

Universität Bremen  
FB 8  
Institut für Politikwissenschaft  
Peter Mayer  
phone: (0421) 218-67483  
e-mail: [prmayer@uni-bremen.de](mailto:prmayer@uni-bremen.de)

Spring 2017

office hours: Thu 14:00-15:00 hrs. & by appointment, InIIS (UNICOM, Haus Wien) 7.2180

BA Political Science Pol-M11

### **Seminar:**

## **War and Peace: Rational and Nonrational Perspectives**

Thu 8-10, GW2 B2900

### **Goals**

The causes of war and the conditions of peace have always been central to international relations (IR) as a field of social-scientific research. The seminar seeks to introduce students to the study of war and peace by looking at scholarly contributions reflecting the variety of approaches and perspectives that have developed over the years. For this purpose, we will discuss classical and more recent work varying *inter alia* in theoretical orientation (realism, liberalism, etc.), level of analysis (individual, state, system), and empirical focus (inter-state war, civil war). Special attention will be paid to the “micro-foundations” of competing accounts of war and peace, where we find rationalist approaches highlighting strategic action and psychological approaches pointing to the significance of non-rational factors such as cognitive biases, small-group dynamics, and emotions in decisions about war and peace. In the final part of the seminar we will move beyond positive analyses of war and peace and discuss normative perspectives on war and other forms of large-scale collective violence.

### **Schedule**

Session	Date	Topic
1	6 April	Introduction
2	13 April	The Study of War: Definitions, Trends, Frameworks
3	20 April	Rational Choice
4	27 April	Power Transition Theory
5	4 May	Democratic Peace
6	11 May	Prospect Theory: Loss Aversion, Framing, and War
7	18 May	War and the Justice Motive
	25 May	<i>Ascension Day</i>

8	1 June	Emotions and War
	8 June	<i>No session</i>
9	15 June	Threat Perception, Inter-group Conflict, and Genocide
10	22 June	Bargaining Theory of Civil War
11	29 June	Terrorism as Strategy
12	1 July (9-13)	Realism, Pacifism, and Just War Theory
13		Non-paradigmatic Applications of Just War Theory: Terrorism and Private Military Companies
14	6 July	Conclusion: Women and Peace

*Note: The extra double session on 1 July (Sat) takes place in room GW2 B3009.*

## Requirements

All participants are expected to read the assigned texts carefully in preparation of the sessions. Participation without reading will not be beneficial.

- 3 CP (MPL): oral presentation (15 minutes) plus written elaboration (5 pages) or small term paper (8-10 pages)
- 6 CP (GPL): term paper (15-20 pages) or oral exam (30 minutes)

Students who wish to obtain 6 CP in this seminar can reduce the expected length of the seminar paper to 12-14 pages by volunteering for an oral presentation (without written elaboration).

Note that the page numbers given above assume that the papers are formatted according to the rules laid down in the Institute of Political Science's "[Study Guide](#)" (sec. 4.1). The expected range of pages includes the bibliography (references) and excludes the cover sheet, the table of contents, and annexes (if applicable).

Students are required to secure the instructor's consent to their topic before they start writing. In other words, I may reject or downgrade a paper the topic of which I had not endorsed.

Papers (including elaborations of presentations) may be written in English or German and must be handed in by 30 September 2017 (both electronically and as a printout). Likewise, oral exams can be taken in English or German.

Students who intend to use the seminar as a proof of sufficient proficiency in English (as required by § 5, sec. 6 of the BA policies [*Prüfungsordnung*]) must hand in their papers or take the oral exam in English.

*Please note that the StudIP course site provides further information on seminar requirements and procedures as well as various other hints you may find useful. To access this information click the tab "Information" at the top of the page. (Note that the tab may be invisible if you access StudIP via its Android app. To solve the problem, access StudIP via the University of Bremen website.)*

## Literature

### Introductions, Overviews, Handbooks, Anthologies, Monographs

Betts, Richard K. (ed.) (2013): *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*. 4th edn. Boston: Pearson.

Diehl, Paul F. (ed.) (2005): *War. Vols 1-6*. London: Sage.

Doyle, Michael W. (1997): *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism*. New York: Norton.

Gat, Azar (2008): *War in Human Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goertz, Gary/Levy, Jack S. (eds.) (2007): *Explaining War and Peace: Case Studies and Necessary Condition Counterfactuals*. London: Routledge.

