

17.423 // MIT Political Science Department
Stephen Van Evera, Andrea Gabbitas & Ali Lejlic
T-Th 11:00-12:30 // Building 36-830, MIT

Spring 2001
Version 1.0

THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF WAR

Course topic: the causes and prevention of interstate war. Course goal: discovering and assessing means to prevent or control war. Hence we focus on manipulable or controllable war-causes. Covered topics include the dilemmas, misperceptions, crimes and blunders that caused wars of the past; the origins of these and other war-causes; the possible causes of wars of the future; and possible means to prevent such wars, including short-term policy steps and more utopian schemes.

Covered historical cases include World War I, World War II, Korea, Indochina, and the Peloponnesian, Crimean and Seven Years wars.

Requirements: Grades will be based on two short (4-6 doublespaced pages) analytical papers, one very short (1-2 doublespaced pages) response paper that react to the reading and lectures, two short (15 minute) quizzes, a final exam, and contribution to section discussion. Quizzes will occur in class during the weeks of March 12 and April 30. The response paper will be due on March 8. The two 4-6 page papers will be due on Thursday, March 22 and Thursday, May 10. I will hand out study questions for the final later in the term.

Your 1-2 page response paper should advance an argument relevant to the course. Specifically, your argument can dispute argument(s) advanced in the reading or lectures; can concur with argument(s) advanced in the reading or lectures; can assess or explain policies or historical events described in the reading and lectures; or can address current events that are relevant to course materials or issues. In other words, your choice of topic is quite open. Evaluation of policies or ideas covered in the reading or lecture is encouraged. Somewhere in your paper--preferably at the beginning--please offer a 1-2 sentence summary of your argument. This paper will not be graded but is mandatory and must be completed to receive full credit for class participation.

Before writing your papers, please familiarize yourself with the rules of citing sources (attached to the end of the 17.423 course syllabus), and make sure you follow them. Failure to cite sources properly is plagiarism.

Course grades will be determined as follows: Final = 35%; Papers = 35% (17.5% each); Quizzes = 15% (7.5% each); Section attendance/contribution = 15%.

Student-led debates on responsibility for World War I and World War II will be organized in section when those wars are covered (in April.)

Assigned readings total about 1650 pages, for a 14-week average of 118 pages per week, but they vary markedly in amount, so try to budget your time to be able to cover heavy weeks (e.g. the two World Wars, which together cover 770 pages in 4 weeks--i.e., nearly 200 pages per week.) Students are expected to do the readings before section meeting. This is important! (You may be called on in section from time to time.)

This is an undergraduate course, but is open to graduate students.

Students should buy these books at the MIT COOP:

Sebastian Haffner, The Meaning of Hitler (Harvard University Press, 1979)
Saburo Ienaga, The Pacific War, 1931-1945 (Pantheon, 1979)
Fred Iklé, Every War Must End, rev. ed (Columbia U. Press, 1991)

Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, trans. Rex Warner (Penguin, 1972)

Steven E. Miller et al., eds., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, rev. ed. (Princeton University Press, 1991)

John Stoessinger, Nations at Dawn, 6th ed. (McGraw-Hill, 1994)

Sean M. Lynn-Jones, ed., The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace, expanded ed. (MIT Press: 1993)

All other readings will be available as xeroxed course notes, and can be purchased from the Technology Copy Center, in the basement of building E52, which is on Wadsworth Street. These are denoted with a "C"; readings in books available in the COOP bookstore are denoted with a "BK".

CLASS SCHEDULE

I. INTRODUCTION

Feb. 6: The causes of war in perspective. Does international politics follow regular laws of motion? If so, how can we discover them? Can we use methods like those of the harder sciences?

II. 33 HYPOTHESES ON THE CAUSES OF WAR

Feb. 8, 13, 15: 8 Hypotheses on Military Factors as Causes of War.

C 1. David Ziegler, War, Peace and International Politics, 2nd ed., (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), chapter 15 ("Disarmament"), pp. 249-267. A basic discussion of a modest proposal: tossing the weapons in the ocean. A good idea?

