

POLSCI 368 Modern Warfare

University of Michigan | Department of Political Science | Winter 2023

Course Canvas link: umich.instructure.com/courses/592885

WHEN & WHERE

LECTURE 001 / ZHUKOV

TuTh 0830-1000
Angell Hall Auditorium A

SECTION 002 / NISSEN

F 0900-1000
Mason Hall 3330

SECTION 003 / LUCAS

F 1000-1100
Mason Hall 3427

SECTION 004 / LUCAS

F 1300-1400
Haven Hall 7603

SECTION 005 / LUCAS

F 1100-1200
Angell Hall G228

SECTION 006 / NISSEN

Th 1600-1700
School Of Social Work Building B760

WHO

YURI ZHUKOV (COURSE HEAD)

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OFFICE HOURS

Tu 1500-1800 (via Zoom)

Signup sheet (24 hours in advance):

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WHAT

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course offers an introduction to the study of war in the modern world. The lectures and readings are organized into three modules: (1) why wars begin, (2) how wars are fought, and (3) how wars end.

In the first module, we will cover major theories of war from international relations, and use them to explain the outbreak of several major international and civil conflicts.

In the second module, we examine why some states are better at fighting wars than others, and explore the basics of military strategy on land, air and sea, as well as counterinsurgency and nuclear weapons.

The third module will turn our focus to conflict resolution, particularly the role of military intervention, peacekeeping, and negotiation.

We will conclude the course with a case study of Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, and a look into the near future of warfare.

PREREQUISITES

This course has no formal prerequisites.

However, students who have taken an introductory course in international relations (e.g. POLSCI160) will have a slight advantage, mainly in the first section of the course.

Those who want a (p)refresher in IR theory or basic military organization should consult the recommended readings listed in this syllabus.

Basic familiarity with 20th century European and American history, World Wars I and II, will also be helpful.

FORMAT

The course is organized into two 90-minute lectures and one 60-minute discussion section per week. Attendance is mandatory.

The sections will emphasize activity-based learning through participation in interactive debates and simulations. In the first group activity, students will divide into WWI country teams to debate the content of Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles (aka "War Guilt Clause"). In the second activity, students will attempt to negotiate a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

GRADE POLICY

Grades will be based on two quizzes (10% + 10%), two group assignments (15% + 15%), a research paper (20%), lecture attendance/participation (10%) and section attendance/participation (20%).

The final paper (5-7 pages, double spaced) will ask students to choose one of two topics: (1) a "post-mortem" identifying the causes of a war, or (2) an analysis of a specific military operation.

Details on requirements and expectations for each assignment will be provided 2-3 weeks into the course, and a 1-paragraph paper proposal will be due in late February.

IMPORTANT DATES

CLASS SCHEDULE

0. Course Introduction Thursday, Jan. 5

- No readings

WHY WARS OCCUR

1. War in Theory and Practice Tuesday, Jan. 10

- Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): Ch. 1.
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Oxford University Press, 2007): Book One, Ch. 1.

Recommended:

- Stephen M. Walt, "The Relationship between Theory and Policy in International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2005): 23-48.
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale University Press, 1966/2008): Ch. 1-2.
- Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (Rutgers, 1986).
- Michael Waltzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (Basic Books, 1977): Ch. 1-3.

2. War Before the Nation-State Thursday, Jan. 12

- Keeley, Lawrence, *War before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): Ch. 1.
- Robert H. Bates, *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development* (W.W. Norton, 2009): Ch. 1-3.

Recommended:

- Keeley, Lawrence, *War before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): Ch. 2.
- Martin Van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge University Press, 2004): Ch. 1-3.
- John Arquilla, "The Big Kill: Sorry, Steven Pinker, the world isn't getting less violent," *Foreign Policy* (December 3, 2012).
- Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence has Declined* (Viking, 2012): Ch. 10.

3. The Role of the International System Tuesday, Jan. 17

- Levy and Thompson: Ch. 2.
- John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol.19, no. 3 (1994-95).

Recommended:

- Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security* (1998).
- Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (Spring 1998): 29-46.
- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425.

FIRST SECTION MEETINGS

Th/F, Jan. 12/13

- Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In," *International Security* 19 (Summer 1994): 72-107.
- Dale C. Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," *International Security* 20 (Spring 1996): 5-41.
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January 1978): 167-214
- Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, no. 145 (November/December 2004): 52-62.
- Jack S. Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 139-165.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979): 161-176.
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981): 156-210.