Jervis, Robert (2004): Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace. In: *American Political Science Review*, 96 (1), 1-14.

Kurtz, Lester R. (ed.) (2008): *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict. 3 Vols*. 2nd edn. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Lake, David A./Rothchild, Donald (eds.) (1998): *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict. Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Levy, Jack S. (2013): Interstate War and Peace. In: Carlsnaes, Walter/Risse, Thomas/Simmons, Beth A. (eds.): *Handbook of International Relations*. 2nd edn. Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 581-606.

Levy, Jack S./Thompson, William R. (2010): *Causes of War*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.) (1989): *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin & Hyman.

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

Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.) (2009): *Handbook of War Studies. Part III: The Intrastate Dimension*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.

Newman, Edward (ed.) (2014): *Routledge Handbook of Civil Wars*. London: Routledge.

Richmond, Oliver P. (2008): *Peace in International Relations*. London: Routledge.

Sambanis, Nicholas/Collier, Paul (eds.) (2005): *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis (2 Vols)*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Thayer, Bradley A. (2004): *Darwin and International Relations: On the Evolutionary Origins of War and Ethnic Conflict*. Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky.

Van Evera, Stephen (1999): *Causes of War: Structures of Power and the Roots of International Conflict*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Vasquez, John A. (ed.) (2000): *What Do We Know About War?* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Vasquez, John A. (ed.) (2012): *What Do We Know About War?* 2nd edn. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Vasquez, John A./Henehan, Marie T. (eds.) (1999): *The Scientific Study of Peace and War: A Text Reader*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Wagner, R. Harrison (2007): *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

## Topics and Readings

6 April

### 1 – Introduction

13 April

### 2 – The Study of War: Definitions, Trends, Frameworks

Required Reading:

Levy, Jack S./Thompson, William R. (2010): *Causes of War*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, ch. 1.

Further Reading:

Holsti, Kalevi J. (1996): *The State, War, and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. (2001): "New" and "Old" Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction? In: *World Politics*, 54 (1), 99-118.

Mueller, John (2009): War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment. In: *Political Science Quarterly*, 124 (2), 297-321.

Sheehan, Michael (2014): The Changing Character of War. In: Baylis, John/Smith, Steve/Owens, Patricia (eds.): *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. 6th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 215-228.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1959): *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

20 April

### 3 – Rational Choice

Required Reading:

Little, Daniel (1991): *Varieties of Social Explanation: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Social Science*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, ch. 3.

Further Reading:

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce (2009): War and Rationality. In: Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.): *Handbook of War Studies. Part III: The Intrastate Dimension*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 3-29.

Fearon, James D. (1995): Rationalist Explanations for War. In: *International Organization*, 49 (3), 379-414.

Kahler, Miles (1998): Rationality in International Relations. In: *International Organization*, 52 (4), 919-941.

Lake, David A./Powell, Robert (eds.) (1999): *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Stein, Arthur A. (1990): *Why Nations Cooperate: Circumstance and Choice in International Relations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

27 April

### 4 – Power Transition Theory

Required Reading:

DiCicco, Jonathan M./Levy, Jack S. (1999): Power Shifts and Problem Shifts: The Evolution of the Power Transition Research Program. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43 (6), 675-704.

Further Reading:

Donnelly, Jack (2000): *Realism and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elman, Colin/Elman, Miriam Fendius (2003): Lessons from Lakatos. In: Elman, Colin/Elman, Miriam Fendius (eds.): *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 21-68.

Gilpin, Robert (1981): *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1988): The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory. In: *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18, 615-628.

4 May

## **5 – Democratic Peace**

Required Reading:

Russett, Bruce/Starr, Harvey (2000): From Democratic Peace to Kantian Peace: Democracy and Conflict in the International System. In: Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.): *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 93-128.

Further Reading:

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

Geis, Anna/Brock, Lothar/Müller, Harald (eds.) (2006): *Democratic Wars: Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ray, James Lee (2003): A Lakatosian View of the Democratic Peace Research Programme. In: Elman, Colin/Elman, Miriam Fendius (eds.): *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 205-243.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas (1995): Democratic Peace - Warlike Democracies? A Social Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Argument. In: *European Journal of International Relations*, 1 (4), 491-517.

