

## Seminar on International Security

Boston College  
POLI 4598  
Fall 2024

**Professor:** Joshua Byun

**Time:** Thursday, 9:00-11:30 AM

**Room:** McGuinn 226A

**Office Hours:** Thursdays, 1:00-3:00 PM, Carney 222

**Course Description:** This seminar provides a graduate-level survey of the scholarly literature on International Relations (IR) theory and international security. We will delve into both canonical and cutting-edge works in security studies, addressing debates on critical topics such as the balance of power, conventional and nuclear deterrence, military effectiveness, and crisis diplomacy. The core aim is for students to acquire the substantive and methodological foundations necessary to develop ideas for independent research on international security affairs.

**Course Requirements:** *This is a reading/writing-intensive seminar, primarily designed for graduate students in the Department of Political Science and advanced undergraduates.* Every student is expected to do all assigned readings, attend every class, and actively participate in the seminar discussions. The final grade will be based on classroom participation (33%) and two written assignments (33% each).

The written assignments consist of essays that review scholarly works assigned on a week of the student's choice. Each essay will engage closely with one week's topic by summarizing and comparatively evaluating that week's readings and, based on this investigation, propose ideas for future research. The essays may be up to 10 pages long (double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12 pt.). The first essay will be due in class on Week 9 and the second essay on Finals Week.

As an alternative to two review essays, students may—with the instructor's consent—write a full research paper (67% of grade) on a subject covered in the course. The length of the research paper may be anywhere between 20 to 35 pages (double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12 pt.). This option may be appropriate for graduate students, as well as undergraduates planning to pursue graduate studies in International Relations. The research paper will be due during finals week. *All essays should be submitted as hard copies.*

**Required Readings:** The following books are assigned in their entirety, or close to it. I recommend purchasing them through the Boston College Bookstore.

- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, Updated Edition (2001; repr., New York: W.W. Norton, 2014).

- Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015).

I will provide PDFs when discrete book chapters or unpublished manuscripts are assigned. All remaining material should be available through the Boston College library resources.

**Discussion:** In each session, our central objective will be to thoroughly understand each reading and critically examine its argument and evidence. At minimum, students should come to class ready to share their views on the following questions:

- What is the research question or puzzle of each reading?
- What is the central argument?
- What kind of evidence is presented in support of this argument? Is it convincing?
- What are the major competing arguments? Is the author's research design able to properly adjudicate between these and the central argument?

**A Note on Content:** Students writing review essays are encouraged to engage with both the “required readings” and “additional readings” listed for the topic in question. Otherwise, additional readings are provided for the student’s edification only; I do not expect you to have read these before coming to class, unlike the required readings.

In addition to this seminar, students are encouraged to explore courses such as “Introduction to International Politics (POLI108101),” “Seminar: Institutions in International Politics (POLI356301),” and “International Political Economy (POLI780201)” to develop a broad-based understanding of the study of International Relations.

**Email Policy:** I may not read or respond to student emails in the evenings or on weekends. Do not expect immediate replies.

**Late Policy and Incompletes:** All deadlines are strict. Papers/assignments received late will be dropped a full letter grade for each 24 hours past the deadline.

**Academic Integrity:** Any form of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with, and following, [university policies](#) on this matter. Being found guilty of academic dishonesty is a serious offense and may result in a failing grade for the assignment in question, and possibly for the entire course.

**Disability Accommodations:** If you feel you may need accommodation based on the impact of a disability, please contact me privately to discuss your specific needs after obtaining requisite documentation from the BC Disability Services Office ([disabsrv@bc.edu](mailto:disabsrv@bc.edu)).

### **Course Outline:**

#### **Session 1 (Thursday, August 29). Introduction: The Centrality of Theory in Security Studies**

##### *Required Readings:*

- Robert H. Bates, “From Case Studies to Social Science: A Strategy for Political Research,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. Charles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 173-185.
- Kieran Healy, “Fuck Nuance,” *Sociological Theory* 35, no. 2 (2017): 118-127.

