CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF WAR: THEORY AND METHOD

This course explores the causes of modern war with a focus on preventable causes. Course readings cover theoretical, historical, and methodological topics. Major theories of war are explored and assessed in the first few weeks of the class, asking at each stage “are these good theories?” and “how could they be tested?” Basic social scientific inference--what are theories? what are good theories? how should theories be framed and tested?--and case study methodology are also discussed. The second half of the course explores the history of the outbreak of some major wars. We use these cases as raw material for case studies, asking “if these episodes were the subject of case studies, how should those studies be performed, and what could be learned from them?”

Course requirements: Students will write two short papers (6-10 typed doublespaced pages) and two 1-page exercises. One of the 6-10 page papers will be a case study; the other can be a case study or can be an assessment of theories of the causes of war. The 1-page exercises are due Sept. 27 and Oct. 25; the papers are due later, at times TBA.

This is a graduate course open to undergraduates by permission of the instructor only.

Recommended for purchase at the MIT Coop:


Also at the COOP, but only recommended:


None of Cashman is assigned but it is a useful basic synopsis of much of the literature. Turabian is a style reference that you should own and obey.

All other readings will be available as course notes that can be purchased from the Technology Copy Center in the basement of building E-52, except some that will be handed out in class.

Readings in books available in the COOP bookstore are denoted below with a "BK"; course notes readings are denoted below with a "ST"; handouts are denoted with an "H".
I. INTRODUCTION: FRAMING, TESTING AND USING THEORIES

Sept. 13: Hypotheses, Laws, Theories and Case Studies (85 pages)

BK 1. Van Evera, Guide to Methods, chapter 1, "Hypotheses, Laws and Theories." My basic advice on framing and testing theories.

ST 2. Kenneth N. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979), pp. 1-17 ("Laws and Theories"). A different view on theories by a famous IR theorist.

II. HYPOTHESES ON THE CAUSES OF WAR (5 Weeks)

Sept. 20, 27: Propositional inventories on war, and military causes of war.

A. Propositional inventories on war (160 pages):


I also recommend that you take a look at Gregg Cashman, What Causes War?, available at the MIT COOP textbook section for this course as a recommended reading. A good basic synopsis.

B. Hypotheses on military power-factors as causes of war (i.e. theories addressing the fine-grained structure of power) (120 pages):

ST 1. Thomas C. Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven: Yale, 1966), pp. 221-251 ("The Dynamics of Mutual Alarm.") The classic statement of "stability theory"--"war is more likely when the side moving first gains an advantage."


focus on pp. 186-214.


ST 8. Martin Rees, Our Final Hour: A Scientist's Warning: How Terror, Error, and Environmental Disaster Threaten Humankind's Future in this Century--On Earth and Beyond (NY: Basic Books, 2003): 41-60. The advance of science has a horrendous byproduct: we are discovering ever more powerful means of destruction. These destructive powers are being democratized, says Rees: the mayhem that only major states can do today may lie within the capacity of millions of individuals in the future unless we somehow change course. Deterrence works against states but will fail against crazed non-state organizations or individuals. Hence the pacifying effects that WMD have so far produced will be reversed as humans invent more potent means of mass destruction. What will result? A vast outbreak of preventive wars of counter-proliferation? What can be done to address this danger?

For more on controlling the longterm bioweapons danger see www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/pathogensmonograph.pdf

Oct. 4: Hypotheses on systemic power factors, and hypotheses on national misperception.

A. Hypotheses on systemic power factors (i.e. theories addressing the gross structure of power) (162 pages):

ST 1. Kenneth N. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979), pp. 161-176 ("Structural Causes and Military Effects"). Pages 176-193 are also included in your course notes, but you can skim them quickly; I include them just to give you the whole chapter for your files.

ST 2. Robert Gilpin, War and Change in World Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 156-185 ("Equilibrium and Decline") and 186-210 ("Hegemonic Change and War.") In pages 156-186 Gilpin argues that dominant states are often overtaken by challengers; in pages 186-210 he argues that these power-transitions cause war.


