

HAIFA UNIVERSITY
International School

HONOR SEMINAR

War and Peace

Prof. Benny Miller

Semester: SEMESTER B

Class Time: Wed. 12-15

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War and Peace in the 21st Century

The seminar will focus on the following key themes: Is international security fundamentally changing in the 21st century? Is war in decline or just changing its character? We will start with the argument that following the end of the Cold War the world has been transformed and has become much more peaceful. In this context, we'll address the debate on the changing concept of security. The key advocates of this change are what we might call "Liberal Optimists." In contrast, realists, especially Offensive Realists, highlight the basic continuity under international anarchy, though many of the realists, especially defensive ones, recognize the revolutionary effects which nuclear weapons have on international security. Others focus on the effects of the transition to unipolarity following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of the US as the sole superpower. Another school argues, however, that even though warfare continues to dominate international security, war changes its character toward civil war, violent non-state actors, asymmetric warfare, ethnic conflict, violence in failed states, terrorism or "clash of civilizations." This approach can be called "The New Conflict Pessimists." We'll examine the argument that variations in the level of state capacity and nationalism can capture some of the major variations in war and peace in different parts of the world by looking at different regions. Indeed, there seem to be major differences in the security challenges in regions such as Europe and South America in contrast to the Middle East, Africa and South Asia on the one hand and East Asia and the post-Soviet on the other hand. We'll conclude with a discussion on the prospects for war and peace in the 21st century.

Requirements:

1. An active participation in classes, based on a critical discussion of the readings. A considerable part of the readings is **only** under "recommended," though it can be useful for the assignments—the presentations, simulations and esp. the final paper.

Each of the mandatory readings is marked by *both* a number and an asterisk (*); the recommended readings, for their part, are not marked by numbers or asterisks.

2. A very brief class presentation based on critical reading of the bibliography.
3. An active participation in occasional simulations of war and peace issues based on the competing views of the various approaches to security.
4. A Final Paper—applying the debate on the future of war and peace to one region or two. Length: upto 20 page, double-space in font 12.

Requirements/Grading:

1. Final paper—60%
2. Oral Presentation(s), including participation in simulations - 20%
3. Class Participation - 20%

Key books for the Seminar:

Henry Kissinger, *World Order* (New York; Penguin Press, 2014).

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2nd ed., 2014).

Pinker, Steven, *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*. (New York: Viking, 2011).

Benjamin Miller, *States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Holsti, K. J., *War, The State, and the State of War*. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996).

Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: Norton, 2013).

Ripsman, Norrin M. and T.V. Paul, *Globalization and the National Security State*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010),

Week I: Is the War in Decline: The Great Debate on War and Security in the Post-Cold War Era—An Overview

1, * FUKUYAMA, FRANCIS. (1989) "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16: 3-18.

2. * John Mearsheimer, "Back to the future: instability in Europe after the Cold War" *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 1, (Summer 1990), pp. 5-56.

3. * Krauthammer, Charles. 1990. "The Unipolar Moment." *Foreign Affairs* 70.

4. * Samuel Huntington, "The clash of civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993), vol. 72, no. 3.

Recommended:

Robert Kaplan, "The coming anarchy," The Atlantic Monthly (February 1994), pp. 44-76.

WEEK II: The Concept of Security

1. * Benjamin Miller (June 2001). "The concept of security: Should it be redefined?" Special issue of the Journal of Strategic Studies, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 13-42.
2. * Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an ambiguous symbol," in Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962), pp. 147-65. (E-Reserve)

The post- Cold War Expansion of the Security Concept

3. * Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde (1998). Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, ch. 2.

Types of War and Peace: Hot and Cold--

4. * Benjamin Miller, States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 42-48.

Additionally recommended on the security Concept and its post-Cold War expansion:

Walt, Stephen, "The Renaissance of security studies." International Studies Quarterly, vol.35, no. 2, pp. 211-240.

Buzan, Barry, People, States & Fear: An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 1-34.

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining security," Foreign Affairs 68, 2 (1989).

Roland, Paris (Fall 2001). "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" International Security 26:2, pp. 87-102

Week III: Fundamental Change in International security: The Liberal Optimists and Changing Ideas and Norms

1. * MUELLER, JOHN (2014). "Did History End? Assessing the Fukuyama Thesis." *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 129, no. 1, Spring 2014, pp. 35-54.

2. * Pinker, Steven. 2011. *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*. New York: Viking, pp. 249-268, 278-294.

Recommended on the Optimists in general:

MUELLER, JOHN. (1989) *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*. New York: Basic Books

FUKUYAMA, FRANCIS. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press).

Goldstein, Joshua S. 2011. *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*. New York: Dutton).