Russett, Bruce M./Oneal, John R. (2001): *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York: Norton.

11 May

## **6 – Prospect Theory: Loss Aversion, Framing, and War**

Required Reading:

Levy, Jack S. (2000): Loss Aversion, Framing Effects, and International Conflict: Perspectives from Prospect Theory. In: Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.): *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 193-221.

Further Reading:

Farnham, Barbara (ed.) (1994): *Avoiding Losses/Taking Risks: Prospect Theory and International Conflict*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.

Levy, Jack S. (1997): Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations. In: *International Studies Quarterly*, 41 (1), 87-112.

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

Mercer, Jonathan (2005): Prospect Theory and Political Science. In: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8 (1), 1-21.

Stein, Janice Gross (2013): Psychological Explanations of International Decisionmaking and Collective Behavior. In: Carlsnaes, Walter/Risse, Thomas/Simmons, Beth A. (eds.): *Handbook of International Relations*. 2nd edn. Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 195-219.

18 May

## **7 – War and the Justice Motive**

Required Reading:

Welch, David A. (1993): *Justice and the Genesis of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 1.

Further Reading:

Druckman, Daniel/Albin, Cecilia (2011): Distributive Justice and the Durability of Peace Agreements. In: *Review of International Studies*, 37 (3), 1137-1168.

Hellmann, Gunther (ed.) (2013): *Justice and Peace: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Contested Relationship*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus.

Müller, Harald (2010): *Justice and Peace: Good Things Do Not Always Go Together*. PRIF Working Papers No. 6. Frankfurt a.M.: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

Welch, David A. (2014): The Justice Motive in International Relations: Past, Present, and Future. In: *International Negotiation*, 19 (3), 410-425.

Zartman, I. William (1995): The Role of Justice in Global Security Negotiations. In: *American Behavioral Scientist*, 38 (6), 889-903.

1 June

## **8 – Emotions and War**

Required Reading:

McDermott, Rose (2009): Emotions and War: An Evolutionary Model of Motivation. In: Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.): *Handbook of War Studies. Part III: The Intrastate Dimension*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 30-59.

## Further Reading:

Crawford, Neta C. (2000): The Passion of World Politics: Propositions on Emotion and Emotional Relationships. In: *International Security*, 24 (4), 116-156.

Fattah, Khaled/Fierke, Karin M. (2009): A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East. In: *European Journal of International Relations*, 15 (1), 67-93.

Hall, Todd H. (2011): We Will not Swallow this Bitter Fruit: Theorizing a Diplomacy of Anger. In: *Security Studies*, 20 (4), 521-555.

Mercer, Jonathan (2006): Human Nature and the First Image: Emotion in International Politics. In: *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 9 (3), 288-303.

Sasley, Brent E. (2011): Theorizing States' Emotions. In: *International Studies Review*, 13 (3), 452-476.

15 June

## 9 – Threat Perception, Inter-group Conflict, and Genocide

## Required Reading:

McDoom, Omar Shahabudin (2012): The Psychology of Threat in Intergroup Conflict: Emotions, Rationality, and Opportunity in the Rwandan Genocide. In: *International Security*, 37 (2), 119-155.

## Further Reading:

De Figueiredo Jr, Rui J.P./Weingast, Barry R. (1999): The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict. In: Walter, Barbara F./Snyder, Jack (eds.): *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*. New York: Columbia University Press, 261-302.

Hardin, Russell (1995): *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mackie, Diane M./Smith, Eliot R./Ray, Devin G. (2008): Intergroup Emotions and Intergroup Relations. In: *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2 (5), 1866-1880.

Midlarsky, Manus I. (2005): *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vinjamuri, Leslie/Snyder, Jack (2004): Advocacy and Scholarship in the Study of International War Crime Tribunals and Transitional Justice. In: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7 (1), 345-362.



22 June

## 10 – Bargaining Theory of Civil War

Required Reading:

Walter, Barbara F. (2009): Bargaining Failures and Civil War. In: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12 (1), 243-261.

Further Reading:

Blattman, Christopher/Miguel, Edward (2010): Civil War. In: *Journal of Economic Literature*, 48 (1), 3-57.