B. Hypotheses on national misperception: hypotheses from psychology; and structural and societal theories of misperception.

>> Hypotheses from psychology (43 pages):


ST 2. Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Some argue that using carrots solves conflicts while using sticks provokes them, others say the opposite (warning against appeasement). How can this dispute be resolved? Does Jervis say enough to resolve it? Note: pages 85-113 are also included in your coursenotes but you can skim them quickly; I include them just to give you the whole chapter for your files.

The existing literature on misperception from the psychology paradigm asks if policy makers make the cognitive errors of ordinary people. Do we need work on whether some political systems select elites in ways that over-represent certain psychological disorders--e.g., narcissism, compulsive-obsessive disorder, megalomania, paranoia--that have effects on state perceptions and foreign policy behavior?

Also needed: an article on "The Manifestations of Ingroup-Outgroup Dynamics in Politics." How many are these manifestations? How destructive are they? How much havoc and cruelty is explained by ingroup-outgroup reflexes? Much scholarship argues that humans have a strong reflexive tendency to sort themselves into competing groups, to then demonize the outgroup, and to show mindless loyalty to the ingroup. How much conflict does this reflex explain? Do we need an article that explores its explanatory power in the realm of human conflict?

A summary of ingroup-outgroup theory and research is:


Is there room also for writing on the role of political cults in politics, and political cults and misperception? The world is full of cults. They are machines of self delusion and exporters of delusions. See, for example, Bolshevism, and religious cults. Are they important? Worth study?

>> Societal theories of misperception: militarism, nationalism, defects in academe and the press (27 pp.):

BK 1. Van Evera, "Primed for Peace," pp. 204-211 (on militarism and hyper-nationalism.)


C. Systemic theories of misperception: "the system makes states fool each other."

ST 1. James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," International Organization, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer 1995). I include the whole article in your coursenotes (pp. 379-414) but please read only pp. 390-401 (on "war due to private information and incentives to misrepresent").

Oct. 18: Hypotheses on domestic political and social structure: democracy, revolution, culture, gender, democracy, social equality and social justice, minority rights and human rights, prosperity, economic interdependence, capitalism, communism, imperial decline and collapse, cultural learning, religion as a cause of peace and war (246 pp.):


striking data supporting arguments that the genders differ sharply on the use of force. (We need a systematic summary of evidence on this question.)


BK 7. John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 45-69. War has been delegitimated, much as slavery was before it. Even conventional war is now a fading institution.

BK 8. Carl Kaysen, "Is War Obsolete?" in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 81-103. Mueller is right for the wrong reasons. War is obsolete because it has lost its utility, not because it horrifies anyone.


ST 10. Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War, chapter 2 ("Paradise is a Bazaar"), pp. 18-32. Do prosperity and interdependence promote peace?


October 25: Hypotheses on strategic interaction; applications of theories of war to explain history; causes of civil war; case study method

A. Hypotheses on strategic interaction (146 pp.):


A synopsis of the thought of this prominent rational-choice theorist of war's causes.

B. Emotions and war: the role of vengeance, contempt, honor, contrition, apology, insult, pride, and hatred. Do we understand the causes of hatred? (Other emotions seem at work in ingroup-outgroup relations, discussed above).


C. Religion and war.

ST 1. Harvey Cox, "A Challenge to People of All Faiths," in Forrest Church, ed., Restoring Faith: America's Religious Leaders Answer Terror with Hope (NY: Walker, 2001): 161-165. Cox argues that all religious traditions are tainted with violent teachings that can dominate the tradition unless they are managed. "They lie there like dry tinder, and any spark could set them ablaze" (p. 164). Cox urges that we work to identify the factors that tempt people to use their scripture to justify hatred and brutality. Do we need more work on this subject? Do we also need work on how people of good will can redirect the terms of debate within religious movements that have become morally unhinged?