Globalization and economic interdependence:

3. * Ripsman, Norrin M. and T.V. Paul, *Globalization and the National Security State*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 1, pp. 20-35 (esp. pp. 31-2 on changing nature of warfare).

Recommended:

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (2003). Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 6-14, 27-40.

Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, Causes of War (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 70-77.
McMillan, Susan (May 1997). "Interdependence and conflict." Mershon International Studies Review , vol. 41, supplement 1, pp. 33-58

Norms and Ideas:

Peter Katzenstein ed. (1996). The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, Introduction, pp. 1-32.

WEEK IV: The Democratic Peace vs. Democratization and War
(a potential simulation on democracy and peace)

1. * Michael Doyle (December 1986). "Liberalism and world politics." American Political Science Review 80, pp. 1151-1169.

Or: Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett (September 1993). "Structural and normative causes of peace between democracies." American Political Science Review, vol. 87, no. 3, pp. 624-638.

2. * Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder (Summer 1995). "Democratization and the Danger of War," _International Security, vol. 20, no. 1.
Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., (2000). Theories of War and Peace. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 221-256.

3. * Benjamin Miller, "Does Democratization Pacify the State? The Cases of Germany and Iraq." *International Studies Quarterly* (September 2012), vol. 56, issue 3, pp. 455-469

Recommended:

William Thompson (Winter 1996). "Democracy and Peace." *International Organization*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 141-174.

Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence and International Organizations* (New York: Norton, 2001).

Week V.: Back to the Future: Offensive Realism and the Balance Of Power

1. * John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2nd ed., 2014), pp. 1-54.

2. * Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962), pp. 83-84.

3. * Peter Liberman, "The spoils of conquest," *International Security*, 18, no. 2 (Fall 1993). Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., (1995). *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 179-207.

4. * Benjamin Miller, "Is Peace Possible-- and How: The Four-Fold Response of IR Theory." *International Journal* (Winter 2009-10), pp. 163-181.

Recommended:

Jack S. Levy, "Preventive War and Democratic Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* (2008) 52, 1-24.

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2nd ed., 2014), the rest of the book.

C. Layne, S. Lobell and G. Lee, *Debate on Offensive Realism*, *Security Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Winter 2002/3), pp. 120-217.

Labs, Eric J. (1997). "Offensive realism and why states expand their war aims." *Security Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4.

Zakaria, Fareed (1998). *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Dale Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War." World Politics, October 1987.

Week VI: Continuity: Defensive Realism, The Security dilemma, Offense-defense and the nuclear revolution (Class simulation)

1. * Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." World Politics, vol. 30, no. 2 (January 1978), pp. 167-214.

A shorter version: Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," in Richard Betts, ed., Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1994), pp. 312-329.

2. * Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate (New York: Norton, 2013), pp. 3-81.

3. * Jeff Taliaferro, "Security-seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Reconsidered." International Security 25, no. 3 (Winter 2000-2001).

4. * Fared Zakaria, "Realism and domestic politics: a review essay," International Security, vol. 17, no. 1 (Summer 1992).

Recommended:

---Van Evera, Stephen (Spring 1998). "Offense, defense, and the causes of war." International Security, vol. 22, no. 4.

Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., (2000). Theories of War and Peace. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 55-93.

Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), ch. 3, pp. 58-116.

Charles Glaser, "Realists as optimists: Cooperation as self-help," International Security, 19:3 (Winter 1994-95).

Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., (2000). Theories of War and Peace. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 94-136.

Charles Glaser (October 1997). "The security dilemma revisited." World Politics, vol. 50, no. 1.

Charles Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann (Spring 1998). "What is the offense-defense balance and how can we measure it?" International Security, vol. 22, no. 4.

WEEK VII. Limited Changes: Hegemonic Stability/unipolarity and the Debate on intervention (Class Simulation: Deep Engagement vs. Restraint/Off-Shore Balancing vs. Off. Liberal/Neocon view)

1. * Wohlforth, William C. (1999). "The stability of a unipolar world." International Security, Summer 1999. Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., America's Strategic Choices. Cambridge: MIT (2000), pp. 273-309.

(Or: For post-9/11 Kurthammer's view of unipolarity, see his National Interest piece: "The unipolar moment revisited: America, the benevolent empire." (Winter 2002-03).

2.* Joseph S. Nye, Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. New York: Public Affairs, 2004, pp. 1-32.

3.* Henry Kissinger, World Order (New York: Penguin Press, 2014), pp. 310-329. (**recommended** also pp. 234-309).

4. * Barry R. Posen, "The Case for Restraint," American Interest, Vol. 3, No. 1 (November/December 2007), pp. 7-17 (**Recommended:** Barry R. Posen, Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014).

