

# International Relations Theory and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

MPhil Seminar

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## Course Description

This seminar has two simultaneous objectives: first, to harness insights from the field of international relations to better understand Russia's February 2022 invasion of Ukraine, and the subsequent course of the war; second, to deepen students' understanding of classic and recent research in IR (especially in the area of security studies) by applying it to this ongoing case. The seminar begins by using research on identity, status, and the heated historical and theoretical debate over NATO enlargement to investigate the roots of the conflicts between Russia and Ukraine, and between Russia and the "West." Subsequent sessions explore both classic and cutting-edge work on the causes of war, the determinants of military effectiveness, the dynamics of nuclear deterrence, the influence of economic sanctions, the processes by which wars end, and the challenge of extended deterrence to illuminate the causes, conduct, and consequences of the war in Ukraine.

Once during the term, students will compose a short "blog post" style essay about recent academic work in one of the areas covered by the course, explaining how the insights contained in this research help illuminate some aspect of the Russia-Ukraine war. Students will post these essays on the course Moodle site, and we will use them to direct our discussion during that week.

Assessment will be based on a 3,000-word piece of written work, which can take the form of either 1) a research proposal; or 2) a public-facing, policy-oriented essay (such as would appear in a publication like *Foreign Affairs* or *Foreign Policy*).

## Course Schedule and Readings

### 1) The Roots of the Conflict and the NATO Enlargement Debate

#### ***Required reading:***

John Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 93, No. 5 (2014)

Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO Expansion: A Counterfactual Analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security* Vol. 3, No. 2 (2018)

Sergey Radchenko, "Nothing but Humiliation for Russia?: Moscow and NATO's Eastern Enlargement, 1993-1995," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 43, No. 6-7 (2020)

Alexander Lanoszka, "Thank Goodness for NATO Enlargement," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Jan Smoleński and Jan Dutkiewicz, “The American Pundits Who Can’t Resist ‘Westsplaining’ Ukraine,” *The New Republic* (March 4, 2022)

***Further reading:***

Karina Korostelina, “War of Textbooks: History Education in Russia and Ukraine,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol. 43, No. 2 (2010)\*

Andreas Kappeler, “Ukraine and Russia: Legacies of the Imperial Past and Competing Memories,” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* Vol. 5 (2014)

Iryna Vushko, “Historians at War: History, Politics and Memory in Ukraine,” *Contemporary European History* Vol. 27, No. 1 (2018)

James Goldgeier, “NATO Expansion: The Anatomy of a Decision,” *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 21, No. 1 (1998)

James Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* (Brookings Institution, 1999)

Frank Schimmelfennig, “NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation,” *Security Studies* Vol. 8, No. 2-3 (1998)

Frank Schimmelfennig, *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric* (Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Anne Clunan, *The Social Construction of Russia’s Resurgence: Aspirations, Identity, and Security Interests* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009)

Timothy Sayle, *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order* (Cornell University Press, 2019)

Mary Sarotte, “Perpetuating U.S. Preeminence: The 1990 Deals to ‘Bribe the Soviets Out’ and Move NATO In,” *International Security* Vol. 35, No. 1 (2010)

Mary Sarotte, “Not One Inch Eastward? Bush, Baker, Kohl, Genscher, Gorbachev, and the Origin of Russian Resentment toward NATO Enlargement in February 1990,” *Diplomatic History* Vol. 34, No. 1 (2010)

Andrei Tsygankov, *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Anne Clunan, “Historical Aspirations and the Domestic Politics of Russia’s Pursuit of International Status,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol. 47 (2014)

Isaac Chotiner, “Why John Mearsheimer Blames the U.S. for the Crisis in Ukraine,” *The New Yorker* March 1, 2022

Adam Tooze, “John Mearsheimer and the Dark Origins of Realism,” *The New Statesman* March 8, 2022

Eric Levitz, “Is America to Blame for Russia’s War in Ukraine?” *New York Magazine* March 3, 2022

Peter Beinart, “America’s Generation Gap on Ukraine,” *The Beinart Notebook* January 24, 2022

Bill Clinton, “I Tried to Put Russia on Another Path,” *The Atlantic* (April 7, 2022)  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/04/bill-clinton-nato-expansion-ukraine/629499/>

Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin, “Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion,” *International Security* Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016)

William Wohlforth and Vladislav Zubok, “An Abiding Antagonism: Realism, Idealism and the Mirage of Western-Russian Partnership after the Cold War,” *International Politics* Vol. 54 (2017)

