to set up the rest of the term. I will say a bit more about my reasoning for inclusion and exclusion of different topics. I will also give a brief lecture on broad trends in the study of “international security” in IR.

No required readings

Session 2. World War I and the Causes of War

This session introduces some of the most influential ideas about the causes of war. We will unpack these with reference to World War I, an event so ubiquitously referenced in the field that it is something of a running joke. Developing a working knowledge of the key controversies about the origins and escalation of World War I is critical to understanding the field of international security.

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

NOTE: If you have not studied WWI before, you might find it helpful to read an overview.

One is Chapter 1 in Keylor, William R. *The Twentieth-Century World and Beyond: An International History Since 1900*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Required readings

Levy, Jack S. “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 1, 1998, pp. 139-165.

Fearon, James D. Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization*, vol. 49, 1995, p. 379–414

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.

(Optional) Correspondence: Snyder, Jack and Keir A. Lieber. “Defensive Realism and the ‘New’ History of World War I.” *International Security*, Summer 2008.

Other important work

- Levy, Jack S., and William R. Thompson. *Causes of War*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- 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.
- Copeland, Dale C. "International Relations Theory and The Three Great Puzzles of The First World War." Pp. 167-98 in *Levy/Vasquez 2014*.
- 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.
- Vasquez, John, Paul F. Diehl, Colin Flint, and Jurgen Scheffan. "Forum on the Spread of War, 1914-1917: A Dialogue between Political Scientists and Historians." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7, 2 (April 2011).
- 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.

Related but not covered: broader literature on Democratic Peace Theory. See my syllabus for PLSC 40600 Seminar in International Relations Theory.

Related but not covered: broader literature on Economic interdependence and war. See my syllabus for PLSC 40600 Seminar in International Relations Theory.

Session 3. The Security Dilemma

Today we cover in-depth a central concept in the study of international security. The security dilemma is widely referenced in academic and policy debates, including among different versions of Realism. We read the classic articulation of it, a modern conceptual review, an application to today, and a constructivist reinterpretation.

Required readings

- Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2, January 1978, p. 167-186.
- Tang, Shiping. "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," *Security Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2009, p. 587-623.
- 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.
- 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.

Other important work

- 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.
- Snyder, Glenn H. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics," *World Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (1984), pp. 461-495.
- 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.
- Tang, S. (2011). "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict: Toward A Dynamic and Integrative Theory of Ethnic Conflict." *Review of International Studies*, 511-536.
- Acharya, Avidit, and Kristopher W. Ramsay. "The Calculus of The Security Dilemma." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8.2 (2013): 183-203.
- Visser, Esther, and Isabelle Duyvesteyn. "The Irrelevance of The Security Dilemma for Civil Wars." *Civil Wars* 16.1 (2014): 65-85.
- Buchanan, Ben. *The Cybersecurity Dilemma: Hacking, Trust, And Fear Between Nations*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Session 4. Coercion

We turn to how states exert power without going to war including issues of threats and credibility, aka “All Things Schelling.” We will read Schelling himself as well as material that analyzes deterrence using conventional forces, deterrence on behalf of allies, how domestic politics might affect threat credibility, how threats are perceived, and new ways of analyzing which kinds of threats hit home hardest.

NOTE: Important areas of coercion we do not have time to cover include reputation, compellence, and specific domains of coercion like air power (see Pape’s book).

NOTE: We will address the specific case of nuclear deterrence more in the next session.

Required readings [Warning: heavy reading load for this session!]

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

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

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

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

For readings audience cost: see my syllabus for PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations.

Session 5. The Bomb I: The Nuclear Revolution and Nuclear Deterrence

The first of two sessions on nuclear weapons focuses on the nuclear revolution thesis and its foundation, nuclear deterrence and mutually assured destruction. We read Jervis's classic articulation of how nuclear weapons change the international system, some retrospectives, and key entries in a more recent debate about the value of nuclear superiority. The next session focuses on the spread of nuclear weapons.

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.

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.

[Roundtable](#): "The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution 30 Years Later." Read Nina Tannenwald, Charles Glaser. [TNSR](#)

Matthew Kroenig, "Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes," *International Organization*, vol. 67, no.1, Winter 2013, p. 141-171.

[Roundtable](#): Matthew Kroenig, *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy: Why Strategic Superiority Matters*. Read Charles Glaser, Rachel Whitlark.