5. * Benjamin Miller, "Explaining Changes in US Grand Strategy: 9/11, The Rise of Offensive Liberalism and the War in Iraq." Security Studies, vol. 19, no. 1 (March 2010), pp. 26-65 (and also the PPT on The Four POLICY Approaches to Grand Strategy and Intervention)

Recommended:

-- Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William Wohlforth, "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment," International Security, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Winter 2012/13), pp. 7- 51.

Brooks, Stephen G. & William C. Wohlforth, 2008. World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy . Princeton: Princeton UP.

Benjamin Miller, "The Logic of US Military Interventions in the post-Cold War Era." Contemporary Security Policy (December 1998), vol. 19, no. 3.

Or: Benjamin Miller, "Integrated Realism and Hegemonic Military Intervention in Unipolarity," in Andrew K. Hanami (ed.), Structural Realism After the Cold War (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

Christopher Layne, "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy," International Security, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Summer 1997), pp. 86-124.

G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno and William C. Wohlforth, International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

An earlier version is of this book: Special issue of World Politics , vol. 61, no. 1 (January 2009): "IR Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity."

Inis Claude, Power and International Relations (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 40-66.

Robert Gilpin, War & Change in World Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), ch. 1

A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, The War Ledger (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), ch. 1.

Mastanduno, Michael, "Preserving the unipolar moment: realist theories and U.S. grand strategy after the Cold War." International Security, vol. 21, no. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 49-88.

Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, eds., America's Strategic Choices. Cambridge: MIT (2000), pp. 310-350.

WEEK VIII. The Pessimists: Is War Changing its Character? **(SIMULATION)**

1. * Pinker, Steven. 2011. *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*. New York: Viking, pp. 295-377.

2. * Holsti, K. J. (1996). War, The State, and the State of War. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, ch. 7, esp. pp. 1-40.

3.* Betts, Richard K. 2010. "Conflict Or Cooperation? Three Visions Revisited." *Foreign Affairs* 89:186-94.

4.* Patrick, Stewart. 2006. "Weak States and Global Threats: Fact Or Fiction?" *The Washington Quarterly* 29:27-53.

5.* Martha Crenshaw, "Terrorism and Global Security." In Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, editors, Leashing The Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace), 2007), pp. 67-82.

Recommended:

Robert Rotberg, "The Challenge of Weak, Failing and Collapsed States." In Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, editors, Leashing The Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace), 2007), pp. 83-94.

Huntington, Samuel (1996). *Clash of Civilizations*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Patrick, Stewart. 2011. *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press

Kaldor, Mary (1999). *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford UP), ch. 4, pp. 69-89.

Daniel Byman and Kenneth Pollack, Things fall Apart (Washington DC: Brookings, 2007), pp. 17-59.

Week IX. Stateness, Nationalism, War and Peace

1. * Benjamin Miller, States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2007), Chs. 2-3, pp. 41-128.
2. * Muller, Jerry, "The Enduing Power of Ethnic Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2008, pp. 18-35.
3. * Van Evera, Stephen (spring 1994). "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," International Security 18, pp. 5-39.
4. * Posen, Barry (1993) "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael Brown, ed., Ethnic Conflict and International Security (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.), pp. 103-24.

Recommended:

Holsti, K. J. (1996). War, The State, and the State of War. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Cagnon, V. P. (winter 1994-95). "Ethnic nationalism and international conflict: The case of Serbia," International Security, 19:3.

Ayoob , Mohammed (1995). The Third World Security Predicament. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 1-20.

Or: Ayoob , Mohammed, "State Making, State Breaking, and State Failure In Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, editors, Leashing The Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace), 2007), pp. 95-114.

Hagen, William W. (July/August 1999). "The Balkans' lethal nationalisms." Foreign Affairs, vol. 78, no. 4

WEEK X-III Continuity or Change: Regional Application

WEEK X. The End of War--Peaceful regions: Europe/S. America

1. * Miller, Benjamin (2007). States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), chs. 7, 8, pp. 306-368.
2. * Ripsman, Norrin M (2005). 'Two Stages of Transition from a Region of War to a Region of Peace: Realist Transition and Liberal Endurance', *International Studies Quarterly* 49(4): 669-694.
3. * Ripsman, Norrin M. and T.V. Paul, *Globalization and the National Security State*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 4, pp. 82-114.
4. * **Europe vs. the Middle East:** Benjamin Miller, "Contrasting Explanations for Peace: Realism vs. Liberalism in Europe and the Middle East." *Contemporary Security Policy*, volume 31, no. 1 (April 2010), pp. 134-164.

Recommended:

Hall, John, A. "The transformation of modern Europe," in TV Paul, ed. *International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation* (Cambridge, 2012), Chapter 10, pp. 233-254.

Van Evera, Stephen, (winter 1990-91). "Primed for peace: Europe after the Cold War." International Security, vol. 15, no. 3.

