
PO 8008
International Conflict

Michaelmas 2017
Thursdays 10–12

Contact Information

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Description

This graduate course is about the causes and consequences of conflicts between and within nations, as well as theories of international security. Existing empirical results will also be emphasized and particular attention will be paid to the relevance of the concepts introduced to contemporary geopolitical issues and conflicts.

Requirements and grading

Each week we will discuss a particular topic using the readings as a basis. We will also debate current international security affairs as they unfold in the world, and as they relate to the theories and concepts in this class. Your grade will be calculated as follows:

Participation (20 %)

Participation and attendance are essential. This is a seminar and I will not lecture. Coming prepared means having read and understood each of the required readings. You should come to class ready to a. summarize each paper's main findings; b. explain the method used in each paper; and c. have thought about possible improvements to the paper or feasible extensions.

Presentation (8%)

Students are required to make one presentation on one of the topics listed at the end of each week's reading list. The allocation of topics will be based on stated preferences and, should more than one student express the same preference, by random draw. The presentations should last no more than 10 minutes and be based on a *single* slide (animated slides are fine, but do not overdo it), ideally a *map*. Grading will be based mainly on clarity of exposition and the quality of the content. Presenters are also expected to be able to respond to questions from the audience (incl. myself).

Response Papers (32%)

Students are required to submit four response papers (max 500 words each) throughout the semester (each worth 8% of your final mark). A fifth and sixth one may *optionally* be submitted, in which case the best four marks will be counted. At least one of these papers must be submitted before the seminar of week 3. Students are required to choose one (or possibly several) of the required or suggested readings for that week (*readings marked with a star may not be used*) and do two things:

- Identify a possible extension of a paper.
- Describe how you would carry out the extension. Note that what you propose should be feasible (ideally by you). If, for example, you find the author's data weak, then you should identify better data, or at least propose a plausible way of collecting these data. If you think the method is wrong, explain why and suggest a better one. A specific course of action should be outlined. This process will help you later on in finding a dissertation topic.

Do not write a summary of the paper. Not even a short one. The idea is for you to try out ideas for future research projects, the research paper for this seminar, or even your dissertation. I will try to grade papers submitted before Wed. noon before class the next day. Either way, you must submit the paper before the beginning of class. I may ask you to present your idea if relevant to the class.

Research Paper (40%)

The research paper (max 2,500 words, everything included) will be due at the latest on December 8, 23:59. It should outline a research design for a larger project (possibly a first step towards your dissertation) and is due at the end of the term. The paper needs to follow a clear structure:

1. What is your motivating question? Avoid questions that start with 'How'.
2. How does your project relate to existing work?
3. What are your hypotheses?
4. What relevant data are available, or could *feasibly* be collected?
5. What method would you use to test your hypotheses? This may include any combination of comparative case studies, interviews, statistical analysis, computer simulation, mathematical modeling, etc.
6. How do you expect the results would support or falsify the hypotheses?

For both the response and researcher papers I am looking for *creativity*, with feasibility and theoretical or empirical fruitfulness as your only constraints. *Concise and clear* writing is also essential. Papers merely reviewing existing work or listing historical facts will not receive a passing grade.

Turnitin

Please submit *all* your written work, including response papers, through Turnitin (turnitin.com).

- Class ID: 16329713
- Password: PO8008

Plagiarism

Please follow the standard of academic honesty set forth in the College Calendar (<http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/calendar>) and online: <http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism>. You should also complete the online tutorial on avoiding plagiarism <http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/ready-steady-write>.

Readings

There is no textbook for this class. Instead, three types of readings are required: (1) scholarly articles and (2) policy-oriented pieces are listed in this syllabus. Students must read *all* readings listed in the 'required' section for each class and be ready to discuss each of them in class. The required readings are either on Blackboard or on reserve in the library. Some weeks (3, 5 & 6) require a large amount of reading, so I advise you to plan ahead (on average 145 pages per week). Finally, students are also expected to have read (3) the news and relevant sources of information such as:

- Council on Foreign Relations (<http://www.cfr.org/>)

- Foreign Affairs (<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/>)
- Foreign Policy (<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>)
- The Economist (<http://www.economist.com/>)
- The New York Times (<http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/index.html>)
- The Washington Post (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/>)
- The Financial Times (e.g., <http://www.ft.com/intl/comment/columnists/gideonrachman>)