ST 2. Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror (NY: Simon and Schuster, 2002): 38-55, 62-68, 91-94, 419-446. Pages 38-55, 62-68, 91-94 describe the Islamist currents of thinking that spawned Osama Bin Laden's Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda's violence stems from a stream of Islamist thought going back to ibn Taymiyya, a bellicose Islamic thinker from the 13th century; to Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792), the harsh and rigid shaper of modern Saudi Arabian Islam; to Rashid Rida (1866-1935) and Hassan al-Banna (?-1949); and above all to Sayyid Qutb (?-1966), the shaper of modern Islamism. Taymiyya, al-Wahhab and Qutb are covered here. Covered also (pp. 91-94) is the frightening rise of apocalyptic thinking in the Islamic world. What causes the murderous thinking described here? Pages 419-446 cover the phenomenon of millenarianism--apocalyptic thinking--in other religions--Judaism, Buddhism, and Christianity. This violent, even genocidal, form of religious thought has appeared widely in the last two decades. Why? How can it be tamed before it is used to justify great horrors?

ST 3. Irshad Manji, "Is Islam to Blame? Despite Claims of Moderate Muslims, a Literal Reading of the Koran Offers Cover for Acts of Terrorism," Los Angeles Times, July 22, 2005. The Koran contains hateful passages and passages that incite to violence. What to do about them? Does it cut it for Muslims to continue to declare that the entire Koran is the sacred word of God? What about Manji's suggestion that Muslims confess some "sins of Scripture"?

Is more work needed on the subject of religion and war? Why is good work on the subject scarce?

Needed: general work on the causes of human hatred. Hatred is the engine that drives mega-terrorism and genocide. Does political science have adequate explanations of its causes and cures? Needed: work on the causes of anti-semitism. I do not believe we understand it.

D. Civil war: how common (very!) What do we know about its causes and cures? (Not much!) (69 pp.)

ST 1. Mikael Eriksson and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflict 1989-2003," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 41, No. 5 (September 2004), pp. 625-631. Nearly all wars today are civil wars. The number of wars has declined sharply since 1990--back down to the number observed in the mid-1970s, but still more than the number observed during 1946-76.


Some useful papers on civil war from spring/summer 2001 can also be found online at www.worldbank.org/research/conflict. For the papers click on the four "workshops" listed on the left hand side of the first page under "resources."

F. The Correlates of War project: inferring theories from large-n data sets.

ST 1. J. David Singer, "Correlates of War," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 1:463-471. Singer's summary of his Correlates of War project. Singer does not use the case method; rather, he seeks correlations in large-n data sets, hoping that correlation will sometimes signal causation. How fruitful is this approach? When should it be used?


G. Segue to Cases: the Case Study Method. How Should Case Studies Be Performed?
III. CASE STUDIES


5. Andrew Bennett, "Lost in Translation: Big (n) Misinterpretations of Case Study Research" (Paper presented to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 1997). Much nonsense is believed about the case method. Some intelligent mythbusting is provided here.


10. Skim through syllabi for courses on qualitative methods taught in political science departments around the United States on the web at www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/syllabi.html. And for more on qualitative methods see www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/.

11. Syllabi on the causes of war for courses taught by Jack Levy (Rutgers), Christopher Gelpi (Harvard), Stephen Walt (Chicago), Hayward Alker (USC), Louise Hodden (Texas/Austin), and Dale Copeland U. of Virginia). How the subject is taught elsewhere, by a diverse range of scholars. For your reference. (Handy to have for the day when you have to design your own version of this course.)
Nov. 1: The Seven Years war and the Korean War

A. Seven Years:


B. Korea:


Nov. 8, 15: World War I


ST 2. Imanuel Geiss, German Foreign Policy, 1871-1914 (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. vii-ix, 121-127, 142-150, 206-207. This book summarizes the views of the "Fischer School," which argues that German aggression was a prime cause of World War I. Pages 142-150 recounts the occurrence and aftermath of the War Council of 8 December 1912, a centerpiece of the Fischer school case; pages 206-207 reprint the Fischer school's "smoking gun" diary entry by Admiral Müller, discovered only in the 1960s. But many find Fisher and Geiss unpersuasive. How can this dispute be resolved?


ST 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 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.