Other important work

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.

Kroenig, Matthew. *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy: Why Strategic Superiority Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

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.

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

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.

Wohlsetter, A. (1959). "The Delicate Balance of Terror." *Foreign Affairs*, 37(2), 211-34.

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.

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

Session 6. The Bomb II: Nuclear Proliferation and Arms Control

The second session on nuclear weapons focuses on their spread. We analyze the various motives for pursuing nuclear weapons (“demand”) and factors affecting their availability (“supply”). We read a classic debate over the consequences of proliferation. We also read a new analysis of arms control as an entry to the complex issues surrounding cooperative agreements to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

Required readings

- 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.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew. “Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements.” *International Security*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2009, p. 7-41.
- Sagan, Scott, and Kenneth Waltz. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 3rd Edition. New York: WW Norton and Company, 2012. NOTE EDITION. Chapters 1-2.
- Coe, Andrew J., and Jane Vaynman. “Why Arms Control Is So Rare.” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 114, no. 2, 2020, p. 342-355.

Other important work

Nuclear Proliferation

- 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).
- Ruble, Maria Rost. 2009. *Nonproliferation Norms: Why States Choose Nuclear Restraint*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.
- Sagan, Scott D. 2011. “The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation.” *Annual Review of Political Science*. 14(1): 225-244.
- 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).
- 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.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew. 2009. “Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements.” *International Security*. 34(1): 7-41.
- Kroenig, Matthew. 2009. “Exporting the Bomb: Why States Provide Sensitive Nuclear Assistance.” *American Political Science Review*. 103(1): 113-133.
- Kroenig, Matthew. 2010. *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- 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.
- Gheorghie, E. (2019). “Proliferation and the Logic of the Nuclear Market.” *International Security*, 43(4), 88-127.

Arms Control and the NPT

- 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.
- Thayer, B. A. (1995). "The Causes of Nuclear Proliferation and the Nonproliferation Regime." *Security Studies*, 4(3), 463-519.
- 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.
- Becker, U., Müller, H., & Wisotzki, S. (2008). "Democracy and Nuclear Arms Control—Destiny or Ambiguity?" *Security Studies*, 17(4), 810-854.

Session 7. The Bargaining Model and Military Effectiveness

This session covers two distinct literatures. The most influential approach to studying war in the last two decades is the bargaining model. We already read the canonical statement in Session 2 (Fearon's "Rationalist Explanations for War"). Now we read work which fleshes out in detail the informational, commitment, and indivisible territory routes to war. Two final readings address why modern militaries fight effectively or not, including Biddle's influential "modern system" concept.

Required readings [Warning: heavy reading load for this session!]

- Ramsay, Kristopher W. "Information, Uncertainty, and War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 505-27.
- Powell, Robert. "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization* 60/1 (Winter 2006): 169-203.
- Goddard, Stacie. *Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Chapter 1.
- 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.

****Reminder: preliminary participation grades go out****

Other important work

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

Session 8. Bureaucratic and Organizational Approaches

We open up the state in this session. We review scholarship on how security issues are affected by the internal processes of states, which are complex bureaucracies or organizations. This includes classic and newer versions of this basic idea.

Required readings

- Allison, Graham T., and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Rev. ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999. Chapters 5, 6.
- Snyder, Jack. "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984." *International Security* 9.1 (1984): 108-146.
- Horowitz, Michael C. *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2010. Chapter 2.
- Kier, Elizabeth. "Culture and Military Doctrine: France Between the Wars." *International Security* 19.4 (1995): 65-93.

Other important work

Original Allison debate

- 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.

Post-Allison

- Levy, Jack S. "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *International Studies Quarterly*, 30 (June 1986): 193-222.
- Levy, Jack S., and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2010. Chap. 6.
- Snyder, Jack. *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decisionmaking and the Disasters of 1914*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- 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.

Bureaucratic/organizational culture

- Panel, Sophie. "Regime Instability, Leader's Affiliation, and Organizational Culture: Why Are Military Dictatorships More Likely to Initiate Militarized Interstate Disputes? An Empirical Analysis, 1975-2006." *Security Studies*, 26, 2 (2017), 333-358.
- Kier, Elizabeth. *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars*. Princeton University Press, 2017.
- Kier, Elizabeth. "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars." *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 4, Spring 1995, p. 65-93.
- Snyder, Jack. *The Ideology of The Offensive: Military Decision Making and The Disasters Of 1914*. Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Wilcox, Lauren. "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive." *Security Studies* 18.2 (2009): 214-240.

