International Conflict

(Political Science 960)

Instructor: Dr. Uk Heo Office: Bolton 614 Phone: 229-6681

e-mail: <u>heouk@uwm.edu</u>

Objectives

In this class, we review the literature in political science on international conflicts. In the process, we examine the leading theories, their key variables and research methods. These include balance of power theory, power transition theory, expected utility theory of war, hegemonic stability theory, long cycle theory of war, diversionary theory of war, arms race/arms control, deterrence, democratic peace, and the trade-conflict nexus.

Requirements

- a) A research paper (40%): 15-20 double spaced pages in text (put all the tables in the back)
- b) Final Exam (25%)
- c) Class attendance and participation (25%)
- d) Research Paper Proposal (10%): 3-5 pages

Academic misconduct is an act in which a student seeks to claim credit for the work or efforts of another without authorization or citation, uses unauthorized materials or fabricated data in any academic exercise, forges or falsifies academic documents or records, intentionally impedes or damages the academic work of others, engages in conduct aimed at making false representation of a student's academic performance, or assists other students in any of these acts. Prohibited conduct includes cheating on an examination; collaborating with others in work to be presented, contrary to the stated rules of the course; submitting a paper or assignment as one's own work when a part or all of the paper or assignment is the work of another; submitting a paper or assignment that contains ideas or research of others without appropriately identifying the sources of those ideas; stealing examinations or course materials; submitting, if contrary to the rules of a course, work previously presented in another course; tampering with the laboratory experiment or computer program of another student; knowingly and intentionally assisting another student in any of the above, including assistance in an arrangement whereby any work, classroom performance, examination or other activity is submitted or performed by a person other than the student under whose name the work is submitted or performed.

Schedule

Week 1 (1/22): Introduction

Week 2 (2/3): War and Rationality (Expected Utility Theory of War)

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce (1981) The War Trap. New Haven: Yale University

Press. Ch. 2: Planning the War Trap: Assumptions of the Theory

Ch. 3: The Expected Utility Theory

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and David Lalman (1992). War and Reason. New

Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1

Bennet, D. Scott and Alan C. Stam III (2000). "A Universal Test of an Expected Utility

Theory of War" *International Studies Quarterly* 44(3): 451-480.

Recommend:

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and David Lalman (1986) "Reason and War" *American Political Science Review* 80(4): 1113-1129.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James Morrow, and Ethan Zorick (1997) "Capabilities, Perception, and Escalation" *American Political Science Review* 91:15-27.

Week 3 (2/10): Realism--Power Parity and Major Wars

Kim, Woosang (1991) "Alliance Transitions and Great Power War" *American Journal of Political Science* 35(4): 833-850.

William Moul. (2003). "Power Parity, Preponderance, and War between Great

Powers, 1816-1989." Journal of Conflict Resolution 47: 468-489.

Kevin J. Sweeney. (2003). "The Severity of Interstate Disputes: Are Dyadic Capability Preponderances Really More Pacific?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47: 728-750.

Heo, Uk, Eben Christensen and Tatyana Karaman. (2003). "Power Parity, Alliance, Differential Growth and Great Power Wars: An Empirical Analysis" *Armed Forces and Society* 29(3): 449-460.

Week 4 (2/17): Liberalism--Democratic Peace

Maoz, Zeev and Bruce Russett (1993) "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986" *American Political Science Review* 87: 624-638.

Rosato, Sebastian. (2003). "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 585-602.

Mansfield, E., and J. Snyder. (2002). "Incomplete Democratization and the Outbreak of Military Disputes." *International Studies Quarterly* 46: 529-549.

Reuveny, Rafael and Quan Li (2003). "The Joint Democracy-Dyadic Conflict Nexus: A Simultaneous Equations Model." *International Studies Quarterly* 47: 325-346.

James, Patrick, Johann Park, and Seung-Whan Park. (2006). "Democracy and Conflict Management: Territorial Claims in the Western Hemisphere Revisited." *International Studies Quarterly* 50(4): 803-818.