C 2. Thomas C. Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven: Yale, 1966), pp. 221-251 ("The Dynamics of Mutual Alarm.") The classic statement of "stability theory," which frames the dangers that arise with a first-strike advantage.

C 3. Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War, 3rd ed. (NY: Free Press, 1988), chapter 3 ("Dreams and Delusions of a Coming War"), pp. 35-56. False optimism as a cause of war.

BK4. Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War," in Lynn Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 193-203. Note: these pages are 20% of the article; much of the rest (pp. 204-236) is assigned over the next two weeks. But please focus for now on pages 193-203, which discuss the crucial matter of offense, defense, and war.

I include this article partly to clue you to where I am coming from on the causes of war. Your skepticism is allowed.

For your optional delectation see also John Mueller's collection of predictions, "Various Shapes of Things to Come," appended to the course syllabus. Has our understanding of war made progress since the days of Henry Buckle, Randolph Bourne, and David Starr Jordan?

And see also, for background, the appended data on war deaths from Ruth Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures, pp. 28-31.

Feb. 22, 27, March 1: 10 Hypotheses on Misperception and the Causes of War: Hypotheses from Psychology; Militarism; Nationalism; Spirals and Deterrence; Defects in Academe and the Press; Accidental War.

- C 1. Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, ed., International Politics: Anarchy, Force, Political Economy, and Decision Making, 2nd ed. (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1985), pp. 510-526. A classic discussion of the delusions to which states are prone. Is Jervis' list of myopias a good one? Do they arise from the psychological sources he stresses, or are other causes at work?
- C 2. Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Some say conflict is best resolved by the carrot, while using the stick merely provokes; others would use the stick, warning that using the carrot ("appeasement") emboldens others to make more demands. Who's right? Probably both--but under what circumstances? and how can you tell which circumstances you are in?
- BK 3. Van Evera, "Primed for Peace," pp. 204-211.
- C 4. William Zimmerman, "Yugoslav Disintegration, Social and Economic Change, and Balkan Transformation, (unpublished manuscript, November 1991), Table 5: "National Identity and Perceptions of National Inequality in Croatia." The Croats and Serbs of Croatia inhabited the same country but different realities. Did this help cause the Serb-Croat war of 1991-95? What if the gulf between their perceptions had been narrower?
- C 5. Chris Hedges, "In Bosnia's Schools, 3 Ways Never to Learn From History," New York Times, November 25, 1997, p. A1. More about separate Balkan realities. It was once said that "war begins in the classroom." Is that such a silly notion? Do the Balkans' separate realities, and the Balkans' wars, stem from separate and divergent teaching of the past?
- C 6. Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Purpose of Political Science," in James C. Charlesworth, ed., A Design for Political Science: Scope, Objectives, and Methods (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1966), pp. 69-74. Are scholars part of the solution or part of the problem? An eminent professor of international relations says his colleagues are gutless wonders who won't tell the state or society when they are wrong.
- C 7. David Pearson, "The Media and Government Deception," Propaganda Review, Spring 1989, pp. 6-11. Pearson thinks the American press is obedient to official views, and afraid to criticize. Anti-establishment paranoia or the real picture?

Note: there is no class Tuesday Feb. 20 (President's Day).

March 6, 8: 15 More Causes of War and Peace: Culture, Gender, Language, Democracy, Social equality & social justice, Minority rights & human rights, Prosperity, Economic interdependence, Revolution, Capitalism, Imperial decline and collapse, Cultural learning, Religion, Emotional factors (revenge, contempt, honor), Polarity of the international system; Causes of civil war.