Mary Sarotte, “How to Enlarge NATO: The Debate inside the Clinton Administration, 1993-95,” *International Security* Vol. 44, No. 1 (2019)

Kimberly Marten, “NATO Enlargement: Evaluating its Consequences in Russia,” *International Politics* Vol. 57 (2020)

Andrey Sushtenov and William Wohlforth, “The Tragedy of US-Russian Relations: NATO Centrality and the Revisionists’ Spiral,” *International Politics* Vol. 57 (2020)

Mary Sarotte, *Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Stalemate* (Yale University Press, 2021)

Marc Trachtenberg, “The United States and the NATO Non-Extension Assurances of 1990: New Light on an Old Problem?” *International Security* Vol. 45, No. 3 (2020)

Mark Kramer, “The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia,” *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 32, No. 2 (2009)

Christopher Stevens, “Identity Politics and Nuclear Disarmament: The Case of Ukraine,” *Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 15, No. 1 (2008)

Mariana Budjeryn, “The Power of the NPT: International Norms and Ukraine’s Nuclear Disarmament,” *The Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 22, No. 2 (2015)

David Yost, “The Budapest Memorandum and Russia’s Intervention in Ukraine,” *International Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 3 (2015)

John Mearsheimer, “The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 72, No. 3 (1993)

James Goldgeier and Joshua Shiffrin, “Evaluating NATO Enlargement: Scholarly Debates, Policy Implications, and Roads Not Taken,” *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Timothy Andrews Sayle, "Patterns of Continuity in NATO's Long History," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Joshua Shiffrin, "NATO Enlargement and US Foreign Policy: The Origins, Durability, and Impact of an Idea," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Rajan Menon and William Ruger, "NATO Enlargement and US Grand Strategy: A Net Assessment," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Paul Poast and Alexandra Chinchilla, "Good for Democracy? Evidence from the 2004 NATO Expansion," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

D. Gibler and J.A. Sewell, "External Threat and Democracy: The Role of NATO Revisited," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 43, No. 4 (2006)

Alexandra Ghenciu, "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the 'New Europe,'" *International Organization* Vol. 59, No. 4 (2005)

Dan Reiter, "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy," *International Security* Vol. 25, No. 4 (2001)

Susan Colbourn, "NATO as a Political Alliance: Continuities and Legacies in the Enlargement Debates of the 1990s," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Sara Bjerg Moller, "Twenty Years After: Assessing the Consequences of Enlargement for the NATO Military Alliance," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Paul van Hooft, "Land Rush: American Grand Strategy, NATO Enlargement, and European Fragmentation," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

Stéfanie von Hlatky and Michel Fortmann, "NATO Enlargement and the Failure of the Cooperative Security Mindset," *International Politics* Vol. 57, No. 3 (2020)

## **2) The Origins of the War**

### ***Required reading:***

James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* Vol. 49, No. 3 (1995)

Jeff Colgan, "Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War," *International Security* Vol. 38, No. 2 (2013)

Joslyn Barnhart, "Humiliation and Third-Party Aggression," *World Politics* Vol. 69, No. 3 (2017)

Michael McFaul, "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy," *International Security* Vol. 45, No. 2 (2020)

### ***Further reading:***

- Jonathan Kirshner, "The Economic Sins of Modern IR Theory and the Classical Realist Alternative," *World Politics* Vol. 67, No. 1 (2015)
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Issue Indivisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War," *Security Studies* Vol. 15, No. 1 (2006)
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," *Security Studies* Vol. 12, No. 2 (2002)
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Territory and War," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 51, No. 2 (2014)
- Steven Beard and Joshua Strayhorn, "When Will States Strike First? Battlefield Advantages and Rationalist War," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 62, No. 1 (2018)
- David Lindsey, "Military Strategy, Private Information, and War," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 59, No. 4 (2015)
- Jeff Colgan, *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War* (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Andrei Tsygankov, "Vladimir Putin's Last Stand: The Sources of Russia's Ukraine Policy," *Post-Soviet Affairs* Vol. 31, No. 4 (2015)
- Jonathan Renshon, "Status Deficits and War," *International Organization* Vol. 70, No. 3 (2016)
- Steven Ward, "Status from Fighting? Reassessing the Relationship Between Conflict Involvement and Diplomatic Rank," *International Interactions* Vol. 46, No. 2 (2020)
- Jessica Weeks, "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 106, No. 2 (2012)
- Timothy Frye, "Russia's Weak Strongman: The Perilous Bargains that Keep Putin in Power," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 100, No. 3 (2021)
- Joslyn Barnhart, "Humiliation and Third-Party Aggression," *World Politics* Vol. 69, No. 3 (2017)
- Tobias Theiler, "The Microfoundations of Diversionary Conflict," *Security Studies* Vol. 27, No. 2 (2018)
- Elias Götz, "Putin, the State, and War: The Causes of Russia's Near Abroad Assertion Revisited," *International Studies Review* Vol. 19, No. 2 (2017)
- Elias Götz and Michael McFaul, "Correspondence: The Power of Putin in Russian Foreign Policy," *International Security* Vol. 46, No. 1 (2021)
- Joslyn Barnhart, *The Consequences of Humiliation: Anger and Status in World Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2020)