Csergo and Goldgier (March 2004). "Nationalist Strategies and European Integration." Perspectives on Politics.

WEEK XI. War Changing its character: The Middle East (briefly also South Asia/Africa)

1. * Henry Kissinger, *World Order* (New York; Penguin Press, 2014), ch. 3, pp. 96-145.
2. * Miller, Benjamin (2007). States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), ch. 4, pp. 129-204.
- 3.* Miller, Benjamin (October-December 2006) "Balance of Power or the State-to-Nation Balance: Explaining Middle East War-Propensity." *Security Studies* vol. 15, no.4.
- 4.* Patrick Cockburn, *The Rise of Islamic State: ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution*. London: Verso, 2015, pp. 135-161.
5. * Benjamin Miller, "State of Imbalance: why countries break up," *Foreign Affairs on-line* (July 2014).
6. * Edward D. Mansfield & Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Arab Spring," *International Interactions*, 38 (5): 722-733.

Recommended:

Benjamin Miller, "The 'Arab Spring' and the Post-Cold War International Order," *ISA*:
Toronto: March 2014.

Benjamin Miller, "State, Nations, and the Regional Security Order of South Asia." In T.V. Paul, ed., *South Asia's Weak States: Understanding the Regional Insecurity Predicament* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

Ripsman, Norrin M. and T.V. Paul, *Globalization and the National Security State*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 5 (on weak and failing states)

Week XII: Continuity? East Asia and the Post-Soviet regions

1. * Henry Kissinger, *World Order* (New York; Penguin Press, 2014), pp. 172-233.

2. * Roy, Denny, *Return of the Dragon: Rising China and Regional Security* (New York : Columbia University Press, 2013), chs. 5, 10, 11.
3. * John Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2014).
4. * LUCAS, EDWARD. (2008) *The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 169-210, 245-269.

Recommended:

John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (New York: Norton, 2nd ed., 2014), last Chapter -- on the rise of China.

Aaron L. Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia." *International Security* 18/3 (winter1993-4), pp. 5-33.

Robert S. Ross, "The Geography of Peace: East Asia in the 21st Century"? *International Security*, 23/4 (1999), pp. 81-118.

OR: Robert S. Ross, "Bipolarity and Balancing in Est Asia," in TV Paul et al. *Balance of Power* (Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 267-304..

Ganguly, Sumit and William R. Thompson. 2011. *Asian Rivalries: Conflict, Escalation, and Limitations on Two-Level Games*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

WEEK XIII: Students' Presentations of their Papers

WEEK XIV. Integrating Competing Paths to Peace

1.*. Benjamin Miller, States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chs. 7-9.

2.* Rock, Stephen R. (1989). Why Peace Breaks Out: Great Power Rapprochement in Historical Perspective. Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, ch.1, pp. 1-23.

Recommended:

an, Daniel L (2002). Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts. Baltimore: The Johns Johns University Press.

Donald Paris (2004). At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 179-211.

Additionally Recommended Readings (might be useful for the final paper)

Non-systemic causes of conflict and war:

Diversionsary Wars

Levy, Jack (1989). "The Diversionsary Theory of War: a Critique." In Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., Handbook of War Studies (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press), pp. 259-288.

Snyder, Jack (1991). Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, ch. 2.

Territorial Conflicts

Vasquez, John (2009) The War Puzzle Revisited (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press),(ch. 2).

Vasquez, John A. (1995). "Why do neighbors fight? proximity, interaction or territoriality." Journal of Peace Research, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 277-293. (E-Reserve).

Diehl, Paul F. ed (1999)., A Road Map to War. Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, "Introduction," and Huth, Paul, "Enduring rivalries and territorial disputes, 1950-1990", pp. 53-57.

Miles Kahler (2006). "Territoriality and conflict in an era of globalization." In Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, eds., Territoriality and Conflict in an era of Globalization. Cambridge UP.

Vasquez, John (1993) The War Puzzle (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.), pp. 123-152.

Huth, Paul, 1996. Standing Your Ground: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict. Michigan UP, ch. 3, pp. 33-68.

Ethnic conflict and civil war

Chaim Kaufmann (January-March 2005). "Rational Choice and Progress in the Study of Ethnic Conflict: A Review Essay. Security studies," Vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 167-194.

Toft, Monica Duffy (Winter 2002/3). "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War." Security Studies, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 82-119.

Horowitz, Donald L. (1992). "Irredentas and secessions: Adjacent phenomena, neglected connections." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 33, 1-2.

David, Steven R. (July 1997). "Review article: internal wars." World Politics.

Or:

David, Steven R "The primacy of Internal Wars." In Stephnie G. Neuman, ed., (1998). International Relations Theory and the Third World. New York: St. Martin's Press