- C 1. Leopold Bellak, "Why I Fear the Germans" (op-ed), New York Times, April 4, 1990, p. A29; and responses, NYT, May 10, 1990, p. A30. Germany has a flawed national character. Fair? If not, what explains past German conduct? If true, is this satisfying?
- C 2. Louis Harris, "The Gender Gulf," New York Times, December 7, 1990, p. A35. The problem is: men? (Women are more dovish.)
- C 3. Joshua S. Goldstein, International Relations (NY: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 282-295 ("Feminism"). A good basic summary of feminist arguments on the causes of war.
- BK 4. John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 147-155, 165-167, 176-187; five theories of war-causation are discussed there. Note: you might skim the rest of the Mearsheimer article as well, to get his whole drift.
- BK 5. Van Evera, "Primed for Peace," pp. 211-236. On the democracy and polarity questions, who is more persuasive, Mearsheimer or this guy?
- C 6. Peter Wallensteen and Margaret Sollenberg, "Armed Conflict 1989-99," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 37, No. 5 (September 2000), pp. 635-649. Right now nearly all wars are civil wars. Will this pattern persist?
- C 7. Michael E. Brown, "Introduction," in Michael E. Brown, ed., The International Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-31. A survey of hypotheses on the causes of ethnic conflict.

III. CASES: WARS AND CRISES

March 13: The Seven Years War

- C 1. R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World 7th ed. (NY: Knopf, 1991), 273-285, ("The Great War of the Mid-Eighteenth Century.") This is a standard textbook summary of events. Please focus on pp. 278-281, dealing with the outbreak of the Franco-British war.
- C 2. Richard Smoke, War: Controlling Escalation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) pp. 195-236 ("The Seven Years War"). Smoke's chapter is a good historical synopsis of this war. What

general theories of war causes does his account support? How might this war have been prevented? By whom?

March 15: The Crimean War

- C 1. R.R. Palmer & Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World 7th ed. (NY: Knopf, 1991), pp. 544-546 ("The Crimean War"). A standard textbook summary.
- C 2. Smoke, War, pp. 147-194 ("The Crimean War"). A good synopsis of the strange events leading up to the outbreak of this war.

March 20: The Wars of German Unification: 1864, 1866, and 1870; and segue to World War I

- C 1. Ziegler, War, Peace & IR, Chapter 1, "The Wars for German Unification," (pp. 7-20), a (very) basic history.

March 22, April 3, 5: World War I

- C 1. Palmer & Colton, History of the Modern World, 7th ed., pp. 695-718 ("The First World War"). This is assigned to provide basic background for non-aficionados of WWI.
- C 2. Imanuel Geiss, German Foreign Policy, 1871-1914 (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. vii-ix, 75-83, 106-181, 206-207; the key pages are pp. 121-127, 142-150, 206-207--focus on these pages and read the rest more lightly. (Make sure not to miss the tale of the War Council of 8 December 1912, including Admiral Müller's notes on the Council). This book summarizes the views of the "Fischer School," which argues that German aggression was a prime cause of World War I. Others believe Fisher and Geiss blame Germany unduly. Who's right?
- BK 3. Miller, ed., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, pp. xi-xix, 20-108. A Europe-wide "Cult of the Offensive" caused the war; the militaries of Europe were responsible.
- C 4. Martin Kitchen, The German Officer Corps, 1890-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), Chapters 5 and 6, pp. 96-142 ("The Army and the Idea of Preventive War," and "The Army and the Civilians.") In Germany the army also purveyed the concept of preventive war, the notion that war was healthy and beneficial, and other exotic ideas; and within Germany it became a law unto itself--a "state within the state," in Gordon Craig's phrase.
- C 5. Walter Consuelo Langsam, "Nationalism and History in the Prussian Elementary Schools Under William II," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., Nationalism and Internationalism (NY: Columbia U. Press 1950), pp. 241-260. German elementary and high schools were channels of nationalist propaganda.

- C 6. James Joll, Origins of the First World War (NY: Longman, 1984), chapter 2, pp. 9-34. A summary of the events of the strange and amazing July crisis.

For more on World War I origins see the documents collection at www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1914.html

Note: there is no class March 27, 29 (Spring break).

April 10: Interlude: Hypotheses on Escalation & Limitation of War; and Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Strategy and the Causes of War.