**Session 2 (Thursday, September 5). NO IN-PERSON MEETING DUE TO AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA) ANNUAL CONFERENCE—Think about review essay/research paper topic and discuss during office hours on September 12.**

#### **Session 3 (Thursday, September 12). Causal Inference in Security Studies**

##### *Required Readings:*

- Barbara Geddes, *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2003), ch. 3.
- Matthew A. Kocher and Nuno P. Monteiro, “Lines of Demarcation: Causation, Design-based Inference, and Historical Research,” *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 952-975.
- Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), chs. 1; 8-10.
- Aaron Rapport, “Hard Thinking about Hard and Easy Cases in Security Studies,” *Security Studies* 24, no. 3 (2015): 431-465.

##### *Additional Readings:*

- Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), entire book.
- Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Harry Eckstein, “Case Studies and Theory in Political Science,” in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, vol. 7 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975), 79-138.
- Paul W. Holland, “Statistics and Causal Inference,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 81, no. 396 (December 1986): 945-960.
- James D. Fearon, “Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science,” *World Politics* 43, no. 2 (January 1991): 169-195.
- Jack S. Levy, “Counterfactuals, Causal Inference, and Historical Analysis,” *Security Studies* 24, no. 3 (2015): 378-402.
- Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green, and Edward H. Kaplan, “The Illusion of Learning from Observational Research,” in *Field Experiments and their Critics: Essays on the Uses and Abuses of Experimentation in the Social Sciences*, ed. Dawn Langan Teele (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), ch. 1.
- Susan C. Stokes, “A Defense of Observational Research,” in *Field Experiments and their Critics: Essays on the Uses and Abuses of Experimentation in the Social Sciences*, ed. Dawn Langan Teele (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), ch. 2.
- Peter Hedström and Richard Swedberg, eds., *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Dan Slater and Daniel Ziblatt, “The Enduring Indispensability of the Controlled Comparison,” *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 10 (October 2013): 1301-1327.
- Andrew Bennett, “Process Tracing: A Bayesian Perspective,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, eds. Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), ch. 30.
- John Gerring, “What is a Case Study and What is it Good For?” *American Political Science Review* 98, no. 2 (May 2004): 341-354.
- Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).
- Marc Trachtenberg, *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006).

- Christopher Darnton, “Archives and Inference: Documentary Evidence in Case Study Research and the Debate over U.S. Entry into World War II,” *International Security* 42, no. 3 (Winter 2017/2018): 84-126.

**Session 4 (Thursday, September 19). Anarchy and the Sources of Security Competition I: Balancing and its Implications**

*Required Readings:*

- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, Updated Edition (2001; repr., New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), chs. 1-6.
- Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), chs. 1-4.
- Scott D. Sagan, “The Origins of the Pacific War,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 893-922.

*Additional Readings:*

- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979).
- Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- Charles L. Glaser, “Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help,” *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994-1995): 50-90.
- Glenn H. Snyder, “Mearsheimer’s World—Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Power,” *International Security* 27, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 149-173.
- Randall L. Schweller, “Neorealism’s Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?” *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 90-121.
- Joseph M. Parent and Sebastian Rosato, “Balancing in Neorealism,” *International Security* 40, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 51-86.
- Fotini Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Joanne Gowa and Kristopher W. Ramsay, “Gulliver Untied: Entry Deterrence Under Unipolarity,” *International Organization* 71, no. 3 (Summer 2017): 459-490.
- Timothy W. Crawford, *The Power to Divide: Wedge Strategies in Great Power Competition* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2021).

- Adam P. Liff, “Whither the Balancers? The Case for a Methodological Reset,” *Security Studies* 25, no. 3 (2016): 420-459.
- Marc Trachtenberg, “The Question of Realism: An Historian’s View,” *Security Studies* 13, no. 1 (2003): 156-194.
- Nicholas D. Anderson, “Push and Pull on the Periphery: Inadvertent Expansion in World Politics,” *International Security* 47, no. 3 (Winter 2022/2023): 136-173.