Brendan Chrzanowski, “An Episode of Existential Uncertainty: The Ontological Security Origins of the War in Donbas,” *Texas National Security Review* Vol. 4, No. 3 (2021)

Lawrence Freedman, *Ukraine and the Art of Strategy* (Oxford University Press, 2019)

Joslyn Barnhart, “The Consequences of Defeat: The Quest for Status and Morale Following Military Failure,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2021)

### **3) Military Effectiveness and the Conduct of the War**

#### ***Required reading:***

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton University Press, 2004), pages TBD.

Patricia Sullivan, “War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 51, No. 3 (2007)

Mark Erbel and Christopher Kinsey, “Think Again – Supplying War: Reappraising Military Logistics and Its Centrality to Strategy and War,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 41, No. 4 (2018)

Antonio Calcara, Andrea Gilli, Mauro Gilli, Raffaele Marchetti, and Ivan Zaccagnini, “Hider-Finder Competition in Air Warfare: Why Drones Have Not Revolutionized Military Affairs,” *International Security* Vol. 46, No. 4 (2022)

#### ***Further reading:***

Eliot Cohen, “Why Can’t the West Admit that Ukraine Is Winning?” *The Atlantic* (March 21, 2022) <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/03/ukraine-is-winning-war-russia/627121/>

Phillips Payson O’Brien, “How the West Got Russia’s Military So, So Wrong,” *The Atlantic* (March 31, 2022) <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/03/russia-ukraine-invasion-military-predictions/629418/>

Adam Casey, “Putin Has Coup-Proofed His Regime,” *Foreign Policy* (March 23, 2022) <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/23/putin-coup-russian-regime/>

Dan Reiter and Allan Stam, “Democracy and Battlefield Military Effectiveness,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 42, No. 3 (1998)

Stephen Biddle, “Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us about the Future of Conflict,” *International Security* Vol. 21, No. 2 (1996)

Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator’s Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Cornell University Press, 2015)

Caitlin Talmadge, “The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War,” *Security Studies* Vol. 22, No. 2 (2013)

Vipin Narang and Caitlin Talmadge, "Civil-Military Pathologies and Defeat in War: Tests Using New Data," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 62, No. 7 (2018)

Abel Escribà-Folch, Tobias Böhmelt, and Ulrich Pilster, "Authoritarian Regimes and Civil-Military Relations: Explaining Counterbalancing in Autocracies," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* Vol. 37, No. 5 (2020)

Ulrich Pilster and Tobias Böhmelt, "Coup-Proofing and Military Effectiveness in Interstate Wars, 1967-99," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* Vol. 28, No. 4 (2011)

Dan Reiter, "Avoiding the Coup-Proofing Dilemma: Consolidating Political Control While Maximizing Military Power," *Foreign Policy Analysis* Vol. 16, No. 3 (2020)

Andrew Bausch, "Coup-Proofing and Military Inefficiencies: An Experiment," *International Interactions* Vol. 44, No. 1 (2018)

Michael Beckley, "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 33, No. 1 (2010)

Ryan Grauer, "Why Do Soldiers Give Up? A Self-Preservation Theory of Surrender," *Security Studies* Vol. 23, No. 3 (2014)

Hew Strachan, "Training, Morale and Modern War," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 41, No. 2 (2006)

Jonathan Fennell, "In Search of the 'X' Factor: Morale and the Study of Strategy," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 37, No. 6-7 (2014)