Course Outline

Week 1. Introductory Session: The End of War?	6
Week 2. Is War in our Genes?	6
A. War in Human Nature?	
B. The Evolution of Cooperation	
Week 3. War and Society	7
A. The Emergence of the State	
B. History of Warfare	
Week 4. Bargaining and Conflict	8
A. Incomplete Information	
B. Commitment Problems	
Week 5. Forecasting Conflict	9
Week 6. Domestic Politics and War	10
A. Commitment, Signaling and Audiences	
B. The Democratic Peace	
Week 7. Reading Week: no seminar	11
Week 8. Terrorism	11
Week 9. Civil Wars I	11
Week 10. Civil Wars II	12
Week 11. Conflict Outcomes	12
A. Combat Outcomes	
B. The Duration of Peace	
Week 12. Economic Interdependence and Conflict	13

Schedule

Week 1. Introductory Session: The End of War?

Required Readings (125 pages):

- Steven Pinker. *The better angels of our nature: The decline of violence in history and its causes*. Penguin UK, 2011. Chapter 5: “The Long Peace”. 80 pages
- Joshua S Goldstein. War Really Is Going Out of Style. *The New York Times*. December 17, 2011. 3 pages *
- Walter R Mead. The Return of Geopolitics. *Foreign Affairs*. 17 Apr. 2014. 7 pages *
- John G Ikenberry. The Illusion of Geopolitics. *Foreign Affairs*. 17 Apr. 2014. 7 pages *
- Bear Braumoeller. Is war disappearing? In *APSA Chicago 2013 Meeting*, 2013. 28 pages

Suggested Readings:

- Donald Kagan, Eliot A Cohen, Charles F Doran, and Michael Mandelbaum. Is major war obsolete? An exchange. *Survival*, 41(2):139–152, 1999.

Week 2. Is War in our Genes?

Required Readings (153 pages):

A. War in Human Nature?

- Azar Gat. *War in Human Civilization*. Oxford University Press, 2006. ch. 1–3, 6,7 (pp. 3–55, 114–145).
- Frans De Waal. *Chimpanzee Politics: Power and Sex among Apes*. JHU Press, 2007. Introduction, pp. 3–39.
- Kenneth N Waltz. *Man, the state, and war: a theoretical analysis*. Columbia University Press, 2001. Ch. 2 (‘The First Image’, pp. 16–41).

B. The Evolution of Cooperation

- Robert Axelrod and William D Hamilton. The evolution of cooperation. *Science*, 211(4489):1390–1396, 1981.
- Martin A Nowak. Five rules for the evolution of cooperation. *Science*, 314(5805):1560–1563, 2006.

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Axelrod. The emergence of cooperation among egoists. *The American Political Science Review*, pages 306–318, 1981.
- Robert M Axelrod. *The evolution of cooperation*. Basic books, 2006. ch. 1&2, pp. 3-54
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Donald A Cress. *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Hackett Publishing, 1992. *
- Thomas Hobbes. *Leviathan*. Yale University Press, 1928. *

Presentations:

- The Sykes-Picot agreement and its ramifications.
- The Senkaku Islands
- The South China Sea

Week 3. War and Society

Required Readings (153 pages):

A. The Emergence of the State

- Charles Tilly. *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1992*. Blackwell Oxford, 1992 pp. 67–95
- Hendrik Spruyt. Institutional selection in international relations: state anarchy as order. *International Organization*, 48(04):527–557, 1994

B. History of Warfare

- John A Lynn. The evolution of army style in the modern west, 800–2000. *The International History Review*, 18(3):505–545, 1996.
- Geoffrey Parker. *The military revolution: Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800*. Cambridge University Press, 1996. pp. 6–44.

Suggested Readings:

- Geoffrey Best. *War and society in revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1998. Ch. 3, pp. 29–46
- Hendrik Spruyt. *The sovereign state and its competitors: an analysis of systems change*. Princeton University Press, 1996. Ch. 8
- Larry H Addington. *The patterns of war since the eighteenth century*. Indiana University Press, 1994. *
- Richard Arthur Preston, Sydney F Wise, Herman O Werner, and Alex Roland. *Men in arms: a history of warfare and its interrelationships with Western society*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979. *

- Paul Kennedy. *The rise and fall of the great powers*. Random House LLC, 2010. *
- Michael Duffy. *The Military Revolution and the State 1500-1800*. Humanities Press, 1980. *
- Michael Howard. *War in European history*. Oxford University Press, 2001. *
- John Keegan. *A history of warfare*. Random House, 2004. *

