

# PSCI 4821.001: International Conflict

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Office hours: M 1-2:30, Th 10:30-Noon (165 Wooten Hall)

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MWF 12:00-12:50

355 Sage Hall

## Course Description

This course is meant to examine the conditions that make for war and peace in world politics, as well as the range of possible solutions that might help to prevent this problem in the future. The course begins with an examination of historical patterns and trends in modern warfare. Later sections of the course then examine the causes or correlates of war between nation-states, the outcomes and consequences of war, and a variety of solutions that have been offered to help prevent or limit war.

Students are expected to finish the course readings before the start of the class period for which they are assigned, and to participate actively in class discussion. The course will be graded based on two (non-cumulative) essay examinations; eleven quizzes that are meant to measure preparation for class; and five short analytical papers.

Upon completion of this course, students should be familiar with many of the factors that seem to create, worsen, or reduce military conflict between nation-states. Students should be able to apply these factors in examining real-world scenarios, such as studying historical cases of war or assessing the prospects for future conflict in troubled areas of the world. This course will help you develop several important learning objectives that will help you in your career. Several analytical papers, which are focused on drawing lessons from current news stories about topics covered in the course, will help you develop analytical skills and bridge between current events, theories, and evidence from scholarly research. These papers and the two essay exams will also help you develop written communication skills and critical thinking skills, as you apply theoretical topics covered in the course; these exams will ask you to use course topics to understand and evaluate situations in international conflict, rather than just memorizing and repeating facts from a book.

## Required Texts

- **ICM:** J. Michael Greig, Andrew P. Owsiak, and Paul F. Diehl, eds. (2019). *International Conflict Management*. Medford, MA: Polity Press. ISBN 9781509530533.
- **Overy:** Richard Overy (2011), *1939: Countdown to War*. New York: Penguin Books. ISBN 9780143120063.
- **Canvas:** The remaining readings are available online through Canvas, which you can access by using your EUID to log in at <<https://unt.instructure.com>>. It would be smart to print or save these readings early in the semester, because Internet connections sometimes disappear at inconvenient times (like the night before an exam).

## Course Requirements

*Please note that all assignments except for the exams can be completed online, to make sure that students have no incentive to come to class if they have recently been exposed to Covid-19 or if they are symptomatic. This does NOT mean that you are not expected to come to class whenever you are healthy, though. Throughout the Covid era, students who rarely came to class have done poorly in my courses, even if they thought they got enough information from friends, GroupMe, or elsewhere. Seeing and hearing the course material in person, and being part of the class discussion of this material, makes a huge difference in learning and in grades.*

(1) **Examinations:** two noncumulative essay exams are required, focusing on application of the topics covered in class. The first exam will be given in class; the second exam will be given in the regular classroom on the day and time that UNT assigns for the course's final exam. Each exam will be worth **25%** of the total course grade. Be sure to be on time; once the first student leaves an exam, anybody else who enters to take the exam will lose five letter grades.

(2) **Analytical Papers:** Students are required to complete five short (2-3 page or 3-5 page) analytical papers during the course of the semester, as described at the end of this syllabus. Each paper must be turned in

through a TurnItIn link on Canvas; together, they will count for **30%** of the total course grade. Each paper is meant to spur classroom discussion on the assigned topic, so to receive full credit, a paper must be completed **by the start of class on the due date** listed in the syllabus; a late penalty will be assessed for each partial or full day after that before a paper is turned in.

(3) **Quizzes:** Students are expected to complete the assigned readings before class, in order to help them participate actively in class discussion. Preparation will be measured by eleven open-book/open-note quizzes offered through Canvas, which will assess how well students have understood key points from the assigned readings. Each quiz is meant to assess preparation for classroom discussion on the day for which the reading was assigned, so to receive credit, a quiz must be completed **by the start of class on the due date** listed in the syllabus (no additional quizzes will be accepted after that time). Each student's lowest quiz grade will be dropped from calculation of the grade; together, the quizzes will be worth **20%** of the total course grade.

### **Warning about Canvas Gradebook:**

Please note that the gradebook in Canvas may not give you a fully accurate summary of your grade for this course, because that doesn't handle this grading scheme very well. Canvas is best at handling a predetermined number of assignments that all count toward the final grade for the course, and it struggles with assignments like this course's quizzes (where at least one quiz grade will be dropped from calculation of the course grade), as well as with most ways to curve exam grades and with missing or late work (rather than treating a missed assignment as a zero Canvas leaves it out of the calculation, wrongly suggesting that the course grade is better than it really is). This syllabus tells you which assignments count for how much of the overall course grade; if you are having problems determining your grade, you are always welcome to talk with the instructor during office hours (but remember that I can not discuss grades over phone or email).

### **Course Rules**

(1) **Classroom:** All students must treat the instructor, the other students, and the classroom setting with respect. This includes arriving on time and staying for the entire class (or notifying the instructor in advance if this will not be possible), turning off cell phones and similar devices during class, and refraining from reading, passing notes, talking with friends, and any other potentially disruptive activities. This also means showing respect for alternative opinions and points of view, listening when either the instructor or a fellow student is speaking to the class, and refraining from insulting language and gestures.

Following departmental policy, any student engaging in unacceptable behavior may be directed to leave the classroom. Additionally, the instructor may refer the student to the Center for Student Rights and Responsibilities to consider whether the student's conduct violated UNT's Code of Student Conduct (which may be found at <<https://deanofstudents.unt.edu/conduct>>).

(2) **PowerPoint:** The instructor's lecture notes and PowerPoint slides will not be posted online or otherwise handed out to students, except under special circumstances (such as a primarily online/remote course). If you are unable to attend one or more class meetings, make arrangements with another student to borrow or copy their notes.

Also be aware that any PowerPoint slides presented to the class will not contain all material that will be necessary for an "A" grade on course exams. The instructor's verbal lecture will also include important information that is not presented directly on the slides, so students should be careful to take notes on verbal lecture material as well as the brief overviews presented on the slides.

(3) **Online Resources:** Any class recordings, videos, PowerPoint slides, or other similar course materials are reserved for use only by students in this class for educational purposes. The materials should not be shared outside the class in any form. Failing to follow this restriction is a violation of the UNT Code of Student Conduct and could lead to disciplinary action.

(4) **Keep Backups:** For any assignments that are turned in physically during the semester, students must keep an extra copy of each assignment until the instructor has returned the graded copy of that assignment. Students

must also keep graded, returned copies of all such assignments. Failure to do so will invalidate any potential question or protest about grades.

Also, students are responsible for maintaining backups of any written work for this course, preferably in a location away from the main computer that is being used (such as online backup through Dropbox, Google Drive, or Microsoft OneDrive). No extensions will be granted for work that is not turned in on time because of computer, hard drive, or printer failure, theft, power surge, or similar causes.