Pjer Simunovic, "The Russian Military in Chechnya – A Case Study of Morale in War," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* Vol. 11, No. 1 (1998)

Dave Dilegge, Robert Bunker, John Sullivan, and Alma Keshavarz, eds., *Blood and Concrete: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Conflict in Urban Centers and Megacities – A Small Wars Journal Anthology* (XlibrisUS, 2019)

Nils Hägerdal, "Starvation as Siege Tactics: Urban Warfare in Syria," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2020)

Kirstin Brathwaite and Margarita Konaev, "War in the City: Urban Ethnic Geography and Combat Effectiveness," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 45, No. 1 (2022)

Dani Nedal, Megan Stewart, and Michael Weintraub, "Urban Concentration and Civil War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 64, No. 6 (2020)

Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Cornell University Press, 2014)

Michael Kreuzer, *Drones and the Future of Air Warfare* (Routledge, 2016)

Alexander Benard, "Lessons from Iraq and Bosnia on the Theory and Practice of No-Fly Zones," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 27, No. 3 (2004)

"No Fly Zones: Strategic, Operational, and Legal Considerations for Congress," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress* (18 March, 2011)

Tadeusz Zieliński, "On Theory and Practice of No-Fly Zones in Humanitarian Intervention," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2021)

Stephen Wrage and Scott Cooper, *No Fly Zones and International Security: Politics and Strategy* (Routledge, 2019)

#### **4) Nuclear Weapons and Conventional Conflict**

##### ***Required reading:***

Matthew Harries, "Putin's Brutal War Shows the Dilemmas of Nuclear Deterrence," *Foreign Policy* (March 22, 2022) <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/22/ukraine-putin-russia-nuclear/>

Mark Bell and Nicholas Miller, "Questioning the Effect of Nuclear Weapons on Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 59, No. 1 (2015)

James Acton, "Escalation through Entanglement: How the Vulnerability of Command-and-Control Systems Raises the Risks of an Inadvertent Nuclear War," *International Security* Vol. 43, No. 1 (2018)

Kristin Ven Bruusgaard, "Russian Nuclear Strategy and Conventional Inferiority," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 44, No. 1 (2021)

David Logan, "Nuclear Superiority Is What States Make of It," *International Security* Vol. 46, No. 4 (2022)

##### ***Further reading:***

Michael Gerson, *The Sino-Soviet Border Conflict: Deterrence, Escalation, and the Threat of Nuclear War in 1969* (Center for Naval Analyses, 2010)

Hyun-Binn Cho, "Nuclear Coercion, Crisis Bargaining, and the Sino-Soviet Border Conflict of 1969," *Security Studies* Vol. 30, No. 4 (2021)

Paul Kapur, *Dangerous Deterrent: Nuclear Weapons Proliferation and Conflict in South Asia* (Stanford University Press, 2007)

Sumit Ganguly and Paul Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia* (Routledge, 2008)

Christopher Watterson, "Competing Interpretations of the Stability-Instability Paradox: The Case of the Kargil War," *The Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 24, No. 1-2 (2017)



Mark Bell and Julia Macdonald, “How Dangerous Was Kargil? Nuclear Crises in Comparative Perspective,” *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 42, No. 2 (2019)

Bryan Early and Victor Asal, “Nuclear Weapons, Existential Threats, and the Stability-Instability Paradox,” *The Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 25, No. 3-4 (2018)

Francesco Bailo and Benjamin Goldsmith, “No Paradox Here? Improving Theory and Testing of the Nuclear Stability-Instability Paradox with Synthetic Counterfactuals,” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 58, No. 6 (2021)

Olga Oliker, “Moscow’s Nuclear Enigma,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 97, No. 6 (2018)

Pavel Podvig, “Blurring the Line Between Nuclear and Nonnuclear Weapons: Increasing the Risk of Accidental Nuclear War?” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* Vol. 72, No. 3 (2016)

Keir Lieber and Daryl Press, “The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence,” *International Security* Vol. 41, No. 4 (2017)

Andrew Futter and Benjamin Zala, “Strategic Non-Nuclear Weapons and the Onset of a Third Nuclear Age,” *European Journal of International Security* Vol. 6 (2021)

Dean Wilkening, “Hypersonic Weapons and Strategic Stability,” *Survival* Vol. 61, No. 5 (2019)

Jaganath Sankaran and Steve Fetter, “Defending the United States: Revisiting National Missile Defense against North Korea,” *International Security* Vol. 46, No. 3 (2022)