**Session 5 (Thursday, September 26). Anarchy and the Sources of Security Competition II: The Role of Technology**

*Required Readings:*

- Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January 1978): 167-214.
- Stephen Van Evera, “The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War,” *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 58-107.
- Keir A. Lieber, “Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security,” *International Security* 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 71-104.
- Caitlin Talmadge, “Emerging Technology and Intra-war Escalation Risks: Evidence from the Cold War, Implications for Today,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 6 (2019): 864-887.

*Additional Readings:*

- Stephen van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999).
- Jack Snyder, “Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984,” *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 108-146.
- Charles L. Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, “What is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?” *International Security* 22, no. 4 (Spring 1998): 44-82.
- Keir A. Lieber, *War and the Engineers: The Primacy of Politics over Technology* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005).
- Keir A. Lieber, “The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory,” *International Security* 32, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 155-191.
- Jonathan Shimshoni, “Technology, Military Advantage, and World War I: A Case for Military Entrepreneurship,” *International Security* 15, no. 3 (Winter 1990/1991): 187-215.

- Charles L. Glaser, “When are Arms Races Dangerous? Rational versus Suboptimal Arming,” *International Security* 28, no. 4 (Spring 2004): 44-84.
- Samuel Zilincik, “Technology is Awesome, but So What?! Exploring the Relevance of Technologically Inspired Awe to the Construction of Military Theories,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 45, no. 1 (2022): 5-32.
- Michael Horowitz, Sarah Kreps, and Matthew Fuhrmann, “Separating Fact from Fiction in the Debate over Drone Proliferation,” *International Security* 41, no. 2 (Fall 2016): 7-42.
- Lennart Maschmeyer, “The Subversive Trilemma: Why Cyber Operations Fall Short of Expectations,” *International Security* 46, no. 2 (Fall 2021): 51-90.
- Erik Gartzke, “The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth,” *International Security* 38, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 41-73.
- Avi Goldfarb and Jon R. Lindsay, “Prediction and Judgment: Why Artificial Intelligence Increases the Importance of Humans in War,” *International Security* 46, no. 3 (Winter 2021/2022): 7-50.
- Neil C. Renic, “Superweapons and the Myth of Technological Peace,” *European Journal of International Relations* 29, no. 1 (March 2022): 129-152.

## Session 6 (Thursday, October 3). The Workhorse Model of War

### Required Readings:

- James D. Fearon, “Rationalist Explanations for War,” *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 379-414.
- Nuno P. Monteiro, “Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is Not Peaceful,” *International Security* 36, no. 3 (Winter 2011/12): 9-40.
- Daniel Chardell, “The Origins of the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait Reconsidered,” *Texas National Security Review* 6, no. 3 (Summer 2023): 52-78.
- Elizabeth A. Stanley, “Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in Overcoming Obstacles to Peace,” *International Security* 34, no. 1 (Summer 2009): 42-82.

### Additional Readings:

- Erik Gartzke, “War is in the Error Term,” *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 567-587.
- Robert Powell, “War as a Commitment Problem,” *International Organization* 60, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 169-203.

- Darren Filson and Suzanne Werner, “A Bargaining Model of War and Peace: Anticipating the Onset, Duration, and Outcome of War,” *American Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 4 (October 2002): 819-837.
- Dan Reiter, “Exploring the Bargaining Model of War,” *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (March 2003): 27-43.
- Alex Weisiger, *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2013).
- Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001).
- Stephen M. Walt, “Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies,” *International Security* 23, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 5-48.
- Ron E. Hassner, *War on Sacred Grounds* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2013).
- H.E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- David Lindsey, “Mutual Optimism and Costly Conflict: The Case of Naval Battles in the Age of Sail,” *Journal of Politics* 81, no. 4 (October 2019): 1181-1196.
- David A. Lake, “Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War,” *International Security* 35, no. 3 (Winter 2010/11): 7-52.
- Stephen M. Walt, “Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies,” *International Security* 23, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 5-48.
- Jonathan Kirshner, “Rationalist Explanations for War?” *Security Studies* 10, no. 1 (2000): 143-150.
- Barbara F. Walter, “Bargaining Failures and Civil War,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (2009): 243-261.
- Bear F. Braumoeller, *Only the Dead: The Persistence of War in the Modern Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- Joslyn Barnhart, “Humiliation and Third-Party Aggression,” *World Politics* 69, no. 3 (July 2017): 532-568.
- Ahsan I. Butt, “Why did the United States Invade Iraq in 2003?” *Security Studies* 28, no. 2 (2019): 250-285.