**(5) Makeup Exams:** Makeup exams, whether for full credit or not, will take place only on UNT's designated "Reading Day" at the end of the last week of classes. Only one time slot on Reading Day will be offered for all makeup exams in any of the instructor's courses; students seeking to take a makeup exam in this time slot must contact the instructor no later than 5 PM on Tuesday of the last week of classes. Makeup exams in classes that usually use multiple choice tests will be offered as short answer/essay examinations (regardless of the type of exam that is being made up) over the same material that would have been covered by the original exam.

Full-credit makeup examinations are given only with prior instructor approval (if at all possible) and with appropriate documentation. Note that the documentation must indicate why you could not be in class *at the time of the originally scheduled test*. If appropriate documentation is not provided, the makeup examination can still be taken, but will face a grade penalty of five letter grades (50%).

Makeup exams (whether full or reduced credit) are only available for students who missed the original exam; this is not an option for trying to retake an exam to get a higher score.

**(6) Late Work:** The scheduled final exam time represents the conclusion of the course. No late assignments or documentation will be accepted after the conclusion of this two-hour period, and no makeup exams will be offered after this time.

**(7) Academic Integrity, Plagiarism, and Generative AI/Chatbots:** All work turned in for this course must be your own original work. Such actions as plagiarizing by using a source without giving it appropriate credit, or using material written by somebody else or by generative AI/chatbots like ChatGPT and presenting it as your own, represent violations of academic integrity. Please note that penalties will apply even if you did not knowingly intend to plagiarize or cheat – you must be familiar with the rules of academic integrity and doing your own original work, whether this is at UNT or later in your career, and ignorance is no excuse.

Academic integrity is defined in the UNT Policy on Student Standards for Academic Integrity: <https://policy.unt.edu/policy/06-003>. This covers such issues as cheating (including use of unauthorized materials or other assistance on course assignments or examinations), plagiarism (whether intentional or negligent), forgery, fabrication, facilitating academic dishonesty, and sabotage. Any suspected case of academic dishonesty will be handled in accordance with current University policy and procedures, as described at <https://vpaa.unt.edu/ss/integrity>. If this is your first academic integrity violation, you can expect a failing grade on the assignment, and you will be reported to the university's Academic Integrity office; repeat violations in one or more courses will lead to stronger sanctions up to and including expulsion from UNT.

**(8) Covid-19:** Based on the current Covid-19 situation, UNT is open for business as usual. Our class will meet face-to-face on the usual schedule listed in this syllabus, with each class meeting including both lecturing by the instructor and class discussion of the assigned topics. Please note that unless circumstances change, I will not record the class meetings for posting online, nor will I conduct class meetings in a hybrid format that is broadcast live through Canvas. I recommend making arrangements with one or more other students in the course to share copies of notes with each other in case you might have to miss class.

I have set up this course to ensure that there is no grade penalty for missing class due to suspected or confirmed Covid. The only in-person grade component is the examinations, which may be made up on Reading Day at the end of the semester; all other class assignments are turned in through Canvas. The latest CDC guidance on avoiding or managing Covid-19 is at <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/prevention.html>. Free vaccination is offered by Denton County Public Health, as well as through CVS, Walgreens, and many other health care providers: <https://dentoncounty.quickbase.com/db/bq5nwntc6>.

(9) **Exceptions:** Any exceptions to these policies are given at the instructor's discretion -- only with prior approval where possible, and only with appropriate documentation. Before asking for an exception, be aware that I will not grant exceptions that might be perceived as giving one student an unfair advantage or an opportunity that was not available to the remaining students who followed the rules correctly, turned in their work on time, and so on.

(10) **Other Teaching Policies:** The instructor's teaching-related policies and expectations are described in more detail at <<https://www.paulhensel.org/teachgrade.html>>. Failure to visit that web site does not constitute a valid excuse for ignorance of these policies. In particular, note that I do not "round up" grades -- an 89.9 counts as a B rather than an A -- and the only extra credit opportunity, if any, will be offered in class on the last class period before Thanksgiving (for fall semesters) or spring break (for spring semesters).

(11) **Discussing Grades:** Consistent with UNT rules, instructors (whether professors, teaching fellows, or teaching assistants) may not discuss student grades over email, telephone, or in any other setting that is not face-to-face due to privacy and security concerns. If you have questions about your grades, you may meet with me during office hours, or I will be glad to make an appointment at a more convenient time.

(12) **Canceling Class:** I will never cancel class on my own for weather-related reasons; unless you hear official word through UNT's Eagle Alert service, class will be held at the regular time and place. Students who are unable to make it to class due to weather are still responsible for any material covered in lecture that day. If class is canceled, the next class meeting after school resumes will cover the material that would have been covered in the canceled class meeting, and a revised syllabus will be posted as soon as practical to adjust the schedule of remaining class meetings. More detail on the instructor's weather-related policies is provided at <<https://www.paulhensel.org/teaching.html>>.

Note that if class is canceled (and especially if the entire university is closed due to weather or other concerns), I will attempt to send class emails through Canvas to explain any relevant changes in the class schedule and/or syllabus. If you do not receive any such emails, please log in to Canvas directly (<https://unt.instructure.com>) and check the Announcements tab; in the February 2021 power blackout many students reported not receiving Canvas emails, but the announcements were all available on Canvas for students to see if they logged in to it directly. If the entire Canvas site is also not functioning, I will attempt to post these announcements to the online syllabus page for this course on my web site (<https://www.paulhensel.org/>>).

(13) **Changes:** The content of this syllabus may be modified by the instructor at any time during the semester if deemed necessary. Any such changes will be announced in class as well as via a Canvas announcement; students are responsible for making sure that they check the email account that is on file with Canvas, and/or check the announcements tab for this course in Canvas in case there is some sort of email problem.

## UNT Policies

### Americans with Disabilities Act

UNT is committed to making reasonable academic accommodation for students with disabilities. Students seeking reasonable accommodation must register with the Office of Disability Access (ODA) each semester to verify their eligibility. If a disability is verified, the ODA will contact me with a letter listing recommended accommodations; you will then need to discuss these with me so we can decide how to meet your specific needs in the course. It is advisable to discuss these issues as early as possible in the semester to avoid any delay in implementation; **I can not grant you an accommodation that you did not discuss with me before the assignment in question was due.** For additional information see the Office of Disability Accommodation website at <<https://www.unt.edu/oda>> or contact them by phone at (940) 565-4323.

### Prohibition of Discrimination, Harassment, and Retaliation

UNT prohibits discrimination and harassment because of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, age, disability, genetic information, veteran status, or any other characteristic protected under applicable federal or state law in its application and admission processes; educational programs and activities; employment policies, procedures, and processes; and university facilities.

