

POL212H1: Understanding War

Winter 2026, Tuesdays 9-11 AM, Eastern Time Zone

Course Description

General introduction to the study of war, covering basic concepts and theories and surveying a selection of key topics and debates, from the causes of war to the dynamics of war termination. Sessions revolve around a few essential readings, which must be completed before class and will serve as a basis for various in-class and in-tutorial activities, simulations, and games.

Instructor: Professor Dani K. Nedal
Office Location: Sidney Smith Hall

Email: dani.nedal@utoronto.ca

Student Hours: Virtual or in-person, by appointment using link on Quercus.

Delivery: Synchronous in-person unless otherwise noted.

BASICS: Read the whole syllabus. Twice. Come ready for class. Participate. Be courteous. If taking notes on your computer, close all other browser windows and apps. Better yet, take notes by hand. (Science says it's better for you).

Communications policy: *Before you contact me or the TAs, consult the syllabus and Quercus course page, including the Helpdesk thread in the Discussions page.* Accommodation letters, requests for extensions and any other requests should come through the course notifications/accommodations form or other official channels (see the last pages of this document). Emailing may *seem* faster and less work, but invariably it ends up being more work for everyone, including yourself. If you email me before 6 PM on a weekday, I am likely to respond on the same day (see caveats above). If not, I will try to get to it the next working day. Short, to-the-point emails are likely to get quicker responses.

Student (Office) Hours: Email is best for some matters and fine for others, but student hours are the best venue to talk about lingering questions, discuss assignments, review material, get academic and professional advice, and so on. I expect students to make use of this time to address their questions whenever possible. Appointments can be made using the link on Quercus. If you want to discuss a draft of an assignment or something else you have written, you should email it to me *at least a day* in advance. I am generally not able to meet outside of office hours.

Communicate with the TA(s): After checking the syllabus and Quercus, the TA should be your first point of contact for questions relating to deadlines, how to find things, and other logistical issues, as well as grades.

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Learning Objectives

The course requirements are designed to exercise and build the four R's: Reading, Reflecting, Researching, and Writing. Substantively, the overarching goal of this course is to produce informed and thoughtful consumers of academic and policy debates about war. At the end of the semester students should be able to:

- Identify the underlying structure of arguments (assumptions, logical coherence, etc.) regarding different aspects of interstate war;
- Recall and synthesize key concepts and arguments relating to major issues in the study of war;
- Relate concepts and theories to practical applications and cases of conflict;
- Recognize different uses (and misuses) of games, models, and simulations in the study and practice of war.

Course Format

This course convenes in person unless extraneous circumstances force us to switch to a virtual or hybrid format. There's a non-zero chance that will happen. This course will often touch on subjects that are sensitive, politically divisive, and emotionally and normatively charged. My preferred approach is to deal with these topics head-on and to keep it as light as possible, but we will inevitably confront some issues that require a more somber tone or that may be upsetting to some, including past and ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, Europe, and East Asia. Learning how to deal with these challenges is part of the journey. If at any point you feel uncomfortable and/or need to recuse yourself, do not hesitate to reach out to me discreetly.

Evaluations and Course Grades

General notes on grades:

- The final course grade reflects your level of demonstrated mastery of the Learning Objectives listed above and the specific criteria laid out in each assignment. Evaluations provide feedback on your progress toward the final course grade. I do not grade on a curve. Your grade should reflect the amount of effort you put into the class. Nothing would make me and the TAs happier than to only hand out As.
- ***Original will be used in this course*** and can be done via Quercus.
- Grading errors are normally distributed. Or, in plain English: if you think there was a mistake in grading your assignment, your TAs and I are open to reviewing it (see course communications form), but be aware that grades can be revised down just as easily as they can be revised up.

Evaluations	Weight	Deadline	Submit via	Turnitin
Reflection Paper 1	20%	Feb 08, 2026	Quercus	Yes
Reflection Paper 2	20%	Mar 8, 2026	Quercus	Yes
Reflection Paper 3	20%	Mar 22, 2026	Quercus	Yes
Reflection Paper 4	20%	Apr 10, 2026	Quercus	Yes
Tutorial Attendance & Participation	20%	Weekly	N/A	N/A