## Session 7 (Thursday, October 10). Regime Type, Economics, and War

### Required Readings:

- Rachel M. Stein, “War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies.” *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 3 (August 2015): 556-573.
- Patrick J. McDonald, “Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace,” *International Organization* 69, no. 3 (Summer 2015): 557-588.
- Brian C. Rathbun, Christopher Sebastian Parker, and Caleb Pomeroy, “Separate but Unequal: Ethnocentrism and Racialization Explain the ‘Democratic’ Peace in Public Opinion,” *American Political Science Review* (2024)
- Mariya Grinberg, “Wartime Commercial Policy and Trade between Enemies,” *International Security* 46, no. 1 (Summer 2021): 9-52.
- Jonathan N. Markowitz, Suzie Mulesky, and Benjamin A.T. Graham, “Productive Pacifists: The Rise of Production-Oriented States and Decline of Profit-Motivated Conquest,” *International Studies Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (September 2020): 558-572.

### Additional Readings:

- Susan D. Hyde and Elizabeth N. Saunders, “Recapturing Regime Type in International Relations: Leaders, Institutions, and Agency Space,” *International Organization* 74, no. 2 (Spring 2020): 363-395.
- Bruce Russett and John R. Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).
- Michael W. Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (1986): 1151-1169.
- Joanne Gowa, *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace* (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Kosuke Imai and James Lo, “Robustness of Empirical Evidence for the Democratic Peace: A Nonparametric Sensitivity Analysis,” *International Organization* 75, no. 3 (Summer 2021): 901-919.
- Sebastian Rosato, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory.” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (2003): 585-602.
- Erik Gartzke, “The Capitalist Peace,” *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (January 2007): 166-191.

- John M. Schuessler, “The Deception Dividend: FDR’s Undeclared War,” *International Security* 34, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 133-165.
- Allan Dafoe, “Statistical Critiques of the Democratic Peace: Caveat Emptor?” *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (April 2011): 247-262.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Democratization and the Danger of War,” *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 5-38.
- Vipin Narang and Rebecca M. Nelson, “Who are these Belligerent Democratizers? Reassessing the Impact of Democratization on War,” *International Organization* 63, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 357-379.
- Paul Poast, “Central Banks at War,” *International Organization* 69, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 63-95.
- David M. Rowe, “The Tragedy of Liberalism: How Globalization Caused the First World War,” *Security Studies* 14, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 407-447.
- Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu, “Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence,” *International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 115-150.
- Nuno P. Monteiro and Alexandre Debs, “An Economic Theory of War,” *Journal of Politics* 82, no. 1 (2019): 255-268.
- Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015).

## Session 8 (Thursday, October 17). Nationalism, Norms, and War

### Required Readings:

- Jiyoung Ko, *Popular Nationalism and War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), Introduction and chs. 1-4.
- Soyoung Lee, “Domestic Distributional Roots of National Interest,” *American Political Science Review* (2023).
- Tanisha M. Fazal, “State Death in the International System,” *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 311-344.
- Dan Altman, “The Evolution of Territorial Conquest after 1945 and the Limits of the Territorial Integrity Norm,” *International Organization* 74, no. 3 (Summer 2020): 490-522.