John Mueller, “Nuclear Weapons Don’t Matter,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 97, No. 6 (2018)

Matthew Kroenig, “Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes,” *International Organization* Vol. 67, No. 1 (2013)

Todd Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, *Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Ryan Kort, Carlos Bersabe, Dalton Clarke, and Derek Di Bello, “Twenty-First Century Nuclear Deterrence: Operationalizing the 2018 Nuclear Posture Review,” *Joint Force Quarterly* Vol. 94 (Fall 2019)

## 5) Economic Sanctions

### ***Required reading:***

Robert Pape, “Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work,” *International Security* Vol. 22, No. 2 (1997)

Clayton Webb, “Power Politics or Public Pandering? An Empirical Investigation of Economic Sanctions and Presidential Approval,” *International Interactions* vol. 44, no. 3 (2018)

Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, “Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion,” *International Security* Vol. 44, No. 1 (2019)

Mikhail Alexseev and Henry Hale, “Crimea Come What May: Do Economic Sanctions Backfire Politically?” *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 57, no. 2 (2020)

***Further reading:***

Daniel Drezner, *The Sanctions Paradox: Economic Statecraft and International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1999)

David Baldwin, “The Sanctions Debate and the Logic of Choice,” *International Security* Vol. 24, No. 3 (1999-2000)

David Baldwin and Robert Pape, “Evaluating International Sanctions,” *International Security* Vol. 23, No. 2 (1998)

Jonathan Kirshner, “Economic Sanctions: The State of the Art,” *Security Studies* Vol. 11, No. 4 (2002)

Emilie Hafner-Burton and Alexander Montgomery, “Power or Plenty? How do International Trade Institutions affect Economic Sanctions?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol 52, No. 2 (2008)

Özgür Özdamar and Evgeniia Shahin, “Consequences of Economic Sanctions: The State of the Art and Paths Forward,” *International Studies Review* Vol. 23, No. 4 (2021)\*

Peter Beinart, “What are the sanctions on Russia trying to achieve?” *The Beinart Notebook* March 14, 2022 <https://peterbeinart.substack.com/p/outrage-is-not-a-strategy?s=r>

Timothy Frye, “Economic Sanctions and Public Opinion: Survey Experiments from Russia,” *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 52, no. 7 (2019)

William Seitz and Alberto Zazzaro, “Sanctions and Public Opinion: The Case of the Russia-Ukraine Gas Disputes,” *Review of International Organizations* vol. 15 (2020)

Elena McLean and Taehee Whang, “Designing Foreign Policy: Voters, Special Interest Groups, and Economic Sanctions,” *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 51, no. 5 (2014)

Patrick Shea and Paul Poast, “War and Default,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 62, No. 9 (2018)

Abel Escribà-Folch and Joseph Wright, “Dealing with Tyranny: international Sanctions and the Survival of Authoritarian Rulers,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 54, No. 2 (2010)

Dursun Peksen, “Autocracies and Economic Sanctions: The Divergent Impact of Authoritarian Regime Type on Sanctions Success,” *Defence and Peace Economics* Vol. 30, No. 3 (2019)

## **6) War Termination**

***Required reading:***

Dan Reiter, *How Wars End* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pages TBD.

Hein Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination & the First World War* (Princeton University Press, 2000), pages TBD.

Deborah Sanders and Christopher Tuck, “The Ukraine Conflict and the Problems of War Termination,” *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* Vol. 33, No. 1 (2020)

Douglas Atkinson, “The Issues are the Issue: Intangible Salience and War Duration,” *International Interactions* Vol. 47, No. 6 (2021)

**Further reading:**

Alex Weisiger, *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts* (Cornell University Press, 2013)

Hein Goemans, “Fighting for Survival: The Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 44, No. 5 (2000)

Mitchell Thomas Radtke, “Why Kill Deposed Leaders? Regime Types and Post-Tenure Fates,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* Vol. 16, No. 3 (2020)

Branislav Slantchev, “How Initiators End their Wars: The Duration of Warfare and the Terms of Peace,” *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 48, No. 4 (2004)

Michaela Mattes and T. Clifton Morgan, “When Do They Stop? Modeling the Termination of War,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* Vol. 21, No. 3 (2004)

Darren Filson and Suzanne Werner, “Bargaining and Fighting: The Impact of Regime Type on War Onset, Duration, and Outcomes,” *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 48, No. 2 (2004)