Evaluation Criteria

Tutorial Attendance and Participation

- *Active and substantive participation in tutorials* is a critical component of the learning experience for this class. By active I mean that you are expected not only to attend **all** tutorial sessions but also to do the readings and prepare for the activities ahead of time. By substantive I mean that quality is weighed **heavily**. This means that just showing up and even talking a lot will not earn you an A/A+, but also that you can get an A/A+ even if you're not the most outgoing student, as long as you approach the tutorial proceedings with the right attitude and make your contributions count.
- All **tutorial** absences must be communicated and justified using the course communications form. Students who must miss a tutorial session can **partially** make up for their absence by writing a 1-page (single-spaced) reaction paper addressing the day's required readings, to be submitted using the course communications form. This reaction paper is due before the next tutorial.
- Students get **one** freebie—one tutorial they can miss with no questions asked and no reaction paper.
- Attendance **in lectures** is *not mandatory* and will not count toward the Tutorial Attendance & Participation grade. Students are expected to read all the pieces assigned before the class. This course has a lighter reading load than many other courses. That said, reading effectively and efficiently in university is not about reading word for word, but instead about reading for arguments, evidence, context, and subtext. This means reading less than everything on the page, but also reading **more** than what's on the page, and taking good notes. Good notes will help you keep track of the different ideas during class and will prove an indispensable resource for your assignments. For resources on effective and efficient reading and note-taking, see the Quercus.

Tutorial Activities and Reflection Papers

Participation in the tutorial activities will not only count toward your attendance and participation grade, but will also constitute the basis for the four short (1000 words *excluding* references) individual papers. In these papers, you will reflect on the activities conducted in person during tutorial sessions, including your own personal experiences during those activities, connecting them with the concepts and theories covered in the readings and the lectures. **ATTENTION:** This means that attendance in tutorials is **obligatory and nonsubstitutable**. Detailed instructions for each set of activities will be posted on Quercus and discussed in class and during the tutorial. Most activities will require only a little advance preparation beyond reading the course materials.

Late Penalty

Written assignments turned in up to 24 hours after the deadline will be eligible for 95% of the earned grade (i.e. the grade will be multiplied by 0.95). Assignments turned in up to 48 hours after the deadline will be eligible for 85% of the earned grade. Assignments turned in up to 72 hours after the deadline will be eligible for 75% of the

earned grade. Assignments turned in more than 72 hours after the deadline **will not be graded**. Extensions will be granted if requested **AHEAD OF TIME** with a properly documented reason. Extensions will only be granted *ex post facto* in extreme circumstances.

Class Schedule and Readings

All required readings are accessible digitally, either through the UofT library by clicking on the link in the syllabus or, in the case of certain book chapters and articles, by downloading them from Quercus. I also included a few suggestions for movies and TV shows that pair well with each week's theme. Students are encouraged to contribute their own suggestions by posting on the Quercus discussion board. **NOTE ON MOVIE LINKS:** All movies linked in the syllabus are available on the link itself or using the Criterion-on-Demand service to which UofT subscribes. If the link doesn't work for you, try searching for the movie [on the UofT library website](#).

Session	Topic, Key Questions, and Concepts	Required Readings
Week 1 (Jan 6 2026)	<p>Introduction(s)</p> <p>When is a war not a war? Is war becoming more or less common?</p>	<p>**READ THIS SYLLABUS!**</p> <p>Poast, Paul. 2023. "Not a World War But a World at War." The Atlantic (blog). November 17, 2023.</p> <p>United Nations, "A New Era of Conflict and Violence"</p> <p>NO TUTORIAL THIS WEEK.</p>
Week 2 (Jan 13 2026)	<p>What is War?</p> <p>How is it different from other forms of violence? Does war have a "logic" of its own? What is war good for?</p> <p>"Warfare is the greatest affair of state, the basis of life and death, the Tao to survival or extinction. It must be thoroughly pondered and analyzed." <i>Sun Zi, "Bingfa/Art of War"</i>.</p> <p>"Imagine a field of potatoes and two starving tribes. There are only enough potatoes to feed one of the tribes, who in that way will get the strength to cross the mountain and reach the other slope, where there are potatoes in abundance. But, if the two tribes peacefully</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clausewitz, Carl von. "On War". Edited and Translated by M. Howard, and P. Paret. (1993). p. <u>75-89</u>. Brodie, Bernard. <i>War and politics</i>. Macmillan. (1973). p.1-11. <p>In-tutorial activity 1: Gaming War</p> <p>Additional recommended readings</p>