*Additional Readings:*

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, eds. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), Book 8, chs. 1-3; 6.
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983).
- Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).
- Barry R. Posen, “Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power,” *International Security* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 80-124.
- Stephen van Evera, “Hypotheses on Nationalism and War,” *International Security* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1994): 5-39.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, T. Camber Warren, and Didier Sornette, “Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War,” *International Organization* 65, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 605-638.
- Harris Mylonas and Maya Tudor, “Nationalism: What We Know and What We Still Need to Know,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021): 109-132.
- Harris Mylonas and Kendrick Kuo, “Nationalism and Foreign Policy,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis*, ed. Cameron G. Thies (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 223-242.
- Matthew Adam Kocher, Adria K. Lawrence, and Nuno P. Monteiro, “Nationalism, Collaboration, and Resistance: France under Nazi Occupation,” *International Security* 43, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 117-150.
- Andrew D. Bertoli, “Nationalism and Conflict: Lessons from International Sports,” *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (December 2017): 835-849.
- Alexander de Juan et al., “War and Nationalism: How WWI Battle Deaths Fueled Civilians’ Support for the Nazi Party,” *American Political Science Review* (2023): 1-19.
- Adam B. Lerner, “The Uses and Abuses of Victimhood Nationalism in International Politics,” *European Journal of International Relations* 25, no. 1 (2020): 62-87.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2019).

- Jonathan Monten, “The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy,” *International Security* 29, no. 4 (Spring 2005): 112-156.
- John D. Ciorciari and Jessica Chen Weiss, “Nationalist Protests, Government Responses, and the Risk of Escalation in International Disputes,” *Security Studies* 25, no. 3 (2016): 546-583.
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity,” *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 845-877.
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004).
- Tanisha M. Fazal, *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- Tanisha M. Fazal, *Wars of Law: Unintended Consequences in the Regulation of Armed Conflict* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2020).

### **Session 9 (Thursday, October 24). Deterrence (1<sup>ST</sup> REVIEW ESSAY DUE)**

#### *Required Readings:*

- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981), chs. 1-4.
- Michael Beckley, “The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia: How China’s Neighbors can Check Chinese Naval Expansion,” *International Security* 42, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 78-119.
- Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro, “Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War,” *International Organization* 68, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 1-31.
- Jan Ludvik, “Closing the Window of Vulnerability: Nuclear Proliferation and Conventional Retaliation,” *Security Studies* 28, no. 1 (2019): 87-115.

#### *Additional Readings:*

- Richard K. Betts, “Conventional Deterrence: Predictive Uncertainty and Policy Confidence,” *World Politics* 37, no. 2 (January 1985): 153-179.
- Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).
- Ahmer Tarar, “A Strategic Logic of the Military Fait Accompli,” *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (December 2016): 742-752.

- Dan Altman, “By Fait Accompli, Not Coercion: How States Wrest Territory from Their Adversaries,” *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (December 2017): 881-891.
- Eric Heginbotham and Richard J. Samuels, “Active Denial: Redesigning Japan’s Response to China’s Military Challenge,” *International Security* 42, no. 4 (Spring 2018): 128-169.
- Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich, “Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese Antiaccess/Area Denial, U.S. AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia,” *International Security* 41, no. 1 (Summer 2016): 7-48.
- Dong Sun Lee, “U.S. Preventive War against North Korea,” *Asian Security* 2, no. 1 (2006): 1-23.
- William Burr and Jeffrey T. Richelson, “Whether to ‘Strangle the Baby in the Cradle’: The United States and the Chinese Nuclear Program, 1960-64,” *International Security* 25, no. 3 (Winter 2000/2001): 54-91.
- Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark, *All Options on the Table: Leaders, Preventive War, and Nuclear Proliferation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2021).
- Rachel Tecott Metz and Andrew Halterman, “The Case for Campaign Analysis: A Method for Studying Military Operations,” *International Security* 45, no. 4 (Spring 2021): 44-83.

## Session 10 (Thursday, October 31). Coercion

### Required Readings:

- Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), chs. 1-4; 7; 9.
- Daryl Press, “The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare,” *International Security* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 5-44.
- Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, *Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), chs. 1-3; 6.

### Additional Readings:

- Robert A. Pape, “Why Economic Sanctions do Not Work,” *International Security* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 90-136.
- Michael Horowitz and Dan Reiter, “When does Aerial Bombing Work? Quantitative Empirical Tests, 1917-1999,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no 2 (April 2004): 147-173.