4. Dyads and Strategic Interactions Thursday, Jan. 19

- Levy and Thompson: Ch. 3.
- James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49 (Summer 1995): 379-414.

Recommended:

- Robert Axelrod, "The Emergence of Cooperation among Egoists," *American Political Science Review* 75, no.2 (1981): 306-318.
- James D. Morrow, "Signaling Difficulties with Linkage in Crisis Bargaining," *International Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 2. (June 1992): 153-172.
- Dan Reiter, "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1 no. 1 (2003): 27-43.
- Thomas Schelling, "What is Game Theory?" in *Choice and Consequence* (Harvard University Press, 1984): 213-242.
- James D. Morrow, "Capabilities, Uncertainty, and Resolve: A Limited Information Model of Crisis Bargaining," *American Journal of Political Science* 33, no. 4. (November 1989): 941-972.

5. The Role of Domestic Politics Tuesday, Jan. 24

- Levy and Thompson: Ch. 4.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 3 (May/June 1995): 79-97.

Recommended:

- David L. Rousseau, Christopher Gelpi, Dan Reiter, and Paul K. Huth, "Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace, 1918-1988," *American Political Science Review* 90, 3 (1996): 512-533.
- John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett, "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992," *World Politics* 52, 1 (October 1999), 1-37.
- Jack S. Levy, "Misperception and the Causes of War," *World Politics* 36 (October 1983): 76-99.

- James D. Fearon, "Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1998): 289-313.
- Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (1988): 427-460.
- Kurt Dassel, "Civilians, Soldiers, and Strife: Domestic Sources of International Aggression," *International Security* 23,1 (Summer 1998): 107-140.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security*, vol. 29, no 1 (Summer 2004).
- Matthew Baum, "The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon," *International Studies Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (2002): 263-298.

6. **The Role of Individuals and Groups** Thursday, Jan. 26

- Levy and Thompson: Ch. 5-6.
- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 107-146.

Recommended:

- Peter D. Feaver, "Civil-Military Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2 (1999): 211-42.
- Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk," *Econometrica* 47 (March 1979): 263-91.
- Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (March 1997): 87-112.
- Jack S. Levy, "Loss Aversion, Framing Effects, and International Conflict: Perspectives from Prospect Theory," in *Handbook of War Studies II*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 193-221.
- Jack S. Levy, "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *International Studies Quarterly*, 30 (June 1986): 193-222.
- Dominic D. P. Johnson, *Overconfidence and War: The Havoc and Glory of Positive Illusions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 1-34.

QUIZ 1

MATERIAL UP TO LECTURE 7

Th/F, Jan. 26/27

7. **Civil Wars** Tuesday, Jan. 31

- Levy and Thompson: Ch. 7.
- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* (1993).
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (February 2003): 75-90.

Recommended:

- Michael E. Brown, "The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview," In Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997): 3-25.

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars," Working Paper Series 2002. Center for the Study of African Economies, Oxford, UK.
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review*, 90,4 (December 1996): 715-35.
- James D. Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, ed. David Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998): 107-126.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics*, Vol. 54, (October 2001): 99-118.
- Michael L. Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Winter 2004): 35- 67.
- Monica Duffy Toft, *The Geography of Ethnic Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), chapters 1-4.
- Paul Collier, "Rebellion as a Quasi Criminal Activity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (2000).
- Havard Hegre and Nicholas Sambanis "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 50, no. 4 (2006): 508-35.

8. **World War I** Thursday, Feb. 2

- Michael Howard, *The First World War: A Very Short Introduction*, chap. 1.
- Paul Kennedy, "The First World War and the International Power System," *International Security* 9, no. 1 (1984).

Recommended:

- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 108-146.
- James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*, 2nd ed. (NY: Longman, 1992), entire.

9. **World War I (continued)** Tuesday, Feb. 7

- Michael Howard, *The First World War: A Very Short Introduction*, chap. 2.
- Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 58-107.

Recommended:

- Kier Lieber, "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory," *International Security* (Fall 2007).
- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security* 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 108-146.
- Scott D. Sagan, "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability," *International Security* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 151-175.

- Dominic Johnson and D. Tierney, “The Rubicon Theory of War: How the Path to Conflict Reaches the Point of No Return,” *International Security* (2011).