Recommended:

Kristian S. Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward (2000). "War and Peace in Space and Time: The Role of Democratization" *International Studies Quarterly* 44(1): 2-30.

Huth, Paul and Todd L. Allee (2002). "Domestic Political Accountability and the Escalation and Settlement of International Disputes" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(6): 754-790.

Ward, Michael and Kristian Gleditsch (1998). "Democratizing for Peace" *American Political Science Review* 92(1):51-61.

Oneal, John and Jaroslav Tir. (2006). "Does the Diversionary Use of Force Threaten the Democratic Peace? Assessing the Effect of Economic Growth on Interstate Conflict, 1921-2001." *International Studies Quarterly* 50(4): 755-780.

Week 5 (2/21): Liberalism--International Trade, Interdependence, International Organizations, and War

Oneal, John, Bruce Russett, and Michael Berbaum. (2003). "Causes of Peace:

Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 47(3): 371-394.

Keshk, Omar, Brian Pollins, and Rafael Reuveny. (2004). "Trade Still Follows the Flag: The Primacy of Politics in a Simultaneous Model of Interdependence and Armed Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 66(4): 1155-1179.

Xiang, Jun, Xiaohong Xu, and George Keteku. (2007). "Power: The Missing Link in the Trade Conflict Relationship." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51: 646-663.

Dorussen, Han and Hugh Ward. (2008). "Intergovernmental Organizations and the

Kantian Peace: A Network Perspective." Journal of Conflict Resolution 52: 189-212.

Long, Andrew (2008). "Bilateral Trade in the shadow of Armed Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1): 81-102.

Recommended:

Mansfield, Edward and Brian Pollins (2001) "The Study of Interdependence and Conflict: Recent Advances, Open Questions, and Directions for Future Research" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(6): 834-859.

Bearce, David and Eric O'n. Fisher (2002) "Economic Geography, Trade, and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 46(3): 365-393.

Pollins, Brian (1989). "Conflict, Cooperation, and Commerce: The Effect of International Political Interactions on Bilateral Trade Flows" *American Journal of Political Science* 33:737-761

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Alexander H. Montgomery. (2006). "Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50: 3-27.

Week 6 (3/3): Economic Sanctions

Pape, Robert A. 1997. "Why economic sanctions do not work." *International Security* 22 (2): 90-136.

Hovi, Jon, Robert Huseby, and Detlef Sprinz. (2005). "When do (imposed) economic sanctions work? *World Politics* 57:479-99

Lektzian, David and Mark Souva. (2007). "An Institutional Theory of Sanctions Onset and Success." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51: 848-871.

Allen, Susan Hannah. (2008). "The Domestic Political Costs of Economic Sanctions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52: 916-944.

Recommended:

Lektzian, David and Chris Sprecher. (2007). "Sanctions, Signals, and Militarized Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 415-431

Jing, Chao, William Kaempfer, and Anton D. Lowenberg. 2003. Instrument choice and the effectiveness of international sanctions: A simultaneous equations approach. Journal of Peace Research 40:519-35.

Allen, Susan Hannah. 2005. The determinants of economic sanctions success and failure. International Interactions 31:117-38.

Blanchard, Jean-Marc, and Norrin Ripsman. 1999/2000. Asking the right question: When do economic sanctions work best? Security Studies 9:219-53.

Dashti-Gibson, Jaleh, Patricia Davis, and Benjamin Radcliff. 1997. On the determinants of the success of economic sanctions: An empirical analysis. American Journal of Political Science 41:608-18.

Drury, A. Cooper. 1998. Revisiting economic sanctions reconsidered. Journal of Peace Research 35:497-509.

Hart, Robert A., Jr. 2000. Democracy and the successful use of economic sanctions. Political Research Quarterly 53:267-84.

Miyagawa, Makio. 1992. Do economic sanctions work? New York: St. Martin's.

Week 7 (3/10): The Political Economy of Defense

Heo, Uk (1998). "Modeling the Defense-Growth Relationship Around the Globe" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(5): 637-657.