The University takes active measures to prevent such conduct and investigates and takes remedial action when appropriate.

### **Sexual Discrimination, Harassment, and Assault**

UNT is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or experiences any of these acts of aggression, please know that you are not alone. The federal Title IX law makes it clear that violence and harassment based on sex and gender are Civil Rights offenses. UNT has staff members trained to support you in navigating campus life, accessing health and counseling services, providing academic and housing accommodations, helping with legal protective orders, and more.

UNT's Dean of Students web site at <<https://deanofstudents.unt.edu/resources>> offers a range of on-campus and off-campus resources to help support survivors, depending on their unique needs. The Student Advocate may be reached through email at [SurvivorAdvocate@unt.edu](mailto:SurvivorAdvocate@unt.edu) or by calling the Dean of Students' office at (940) 565-2648. You are not alone; we are here to help.

### **Student Resources at UNT**

In recent semesters, many students have experienced unexpected health, family, work, or other issues. If any such issue comes up, please do not hesitate to contact me, so we can try to work out a reasonable solution. Remember, I can't help you if you don't let me! Here are a few resources that UNT has made available for students facing unexpected difficulties:

- Student Counseling and Testing Services (couples counseling, individual/group sessions to help manage depression, eating disorders, grief, self esteem/identity, substance abuse, stress, and much more):  
List of services: <https://studentaffairs.unt.edu/counseling-and-testing-services/services>  
FAQ: <https://studentaffairs.unt.edu/counseling-and-testing-services/resources-and-self-help/faq>  
Emergency contacts: <https://studentaffairs.unt.edu/student-counseling/emergency-contacts>
- Student Health and Wellness Center (offering everything from Covid testing to flu vaccines, gynecological care, X-rays and lab diagnostics, vision and dental care, and much more):  
<https://studentaffairs.unt.edu/student-health-and-wellness-center>
- Other Wellbeing and Safety Resources:  
<https://studentaffairs.unt.edu/wellbeing-and-safety>

### **Instructor's Web Site**

The instructor maintains a web site at <<https://www.paulhensel.org>> that includes -- among other things -- teaching policies, solutions to common student writing problems, syllabi for my other courses, and Internet resources for students of international relations. Students are strongly encouraged to become familiar with this web site during the semester. The online version of this syllabus can be found at:

<<https://www.paulhensel.org/Teaching/psci4821.html>>

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### **Schedule of Topics and Assigned Readings**

#### **1. Monday, Aug. 21: First day of class**

- **Quiz #1 due by midnight on Aug. 22 (available in Canvas)**
- Please take quiz #1 as soon as you can, so I can refer to the results in class on Wednesday! There is no assigned reading for this quiz, which is more of a survey than an assessment of understanding readings.

#### **2-3. Wednesday, Aug. 23- Friday, Aug. 25: Studying Conflict & War**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): Canvas: Carl von Clausewitz (1832), "What is War?"  
--Canvas: PRIO (2019). "Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2018." *Conflict Trends* 3.
- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None

• Discussion Topics: This topic will introduce the scientific study of armed conflict. We will consider the definition of different types of conflict, as well as patterns/trends and some important terminology that is used in studying conflict. While doing the readings, think about the reasons that countries choose to engage in conflict (Clausewitz's "political object" of war) and whether these observed patterns of conflict are meaningful long-term trends that seem likely to continue.

#### **4-6. Monday, Aug. 28 - Friday, Sept. 1: Individual-Level Theories: Human Nature & Psychology**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Quiz #2 due before class today (available in Canvas)**  
--Canvas: Thomas Hobbes (1651). "Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning Their Felicity and Misery." Chapter 13, Book 1 of *The Leviathan*.
- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): Canvas: Robert Jervis (1988). "War and Misperception." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, 4: 675-700.
- Assigned Reading (before 3rd class): Canvas: Daniel Kahneman and Jonathan Renshon (2007). "Why Hawks Win." *Foreign Policy* 158 (January-February): 34-38.
- Discussion Topics: This topic will begin our investigation of factors that have been suggested as causes of armed conflict, focusing on human nature and a number of psychological factors. Come to class prepared to discuss each of these approaches -- do you find them plausible and/or scientifically convincing? Why or why not? If they are right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

#### **7. Monday, Sept. 4: NO CLASS (LABOR DAY)**

#### **8-9. Wednesday, Sept. 6 - Friday, Sept. 8: Group-Level Theories: Groupthink & Military Doctrines**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Quiz #3 due before class today (available in Canvas)**  
--Canvas: Mark Schafer and Scott Crichlow (1996). "Antecedents of Groupthink: A Quantitative Study." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40, 3: 415-435.
- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): Canvas: Stephen Van Evera (1984). "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War." *International Security* 9,1 (Summer): 58-107.
- Assigned Reading (before 3rd class): None
- Discussion Topics: This topic will examine several ways that political or military groups might be responsible for the outbreak of armed conflict. We will start with another psychological factor, a dynamic of group decision-making called "groupthink," before moving from domestic politics to the professional military as an explanation for conflict, focusing on war plans and military doctrines as factors that might lead countries into war. Do you find these approaches plausible and/or scientifically convincing? Why or why not? If they are right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

#### **10-11. Monday, Sept. 11 - Wednesday, Sept. 13: Diversion**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Quiz #4 due before class today (available in Canvas)**  
--Canvas: CNN.com (8/20/1998), "Most Lawmakers Support Clinton's Military Strikes"  
--Canvas: BBC News (12/17/1998), "Scepticism and Support Swirl around Clinton"  
--Canvas: Deutsche Welle (3/15/2019), "Vladimir Putin's 'Crimea effect' ebbs away 5 years on"
- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None
- Discussion Topics: This topic will examine domestic political motivations as explanations for armed conflict, focusing particularly on diversionary theory (also known as the "scapegoat hypothesis" or "Wag the Dog theory"). The assigned readings examine these motivations with respect to the 1998 military strikes ordered by President Bill Clinton during his impeachment crisis, which some argued to be a political ploy to divert attention from his domestic political problems, as well as Vladimir Putin's actions in Crimea in 2014. Thinking beyond these specific cases, do you find this approach plausible and/or scientifically convincing as an explanation for conflict? Why or why not? If it is right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

#### **12-13. Friday, Sept. 15 - Monday, Sept. 18: Nationalism**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Quiz #5 due before class today (available in Canvas)**

--*Canvas*: David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (1996). "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict." *International Security* 21, 2: 41-75.

--*Canvas*: BBC (3/11/2014), "Why Crimea Is So Dangerous."

--*Canvas*: BBC (10/21/2018), "Passport Row Tests Europe's Populist Allies."

- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): ***Paper #1 due before class today (turned in through Canvas)***

--None

• Discussion Topics: This topic will investigate nationalism, ethnicity, and similar factors as sources of both internal and interstate conflict. We will not have time for a full investigation of internal conflict or terrorism, since UNT offers several entire courses that address this topic, but this will still give us a introduction to what scholars think we know. Do you find this approach plausible and/or scientifically convincing as an explanation for conflict within and/or between states? Why or why not? If it is right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

#### **14-15. Wednesday, Sept. 20 - Friday, Sept. 22: Resources**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): *Canvas*: Thomas F. Homer-Dixon (1991). "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict." *International Security* 16, 2 (Autumn): 76-116.

--*Canvas*: Jack Di Nunzio (2013), "Conflict on the Nile: The Future of Transboundary Water Disputes over the World's Longest River." Future Directions International Strategic Analysis Paper.

- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None

• Discussion Topics: This topic will consider the widely repeated, but rarely tested, argument that resource scarcity is (or will be) a major source of armed conflict. Do you find this approach plausible and/or scientifically convincing as an explanation for conflict? Why or why not? If it is right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

#### **16-17. Monday, Sept. 25 - Wednesday, Sept. 27: Territory**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): ***Quiz #6 due before class today (available in Canvas)***

--*Canvas*: Paul R. Hensel (2013). "Projecting the Danger of Territorial Claims: Lessons from Two Centuries of Conflict." Revised version of paper presented at the 2013 Joint Meeting of the Peace Science Society (International) and the International Studies Association, Budapest, Hungary.

- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): ***Paper #2 due before class today (turned in through Canvas)***

--None

• Discussion Topics: This topic will examine disagreements over territorial sovereignty as explanations for armed conflict. Do you find this approach plausible and/or scientifically convincing as an explanation for conflict? Why or why not? If it is right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

#### **18. Friday, Sept. 29: Arms Races**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): *Canvas*: Douglas M. Gibler, Toby J. Rider and Marc L. Hutchison (2005). "Taking Arms against a Sea of Troubles: Conventional Arms Races during Periods of Rivalry." *Journal of Peace Research* 42, 2 (March): 131-147

• Discussion Topics: This topic will return to political realism as an explanation for armed conflict. Many critics of realism suggest that when leaders follow realist policies (such as the *para bellum* doctrine, the basis for deterrence theory), they make conflict much more likely because such policies lead to arms races which then spawn armed conflict. Do you find this approach plausible and/or scientifically convincing as an explanation for conflict? Why or why not? If it is right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

#### **19. Monday, Oct. 2: Crisis Bargaining**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): ***Quiz #7 due before class today (available in Canvas)***

--*Canvas*: Russell J. Leng (1984). "Reagan and the Russians." *American Political Science Review* 78 (June): 338-355.

• Discussion Topics: This topic will examine how states' interactions during an ongoing crisis affect the likelihood that the crisis will escalate to full-scale war. Much like the previous topic, much of the debate on

this subject involves the relative value of realist advice, with critics suggesting that following realist principles can greatly increase the risk of war. Do you find this argument to be plausible and/or scientifically convincing as an explanation for conflict? Why or why not? If it is right, what possible solutions might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

## **20. Wednesday, Oct. 4: Systemic Theories and Polarity**

- **Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic):** *Canvas*: Karl W. Deutsch and J. David Singer (1964). "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability." *World Politics* 16, 3: 390-406.  
--*Canvas*: Kenneth N. Waltz (1988). "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, 4 (Spring): 615-628.
- **Discussion Topics:** Here we will examine a topic that received a great deal of scholarly attention during the Cold War and may be returning to relevance in today's world: the structure of the international system. Waltz and Deutsch/Singer offered a prominent exchange of opposing views on the subject in 1964 that is still widely read by conflict scholars. Which of their views about polarity do you find most convincing -- is bipolarity or multipolarity likely to be more stable, and why? (And do you think unipolarity would be safer or more dangerous?) If any particular kind of polarity is a major cause of war, what possible solutions -- if any -- might be tried to prevent conflict/war?

## **21-22. Friday, Oct. 6 - Monday, Oct. 9: Power Transition**

- **Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic):** ***Quiz #8 due before class today (available in Canvas)***  
--*Canvas*: Douglas M. Lemke (1997). "The Continuation of History: Power Transition Theory and the End of the Cold War." *Journal of Peace Research* 34, 1 (February): 23-36.
- **Assigned Reading (before 2nd class):** None
- **Discussion Topics:** We will conclude our examination of causes of conflict by considering how the international system itself might be a cause of armed conflict. We will begin by examining power transition theory. A number of scholars have suggested that the great powers might fight major wars over leadership of the international system. This has gotten particular attention with respect to China, which is now seen as the most likely challenger to U.S. hegemony (a role previously filled by Russia and Japan). Do you find this approach plausible and/or scientifically convincing as an explanation for conflict? Why or why not? If it is right, what solutions might be tried to prevent war?

## **23. Wednesday, Oct. 11: Midterm exam (in the regular classroom)**

## **24-27. Friday, Oct. 13 - Friday, Oct. 20: Outcomes and Consequences of Conflict**

- **Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic):** ***Paper #3 due before class today (turned in through Canvas)***  
--*Canvas*: Thomas James Brennan (2012). "Ending a Life, and a Part of Yourself, for the First Time." *New York Times*, December 14.  
--*Canvas*: Elisabeth Bumiller (2013). "For 2 Nominees, Vietnam Bred Doubts on War." *New York Times*, January 8.
- **Assigned Reading (before 2nd class):** None
- **Assigned Reading (before 3rd class):** *Canvas*: Paul R. Hensel (1999). "The Evolution of the Franco-German Rivalry." In William R. Thompson, ed., *Great Power Rivalries*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, pp. 86-121.
- **Assigned Reading (before 4th class):** None
- **Discussion Topics:** This topic will move away from causes of conflict to consider the outcomes and consequences of conflict. We begin by focusing on the most obvious consequences: who wins or loses, and how many people die? Be ready to discuss how the countries in your research paper topic fared in this respect. We will also consider the impact of war on the individual combatants themselves -- think about how soldiers' wartime experiences might continue to affect them after the shooting stops.

We will then consider other consequences of conflict: long-term environmental effects, political and economic changes, and recurrent conflict or even decades-long rivalry against the same opponent. What sorts

of political and economic effects seem likely to follow war? Which kinds of countries seem most likely to be affected, and under which conditions? When do the same countries seem most or least likely to keep engaging in future conflict, and what (if anything) can be done to try to stop this?

### **28-29. Monday, Oct. 23 - Wednesday, Oct. 25: Studying Conflict Prevention and Management / Deterrence**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Quiz #9 due before class today (available in Canvas)**

--*ICM*: chapter 1 ("Introducing International Conflict Management")

--*Canvas*: Paul K. Huth (1988), "Extended Deterrence and the Outbreak of War." *American Political Science Review* 82, 2 (June): 423-443.

- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None

• Discussion Topics: Here we will begin focusing on ways that conflict or war might be prevented. Think about the management techniques that the authors discuss, as well as other possible ways the conflict might be managed or prevented. Which techniques seem most likely to be able to work, and why? What are some of the limitations of these techniques?

The first type of conflict management/prevention technique that we will examine in detail is military deterrence/proliferation, focusing on both conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Are you more convinced by the realists who argue that proliferation is a force for peace, or by the critics who argue that proliferation and deterrence policies make the world a more dangerous place? Why? Which causes of war, if any, seem most likely to be addressed by this solution?

### **30-32. Friday, Oct. 27 - Wednesday, Nov. 1: Arms Control & Disarmament**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): *Canvas*: Richard Dean Burns (2002), "Arms Control and Disarmament - Defining Arms Control and Disarmament Techniques" and "Arms Control and Disarmament - Conclusion." In Alexander DeConde, Richard Dean Burns, and Fredrik Logevall, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, 2nd edition. New York: Scribner.

- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None

- Assigned Reading (before 3rd class): None

• Discussion Topics: This topic examines the preferred view of many who criticize proliferation as a source for peace, by considering the idea of removing or controlling weapons rather than expanding them. Do you find these approaches -- whether the more limited arms control or the more ambitious disarmament -- to be important forces for peace, or are they dangerous steps that seem to make future conflict even more likely? Why? Which causes of war, if any, seem most likely to be addressed by this solution?

### **33-35. Friday, Nov. 3 - Wednesday, Nov. 8: Liberal Peace**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Quiz #10 due before class today (available in Canvas)**

--*Canvas*: John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett (1999). "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 52, 1 (October): 1-37.

- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None

- Assigned Reading (before 3rd class): None

• Discussion Topics: This topic will examine a widely studied finding in the IR literature, which has noted repeatedly that democracies do not fight each other. After examining democracy, we will examine liberal peace theory, which focuses more on the economic dimensions of liberalism and on international integration and institutions than on democracy. Do you find any or all of these factors to be a convincing force for peace in the modern world? Should this be a major element in countries' foreign policies, and if so, how should it be pursued? Which causes of war, if any, seem most likely to be addressed by this solution?

### **36. Wednesday, Nov. 10: Peaceful Conflict Resolution I: Bilateral Negotiations**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Paper #4 due before class today (turned in through Canvas)**

--*ICM*: chapter 2 ("Key Ideas and Frameworks"), chapter 5 ("Negotiations")

- Discussion Topics: This topic will examine the possibility of bilateral negotiation between two disputants as a way to prevent or manage conflict between them. How successful does this seem likely to be in limiting or preventing conflict? Are there certain kinds of conditions where they are likely to be most successful, or certain techniques that seem likely to be more effective than others? Which causes of war, if any, seem most likely to be addressed by this solution?

### **37-39. Monday, Nov. 13 - Friday, Nov. 17: Peaceful Conflict Resolution II: Third Party Assistance**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Quiz #11 due before class today (available in Canvas)**  
--*ICM*: chapter 6 ("Mediation"), chapter 7 ("Legal Approaches")
- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None
- Assigned Reading (before 3rd class): None
- Discussion Topics: This topic will examine the possible role of third party mediation, arbitration, and similar techniques as a way to prevent or manage conflict between countries when bilateral negotiations haven't worked. How successful do these processes seem likely to be in limiting or preventing conflict? Are there certain kinds of conditions where they are likely to be most successful, or certain techniques that seem likely to be more effective than others? Which causes of war, if any, seem most likely to be addressed by this solution?

### **40-42. Monday, Nov. 20 - Friday, Nov. 24: NO CLASS (Thanksgiving Break)**

### **43-44. Monday, Nov. 27 - Wednesday, Nov. 29: Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): *ICM*: chapter 8 ("Peace Operations: Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding")
- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class): None
- Discussion Topics: This topic will examine traditional peacekeeping as well as several related techniques that have expanded the role of peacekeepers. Think about each of the techniques discussed in the reading, considering how effective it is likely to be: Are the combatants likely to agree to allow the technique to be used? If it is used, does the technique seem likely to succeed, or are there important obstacles that make it unlikely to work? Which causes of war, if any, seem most likely to be addressed by this solution?

### **45-46. Friday, Dec. 1 - Monday, Dec. 4: Application to World War II**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): **Paper #5 due before class today (turned in through Canvas)**  
--*Overy*: pp. 1-68 ("Prologue", "Time Running Out", "Poland in the Middle")
- Assigned Reading (before 2nd class on this topic): *Overy*: remainder of book
- Discussion Topics: The first class period in this topic will attempt to apply the theories covered in this course to help understand the outbreak of war between Germany and Poland, while the second day will try to understand the escalation of the localized German-Polish war to a fully European war as the UK and France joined in. While doing this assigned reading, think about which causes of war that we covered in this course seem to have played a role. Also think about which solutions were attempted, and why they didn't work (what would have needed to change for the solution to work?).

### **47. Wednesday, Dec. 6: Is War Obsolete? Optimistic and Pessimistic Views on the Future**

- Assigned Reading (before 1st class on this topic): *Canvas*: Joshua S. Goldstein and Steven Pinker (12/17/2011). "War Really Is Going Out of Style." *New York Times*.  
--*Canvas*: John J. Mearsheimer (1990). "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War." *Atlantic Monthly* 266, 2 (August): 35-50.
- Discussion Topics: This class will conclude by examining a variety of views on the future of armed conflict and war -- some quite optimistic, and others quite pessimistic. Think about which of these views you find most or least convincing and why -- particularly in light of the many causes of conflict and solutions to conflict that we have discussed in this course.

### **48. Friday, Dec. 8: NO CLASS (UNT Reading Day)**

**Final Exam: Wednesday, Dec. 13, 10:30 AM-12:30 PM (in the regular classroom)**

- *The final exam is held on the day during Final Exam Week that is assigned by UNT, based on the time when our class meets: <<https://registrar.unt.edu/exams/final-exam-schedule>>*
- *Note that no late assignments will be accepted after the conclusion of the final exam.*

## Analytical Paper Assignments

Communicating one's ideas verbally and on paper makes up an important part of most college courses and most post-college careers, and this course is no exception. During the semester, students are required to complete **five analytical papers**. For full credit, all papers must be turned in through the TurnItIn links on Canvas **by the start of class on the due date** listed in the syllabus. Researching and writing these analytical papers helps to improve the quality of in-class discussion by giving students an opportunity to think about important topics in advance and become familiar with relevant cases or examples, gives the students practice in analyzing and learning from news stories, and offers the instructor a concrete way to evaluate students' comprehension of the topics covered in the course and in the assigned readings. Each paper is expected to be **2-3 pages long** (no shorter than two full pages and no longer than four full pages of text, using reasonable fonts and margins, and not counting anything extraneous like title pages; papers that only reach the assigned length by using unusual margins, spacing, or fonts will be penalized), unless otherwise indicated in the assignment.