10. **World War I (continued)** Thursday, Feb. 9

- Michael Howard, *The First World War: A Very Short Introduction*, chap. 3.
- Holger Herwig, “Clio Deceived: Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany After the Great War,” in Steven Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War: 262-301*.

Recommended:

- P.M.H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*, 3rd ed. (London: Pearson, 2007): 55-183.

GROUP PRESENTATIONS 1

WORLD WAR I

Th/F, Feb. 9/10

HOW WARS ARE FOUGHT

11. **Doctrine, Strategy, Operations and Tactics** Tuesday, Feb. 14

- P.M.H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*, 3rd ed. (London: Pearson, 2007): 185-230.
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): 1-13, 28-51.

Recommended:

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): 14-27.
- Jonathan M. House, *Combined Arms Warfare in the Twentieth Century* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001): 31-64.
- Barry Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1984): Ch. 1.
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976): Book 1, Ch. 1, 8.
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War: A Comprehensive Guide to Modern Warfare in the Twenty-First Century*, 4th ed. (New York: Quill, 2003): Ch. 1.

12. **World War II (land warfare 1)** Thursday, Feb. 16

- Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett, *A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000): 18-30, 44-62, 66-83.

Recommended:

- Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett, *A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000): 91-109.
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War: A Comprehensive Guide to Modern Warfare in the Twenty-First Century*, 4th ed. (New York: Quill, 2003): Ch. 2-4.
- Richard Overy, *Russia’s War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941-1945* (New York: Penguin, 1997): 34-72.

- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 99-133.
- Martin van Creveld, *Fighting Power* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).

13. **World War II (land warfare 2)** Tuesday, Feb. 21

- Overy, *Russia's War*, pp. 73-98 (Barbarossa), 154-185 (Stalingrad).

Recommended:

- Overy, *Russia's War*, pp. 99-153 (Barbarossa), 186-222 (Kursk).
- John Erickson, "Stalin, Soviet Strategy, and the Grand Alliance," in Ann Lane and Howard Temperley, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the Grand Alliance, 1941-1945* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995): 136-73.

14. **World War II (air power)** Thursday, Feb. 23

- Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996): 1-11, 12-15, 55-86.

Recommended:

- Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996): 12-54, 87-136, 254-313.
- Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett, *A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000): 30-35, 83-89.
- Richard Overy, *The Battle of Britain: The Myth and the Reality* (Norton, 2000) excerpts
- Tami Davis Biddle, "British and American Approaches to Strategic Bombing: Their Origins and Implementation in the World War II Combined Bomber Offensive," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 18, no. 1 (March 1995).
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War: A Comprehensive Guide to Modern Warfare in the Twenty-First Century*, 4th ed. (New York: Quill, 2003): Ch. 7-8.
- Robert A. Pape, "The True Worth of Air Power," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 2 (March/April 2004): 116-130.

15. **World War II (naval warfare)** Tuesday, Mar. 7

- Murray and Millett, *A War to Be Won*: 169-195 (ch. 8).

Recommended:

- Murray and Millett, *A War to Be Won*: 196-223, 226-33, 336-73 (Pacific), 234-61 (Atlantic).
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War: A Comprehensive Guide to Modern Warfare in the Twenty-First Century*, 4th ed. (New York: Quill, 2003): Ch. 9-10.

16. **World War II (genocide and mass killings)** Thursday, Mar. 9

- Timothy Snyder, "Hitler vs. Stalin: Who Killed More?" *New York Review of Books* (March 10, 2011).

PAPER PROPOSALS DUE

Th/F, Feb. 23/24

- Charles King, “Can There Be a Political Science of the Holocaust?” *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 323-341.

Recommended:

- Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands* (Basic Books, 2010): vii-xix, 119-337, 379-408.
- Jeffrey S. Kopstein and Jason Wittenberg, “Deadly communities: Local political milieus and the persecution of Jews in occupied Poland,” *Comparative Political Studies* 44, no. 3 (2011): 259-283.
- Evgeny Finkel, “The Phoenix Effect of State Repression: Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust,” Working Paper, 2014.
- Evgeny Finkel and Scott Straus, “Macro, meso, and micro research on genocide: gains, shortcomings, and future areas of inquiry,” *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 7, no. 1 (2012): 56-67.
- Ernesto Verdeja, “The political science of genocide: outlines of an emerging research agenda,” *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 307-321.