Presentations:

- South Sudan
- Kashmir

Week 4. Bargaining and Conflict

Required Readings (134 pages):

A. Incomplete Information

- James D Fearon. Rationalist explanations for war. *International Organization*, 49(03):379–414, 1995. (Read carefully)
- Erik Gartzke. War is in the error term. *International Organization*, 53(03):567–587, 1999. (Difficult)

B. Commitment Problems

- AFK Organski. *World politics*. Knopf New York, 1968, ch. 12 (pp. 299–338).
- Robert Powell. War as a commitment problem. *International Organization*, 60(01):169–203, 2006. (Somewhat technical. Read carefully)

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Powell. *In the shadow of power: States and strategies in international politics*. Princeton University Press, 1999. Ch. 3, pp. 82–114 (technical reading)
- James D Fearon. Bargaining over objects that influence future bargaining power. In *annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August*, pages 28–31, 1996.
- Thomas Chadeaux. Bargaining over power: when do shifts in power lead to war? *International Theory*, 3(02):228–253, 2011.
- Dan Reiter. Exploring the bargaining model of war. *Perspective on Politics*, 1(01):27–43, 2003.

- Alastair Smith and Allan C Stam. Bargaining and the nature of war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(6):783–813, 2004.

Presentations:

- North Korea's nuclear programme
- Kashmir

Week 5. Forecasting Conflict

Required Readings (146 pages):

- Bruce Bueno De Mesquita. *The Predictioneer's Game*. Random House Incorporated, 2010, ch. 4–7 (pp. 47–123)
- Kenneth J Arrow, Robert Forsythe, Michael Gorham, Robert Hahn, Robin Hanson, John O Ledyard, Saul Levmore, Robert Litan, Paul Milgrom, Forrest D Nelson, et al. The promise of prediction markets. *Science*, 320(5878):877, 2008
- Michael D Ward. Can we predict politics? Toward what end? *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 1(1):80–91, 2016
- Philip Tetlock and Dan Gardner. *Superforecasting: The art and science of prediction*. Random House, 2016, ch. 3–4, pp. 46–104

Suggested Readings:

- Sean P O'Brien. Crisis early warning and decision support: Contemporary approaches and thoughts on future research. *International Studies Review*, 12(1):87–104, 2010
- Michael D Ward, Brian D Greenhill, and Kristin M Bakke. The perils of policy by p-value: Predicting civil conflicts. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(4):363–375, 2010
- Patrick T Brandt, John R Freeman, and Philip A Schrodt. Real time, time series forecasting of inter-and intra-state political conflict. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 28(1):41–64, 2011
- Håvard Hegre, Joakim Karlsen, Håvard Møkleiv Nygård, Håvard Strand, and Henrik Urdal. Predicting armed conflict, 2010–2050. *International Studies Quarterly*, 57(2):250–270, 2013
- Thomas Chadeaux. Early warning signals for war in the news. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(1):5–18, 2014

Presentations:

- Relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran
- Gaza

Week 6. Domestic Politics and War

Required Readings (143 pages):

A. Commitment, Signaling and Audiences

- Thomas C Schelling. *Arms and Influence*. Yale University Press, 2008. ch. 2 (pp. 35–91)
- Bruce Bueno De Mesquita. *Principles of international politics*. CQ press, 5th edition, 2015. Chapter 6, pp 206–238. (Read carefully)
- Akbar Ganji. Who Is Ali Khamenei? *Foreign Affairs*. 12 Aug. 2013. * (Skim)

B. The Democratic Peace

- James Lee Ray. Does democracy cause peace? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1(1):27–46, 1998. (Read carefully)
- Sebastian Rosato. The flawed logic of democratic peace theory. *American Political Science Review*, 97(04):585–602, 2003.

Suggested Readings:

- James D Fearon. Signaling foreign policy interests: Tying hands versus sinking costs. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(1):68–90, 1997 (technical).
- Alexandre Debs and Hein E Goemans. Regime type, the fate of leaders, and war. *American Political Science Review*, 104(03):430–445, 2010.
- Christopher Layne. Kant or cant: The myth of the democratic peace. *International Security*, pages 5–49, 1994.
- Henry S Farber and Joanne Gowa. Politics and peace. *International Security*, pages 123–146, 1995.