Kristopher Ramsay, “Settling It on the Field: Battlefield Events and War Termination,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 52, No. 6 (2008)

Elizabeth Stanley and John Sawyer, “The Equifinality of War Termination: Multiple Paths to Ending War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 53, No. 5 (2009)

Sarah Croco, “The Decider’s Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment,” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 105, No. 3 (2011)

Alejandro Quiroz Flores, “A Competing Risks Model of War Termination and Leader Change,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 56, No. 4 (2012)

Scott Wolford, Dan Reiter, and Clifford Carrubba, “Information, Commitment, and War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 55, No. 4 (2011)

Alex Weisiger, “Victory without Peace: Conquest, Insurgency, and War Termination,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* Vol. 31, No. 4 (2014)

Marco Nilsson, “Causal Beliefs and War Termination: Religion and Rational Choice in the Iran-Iraq War,” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 55, No.1 (2018)

Dustin Tingley, “The Dark Side of the Future: An Experimental Test of Commitment Problems in Bargaining,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 55, No. 2 (2011)

Shawn Cochran, “The Civil-Military Divide in Protracted Small War: An Alternative View of Military Leadership Preferences and War Termination,” *Armed Forces & Society* Vol. 40, No. 1 (2014)

## 7) Detering Russia Beyond Ukraine

### ***Required reading:***

Dan Reiter and Paul Poast, “The Truth About Tripwires: Why Small Force Deployments Do Not Deter Aggression,” *Texas National Security Review* Vol. 4, No. 3 (2021)

Michael Tomz and Jessica Weeks, “Military Alliances and Public Support for War,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 65, No. 3 (2021)

Robert Jervis, Keren Yarhi-Milo, and Don Casler, “Redefining the Debate Over Reputation and Credibility in International Security,” *World Politics* Vol. 73, No. 1 (2021)

Zachary Paikin, “Through Thick and Thin: Russia, China and the Future of Eurasian International Society,” *International Politics* Vol. 58, No. 3 (2021)

### ***Further reading:***

Nora Vanaga and Toms Rostoks, eds., *Detering Russia in Europe: Defence Strategies for Neighbouring States* (Routledge, 2020)

Agnia Grigas, *Beyond Crimea: The New Russian Empire* (Yale University Press, 2016)

Joshua Shiffrin, “Time to Consolidate NATO?” *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 1 (2017)

D.A. Shlapak and M.W. Johnson, *Reinforcing Deterrence on NATO’s Eastern Flank: Wargaming the Defense of the Baltics* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2016)

Philip Oltermann, “NATO’s ‘achilles heel’: alliance conducts war games in nervous Lithuania,” *The Guardian* (April 11, 2022) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/11/nato-achilles-heel-alliance-conducts-war-games-nervous-lithuania>

Carolina Drüten, “Long Neglected, Romania Could Be NATO’s Achilles Heel,” *Die Welt* (March 15, 2022) <https://worldcrunch.com/world-affairs/romania-nato-ukraine-war/new-geopolitical-significance>

Arshan Barzani, "Expand NATO to Hawaii," *The Wall Street Journal* (April 24, 2022)  
[https://www.wsj.com/articles/expand-nato-hawaii-falkland-guam-north-korea-china-ukraine-russia-invasion-nuclear-capable-bomber-missile-11650830803?mod=hp\\_opin\\_pos\\_4](https://www.wsj.com/articles/expand-nato-hawaii-falkland-guam-north-korea-china-ukraine-russia-invasion-nuclear-capable-bomber-missile-11650830803?mod=hp_opin_pos_4)

James Wither, "Svalbard: NATO's Arctic 'Achilles' Heel," *The RUSI Journal* Vol. 163, No. 5 (2018)

Alexander Lanoszka, "Russian Hybrid Warfare and Extended Deterrence in Eastern Europe," *International Affairs* Vol. 92, No. 1 (2016)

Brian Blankenship and Erik Lin-Greenberg, "Trivial Tripwires? Military Capabilities and Alliance Reassurance," *Security Studies* Vol. 31, No. 1 (2022)

Matthew Fuhrmann and Todd Sechser, "Signaling Alliance Commitments: Hand-Tying and Sunk Costs in Extended Nuclear Deterrence," *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 58, No. 4 (2014)

Kristin Ven Bruusgaard, "Russian Strategic Deterrence," *Survival* Vol. 58, No. 4 (2016)

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