17. **The Cold War** Tuesday, Mar. 14

- George F. Kennan (‘X’), “The sources of Soviet conduct.” *Foreign Affairs* (1947).
- John Lewis Gaddis, “The long peace: Elements of stability in the postwar international system.” *International Security* 10, no. 4 (1986): 99-142.

Recommended:

- Vojtech Mastny *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years* (Oxford University Press, 1998): 3-29.
- John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of containment: a critical appraisal of American national security policy during the Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

18. **Weapons of Mass Destruction** Thursday, Mar. 16

- Kenneth Waltz, “Nuclear Myths and Political Realities,” *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 3 (1990), 731-745.
- Scott D. Sagan, “The perils of proliferation: Organization theory, deterrence theory, and the spread of nuclear weapons,” *International Security* 18, no. 4 (1994): 66-107.

Recommended:

- Albert Wohlstetter, “The Delicate Balance of Terror,” RAND Research Paper, P-1472 (December, 1958).
- R. Harrison Wagner, “Nuclear Deterrence, Counterforce Strategies, and the Incentives to Strike First,” *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3. (September 1991): 727-749.
- Robert Powell, *Nuclear Deterrence Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Graham Allison, “Nuclear Disorder,” *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 1 (Jan/Feb 2010).

19. **Counterinsurgency** Tuesday, Mar. 21

- Bard E. O’Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism*, 2nd ed., revised (Potomac Books, 2005): Ch 2-3.

QUIZ 2

MATERIAL UP TO LECTURE 18

Th/F, Mar. 16/17

- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, “Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars,” *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (2009): 67-106.

Recommended:

- U.S. Army Field Manual 3-24: Chapter 1.
- Stephen Biddle and Stathis Kalyvas, “The New U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual as Political Science and Political Praxis,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 2008): 347-353.
- Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare* (<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1937/guerrilla-warfare/>)
- Frank Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).
- Nathan Leites and Charles Wolf, Jr. *Rebellion and Authority: An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts* (Chicago: Markham, 1970).
- Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency* (New York: Praeger, 1964).
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (London: Praeger, 1964).

20. **Counterinsurgency (continued)** Thursday, Mar. 23

- Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006): Ch. 6.
- Monica Duffy Toft and Yuri M. Zhukov, “Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia’s North Caucasus,” *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 2 (2015): 222-238.

Recommended:

- Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006): Ch. 4-5, 7.
- Jason Lyall, “Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 3 (2009): 331-362.
- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey Friedman and Jacob Shapiro, “Testing the Surge: Why Violence Declined in Iraq in 2007,” *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 1-34.
- Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, “‘Draining the Sea’: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare,” *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (April 2004): 375-407.

HOW WARS END

21. **Negotiation** Tuesday, Mar. 28

- Roy Licklider, “The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993,” *American Political Science Review*, 89/3 (September 1995): 681-90.
- Barbara Walter, “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement,” *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3, (Summer 1997) 335-364.

Recommended:

- Virginia Page Fortna, “Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace,” *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Spring 2003): 337-372.
- Stephen John Stedman, “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes,” *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 5-53.

22. **Case Study: Arab-Israeli Conflict** Thursday, Mar. 30

- Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* 4th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2001): 26-43, 53-87, 480-515, 537-541.
- Jim Zanotti, “Israel: Background and U.S. Relations,” *Congressional Research Service*, July 1, 2022.

Recommended:

- Efraim Inbar, “The Rise and Demise of the Two-State Paradigm,” *Orbis* (September 2009).
- Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* 4th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2001): 222-250, 259-90, 300-330.
- Boston Study Group on Middle East Peace, *Two States for Two Peoples: If Not Now, When?* 1-14.

23. **Peacekeeping** Tuesday, Apr. 4

- Edward Luttwak, “Give War a Chance,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 78, no. 4 (1999): 36-44.
- Patrick M. Regan, “Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (February 2002): 55-73.

Recommended:

- David M. Edelstein, “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail,” *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 1 (Summer 2004).
- Chaim Kaufman, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 20 (Spring 1996): 136-75.
- Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, “International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis,” *American Political Science Review* vol. 94, no. 4 (2000): 779-801.
- Virginia Page Fortna, “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 2004): 269-292.
- Nicholas Sambanis, “Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature,” *World Politics*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Monica Duffy Toft, “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Spring 2010): 7-36.
- James Fearon, “Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?” *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 41, no. 3 (2004): 275-301.