Presentations:

- The role of Jordan in the Middle East
- Nagorno-Karabakh conflict

Week 7. Reading Week: no seminar**Week 8. Terrorism**Required Readings (102 pages):

- Robert A Pape. The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 97(03):343–361, 2003
- Max Abrahms. Why terrorism does not work. *International Security*, 31(2):42–78, 2006
- Andrew Kydd and Barbara F Walter. Sabotaging the peace: The politics of extremist violence. *International Organization*, 56(02):263–296, 2002
- Peter R Neumann. Negotiating with terrorists. *Foreign Affairs*, pages 128–138, 2007*
- Scott Atran. Genesis of suicide terrorism. *Science*, 299(5612):1534–1539, 2003*

Presentations:

- ISIS: origins
- ISIS: current geopolitical state
- ISIS: current funding and finances

Week 9. Civil Wars IRequired Readings (126 pages):

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler. Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford economic papers*, 56(4):563–595, 2004
- James D Fearon and David D Laitin. Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war. *American political science review*, 97(01):75–90, 2003
- Charles Tilly. *The politics of collective violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2003, Ch. 1 and 2, pp. 1–54
- Daniel N Posner. The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi. *American Political Science Review*, 98(04):529–545, 2004

Presentations:

- The Boko Haram Insurgency
- The Kurds
- Ethnic relations in Iraq today

Week 10. Civil Wars II

Required Readings (112 pages):

- Barbara F Walter. The critical barrier to civil war settlement. *International organization*, 51(03):335–364, 1997
- Barbara F Walter. Bargaining failures and civil war. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12:243–261, 2009
- Stephen John Stedman. Spoiler problems in peace processes. *International Security*, 22(2):5–53, 1997

Suggested Readings:

- Barbara F Walter. *Committing to peace: The successful settlement of civil wars*. Princeton University Press, 2002
- David E Cunningham. Veto players and civil war duration. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(4):875–892, 2006

Presentations:

- The Columbian peace process
- The Somalian civil war

Week 11. Conflict Outcomes

Required Readings (157 pages):

A. Combat Outcomes

- Stephen Biddle. *Military power: Explaining victory and defeat in modern battle*. Princeton University Press, 2010. pp. 28–77.
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft. How the weak win wars: A theory of asymmetric conflict. *International Security*, 26(1):93–128, 2001.
- Stephen Biddle. Ending the War in Afghanistan. *Foreign Affairs*. 12 Aug. 2013. *

B. The Duration of Peace

- Virginia Page Fortna. Scraps of paper? Agreements and the durability of peace. *International Organization*, 57(02):337–372, 2003.
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen. Making and keeping peace. *International Organization*, 59(02):261–292, 2005.

Suggested Readings:

- Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter. Ensuring peace: Foreign-imposed regime change and postwar peace duration, 1914–2001. *International Organization*, 62(04):717–736, 2008.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C Stam. *Democracies at war*. Princeton University Press, 2002. pp. 10–38.
- US Army Counter-insurgency handbook, chapter 2.
<http://usacac.army.mil/cac/repository/materials/coin-fm3-24.pdf> *
- Branislav L Slantchev. How initiators end their wars: The duration of warfare and the terms of peace. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4):813–829, 2004

Presentations:

- The Libyan Crisis
- The Yemeni crisis

Week 12. Economic Interdependence and International ConflictRequired Readings (128 pages):

- Edward Deering Mansfield and Brian M Pollins. *Economic interdependence and international conflict: New perspectives on an enduring debate*. University of Michigan Press, 2003. Part I (pp. 31–59, 89–147).
- Marina Ottaway, David Ottaway. How the Kurds Got Their Way. *Foreign Affairs*. 17 Apr. 2014. * (Skim)
- Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu. Trading on preconceptions: Why world war I was not a failure of economic interdependence. *International Security*, 36(4):115–150, 2012.

Suggested Readings:

- Mark JC Crescenzi. Economic exit, interdependence, and conflict. *Journal of Politics*, 65(3):809–832, 2003.
- Bruce M Russett and John R Oneal. *Triangulating peace: Democracy, interdependence, and international organizations*, volume 9. Norton, 1909.
- Zeev Maoz. The effects of strategic and economic interdependence on international conflict across levels of analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(1):223–240, 2009.

- Erik Gartzke, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. Investing in the peace: Economic interdependence and international conflict. *International Organization*, 55(02):391–438, 2001.

Presentations:

- The geopolitical impact of Russian Gas
- Ethnic violence in South Sudan
- The War in Donbass (Ukraine)