- Phil Haun and Colin Jackson, “Breaker of Armies: Air Power in the Easter Offensive and the Myth of Linebacker I and II in the Vietnam War,” *International Security* 40, no. 3 (Winter 2015/16): 139-178.
- Daniel R. Lake, “The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO’s ‘Victory’ in Kosovo Revisited,” *International Security* 34, no. 1 (Summer 2009): 83-112.
- Matthew Kroenig, “Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes,” *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 141-171.
- Kelly M. Greenhill and Peter Krause, *Coercion: The Power to Hurt in International Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Nicholas L. Miller, “The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions,” *International Organization* 68, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 913-944.
- Jenna Jordan, “When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation,” *Security Studies* 18, no. 4 (2009): 719-755.
- Lisa Langdon Koch, “Frustration and Delay: The Secondary Effects of Supply-Side Proliferation Controls,” *Security Studies* 28, no. 4 (2019): 773-806.

### **Session 11 (Thursday, November 7). Crisis Diplomacy**

#### *Required Readings:*

- James D. Fearon, “Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes,” *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 577-592.
- Jessica Chen Weiss, “Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China,” *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (January 2013): 1-35.
- Daryl G. Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), Introduction and chs. 1-2; 5.
- Alex Weisiger and Keren Yarhi-Milo, “Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Politics,” *International Organization* 69, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 473-495.

#### *Additional Readings:*

- James D. Fearon, “Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, no. 1 (1997): 68-90.
- Kai Quek, “Four Costly Signaling Mechanisms,” *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 2 (2021): 537-549.

- Jack Snyder and Erica D. Borghard, “The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound,” *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (August 2011): 437-456.
- Marc Trachtenberg, “Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis,” *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 3-42.
- Kenneth A. Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Alexander B. Downes and Todd S. Sechser, “The Illusion of Democratic Credibility,” *International Organization* 66, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 457-489.
- Jessica L. Weeks, “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve,” *International Organization* 62, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 35-64.
- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China’s Foreign Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966), ch. 3.
- Jonathan Mercer, *Reputation and International Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Christopher Layne, “Security Studies and the Use of History: Neville Chamberlain’s Grand Strategy Revisited,” *Security Studies* 17, no. 3 (2008): 397-437.
- Joshua D. Kertzer, Jonathan Renshon, and Keren Yarhi-Milo, “How Do Observers Assess Resolve?” *British Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (January 2021): 308-330.
- Alex Weisiger and Keren Yarhi-Milo, “Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Politics,” *International Organization* 69, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 473-495.
- Danielle L. Lupton, *Reputation for Resolve: How Leaders Signal Determination in International Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2020).
- D.G. Kim, Joshua Byun, and Jiyoung Ko, “Remember Kabul? Reputation, Strategic Contexts, and American Credibility after the Afghanistan Withdrawal” *Contemporary Security Policy* 45, no. 2 (2024): 265-297.

## Session 12 (Thursday, November 14). Military Effectiveness

### Required Readings:

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), chs. 1-4; 7; 10.

- Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015), Introduction, chs. 1-3, and Conclusion.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson III, “Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars,” *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (January 2009): 67-106.

*Additional Readings:*

- E.A. Shils and Morris Janowitz, “Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1948): 280-315.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 2002).
- Michael C. Desch, *Power and Military Effectiveness: The Fallacy of Democratic Triumphalism* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
- Stephen Biddle, “Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us about the Future of Conflict,” *International Security* 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 139-179.
- Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long, “Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 4 (August 2004): 525-546.
- Ryan Grauer and Michael C. Horowitz, “What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System,” *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 83-112.
- Matthew Cancian, “The Impact of Modern-System Training on Battlefield Participation by Kurdish Soldiers,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66, no. 7-8 (2022): 1449-1480.
- Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley, eds., *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007).
- Anthony King, *The Combat Soldier: Infantry Tactics and Cohesion in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- Jason Lyall, *Divided Armies: Inequality and Battlefield Performance in Modern War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2020).
- Jasen J. Castillo, *Endurance and War: The National Sources of Military Cohesion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).
- Andrew J. Bacevich, *Breach of Trust: How Americans Failed Their Soldiers and Their Country* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013).