Session 9. Alliances, Coalitions, and Multilateralism in War

Security often involves friends. This week we scratch the surface of the large literature on alliances, coalitions, and multilateralism. We sample a classic treatment of a big question – who allies with whom – from the 1990s. We also split a pair of recent books (including from our own Paul Poast) on other issues in alliances, such as who participates and what form alliances take. Looking beyond formal alliances, we also learn about how states can use multilateral institutions to use force more effectively and the concrete practices within such institutions.

Required readings

- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliance*. Cornell University Press, 1990. Chapter 2.
- Thompson, Alexander. "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the logic of information transmission." *International Organization* (2006): 1-34.
- 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.
- ½ class: Henke, Marina E. *Constructing Allied Cooperation: Diplomacy, Payments, and Power in Multilateral Military Coalitions*. Cornell University Press, 2019.
- ½ class: Poast, Paul. *Arguing about Alliances: The Art of Agreement in Military-pact Negotiations*. Cornell University Press, 2019.

Other important work

Alliances and coalitions

- 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.

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.

Session 10. Psychology of International Security

The psychology of leaders and publics is a growth area in the study of international security. We will sample from a recent special issue on the subject as well as read a classic on the use of analogies in reasoning through war decisions. We will read a critique of the typical emotion vs. rationality duality and read an example of a recently published article showcasing the use of experiments.

NOTE: I am not assigning Jervis's classic treatment in *Perception and Misperception*, but you should put it high on your list of "to read" if you haven't already. If interested in psych & IR area, see Josh Kertzer's excellent [syllabus](#).

Required readings

- 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., 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.

Other important work

- 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
- 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., 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.
- Hyde SD. 2015. "Experiments in International Relations: Lab, Survey, And Field." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 403–24.
- 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.
- Hopf, T. (2010). "The Logic of Habit in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations*, 16(4), 539-561.
- 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.

For readings on leaders in IR: see my syllabus for PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations.

For readings on emotions in IR: see my syllabus for PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations.

For readings on experimental methods in IR: see my syllabus for PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations.

Session 11. Race in International Security

Race and racism have long been ignored by mainstream international security scholarship. This may be changing. (A special issue of *Security Studies* on race and security is in the works right now.) We will read work on the ways in which race shapes material and ideational aspects of international politics. We will learn about the overlooked role of white supremacy and racism in early thinking about the Democratic Peace. We will split among the class two related pieces on the role of race and religion in perceptions of terrorism.

NOTE: Bob Vitalis's book *White World Order, Black Power Politics* is very important for learning about the historical development of the field of IR, the marginalization of early scholars of color who drew attention to colonialism and race, and the role of the University of Chicago in that process. Put it high on your "to read" list.

NOTE: A useful overview is Kelebogile Zvobgo and Meredith Loken, "[Why Race Matters in International Relations](#)," *Foreign Policy*, June 19, 2020.

Required readings

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. Chapter 7.

½ class: 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.

½ class: Meier, Anna A. 2020. "The Idea of Terror: Institutional Reproduction in Government Responses to Political Violence." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(3): 499-509.

Other important work

Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton University Press, 2019.

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.

Lake, David A. "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations." *International Organization* 50, no. 01 (1996): 1–33.

Bell, Duncan. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 20.3 (2014): 647-670.

Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2015. Part II, III, Conclusion.

Pedersen, Susan. "Destined to Disappear." *London Review of Books*, October 20, 2016. [Note: this is a review of Vitalis's book.]

Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Ch. 1, last para p. 76, pp. 77-88, 111-134, Ch. 5.

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.

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.
- 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.
- Kaufmann, Chaim D., and Robert A. Pape. "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade." *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 631–68.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. "Race in the Ontology of International Order." *Political Studies* 56, no. 4 (2008): 907–927.
- Thompson, Debra. "Through, Against and Beyond the Racial State: The Transnational Stratum of Race." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 133–51.
- 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.
- Bachmann, J. (2014). "Policing Africa: The US Military and Visions of Crafting 'Good Order.'" *Security Dialogue*, 45(2), 119–136.
- Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton 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
- Orford, A. (2003). *Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sampson, Aaron. 2002. "Tropical Anarchy: Waltz, Wendt, And the Way We Imagine International Politics." *Alternatives*, 27: 429–457.
- Schrader, S. (2019). *Badges Without Borders: How Global Counterinsurgency Transformed American Policing*. University of California Press.
- Bilgin, P. (2010). "The 'Western-Centrism' Of Security Studies: 'Blind Spot' Or Constitutive Practice? Security" *Dialogue*, 41(6), 615-622.