Many of these papers involve reading and analyzing the contents of news stories **published sometime during the current semester** (i.e., no earlier than the first day of class). The instructor's web site offers links to a number of possible sources at <<https://paulhensel.org/Teaching/psci4821.html#news>> (although you may also choose any other source as long as it includes an appropriate story). Be sure to include the citation for each news source at the end of your paper, indicating its author, title, source, date of publication, and the URL/link where you found it.

Note that these papers are not intended to be advocacy papers, where you try to convince the reader to support a particular policy or issue position. These are analytical papers, intended to help both you and the reader understand a particular situation. These also do not require substantial external research -- for papers that ask you to discuss a news story, you do not need to locate and discuss numerous stories about the same topic, beyond the single story you are discussing. Students who try to discuss numerous stories or who look for additional details in other web sites often perform poorly in these papers, because there isn't space to discuss so much additional information.

### Technical Notes:

- Papers must be turned in through the appropriate TurnItIn link on the course's Canvas page. This will record the exact date and time on which the paper was turned in, as well as checking for possible plagiarism from published sources or earlier student papers and for the possible use of AI/ChatGPT. If Canvas or TurnItIn is not available at the time the paper is due, students may email a copy of the paper to Dr. Hensel or turn in a hard copy of the paper in class, before turning it in normally through TurnItIn once it is working again; as long as there have been no changes to the paper, there will be no late penalty for doing this.
- Papers turned in after the specified time will be penalized 1 letter grade (10%) per day, compounding at midnight each day.
- Technical failures, such as stolen computers or dead hard drives/flash drives, do not constitute valid excuses for late papers. Students are expected to maintain backups of their papers while writing them, ideally off-site through Dropbox or some similar service, so that they do not lose all of their work if their computer dies or disappears.
- Students must cite all materials used in researching the paper, in order to give appropriate credit to the original authors. This includes listing the source and page(s) for all historical facts that the student did not personally observe, all analysis and theories that the student did not personally develop, any research papers or online resources mentioned in the paper assignment, and so on -- even if you did not quote the exact words from the original source in your paper. **This requires both listing the complete reference for each source (typically in a Citations, References, or Works Cited section at the end of the paper) AND showing which source was used at each point in the paper where the ideas or facts were not exclusively your own (this can be done with parenthetical in-text citations, footnotes, or endnotes).** Failure to give such credit constitutes plagiarism, and will be penalized by a deduction of up to half of the possible points for the assignment. Guidelines are available at <<https://www.paulhensel.org/teachcite.html>>.

*The due dates for each paper are listed in the daily schedule, earlier in the syllabus. To be eligible for full credit, a paper must be turned in before the start of class on the due date.*

### **Paper #1: Ethnic Conflict (2-3 pages, 5% of course grade)**

*The purpose of this paper is to become familiar with a current case of ethnic conflict, and to use scholarly resources to learn more about the status of the ethnic group that is involved in the conflict. This is an example of how academic researchers and data sets can help us understand current and historical events.*

This paper requires you to focus on a news article, published during the current semester, that deals with a situation of ethnic conflict somewhere around the world today -- which means some sort of (diplomatic, political, or military) conflict that is based on ethnic lines, such as a government repressing a minority ethnic group or an ethnic group trying to secede from a state. Be sure to choose a case of conflict that involves at least one nation-state; a civil war or other conflict involving non-state actors is fine as long as a state government is on at least one side of the conflict. This can be a case of conflict entirely within one country, or it could have an outside country supporting the ethnic group against the government. (Note that you should only use one news story about this situation, plus the resources listed below – you should not do additional research using other sources.)

This paper will require you to address three topics:

- (1) Identify who the actors are that are involved in the conflict, as described in this news article (the state government, the ethnic group(s), and if relevant, any outside actor supporting the group).
- (2) Explain what these actors did to pursue their interests over this ethnic conflict, as described in this news article.
- (3) Describe the status of this ethnic group within this country, using the resources listed at the end of this assignment. For example, how large is the group relative to the population of the country, and how well has the group been treated (both currently and in the past)? How well does this information about the group's status help us understand the events that were described in the news article?

Be sure to include the citation for the news article with your paper -- if you do not include the citation, you will lose half of the possible points (I need to be able to see the article to evaluate how well you have covered it). Use either or both of the following resources to research the status of the ethnic group, and be sure to cite the URL for any pages that you use:

--Minorities at Risk project, "Minority Group Assessments" (note that a given group may have entries in multiple states):

<<https://www.mar.umd.edu/assessments.asp?regionId=99>>

--Minority Rights Group International, "World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples" (browse the main directory using the "Country" link to find overviews of each country, including the estimated size of each ethnic group in the country; then browse using the "Minorities & indigenous peoples" link to get a more details report on each individual minority group):

<<https://minorityrights.org/directory/>>

### **Paper #2: Territorial Claim (2-3 pages, 5% of course grade)**

*The purpose of this paper is to become familiar with a current territorial claim somewhere around the world, to analyze what makes that territory valuable to the actors involved in the claim, and to forecast the risk of serious armed conflict over the claim based on the findings of a research paper that was assigned for this topic. This is an example of how academic research findings can be used to help us understand current situations and make projections about future events.*

This paper requires you to focus on a news article, published during the current semester, that deals with an international disagreement over resources and/or territory somewhere in the world. Be sure to choose a case of conflict that involves at least one nation-state on each side. This paper will require you to address four topics:

- (1) Identify who the actors are that are involved in the conflict, as described in this news article.
- (2) Describe the territory that is under dispute, as described in this news story, and why the actors see this as valuable/salient.
- (3) Explain what the actors did to pursue their interests over this resource/territory, as described in this news article.

- (4) Conclude by assessing how dangerous this territorial claim is likely to be, drawing from the salience measures you identified and the findings of the 2013 Hensel paper on territorial claims. Are the salience measures that you identified from this news story very dangerous, based on the results of that research paper, or is this territorial claim not very likely to escalate because it is missing most of those dangerous attributes? (*Note that I am asking you to use the salience of the claimed territory in making this determination, rather than the specific value for the predicted probability of armed conflict that was listed at the end of that paper.*)

Be sure to include the citation for the news story with your paper -- if you do not include the citation, you will lose half of the possible points (I need to be able to see the story to evaluate how well you have covered it). Also be sure to cite the territorial claims research paper, since you will be referring to its findings in writing this.