- BK1. Fred Iklé, Every War Must End, pp. 1-105. Can war be rationally conducted and controlled? This superb book makes you wonder.
- C 2. Ziegler, War, Peace and IR, pp. 221-234 ("The Balance of Terror"). A basic rundown of the issues.
- C 3. Richard N. Haass, "It's Dangerous to Disarm," New York Times, December 11, 1996; letters of response by Peter Weiss, Eugene Carroll and William Sloane Coffin, New York Times, December 16, 1996.

April 12, 19, 24, 26: World War II

- C 1. R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World 7th ed. (NY: Knopf, 1991), pp. 798-799, 822-849. This is a basic standard history of the events leading up to the war.
- BK2. Sebastian Haffner, The Meaning of Hitler, pp. 3-165.
- BK3. Holger Herwig, "Clio Deceived: Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany After the Great War," in Miller, ed., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, pp. 262-301. How Germans misremembered the origins and aftermath of the First World War.
- C 4. Wolfram Wette, "From Kellogg to Hitler (1928-1933). German Public Opinion Concerning the Rejection or Glorification of War," in Wilhelm Deist, ed., The German Military in the Age of Total War (Dover: Berg, 1985), pp. 71-99. How Germans came to love war again so soon after the Marne and Verdun. What explains the bizarre developments Wette describes?
- C 5. Scott Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, ed., The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 323-352.
- BK6. Ienaga, The Pacific War 1931-1945, pp. vii-152, 247-256. Was the Japanese decision for war a rational response to circumstances, or in some sense "irrational"? Ienaga and Sagan disagree--who's right?

- C 7. Jonathan G. Utley, Going to War With Japan 1937-1941 (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 151-156.
- C 8. Waldo Heinrichs, The Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 141-142, 177, 246-247 (note 68). Was the crucial American decision to cut off oil exports to Japan taken by a bureaucracy out of control? Utley and Heinrichs disagree. How can this mystery be unravelled?
- C 9. Letter to the editor by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, New York Review of Books, February 6, 1997, p. 40. A summary of Goldhagen's famous argument that Germany committed the holocaust because most Germans embraced an eliminationist anti-semitism. How could we test Goldhagen's argument?
- C 10. Nicholas Kristoff, "A Tojo Battles History, for Grandpa and for Japan," New York Times, April 22, 1999. Mythmaking about Japan's role in World War II continues, stirring suspicion and anger elsewhere in Asia.

Note: no class Tues. April 17 (Patriots' day).

May 1, 3: The Cold War, Korea and Indochina.

- C 1. Thomas G. Paterson, J. Gary Clifford, and Kenneth Hagan, American Foreign Policy: A History Since 1900 (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1983), pp. 471-480, 519-539, 546-563.

BK 2. John Stoessinger, Nations at Dawn, pp. xi-119. Paterson et al. is a standard history; Stoessinger is interpretive.

May 8, 10: The Peloponnesian War.

BK 1. Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, pp. 35-108, 118-164, 212-223, 400-429, 483-488, 516-538. A famous history by a great strategist that many later readers, across many centuries, felt evoked their own times and tragedies.

IV: THE FUTURE OF WAR

May 15, 17: Testing & Applying Theories of War Causation; the Future of War, Solutions to War.

BK 1. Carl Kaysen, "Is War Obsolete?" in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 81-103. Kaysen says past causes of war are already gone. But if he's right, why does war continue?

- C 2. Ziegler, War, Peace and IR, chapters 8, 11 ("World Government,"

"Collective Security,") pp. 127-45, 179-203. Many people have offered these answers. Do you think they would work? (Why haven't they been implemented yet?)

- C 3. Paul Nitze, "A Threat Mostly to Ourselves," New York Times, October 28, 1999, p. A25. A call for nuclear disarmament from a prominent Cold War hawk. (In 1950 Nitze wrote NSC-68, the guiding plan for America's great Cold War military buildup.)
- C 4. Review again Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future," pp. 167-176, 187-192 (assigned above.)

FURTHER READING

I: THE CAUSES OF WAR

The causes of war, general & theoretical works:

Jack Levy, "The Causes of War: A Review of Theories," in Philip E. Tetlock, Jo L. Husbands, Robert Jervis, Paul C. Stern, and Charles Tilly, eds., Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War, Vol. 1 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 209-333.