Session 12. Secret Side of International Security

Secrets are as old as states but have only recently become a research program on their own. We will read scholarship on the role of secrecy in diplomatic bargaining and look at the tradeoffs in concealing or revealing sensitive military capabilities. Other assigned readings have local connections: my coauthored research on the role of secrecy in global governance and O'Rourke's (a UChicago Ph.D.) on U.S. covert regime change.

Required readings

Stasavage, David. "Open-Door or Closed-Door? Transparency in Domestic and International Bargaining." *International Organization* 58, no. 04 (2004): 667–703.

O'Rourke, Lindsey A. "The Strategic Logic of Covert Regime Change: US-Backed Regime Change Campaigns during the Cold War." *Security Studies* 29.1 (2020): 92-127.

Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. *Secrets in Global Governance: Disclosure Dilemmas and the Challenge of International Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. Chapters 1, 6.

Green, Brendan Rittenhouse, and Austin Long. "Conceal or Reveal? Managing Clandestine Military Capabilities in Peacetime Competition." *International Security* 44.3 (2020): 48-83.

(Optional) Correspondence: "Clandestine Capabilities and Technological Diffusion Risks," DM Allison, S Herzog, BR Green, A Long

Reminder: critical literature review due February 19th

Other important work

Rovner, Joshua. *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*. Cornell University Press, 2011.

O'Rourke, Lindsey A. *Covert Regime Change: America's Secret Cold War*. Cornell University Press, 2018.

Green, B. R., & Long, A. (2020). "Conceal or Reveal? Managing Clandestine Military Capabilities in Peacetime Competition." *International Security*, 44(3), 48-83.

McManus, R. W., & Yarhi-Milo, K. (2017). "The Logic Of 'Offstage' Signaling: Domestic Politics, Regime Type, And Major Power-Protégé Relations." *International Organization*, 71(4), 701-733.

Poznansky, M. (2015). "Stasis or Decay? Reconciling Covert War and The Democratic Peace." *International Studies Quarterly*, 59(4), 815-826.

Spaniel, W., & Poznansky, M. (2018). "Credible Commitment in Covert Affairs." *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(3), 668-681.

Carson, Austin. "Facing Off and Saving Face: Covert Intervention and Escalation Management in The Korean War." *International Organization* (2016): 103-131.

Carson, Austin, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret." *Security Studies* 26.1 (2017): 124-156.

Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. "The Spotlight's Harsh Glare: Rethinking Publicity and International Order." *International Organization* 72.3 (2018): 627-657.

Joseph, Michael F., and Michael Poznansky. "Media Technology, Covert Action, And the Politics of Exposure." *Journal of Peace Research* 55.3 (2018): 320-335.

Poznansky, Michael, and Evan Perkoski. "Rethinking Secrecy in Cyberspace: The Politics of Voluntary Attribution." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3.4 (2018): 402-416.

Poznansky, Michael. "Feigning Compliance: Covert Action and International Law." *International Studies Quarterly* 63.1 (2019): 72-84.

Kurizaki, Shuhei. "Efficient Secrecy: Public Versus Private Threats in Crisis Diplomacy." *American Political Science Review* (2007): 543-558.

Bjola, Corneliu, and Stuart Murray. *Secret Diplomacy: Concepts, Contexts and Cases*. Routledge, 2016.

- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "Tying Hands Behind Closed Doors: The Logic and Practice of Secret Reassurance." *Security Studies* 22.3 (2013): 405-435.
- Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20.2 (2011): 141-170.
- Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. "Feigning Weakness." *International Organization* (2010): 357-388.
- Smith, Gregory L. "Secret but Constrained: The Impact of Elite Opposition on Covert Operations." *International Organization* 73.3 (2019): 685-707.
- Carlson, Melissa, and Barbara Koremenos. "Cooperation Failure or Secret Collusion? Absolute Monarchs and Informal Cooperation." *The Review of International Organizations* (2020): 1-41.
- Scott D. Sagan and Jeremi Suri, "The Madman Nuclear Alert: Secrecy, Signaling, and Safety in October 1969," *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 150-83.
- Michael Poznansky, "Stasis or Decay? Reconciling Covert War and the Democratic Peace," *International Studies Quarterly*, March 1, 2015, doi:10.1111/isqu.12193.
- Meirowitz, Adam, and Anne E. Sartori. "Strategic Uncertainty as a Cause of War." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 4 (December 2008): 327-52.
- John M. Schuessler, "The Deception Dividend: FDR's Undeclared War," *International Security* 34, no. 4 (2010): 133-65.
- Dan Reiter, "Democracy, Deception, and Entry into War," *Security Studies* 21, no. 4 (2012): 594-623.
- Alexander B. Downes and Mary Lauren Lilley, "Overt Peace, Covert War?: Covert Intervention and the Democratic Peace," *Security Studies* 19, no. 2 (2010): 266.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Why Leaders Lie: The Truth about Lying in International Politics* (Oxford
- Daniel Y. Kono, "Optimal Obfuscation: Democracy and Trade Policy Transparency," *American Political Science Review* 100, no. 03 (2006): 369-84.
- Bas, Muhammet, and Robert Schub. "Mutual optimism as a cause of conflict: Secret alliances and conflict onset." *International Studies Quarterly* 60.3 (2016): 552-564.

Session 13. Talking Security

Is talk cheap? Conventional wisdom used to be “yes.” A growing cluster of work on the politics of security-related talk (rhetorical coercion, norms, narratives, discourse, and legitimation) explores how power politics and words may be intimately linked. We will read about how rhetorical tactics can yield influence and coercion and how rising powers carefully frame their goals to minimize countermeasures. Other readings address the rise and fall of national security narratives, and the concept of securitization.

Required readings

- 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: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2009): 110-142.
- Krebs, Ronald R. "How Dominant Narratives Rise And Fall: Military Conflict, Politics, And The Cold War Consensus." *International Organization* (2015): 809-845.
- McDonald, Matt. "Securitization and the Construction of Security." *European Journal of International Relations* 14.4 (2008): 563-587.

Other important work

- 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.
- Goddard, Stacie E. "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2009): 110-142.
- 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: See rest of 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.

Related: international norms. See Rochelle Terman's constructivism syllabus and my syllabi for PLSC 40600 Seminar in International Relations Theory and PLSC 40605 Recent Debates in International Relations.

Session 14. Sex, Gender, and International Security

The relationship between security and issues of sex and gender was ignored for much of the Cold War-era international security field. We begin with an introduction to feminist frameworks for analyzing international politics. We then focus on applied scholarship on sexual violence in war; how masculinity and gender stereotypes affect threats and war mobilization; and, how women's suffrage might affect the Democratic Peace thesis.

NOTE: I did not assign Carol Cohn's "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals" but it is an all-time favorite. Highly recommend reading it, especially if you aspire to or have experience in the American foreign policy world.

NOTE: An amazing collection of syllabi on gender, conflict, feminist approaches, and more [is available here](#).

Required readings

Sjoberg, Laura. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. Columbia University Press, 2013. Chapters 2, 5.

Wilcox, Lauren. "Gendering the Cult of the Offensive." *Security Studies* 18.2 (2009): 214-240.

Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107 (August): 461-77

½ class: 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.

½ class: Joslyn N. Barnhart, Robert F. Trager, Elizabeth N. Saunders and Allan Dafoe. "The Suffragist Peace." *International Organization*, 2020.

Other important work

Hudson, Valerie M., Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen. *The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide*. Columbia University Press, 2020.

Reiter, Dan. "The Positivist Study of Gender and International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 7 (2015): 1301-1326.

See reply: Sjoberg, Laura, Kelly Kadera, and Cameron G. Thies. "Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving Beyond Reiter's Dichotomies Toward Effective Synergies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62.4 (2018): 848-870.

Goldstein, Joshua S. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System And Vice Versa*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

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.

Tickner, J. Ann. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. Columbia University Press, 1992.

Sjoberg, Laura. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward A Feminist Theory of War*. Columbia University Press, 2013.

Tickner, J. Ann. "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1997): 611-632.

Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Virginia Sapiro. "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, And War." *American Journal of Political Science* (1993): 1079-1099.