ST 7. Louis L. Snyder, German Nationalism: Tragedy of a People (Port Washington NY: Kennikat, 1969), chapters 6 ("Historiography") and 10 ("Militarism"). Please read pp. 123-24, mid-139-152, 227-243; you need only skim pp. 124-139, 243-254. German historians were more a problem than a solution; German popular thought was militarized.


November 22: The Second World War in Europe (Note: No class Nov. 11):


ST 4. Sheri Berman, The Social Democratic Moment: Ideas and Politics in the Making of Interwar Europe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998): ix-x, 176-200. Why did the Great Depression of the 1930s bring benign Social Democrats to power in Sweden while bringing the vicious and expansionist Nazis to power in Germany? Clearly, the effects of depressions on modern industrial politics are not uniform; instead, a condition variable of some sort must decide these effects. Clearly, that condition variable must have had very different values in the Swedish and German cases. Berman's study tries to identify that condition variable. Does she do so persuasively?

November 29: The Pacific War


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?


ST 5. Marc Trachtenberg, Historical Method in the Study of International Politics (Forthcoming from Princeton University Press in 2005), chapter 4 (pp. 75-126 in the draft manuscript on Stellar). Skim also appendices 1 and 2.

December 6: The Arab-Israeli War 1967: the 1991 Persian Gulf War; the Peloponnesian War

A. The 1967 Arab-Israeli War:


ST 4. James Bamford, A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies (NY: Anchor, 2005): 253-270 (skim 253-250, read 260-269); 277-282; and 333-366. Did a neocon cabal cause the 2003 Iraq war (as Bamford's account suggests)? The notion that conspiracies and cabals can drive states to war is usually viewed as full-moon crackpot stuff. What about it?


framing and assessing their predictions. (His inferred predictions are implicit but clear nevertheless.) Does his method work?

IV. THE FUTURE OF WAR


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


ST 3. Review again Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, Age of Sacred Terror, pages assigned above back in October. What can we do to tame the demons they describe? What research could help us answer this question?

BK 4. Read the rest of Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future," in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, some of which was assigned above.


ST 7. Ziegler, War, Peace and IR, chapter 11 ("Collective Security," pp. 179-203. Many people have offered this answer. Why has it failed?

ST 8. Stephen Van Evera, "Memory and the Arab-Israel Conflict: Time for New Narratives" (Manuscript, 2003). Can narratives be manipulated to cause peace, as SVE here suggests? Can the hatreds that fuel terror and war be dampened by such means?

BK 9. Van Evera, Guide to Methods, chapter 6 ("Professional Ethics"). This topic has nothing specific to do with the causes of war, but you should form an attitude on the issues raised here.

Consider especially: do scholars have a duty to raise unpopular questions if they seem important, and to offer unpopular answers if facts or logic support them? Is there relevance in the thoughts of Rabbi Israel Salanter (1810-1883) who reflected on being a rabbi in Jew-hating Russia with the following: "A rabbi they don't want to drive out of town is no rabbi, and a rabbi
who lets himself be driven out of town is no man."¹

I. GENERAL AND THEORETICAL WORKS

Bibliographies:


Journals:

World Politics
International Studies Quarterly
International Security
Journal of Peace Research
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Peace Studies
Peace Research
Peace and Change
International Organization
Security Studies
Journal of Strategic Studies

Syllabi for courses on war and other international relations subjects:

Many excellent syllabi can be found online at: faculty.tamu-commerce.edu/sarantakes/stuff-coursematerial.html.
Some are also at: www.apsanet.org/teach/syllabi/apsa/ir.cfm.

General and theoretical works:

Military policy and the causes of war:


Marion W. Boggs, *Attempts to Define and Limit "Aggressive" Armament in Diplomacy and Strategy*, University of Missouri Studies 16, No. 1 (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1941)


Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," *World

The nuclear revolution and the causes of war:


Systemic theory:


Realism vs. liberal institutionalism:

Michael Joseph Smith, Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986)

Formal theory:

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman, War and Reason: Domestic and International Imperatives (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992)

Perceptions and ideas:

Jack Snyder, Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition
(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991)

Militarism:
Francis E. Rourke, Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1972), pp. 18-40.
Richard Cobden, "The Three Panics," in Richard Cobden, Political Writings of Richard Cobden (London: 1887)

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:
Nationalist mythmaking:


Ingroup-Outgroup dynamics:


Relevant organization theory, applications of it:


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.