Heo, Uk (2000). "The Defense-Growth Nexus in the United States Revisited" *American Politics Quarterly* 28:110-127.

Dunne, Paul and Ron Smith and Dirk Willenbockel. (2005). "Models of Military Expenditure and Growth: A Critical Review." *Defence and Peace Economics* 16: 449-461.

Heo, Uk. (2009). "The Relationship between Defense Spending and Economic Growth in the United States: An Empirical Analysis Using the Feder-Ram Based Model and the Augmented Solow Mode." *Political Research Quarterly* 63(4): 760-770

Heo, Uk and Robert Eger. (2005). "Paying for Security: The Security-Prosperity Dilemma in the United States." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(5): 792-817

Heo, Uk and John Bohte. (2012). "Who Pays for National Defense: Financing Defense Programs in the United States, 1947-2007." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Recommended:

Heo, Uk (1999). "Defense Spending and Economic Growth in South Korea: The Indirect Link" *Journal of Peace Research* 36(6): 699-708.

Heo, Uk and Karl DeRouen Jr. (1998) "Military Expenditures, Technological Change, and Economic Growth in the East Asian NICs" 1998. *Journal of Politics* 60(3):830-846. DeRouen, Karl and Uk Heo (2001) "Modernisation and the Military in Latin America" *British Journal of Political* 31(3): 475-496.

Ward, Michael and David Davis (1992). "Sizing Up the Peace Dividend: Economic Growth and Military Spending in the United States, 1948-1996" *American Political Science Review* 86:748-755.

Sandler, Todd and Keith Hartley (1995). The Economics of Defense. Cambridge University Press.

Chan, Steve (1995). "Grasping the Peace Dividend: Some Propositions on the Conversion of Swords into Plowshares" *Mershon International Studies Review*. 39:53-95.

Week 8 Spring Recess

Week 9 (3/24): Civil Wars and Ethnic Conflict I: Onset

Sambanis, Nichols. (2001). "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259-282.

Reynal-Querol, Marta. (2002). "Ethnicity, Political Systems, and Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 29-54.

Fearon, James and David Laitin. (2003). "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

Blimes, Randall J. (2006). "The Indirect Effect of Ethnic Heterogeneity on the Likelihood of Civil War Onset." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50: 536-547. Bhavnani, Ravi and Dan Miodownik Nooruddin (2009). "Ethnic Polarization, Ethnic Salience, and Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53: 30-49.

Recommended: Håvard Hegre and Nicholas Sambanis. (2006). "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50: 508-535. Hegre, Havard, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. (2001). "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Changes and Civil War, 1916-1992." *American Political Science Review* 95(1): 33-48.

Week 10 (3/31): Civil Wars and Ethnic Conflict II: Duration, Expansion, and Effects DeRouen, Karl Jr. and David Sobek. (2004). "The Dynamics of Civil War Duration and

Outcome." Journal of Peace Research 41(3): 303-320.

Fearon, James. (2004). "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 275-301.

Woodwell, Douglas. (2004). "Unwelcome Neighbors: Shared Ethnicity and International Conflict During the Cold War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1): 197-223.

Thyne, Clayton. (2006). "ABC's, 123's, and the Golden Rule: The Pacifying Effect of Education on Civil War, 1980-19999. International Studies Quarterly 50(4): 733-754.

Kang, Seonju and James Meernik. (2005). "Civil War Destruction and the Prospects for Economic Growth. *Journal of Politics* 67(1):88-110.

Recommended:

Lacina, Bethany. (2006). "Explaining the Severity of Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50: 276-289.

Murdoch, James and Todd Sandler. (2002)." Economic Growth, Civil Wars and Spatial Spillovers." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 91-110.

Sambanis, Nicholas. (2004). "What is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 48(6): 814-858.

Collier et al. 2003. Breaking the Conflict Trap. World Bank and Oxford University Press.

Week 11 (4/7): Domestic Politics, Use of Force and Diversionary Theory of War

DeRouen, Karl Jr. (2000) "Presidents and the Diversionary Use of Force: A Research Note" *International Studies Quarterly* 44(2): 317-328.