Jack S. Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," Annual Review of Political Science, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 139-165.

Greg Cashman, What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict (NY: Lexington Books, 1999)

Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Kenneth N. Waltz, Man, the State, and War (NY: Columbia University Press, 1954)

Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War (NY: Free Press, 1973)

Richard A. Falk and Samuel S. Kim, The War System: An Interdisciplinary Approach (Boulder: Westview, 1980)

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

Leon Bramson and George W. Goethals, eds., War: Studies from Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1968)

Bernard Brodie, War and Politics (NY: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 276-340 ("Some Theories on the Causes of War")

Donald Kagan, On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace (NY: Doubleday, 1994)

James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey, 3rd ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), parts.

Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999)

Arms and war:

Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1966), parts.

Thomas Schelling and Morton Halperin, Strategy and Arms Control (NY: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961), parts.

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," World Politics, January, 1978, pp. 167-214.

Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Offense-Defense Theory and its Critics," Security Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer 1995), pp. 660-694.

Marlies Ter Borg, "Reducing Offensive Capabilities--the Attempt of 1932," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1992), pp. 145-160.

Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," World Politics, Vol. 40, No. 1 (October 1987), pp. 82-107.

Misperception:

Robert Jervis, "War and Misperception," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K.

Rabb, eds., The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 101-126

Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," World Politics Vol. 20, No. 3 (April, 1968), pp. 454-479, also reprinted in George H. Quester, ed., Power, Action and Interaction (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), pp. 104-132.

Irving L. Janis, Victims of Groupthink (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972)

Ernest R. May, "Lessons of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy" (NY: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Aaron Wildavsky, "The Self-Evaluating Organization," Public Administration Review, Sept./Oct. 1972, pp. 509-520.

Gender and War:

Linda Rennie Forcey, "Feminist and Peace Perspectives on Women," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 2:13-20.

Jennifer Turpin, "Women and War," in *ibid.*, 3:801-813.

Mark Tessler, Jodi Nachtwey, and Audra Grant, "Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis: Evidence from Cross-National Survey Research in the Middle East," International Studied Quarterly, Vol. 43, No. 3 (September 1999), pp. 519-532.

Marysia Zalewski and Jane Parpart, eds., The "Man" Question in International Relations (Boulder: Westview, 1997)

Anne E. Hunter, ed., On Peace, War, and Gender: A Challenge to Genetic Explanations (New York: The Feminist Press, 1991)

Virginia Held, "Gender as an Influence on Cultural Norms Relating to War and the Environment," in Arthur H. Westing, ed., Cultural Norms, War and the Environment (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 44-51.

Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," (Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, 1987), pp. 1-33.

Sara Ruddick, Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995)

Militarism:

Volker R. Berghahn, Militarism: The History of an International Debate 1861-1979 (NY: St. Martins, 1982)

Arden Bucholz, "Militarism," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 2:423-433.

James Burk, "Military Culture," in *ibid.*, 2:447-462.

Gregory McLauchlan, "Military-Industrial Complex, Contemporary Significance," in *ibid.*, 2:475-486.

Francis E. Rourke, Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1972), pp. 18-40.

Alfred Vagts, Defense and Diplomacy (NY: Kings Crown, 1956), pp. 263-377, 477-490.

Richard Cobden, "The Three Panics," in Richard Cobden, Political Writings of Richard Cobden (London: 1887)

Juergen Arthur Heise, Minimum Disclosure: How the Pentagon Manipulates the News (NY: W.W. Norton, 1979)

Derek Shearer, "The Pentagon Propaganda Machine," in Leonard Rodberg and Derek Shearer, eds., The Pentagon Watchers (NY: Anchor, 1970), pp. 99-142.

Bernard Brodie, War and Politics (NY: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 479-496.

See also representative writings on war and international affairs by military officers, e.g., Friedrich von Bernhardi, Ferdinand Foch, Giulio Douhet, Nathan Twining, Thomas Powers, and Curtis LeMay.