### **Paper #3: Rivalries (2-3 pages, 5% of course grade)**

*The purpose of this paper is to think about rivalries, including both colleges (UNT's rivals) and countries (the USA's rivals), and to think about how competition is different when a rival is involved. This will help you think about how rivalry as a general concept can help us understand many different situations, and about how rivalries are different from other forms of competition.*

This paper requires you to think about rivalries in multiple settings -- both colleges and countries, possibly with multiple types of rivalry for each. I have been giving versions of this assignment since the late 1990s, and I will add the results from this year's class to those earlier years to use in discussing rivalries in class. All results are recorded anonymously; I will have no way to trace individual students in the data that will be discussed in class. Please answer honestly, and do not try to do any outside research to come up with a "better" answer; any reasonable answer will be given full credit. If you have no idea, "I don't know" is a valid answer (and is preferable to trying to make something up or asking a friend or roommate for their opinions). This paper will require you to address four topics:

- (1) Who are UNT's primary "rivals"? (name as many as you feel are appropriate, being sure to indicate what the nature of their rivalry is -- academics, football, basketball, soccer, all of these, something else, etc.; if you are new to UNT and don't feel comfortable answering this, you can answer this question with respect to your high school or another school you previously attended.)
- (2) How are things different for UNT students, athletes, or administrators when they are competing with one of these rivals, compared to times when they are competing with other non-rival schools, organizations, or other actors? (Again, if you are new to UNT and don't feel comfortable answering this, you can answer this question with respect to your high school or another school you previously attended.)
- (3) Who are the United States' primary international "rivals"? (name as many as you feel are appropriate, being sure to indicate what the nature of their rivalry is -- military, economic, political, all of these, something else, etc.)
- (4) How are things different for US leaders when they are competing with one of these rivals, compared to times when they are competing with other non-rival countries, organizations, or other actors?

### **Paper #4: Causes of Interstate Conflict (3-5 pages, 10% of course grade)**

*The purpose of this paper is to become familiar with a current case of armed conflict between countries somewhere in the world, and to try to explain this conflict using published political science research -- an important element in the scientific approach to understanding world politics.*

This paper requires you to focus on one or more news articles, published during the current semester, dealing with some current case of international conflict (involving the threat or use of military force between countries). Be sure to choose a case of conflict that involves at least one nation-state on each side. After summarizing the news article, you will try to show how this conflict can be explained by a political science theory that we discussed in class, referring to two different political science papers/articles/book chapters. This paper will require you to address four topics:

- (1) Identify who the actors are that are involved in the conflict, what they are disagreeing about, and what form of conflict took place (which might be anything from a threat to attack the other side to a clash that left thousands dead).

- (2) Briefly explain why the author of the news story believes the conflict occurred (in other words, what the author sees as the main factor(s), situation(s), or decision(s) that caused the conflict).
- (3) Summarize two political science journal articles (or comparable political science research such as a book chapter or professional conference paper) that explains the theoretical logic of how and why this factor is thought to be a cause of armed conflict/crisis/war. This will involve briefly describing the theoretical story (like we did in class by drawing diagrams for each theory), with citations to appropriate sections of both articles to explain each part of the story. [*The end of this syllabus includes references to some recommended political science readings on each theory that we covered in class; almost all are available through JSTOR. You may also consult my graduate-level Conflict syllabus, which includes a considerably longer list of relevant readings on most of these theories: <<https://www.paulhensel.org/Teaching/gradconflict.html>>.*]
- (4) Show how the news story fits with each part of this theoretical story. If there is something in the theoretical story that wasn't covered in the news story, you may briefly discuss what other evidence you would need to find to be sure that the conflict being discussed can be explained by this theoretical cause.

Be sure to include the citation for all news stories, articles, research papers, or book chapters with your paper -- if you do not include the citations, you will lose half of the possible points (I need to be able to see the original sources to evaluate how well you have covered them).

### **Paper #5: Application to World War II (2-3 pages, 5% of course grade)**

*The purpose of this paper is to try to apply the materials we have covered in this course to help us understand the outbreak of war between Germany and Poland in 1939.*

This paper will require you to read the book *1939: Countdown to War*, and to connect events in that book with both causes of war that we covered in the first half of the course and solutions to war that we covered in the second half of the course. In writing this paper, you need to do two things:

- (1) Identify two causes of war that we discussed in class that help us understand why war broke out when it did. For each, briefly explain the logic behind the cause of war (why do political scientists believe that this factor might cause war?) and explain how each part of this logic applies to this case.
- (2) Identify two ways that the participants and/or third parties tried to prevent war (such as negotiations, mediation, or deterrence) and explain why these attempts did not succeed in preventing the onset of war.

Be sure to include the citation for the page(s) in the book that discussed each of these two causes and each of these two attempted solutions -- if you do not include the citation, you will lose half of the possible points (I need to be able to see the evidence you are discussing to evaluate how well you have covered it).

## ***Appendix: Examples of relevant readings on each theory (for paper #4)***

### Human Nature

- Don't use this in your papers -- it isn't very convincing or useful in any scientific sense.

### Psychology / Misperception / Crisis DMing

- Ole R. Holsti (1965). "The 1914 Case." *American Political Science Review* 59, 2: 365-378.
- Robert Jervis (1982-1983). "Deterrence and Perception." *International Security* 7, 3: 3-30.
- Jack S. Levy (1983). "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems." *World Politics* 36, 1: 76-99.
- Jack S. Levy (1997). "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, 1: 87-112.

### Great Man Theory

- There really aren't any good academic sources on this topic. If you choose to use this in your paper, you should cite my lecture notes from class the day we covered this.

### Groupthink

- Gregory M. Herek, Irving L. Janis, and Paul Huth (1987). "Decision Making during International Crises: Is Quality of Process Related to Outcome?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31, 2: 203-226.
- Stephen G. Walker and George L. Watson (1994). "Integrative Complexity and British Decisions during the Munich and Polish Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38, 1: 3-23.
- Steve Smith (1985). "Groupthink and the Hostage Rescue Mission." *British Journal of Political Science* 15, 1: 117-123.

### Military Doctrines

- Scott D. Sagan (1986). "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability." *International Security* 11, 2 (Autumn): 151-175.
- Jack S. Levy (1986). "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War." *International Studies Quarterly* 30, 2: 193-222.
- Charles L. Glaser (1992). "Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models." *World Politics* 44, 4: 497-538.

### Nationalism/Identity Claims

- Stephen Van Evera (1994). "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War." *International Security* 18, 4: 5-39.
- David R. Davis and Will H. Moore (1997). "Ethnicity Matters: Transnational Ethnic Alliances and Foreign Policy Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, 1: 171-184.
- Stephen M. Saideman and R. William Ayres (2000). "Determining the Sources of Irredentism: Logit Analyses of Minorities At Risk Data." *Journal of Politics* 62, 4 (November): 1126-1144.
- Stephen M. Saideman (2002). "Discrimination in International Relations: Examining Why Some Ethnic Groups Receive More External Support Than Others." *Journal of Peace Research* 39, 1 (January): 27-50.
- Paul R. Hensel and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell (2017). "From Territorial Claims to Identity Claims: The Issue Correlates of War (ICOW) Project." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34 2 (March): 126-140.