24. **Repression and Dissent** Thursday, Apr. 6

- Christian Davenport, “State Repression and Political Order,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (2007): 1-23.
- Arturas Rozenas and Yuri Zhukov. “Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin’s ‘Terror by Hunger.’” *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 2 (2019): 569-583

Recommended:

- Jan Henryk Pierskalla, “Protest, Deterrence, and Escalation: The Strategic Calculus of Government Repression,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54, no. 1 (2010): 117-145.
- Arturas Rozenas, Sebastian Schutte and Yuri Zhukov, “The Political Legacy of Violence: The Long-Term Impact of Stalin’s Repression in Ukraine,” *The Journal of Politics* 79, no. 4 (2017): 1147-1161.
- Yuri M. Zhukov and Roya Talibova, “Stalin’s terror and the long-term political effects of mass repression,” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 2: 267-283.
- Paul Gregory, Philip Schröder and Konstantin Sonin, “Rational Dictators and the Killing of Innocents: Data from Stalin’s Archives,” *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 39, no. 1 (2011): 34-42.

GROUP PRESENTATIONS 2

ISRAEL-PALESTINE

Th/F, Apr. 6/7

BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

25. **Case Study: Causes of Russian-Ukrainian War** Tuesday, Apr. 11

- Yuri M. Zhukov, “Trading Hard Hats for Combat Helmets: The Economics of Rebellion in Eastern Ukraine,” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 44, no. 1 (2016): 1-15.
- Eugene Rumer and Andrew S. Weiss, “Ukraine: Putin’s Unfinished Business,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, November 12, 2021.

Recommended:

- John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2014).
- Jesse Driscoll and Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld, “Social media and Russian territorial irredentism: some facts and a conjecture,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 2 (2020): 101-121.
- Vladimir Putin, “On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians,” *Kremlin.ru* July 12, 2021. (en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181)
- Svitlana Slipchenko and Kyrylo Perevoshchykov, “On the Historical Unity of Lies and Vladimir Putin,” *Vox Ukraine*, July 21, 2021. (voxukraine.org/en/on-the-historical-unity-of-lies-and-vladimir-putin)
- Michael Kofman, Katya Migacheva, Brian Nichiporuk, Andrew Radin, Olesya Tkacheva, Jenny Oberholtzer, *Lessons from Russia’s Operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine* (RAND, 2017).

26. **Case Study: Conduct of Russian-Ukrainian War . . .** Thursday, Apr. 13

- Mykhaylo Zabrodskyi, Jack Watling, Oleksandr V. Danylyuk and Nick Reynolds, "Preliminary Lessons in Conventional Warfighting from Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: February–July 2022," *RUSI Special Report*, November 30, 2022: 7-52.

Recommended:

- Timofey Sergeytsev, "What should Russia do with Ukraine?" *RIA Novosti*, April 3, 2022. (shorturl.at/jpCS2)
- Timothy Snyder, "We Should Say It. Russia Is Fascist." *The New York Times*, May 19, 2022. (shorturl.at/lwX49)
- Michael Kofman and Rob Lee, "Not Built for Purpose: The Russian Military's Ill-Fated Force Design," *War on the Rocks*, June 2, 2022. (shorturl.at/ctOTY)

27. **Cyber War, Hybrid War, Future War** Tuesday, Apr. 18

- Rob Lee, "The Tank Is Not Obsolete, and Other Observations About the Future of Combat," *War on the Rocks*, September 6, 2022.
- Erik Gartzke, "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth," *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 41-73.

Recommended:

- Ryan Faith, "Fifth Generation Warfare: Taste the Color Revolution Rainbow," *Vice News* (June 6, 2014).
- Peter A. Dutton, "China's Maritime Disputes in the East and South China Seas," *Naval War College Review* 67, no. 3 (2014), pp. 7-18.
- Robert Axelrod and Rumens Iliev, "Timing of cyber conflict," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111, no. 4 (2014): 1298-1303.
- Martin C. Libicki, "Cyberwar as a Confidence Game," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Spring 2011).
- Nadiya Kostyuk and Yuri M. Zhukov, "Invisible Digital Front: Can Cyber Attacks Shape Battlefield Events?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, no. 2 (2017): 317-347.

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Friday, Apr. 21