Nationalism--general works:

Louis L. Snyder, Encyclopedia of Nationalism (NY: Paragon House, 1990)

Anthony D. Smith, Theories of Nationalism, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1983).

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983)

Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986)

E.J. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991)

Liah Greenfeld, Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992)

Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," International Security, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring 1994), pp. 5-39.

Barry R. Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," International Security, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 80-124.

Nationalist mythmaking:

Paul M. Kennedy, "The Decline of Nationalistic History in the West, 1900-1970," Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January 1973), pp. 77-100.

Boyd C. Shafer, Faces of Nationalism (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972)

Carlton J.H. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism (NY: Macmillan, 1926) pp. 61-92 ("The Propagation of Nationalism").

E.H. Dance, History the Betrayer: A Study in Bias (London: Hutchinson, 1960)

Frances Fitzgerald, America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979)

Bernard Lewis, History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1975)

Howard Zinn, The Politics of History (Boston: Beacon, 1970), pp. 5-34, 288-319.

Democratic peace theory, dictatorial peace theory:

Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Peace and Democracy," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999)

Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Democracy and Peace," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1992), pp. 369-376.

Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., Debating the Democratic Peace: An International Security Reader (Cambridge: MIT Press,

1996)

Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986" American Political Science Review, Vol. 87, No. 3 (September 1993), pp. 624-638.

Bruce Russett with William Anholis, Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, and Zeev Maoz, Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Stanislav Andreski, "On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships," Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3 (December, 1980), pp. 3-10.

Human instinct theories of war:

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations pp. 274-288.

Waltz, Man, the State, and War, pp. 16-79.

Brown, Causes and Prevention of War, pp. 9-15.

Samuel S. Kim, "The Lorenzian Theory of Aggression and Peace Research: A Critique," in Falk and Kim, The War System, pp. 82-115.

Albert Somit, "Humans, Chimps, and Bonobos: The Biological Bases of Aggression, War, and Peacemaking," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 34, No. 3 (September 1990), pp. 553-582.

William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," in Bramson and Goethals, War, pp. 21-31; William McDougall, "The Instinct of Pugnacity," in *ibid*, p. 33-43; Sigmund Freud, "Why War?" in *ibid*, pp. 71-80; and Margaret Mead, "Warfare is Only an Invention, Not a Biological Necessity," in *ibid*, pp. 269-274.

Civil war, its control:

Errol A. Henderson, "Civil Wars," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 1:279-288.

Errol A. Henderson, "Ethnic Conflict and Cooperation," in *ibid.*, 1:751-764.

Timothy D. Sisk, Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996)

Joseph V. Montville, ed., Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies (NY: Lexington Books, 1991)

Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 1 (January/February 1997), pp. 22-34.

Negotiation & diplomacy:

Roger Fisher and William Ury, Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981)

Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners (New York: Harper & Row, 1969)

Fred Charles Iklé, How Nations Negotiate (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1982, first pub. 1964)

Alexander L. George, Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1991).

Harold Nicolson, Diplomacy (London: Oxford U. Press, 1964)

Raymond Cohen, "The Rules of the Game in International Politics,"
International Studies Quarterly vol. 24, no. 1 (March 1980) pp. 129-50.

Mediation:

Jacob Bercovitch and David Wells, "Evaluating Mediation Strategies: A
Theoretical and Empirical Analysis," Peace and Change, Vol. 18, No. 1
(January 1993), pp. 3-25, and works cited therein.

Thomas Princen, Intermediaries in International Conflict (Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1995)

Limited War:

Richard Smoke, War: Controlling Escalation (Cambridge: Harvard University
Press, 1977)

Thomas Etzold, "Clausewitzian Lessons for Modern Strategists," Air University
Review, May/June 1980.

For more references, see Smoke's bibliography.

Arms races:

Cashman, What Causes War?, pp. 172-184.

Susan G. Sample, "Arms Races and Dispute Escalation: Resolving the Debate?"
Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 34, No. 1 (February 1997), pp. 7-22.

Samuel P. Huntington, "Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results," in Robert J.
Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., The Use of Force, 3rd ed. (NY: University
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