Gender and war:

Joshua S. Goldstein, War and Gender (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)


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


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


Domestic politics and war (general):


Democratic peace theory, dictatorial peace theory:


Steve Chan, "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall ... Are the Freer Countries More Pacific?" Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 28, No. 4 (December 1984), pp. 617-648


Arms races:

Religion and war:

Civil war, causes and means to control:

Peace movements:

**Crisis management:**


**Negotiation and diplomacy:**


**Mediation:**


**Case study method:**


Rational choice:


II. HISTORICAL WORKS

Bibliographies:

Jürgen Förster, David French, David Stevenson and Russel Van Wyk, eds., War and Society Newsletter: A Bibliographical Survey (Munich: Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, annual since 1973). This source lists articles and book chapters relevant to international relations and war.

General surveys of international history:


See Palmer and Colton's extensive bibliography for more sources.

General surveys of European international history:

Carlton J.H. Hayes, Contemporary Europe Since 1870 (NY: Macmillan, 1962)

Also pertinent are the relevant books in four series of general histories:

1: The "Langer" series, published by Harper Torchbooks, 15-odd volumes covering western history since 1200, under the general editorship of William Langer (e.g. Raymond Sontag, A Broken World, 1919-1939.)
2: The Longman's "General History of Europe" series, covering western history since Roman times, published by Longman, under the general editorship of Denys Hays (e.g. J.M. Roberts, Europe 1880-1945).
3: The Fontana "History of Europe" series, published by Fontana/Collins, covering history since the middle ages, under the general editorship of J.H. Plumb (e.g. J.A.S. Grenville, Europe Reshaped, 1848-78);
4: The "New Cambridge Modern History" and "Cambridge Ancient History" series, covering western history from the beginning.

The Seven Years War:

An overview:
Fred Anderson, Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000)

On the Franco-British conflict in the Seven Years War:


On the Prussian-Austrian-Russian-French war of 1756 accounts include:

Gerhard Ritter, Frederick the Great (Berkeley: U. of California, 1974), pp. 73-148.

The Crimean War:


The Italian Wars of Independence:


The Wars of German Unification:


World War I:

Basic histories include:

D.C.B. Lieven, Russia and the Origins of the First World War (New York: St. Martin's, 1983)
Zara S. Steiner, Britain and the Origins of the First World War (NY: St. Martin's, 1977)

Surveys of debates about the war's origins are:


Other sources on the origins of the war include:


Contemporary descriptions of the political climate in Germany are:

William Roscoe Thayer, ed., *Out Of Their Own Mouths* (NY: Appleton, 1917)

Wallace Notestein, ed. *Conquest and Kultur: Aims of Germans in Their Own Words* (Washington: Committee on Public Information, 1917)


Other works on themes pertinent to this course include:


Louis L. Snyder, *From Bismarck to Hitler* (Williamsport: Bayard, 1935)


Antoine Guillard, *Germany and Her Historians* (NY: McBride, Nast, 1915)


Isabel Hull, Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practice of War in Imperial Germany (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 2005)

Readable accounts of the war itself include:

On Versailles an introduction is:

World War II in Europe:
E.H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars (NY: Macmillan, 1947)
Jackson J. Spielvogel, Hitler and Nazi Germany: A History, 3rd ed. (Upper
William L. Shirer, Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1960)
Max Weinreich, Hitler's Professors (NY: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1946)
Omer Bartov, Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and the War in the Third Reich (NY: Oxford University Press, 1991)
Richard J. Evans, In Hitler's Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape from the Nazi Past (New York: Pantheon, 1989)
Denis Mack Smith, Mussolini's Roman Empire (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977)

The Pacific War:

Michael A. Barnhart, Japan Prepares for Total War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987)

The origins of the Cold War:

The Korean War:

Allen Whiting, China Crosses the Yalu: The Decision to Enter the Korean War (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1960)
David Rees, Korea: The Limited War (Baltimore: Penguin, 1970)
James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, United States Foreign Policy and World Order, 3rd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1985), pp. 113-156.