**Session 13 (Thursday, November 21). The Nuclear Revolution (?)**

*Required Readings:*

- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), ch. 1-3.
- Austin Long and Brendan Rittenhouse Green, “Stalking the Secure Second Strike: Intelligence, Counterforce, and Nuclear Strategy,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, nos. 1-2 (2015): 38-73.
- Alexandre Debs, “On Nuclear Superiority and National Security,” Yale University Working Paper, May 25, 2024.

*Additional Readings:*

- Robert Jervis, *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- Kenneth N. Waltz, “Nuclear Myths and Political Realities,” *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 3 (September 1990): 730-745.
- Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, “Should the United States Reject MAD? Damage Limitation and U.S. Nuclear Strategy toward China,” *International Security* 41, no. 1 (Summer 2016): 49-98.
- Robert Powell, “Nuclear Deterrence Theory, Nuclear Proliferation, and National Missile Defense,” *International Security* 27, no. 4 (Spring 2003): 86-118.
- Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: China, Britain, France, and the Enduring Legacy of the Nuclear Revolution* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000).
- Vipin Narang, *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014).
- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, *The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution: Power Politics in the Nuclear Age* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2020).
- Brendan Rittenhouse Green, *The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control, and the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- Brendan R. Green and Austin Long, “The MAD Who Wasn’t There: Soviet Reactions to the Late Cold War Nuclear Balance,” *Security Studies* 26, no. 4 (2017): 606-641.
- Austin Long and Brendan Rittenhouse Green, “Stalking the Secure Second Strike: Intelligence, Counterforce, and Nuclear Strategy,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, nos. 1-2 (2015): 38-73.

- H-Diplo Roundtable XXIII-11 on Brendan Rittenhouse Green, *The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control, and the Cold War*. Available at <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/8889698/h-diplo-roundtable-xxiii-11-rittenhouse-green%C2%A0-revolution-failed>.
- Campbell Craig and S.M. Amadae, “Book Review: *The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution: Power Politics in the Atomic Age*, by Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2021).
- David C. Logan, “The Nuclear Balance is What States Make of It,” *International Security* 46, no. 4 (Spring 2022): 172-2015.
- Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Francis J. Gavin, “Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation,” *International Security* 40, no. 1 (Summer 2015): 9-46.
- Reid B.C. Pauly and Rose McDermott, “The Psychology of Nuclear Brinksmanship,” *International Security* 47, no. 3 (Winter 2022/23): 9-51.
- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

## Session 14 (Thursday, December 5). Leaders and Individuals

### Required Readings:

- Elizabeth N. Saunders, “Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy,” *International Security* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 481-511.
- Allan Dafoe and Devin Caughey, “Honor and War: Southern U.S. Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation,” *World Politics* 68, no. 2 (2016): 341-381.
- Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark, “Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross-National Study of Gender and International Conflict,” *Security Studies* 29, no. 3 (2020): 515-548.
- Joshua Byun and Austin Carson, “More than a Number: Aging Leaders in International Politics,” *International Studies Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (March 2023): 1-15.

### Additional Readings:

- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), chs. 2-3.

- Michael C. Horowitz and Matthew Fuhrmann, “Studying Leaders and Military Conflict: Conceptual Framework and Research Agenda,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62, no. 10 (November 2018): 2072-2086.
- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In,” *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 107-146.
- Robert Jervis, “Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?” *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 153-179.
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Who Fights for Reputation: The Psychology of Leaders in International Conflict* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2018).
- Michael C. Horowitz, Allan C. Stam, and Cali M. Ellis, *Why Leaders Fight* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Michael C. Horowitz and Allan C. Stam, “How Prior Military Experience Influences the Militarized Behavior of Leaders,” *International Organization* 68, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 527-559.
- Oeindrilla Dube and S.P. Harish, “Queens,” *Journal of Political Economy* 128, no. 7 (July 2020): 2579-2652.
- Joshua A. Schwartz and Christopher W. Blair, “Do Women Make More Credible Threats? Gender Stereotypes, Audience Costs, and Crisis Bargaining,” *International Organization* 74, no. 4 (Fall 2020): 872-895.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Review Essay/Research Paper due in my office by Thursday, December 19.**