Eichenberg, Richard C. "Gender Differences in Public Attitudes Toward the Use of Force by The United States, 1990–2003." *International Security* 28, no. 1 (2003): 110-141.

Caprioli, Mary. "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49.2 (2005): 161-178.

Caprioli, Mary, and Mark A. Boyer. "Gender, Violence, And International Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45.4 (2001): 503-518.

- Sjoberg, Laura. "Gender, The State, And War Redux: Feminist International Relations Across The 'Levels of Analysis'." *International Relations* 25.1 (2011): 108-134.
- 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.
- Sylvester, Christine. 1994. *Feminist Theory and International Relations Theory in a Postmodern Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sylvester, Christine. 2002. *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sylvester, Christine, ed. 2011. *Feminist International Relations: Critical Concepts in International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Tickner, Ann J. 2005. "What is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions." *International Studies Quarterly* 49:1-21.
- Enloe, Cynthia. 1989. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 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.

Session 15. War Crimes, Civilian Victimization, and Genocide

Who does “security” refer to? States and peoples may experience insecurity very differently. This session focuses on work that puts people at the center, analyzing civilian deaths, genocide and mass killings, and war crimes. We analyze why states and rebel groups target civilians as a strategic choice, how international law and international courts may or may not influence those choices, and how publics react to civilian casualties.

Required readings

- Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* (2004): 375-407.
- Simmons, Beth A., and Allison Danner. "Credible Commitments and The International Criminal Court." *International Organization* (2010): 225-256
- 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.
- 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.

Other important work

- 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.
- RESPONSE: Sagan, Scott D., Valentino, Benjamin A., Carpenter, Charli, and Montgomery, Alexander H. "Does the Noncombatant Immunity Norm Have Stopping Power? A Debate". *International Security* 2020 45:2, 170-186.
- Simmons, Beth A., and Allison Danner. "Credible Commitments and The International Criminal Court." *International Organization* (2010): 225-256.
- Jo, Hyeran, and Beth A. Simmons. "Can the International Criminal Court Deter atrocity?" *International Organization* 70, no. 3 (2016): 443-475.
- 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.

Session 16. American Political Development and International Security

We look at a research interest of mine: international security scholarship that addresses American Political Development, a history-focused subfield of American Politics. We read an older treatment from Realist debates of the 1990s on why the U.S. took so long to become a global role. We also read more recent work on how changes in how the American government finances wars influences the burden they create, how political economy considerations influenced U.S. naval strategy, and the role of political parties U.S. territorial expansion.

Required readings

- Zakaria, Fareed. 1999. *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 1, 3.
- Kreps, Sarah. *Taxing Wars: The American Way of War Finance and the Decline of Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2018. Chapters 2, 6.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. "The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining Debates over the United States Battleship Fleet, 1890–91." *International Organization* 73.2 (2019): 435-468.
- Musgrave, Paul. "International Hegemony Meets Domestic Politics: Why Liberals Can Be Pessimists." *Security Studies* 28.3 (2019): 451-478.

Other important work

- Edling, Max M. *A Hercules in the Cradle: War, Money, and the American State, 1783-1867*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Angevine, Robert. "Mapping the Northern Frontier: Canada and the Origins of the US Army's Military Information Division, 1885–1898." *Intelligence and National Security* 16.3 (2001): 121-145.
- Ericson, David F. "The United States Military, State Development, and Slavery in the Early Republic." *Studies in American Political Development* 31.1 (2017): 130-148.
- Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*, ed. Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter. Princeton University Press (2002).
- Go, Julian. *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Immerwahr, Daniel. *How to Hide an Empire: A Short History of the Greater United States*. Random House, 2019.
- Moore, Colin D. *American Imperialism and the State, 1893-1921*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Mabee, Bryan. "Historical Institutionalism and Foreign Policy Analysis: The Origins of the National Security Council Revisited." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7.1 (2010): 27-44.
- Thorpe, Rebecca U. *The American Warfare State: The Domestic Politics of Military Spending*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Hearden, Patrick J. *Architects of Globalism: Building a New World Order During World War II*. University of Arkansas Press, 2002.
- Sherry, Michael. *Preparing for the Next War: American Plans for Postwar Defense, 1941-45*. Yale University Press, 1977.
- Wertheim, Stephen. "Instrumental Internationalism: The American Origins of the United Nations, 1940–3." *Journal of Contemporary History* 54.2 (2019): 265-283.
- Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Frymer, Paul. *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion*. Princeton University Press, 2017.
- King, Desmond S., and Rogers M. Smith. "Racial Orders in American Political Development." *American political science review* 99.1 (2005): 75-92.
- Zegart, Amy B. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*. Stanford University Press, 2000.