### Civilizations

- Bruce M. Russett, John R. Oneal, and Michaelene Cox (2000). "Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Deja Vu? Some Evidence." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, 5: 583-608.
- Jonathan Fox (2001). "Two Civilizations and Ethnic Conflict: Islam and the West." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, 4: 459-472.
- Errol Henderson and Richard Tucker (2001). "Clear and Present Strangers: The Clash of Civilizations and International Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 4, 2: 317-338.

### Diversionsary Theory

- Richard J. Stoll (1984). "The Guns of November: Presidential Reelections and the Use of Force, 1947-1982." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28, 2: 231-246.
- T. Clifton Morgan and Kenneth N. Bickers (1992). "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, 1L 25-52.
- Brett Ashley Leeds and David R. Davis (1997). "Domestic Political Vulnerability and International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, 6: 814-834.
- T. Clifton Morgan and Christopher J. Anderson (1999). "Domestic Support and Diversionary External Conflict in Great Britain, 1950-1992." *Journal of Politics* 61, 3: 799-814.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Brandon C. Prins (2004). "Rivalry and Diversionary Uses of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48: 937 - 961.

#### Lateral Pressure / Resources

- Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North (1972). "Dynamics of International Conflict: Some Policy Implications of Population, Resources, and Technology." *World Politics* 24, Supplement (Spring): 80-122.
- Peter H. Gleick (1993). "Water and Conflict: Fresh Water Resources and International Security." *International Security* 18, 1: 79-112.
- Thomas F. Homer-Dixon (1994). "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases." *International Security* 19, 1: 5-40.
- Jaroslav Tir and Paul F. Diehl (1998). "Demographic Pressure and Interstate Conflict: Linking Population Growth and Density to Militarized Disputes and Wars, 1930-89." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, 3: 319-339.
- Paul R. Hensel, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Thomas E. Sowers II (2006). "Conflict Management of Riparian Disputes: A Regional Comparison of Dispute Resolution." *Political Geography* 25, 4 (May): 383-411.
- Stephen C. Nemeth, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Elizabeth A. Nyman. and Paul R. Hensel (2014). "Ruling the Sea: Managing Maritime Conflicts through UNCLOS and Exclusive Economic Zones." *International Interactions* 40, 5: 711-736.

#### Territorial Claims

- Alexander B. Murphy (1990). "Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, 4: 531-548.
- Tuomas Forsberg (1996). "Explaining Territorial Disputes: From Power Politics to Normative Reasons." *Journal of Peace Research* 33, 4: 433-449.
- Paul D. Senese and John A. Vasquez (2003). "A Unified Explanation of Territorial Conflict: Testing the Impact of Sampling Bias, 1919–1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 47, 2: 275-298.
- Bryan Frederick, Paul R. Hensel, and Christopher Macaulay (2017). "The Issue Correlates of War Territorial Claims Data, 1816-2001: Procedures and Description." *Journal of Peace Research* 54, 1 (January): 99-108.

#### Arms Races

- Michael D. Wallace (1979). "Arms Races and Escalation: Some New Evidence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23, 1: 3-16.
- Susan G. Sample (1997). "Arms Races and Dispute Escalation: Resolving the Debate." *Journal of Peace Research* 34, 1: 7-22.
- Paul F. Diehl and Mark J.C. Crescenzi (1998). "Reconfiguring the Arms Race-War Debate." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, 1: 111-118.
- Douglas M. Gibler, Toby J. Rider, and Marc L. Hutchison (2005). "Taking Arms Against a Sea of Troubles: Conventional Arms Races During Periods of Rivalry." *Journal of Peace Research* 42, 2: 131-147.

#### Crisis Bargaining

- Charles S. Gochman and Russell J. Leng (1983). "Realpolitik and the Road to War: An Analysis of Attributes and Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly* 27, 1: 97-120.
- Paul Huth and Bruce Russett (1988). "Deterrence Failure and Crisis Escalation." *International Studies Quarterly* 32, 1: 29-45.

- Russell J. Leng (1993). "Reciprocating Influence Strategies in Interstate Crisis Bargaining." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37, 1: 3-41.
- James D. Fearon (1994). "Signaling versus the Balance of Power and Interests: An Empirical Test of a Crisis Bargaining Model." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38, 2: 236-269.
- James D. Fearon (1995). "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49, 3: 379-414.

### Power Transition

- Jack S. Levy (1987). "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War." *World Politics* 40, 1: 82-107.
- Henk Houweling and Jan G. Siccama (1988). "Power Transitions as a Cause of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 32, 1: 87-102.
- Douglas Lemke and Suzanne Werner (1996). "Power Parity, Commitment to Change, and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 40, 2: 235-260.
- For more details on power transition see two books: A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler (1980), *The War Ledger*, and Kugler and Lemke (1996), *Parity and War*.

### Systemic Theories: Anarchy/Security Dilemma

- Robert Jervis (1978). "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30, 2: 167-214.
- Joseph M. Grieco (1988). "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* 42, 3: 485-507.
- Charles L. Glaser (1997). "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50, 1: 171-201
- Karen Ruth Adams (2003/2004). "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance." *International Security* 28, 3: 45-83.
- For more details on anarchy and the security dilemma see two books: Hans Morgenthau (any edition), *Politics among Nations* or Kenneth Waltz (1979), *Theory of International Politics*.

### Systemic Theories: Polarity

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (1978). "Systemic Polarization and the Occurrence and Duration of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22, 2: 241-267.
- Frank Whelon Wayman (1984). "Bipolarity and War: The Role of Capability Concentration and Alliance Patterns among Major Powers, 1816-1965." *Journal of Peace Research* 21, 1: 61-78.
- Edward D. Mansfield (1993). "Concentration, Polarity, and the Distribution of Power." *International Studies Quarterly* 37, 1: 105-128.

### Rivalry

- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1993). "Enduring Rivalries: Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Patterns." *International Studies Quarterly* 37, 2: 147-171.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1995). "The Initiation and Termination of Enduring Rivalries: The Impact of Political Shocks." *American Journal of Political Science* 39, 1: 30-52.
- D. Scott Bennett (1996). "Security, Bargaining, and the End of Interstate Rivalry." *International Studies Quarterly* 40, 2: 157-183.
- Paul R. Hensel (1999). "An Evolutionary Approach to the Study of Interstate Rivalry." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 17, 2: 179-206.