The Indochina War:

George McT. Kahin and John W. Lewis, The United States in Vietnam (NY: Dell,
1969)
David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (Greenwich: Fawcett, 1972)
Leslie H. Gelb and Richard K. Betts, The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked
(Washington DC: Brookings, 1979)
Larry Berman, Planning a Tragedy: The Americanization of the War in Vietnam
(NY: W.W. Norton, 1982)
The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States
Decisionmaking on Vietnam, 4 vols. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973); also issued
Pentagon Papers (NY: NY Times, 1971)
Jeffrey P. Kimball, To Reason Why: The Debate About the Causes of U.S.
Daniel Ellsberg, Papers on the War (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1972)
William Shawcross, Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia
(NY: Pocket Books, 1979)
Philip Caputo, A Rumor of War (NY: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1977) is a vivid
personal account by an American soldier.

The Peloponnesian War:
Press, 1972)
Donald Kagan, The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Ithaca: Cornell
University Press, 1969)
Donald Kagan, The Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition (Ithaca: Cornell
University Press, 1981)
Donald Kagan, On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace (NY:

The Punic Wars
R.M. Errington, Dawn of Empire: Rome's Rise to World Power (Ithaca: Cornell
University Press, 1972), pp. 3-79.

Arab-Israeli Wars:
General on the Arab-Israeli conflict:
Benny Morris, Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-
Avi Shlaim, The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World (New York: W.W. Norton,
2000). Another fine history.
Charles D. Smith, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 4th ed. (Boston:
Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001). Even-handed and judicious.
Norman G. Finkelstein, Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict
(London: Verso, 1995) A heated but valuable assessment of some important
historiographical controversies.
Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History
of 1948 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Another
excellent survey of important historiographical controversies.
Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Clausner, A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli
and high-quality.
Mark Tessler, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (Bloomington:
Indiana University Press, 1994)
Deborah J. Gerner, One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict Over Palestine, 2nd ed.
On recent peace negotiations:


On 1948:


On 1956:

Safran, Israel, the Embattled Ally, pp. 224-39, 334-58.
Hirst, Gun and the Olive Branch, pp. 172-205.
Livia Rokach, Israel's Sacred Terrorism: A Study Based on Moshe Sharett's Personal Diary and Other Documents (Belmont, Mass.; Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1980)
Michael Brecher, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), ch. 6 (pp. 225-317).
Moshe Dayan, Diary of the Sinai Campaign (Jerusalem: Steimatzy's, 1966)

On 1967:


On 1969-70:


On 1973:

Nadav Safran, *Israel, the Embattled Ally*, pp. 278-316, 448-505.

The 1982 Lebanon war:


Anti-semitism, the root of the evil:

Marvin Perry and Frederick Schweitzer, *Anti-Semitism: Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present* (NY: Palgrave, 2002).
Israel Pocket Library, *Anti-Semitism* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974). See also relevant entries in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, from which this book is excerpted. In this dark story lies a key to the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
The Cuban Missile Crisis:

Elie Abel, The Missile Crisis (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1968)
Graham Allison, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971)
Robert A. Divine, ed. The Cuban Missile Crisis, 2nd ed. (NY: Markus Wiener, 1988)

The 1990-1991 Persian Gulf War:

Rick Atkison, Crusade (NY: Random House, 1993)

The terror war:

James F. Hoge and Gideon Rose, ed., How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War (NY: Public Affairs Press, 2001)


The US-Iraq War, 2003-


Other contemporary wars:


The future of war, preventing war:

Frank Fukuyama, "The End of History?" in John T. Rourke, *Taking Sides*, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992), pp. 268-286. Fukuyama forecasts that the spread of democratic ideas will spread peace worldwide over the next several centuries, ending forever the cycle of wars that have plagued human history.