Collier, Paul/Hoeffler, Anke (2007): Civil War. In: Sandler, Todd/Hartley, Keith (eds.): *Handbook of Defense Economics. Vol 2: Defense in a Globalized World*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 711-737.

Dolan, Thomas M. (2015): Demanding the Impossible: War, Bargaining, and Honor. In: *Security Studies*, 24 (3), 528-562.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. (2007): Civil Wars. In: Boix, Carles/Stokes, Susan C. (eds.): *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 416-434.

Powell, Robert (2006): War as a Commitment Problem. In: *International Organization*, 60 (01), 169-203.

29 June

## 11 – Terrorism as Strategy

Required Reading:

Kydd, Andrew H./Walter, Barbara F. (2006): The Strategies of Terrorism. In: *International Security*, 31 (1), 49-80.

Further Reading:

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan (2013): Terrorism and Counterterrorism. In: Carlsnaes, Walter/Risse, Thomas/Simmons, Beth A. (eds.): *Handbook of International Relations*. 2nd edn. Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 635-655.

Byman, Daniel L. (2016): Understanding the Islamic State: A Review Essay. In: *International Security*, 40 (4), 127-165.

Horowitz, Michael C. (2015): The Rise and Spread of Suicide Bombing. In: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18 (1), 69-84.

Pape, Robert A. (2003): The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. In: *American Political Science Review*, 97 (3), 343-361.

Thayer, Bradley A./Hudson, Valerie M. (2010): Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism. In: *International Security*, 34 (4), 37-62.

1 July (9-13)

## **12 – Realism, Pacifism, and Just War Theory**

Required Reading:

Fotion, Nicholas (2000): Reactions to War: Pacifism, Realism, and Just War Theory. In: Valls, Andrew (ed.): *Ethics in International Relations: Theories and Cases*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 15-32.

Further Reading:

Holmes, Robert L. (1989): *On War and Morality*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, ch. 6.

Mapel, David R. (1996): Realism and the Ethics of War and Peace. In: Nardin, Terry (ed.): *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 54-77.

Nagel, Thomas (1985): War and Massacre. In: Beitz, Charles R./Cohen, Marshall/Scanlon, Thomas/Simmons, A. John (eds.): *International Ethics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 53-74.

Orend, Brian (2005): War. In: Zalta, Edward N. (ed.): *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2005 Edition). (<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2005/entries/war/>)

Reichberg, Gregory M./Syse, Henrik/Begby, Endre (eds.) (2006): *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. Malden, Ma: Blackwell.

## **13 – Non-paradigmatic Applications of Just War Theory: Terrorism and Private Military Companies**

Required Reading:

Walzer, Michael (2006): Terrorism and Just War. In: *Philosophia*, 34 (1), 3-12.

Pattison, James (2008): Just War Theory and the Privatization of Military Force. In: *Ethics & International Affairs*, 22 (2), 143-162.

Further Reading:

Allhoff, Fritz/Evans, Nicholas G./Henschke, Adam (eds.) (2013): *Routledge Handbook of Ethics and War: Just War Theory in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Routledge.

Heinze, Eric/Steele, Brent J. (eds.) (2009): *Ethics, Authority, and War: Non-state Actors and the Just War Tradition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pattison, James (2012): The Legitimacy of the Military, Private Military and Security Companies, and Just War Theory. In: *European Journal of Political Theory*, 11 (2), 131-154.

Rodin, David (2006): The Ethics of War: State of the Art. In: *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 23 (3), 241-246.

Walzer, Michael (2004): *Arguing about War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

6 July

## **14 – Conclusion: Women and Peace**

Required Reading:

Hudson, Valerie M./Caprioli, Mary/Ballif-Spanvill, Bonnie/McDermott, Rose/Emmett, Chad F. (2009): The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States. In: *International Security*, 33 (3), 7-45.

Further Reading:

Elshtain, Jean Bethke (1995): *Women and War: With a New Epilogue*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gat, Azar (2009): So Why Do People Fight? Evolutionary Theory and the Causes of War. In: *European Journal of International Relations*, 15 (4), 571-599.

Goldstein, Joshua S. (2006): *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hudson, Valerie M./Ballif-Spanvill, Bonnie/Capriolo, Mary/Emmett, Chad F. (2012): *Sex and World Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sjoberg, Laura/Gentry, Caron E. (eds.) (2011): *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.