- Howell, William G., Saul P. Jackman, and Jon C. Rogowski. *The Wartime President: Executive Influence and the Nationalizing Politics of Threat*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Howell, William G., and Jon C. Pevehouse. *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*. Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Hinckley, Barbara. *Less than Meets the Eye: Foreign Policy Making and the Myth of the Assertive Congress*. University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Kriner, Douglas L. *After the Rubicon: Congress, Presidents, and the Politics of Waging War*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Polsky, Andrew J. *Elusive Victories: The American Presidency at War*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Mayhew, David R. "Wars and American Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 3.3 (2005): 473-493.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-statism and its Cold War Grand Strategy*. Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Zegart, Amy B. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*. Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Krebs, R.R. "In the Shadow of War: The Effects of Conflict on Liberal Democracy." *International Organization* 63 (1), 177-210.
- Krebs, R.R. *In War's Wake: International Conflict and the Fate of Liberal Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Fordham, Benjamin. 1998. *Building the Cold War Consensus: The Political Economy of US National Security Policy, 1949-51*. University of Michigan Press.
- Trubowitz, Peter. 1998. *Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Trubowitz, Peter. 2011. *Politics and Strategy: Partisan Ambition and American Statecraft*. Princeton University Press

Session 17. 9/11, Counterinsurgency & Terrorism

The terror attacks of 9/11/2001 had a deep impact on the field of security. Work on terrorism, insurgency, and state response to them flourished. We sample from this burst of work. We will read about the impact of 9/11 on the public debate over going to war two years later in Iraq. We read a now-canonical assessment of the strategies of terrorism. We learn about the role of machine-centric militaries in explaining states' inability to suppress insurgencies. We will also read an overview of work analyzing the unique challenge of terrorism for democracies.

NOTE: See syllabi/seminars by colleagues Pape and Staniland for more on these topics.

Required readings

- 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.
- Lyll, 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.

Other important work

- 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.
- 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, Asfandyar. "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.

Session 18. Futures of International Security

Our final session looks to the future. We focus on three issues that will be major parts of international security beyond 2021. One is technology, including drones, artificial intelligence, and cyber warfare. The second is the rise of China and the response by the dominant power of Asia, the United States. The third issue area is global disease crises, including lessons from past pandemics as well as early lessons from covid-19.

Required readings

- Horowitz, Michael C. "Do Emerging Military Technologies Matter for International Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 385-400.
- Beckley, Michael. "Conditional Convergence and the Rise of China: A Political Economy Approach to Understanding Global Power Transitions." *Journal of Global Security Studies* (2020).
- Silove, Nina. "The Pivot Before the Pivot: US Strategy to Preserve the Power Balance in Asia." *International Security* 40.4 (2016): 45-88.
- Fazal, Tanisha M. "Health Diplomacy in Pandemical Times." *International Organization* (2020): 1-20.

****Reminder: mock comp exam will be on March 18th****

Other important work

Technology: Drones, Cyber, and AI

- 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.
- 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.

China

- Beckley, Michael. "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure." *International Security* 36, no. 3 (2012): 41-78.
- RESPONSE: Shifrinson, Joshua R. Itzkowitz, and Michael Beckley. "Debating China's Rise and US Decline." *International Security* 37, no. 3 (2012): 172-181.

- Glaser, Charles L. "A US-China Grand Bargain? The Hard Choice Between Military Competition and Accommodation." *International Security* 39, no. 4 (2015): 49-90.
- Schweller, Randall L., and Xiaoyu Pu. "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in An Era of US Decline." *International Security* 36, no. 1 (2011): 41-72.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. "The Future Of US-China Relations: Is Conflict inevitable?" *International Security* 30, no. 2 (2005): 7-45.
- Cunningham, Fiona S., and M. Taylor Fravel. "Assuring Assured Retaliation: China's Nuclear Posture and US-China Strategic Stability." *International Security* 40.2 (2015): 7-50.

Power Transition Theory & Rising/Declining Great Power

- 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.