Meernik, James and Peter Waterman (1996). "The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Force by American Presidents" *Political Research Quarterly* 49:573-90.

Tir, Jaroslav Tir and Michael Jasinski. (2008). "Domestic-Level Diversionary Theory of War: Targeting Ethnic Minorities." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(5): 641-664.

McLaughlin, Sara Mitchell and Brandon Prins. (2004). "Rivalry and Diversionary Uses of Force" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 937-961.

Fordham, Benjamin. (2005). "Strategic Conflict Avoidance and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Journal of Politics* 67(1): 132-253.

Pickering, Jeffrey and Emizet Kisangani (2005). "Democracy and Diversionary Military Intervention: Reassessing Regime type and the Diversionary Hypothesis." *International Studies Quarterly* 49: 23-43.

Recommended: Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor (1991). "Election Cycles and War" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35:212-224.

Fordham, Benjamin (2002) "Another Look at 'Parties, Voters, and the Use of Force Abroad" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(4): 572-596.

Gelpi, Christopher. (1997). "Democratic Diversions" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41:255-282.

Mayer, Kenneth. (1995) "Electoral Cycles in Federal Government Prime Contract Awards: State-level Evidence from the 1988 and 1992 Presidential Elections" *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 162-85.

DeRouen, Karl Jr. (1995) "The Indirect Link between Politics, the Economy, and the Use of Force" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39:671-695.

Week 12 (4/14): Term Paper Proposal Due, Presentation and Discussion

Week 13 (4/21): Deterrence

Huth, Paul and Bruce Russett (1984). "What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980" *World Politics* 36:496-526.

Huth, Paul and Bruce Russett (1993). "General Deterrence between Enduring Rivals: Testing Three Competing Models" American Political Science Review 87:61-73. Danilovic, Vesna (2001) "Conceptual and Selection Bias Issues in Deterrence" Journal of Conflict Resolution 45(1): 97-125.

Lebovic, James (2002) "The Law of Small Numbers: Deterrence and National Missile

Defense" Journal of Conflict Resolution 46(4): 455-483.

Brock F. Tessman and Steve Chan. (2004) "Power Cycles, Risk Propensity, and Great-Power Deterrence." Journal of Conflict Resolution 48: 131-153.

Signorino, Curtis and Ahmer Tarar. "Unifed Theory and Test of Extended Immediate Deterrence" (2006) with Ahmer Tarar.

American Journal of Political Science. 50(July).

Recommended: Harvey, Frank and Patrick James (1992). "Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Record of Aggregating Testing" Conflict Management and Pace Science 12: 17-46.

Week 14 (4/28): Terrorism and International Conflict

Crenshaw, Martha. (2003). "Terrorism and International Violence." In Munus Midlarsky ed. Handbook of War Studies II. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Haddad, Simon and Hilal Khashan (2002) "Islam and Terrorism: Lebanese Muslim Views on September 11" Journal of Conflict Resolution 46(6): 812-828.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler (2000) "Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening: A Time-Series Investigation." Journal of Conflict Resolution 44(3): 307-332.

Burgoon, Brian (2006). "On Welfare and Terror: Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism." Journal of Conflict Resolution 50: 176-203.

Wade, Sara Jackson and Dan Reiter. (2007). "Does Democracy Matter?: Regime Type and Suicide Terrorism." Journal of Conflict Resolution 51: 329-348.

Recommended: Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler (1999) "Transnational Terrorism in the Post-Cold War Era" International Studies Quarterly 43(1): 145-167

Brophybaermann B. Conybeare Jac (1994) "Retaliating Against Terrorism: Rational-Expectations and the Optimality of Rules versus Discretion." American Journal of *Political Science* 38(1): 196-210.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler (1993) "The Effectiveness of Anti-Terrorism Policies: A Vector Autoregression Intervention Analysis." American Political Science Review 87(4): 829-844.

Week 15 (5/5): Term Paper Due and Presentation

Week 16: Final Exam