	<p>divide up the potatoes from the field, they won't derive sufficient nourishment and will die of starvation. Peace, in this case, is destruction; war is preservation. One of the tribes will exterminate the other and collect the spoils. This explains the joy of victory, anthems, cheers, public recompense, and all the other results of warlike action. If the nature of war were different, those demonstrations would never take place, for the real reason that man only commemorates and loves what he finds pleasant and advantageous, and for the reasonable motive that no person can canonize an action that actually destroys him. To the conquered, hate or compassion; to the victor, the potatoes." - Machado de Assis, "Quincas Borba".</p>	
<p>Week 3 (Jan 20 2026)</p>	<p>Why War?</p> <p>Why do states/people fight? What do they fight about? Who's doing all this fighting? Why do some states seem to fight all the time? How do we think about "causation"? Can we predict war?</p> <p>"The chief reason warfare is still with us is neither a secret death wish of the human species, nor an irrepressible instinct of aggression, nor, finally and more plausibly, the serious economic and social dangers inherent in disarmament, but the simple fact that no substitute for this final arbiter in international affairs has yet appeared on the political scene. Was not Hobbes right when he said: 'Covenants, without the sword, are but words'?" - Hannah Arendt, "On Violence"</p> <p>"The human tendency to expansion, thus inflamed by the suggestions of public opinion and the press, may, at any moment, take an aggressive direction, even against the will of the present governing classes. And it will not be denied that the simplest way to the setting</p>	<p>Everyone reads:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lebow, Richard Ned. <i>Why nations fight: Past and future motives for war</i>. Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pages 10-17, and 23-62. <p>Remaining readings to be divided among students for in-class (lecture) activity (see Quercus).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fearon, James D. "Rationalist explanations for war." <i>International Organization</i> 49, no. 3 (1995): 379-410 (feel free to skip appendix). Glad, Betty, and Charles S. Taber. "<i>Images, learning, and the decision to use force: The domino theory of the United States</i>." In: Betty Glad (ed.) <i>Psychological Dimensions of War</i>. (1990)., p.56–81. Hudson, Valerie M., and Andrea Den Boer. "A surplus of men, a deficit of peace: Security and sex ratios in Asia's largest states." <i>International Security</i> 26, no. 4 (2002): 5-38. Dafoe, Allan, Jonathan Renshon, and Paul Huth. "Reputation and Status as Motives for War." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 17 (2014): 371-393. Ward, Steven. "Race, status, and Japanese revisionism in the early 1930s." <i>Security Studies</i> 22, no. 4 (2013): 607-639.

	<p>aside and easy ejection of the rightful authorities by European governments is just this way of financial interventions—as might be shown by many examples." - Luis Maria Drago, Argentinian Foreign Minister, "letter to the Government of the United States, 1902."</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tir, Jaroslav, and Paul F. Diehl. "Geographic dimensions of enduring rivalries." <i>Political Geography</i> 21, no. 2 (2002): 263-286. • Hensel, Paul R., Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Thomas E. Sowers, and Clayton L. Thyne. "Bones of contention: Comparing territorial, maritime, and river issues." <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 52, no. 1 (2008): 117-143. • Copeland, Dale C. <i>Economic Interdependence and War</i>. Princeton University Press, 2014. pp. 16-50. • Gowa, Joanne, and Raymond Hicks. "Commerce and conflict: New data about the Great War." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 47, no. 3 (2017): 653-674. <p>In-tutorial activity 2: Change the payoffs, change the game.</p> <p>Movie night recommendation: - Lord of the Flies, 1963.</p> <p>Additional recommended readings</p>
<p>Week 4 (Jan 27 2026)</p>	<p>Leaders and War</p> <p>Are some leaders more likely to go to war? Are "bad leaders" necessary to produce war? Are leaders constrained in what they can do? Do domestic institutions create opportunities or constraints for leaders?</p> <p>"A righteous king carries out punitive expeditions, but does not initiate wars of aggression. He does not lay siege to cities or fight cornered troops. He does not sow dissent among rival states or massacre defenders of cities. He does not stage ambushes or oppressive occupations. His campaigns do not outlast the season. - Xunzi, "Debate on Military Affairs" (edited translation).</p> <p>"Well, because he thought it was good sport. Because some men aren't looking for anything logical, like money. They can't be bought,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yarhi-Milo, Keren. <i>Who Fights for Reputation</i>. Princeton University Press, 2018. Pp 1-14, SKIM: 19-43 (access through UofT library) • Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Leaders, advisers, and the political origins of elite support for war." <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 62, no. 10 (2018): 2118-2144. • Article Review 148 on "Peacemakers or Iron Ladies?" OPTIONAL: Original article: Schramm, Madison, and Alexandra Stark. "Peacemakers or iron ladies? A cross-national study of gender and international conflict." <i>Security Studies</i> 29, no. 3 (2020): 515-548. <p>In-tutorial activity 3: Change the players, change the game?</p> <p>Movie night recommendation: - <i>Gandhi</i>, 1983. - <i>Elizabeth</i>, 1998. - <i>Thirteen Days</i>, 2000.</p>

	<p>bullied, reasoned, or negotiated with. Some men just want to watch the world burn." - Alfred Pennyworth, "The Dark Knight"</p> <p>"Shoot the dictator and prevent the war? But the dictator is merely the tip of the whole festering boil of social pus from which dictators emerge; shoot him and there'll be another one along in a minute. Shoot him too? Why not shoot everyone and invade Poland? In fifty years', thirty years', ten years' time the world will be very nearly back on its old course." - Terry Pratchett, "Lords and Ladies".</p>	<p>- (<i>Downfall</i>) <i>Der Untergang</i>, 2005. - The Dark Knight, 2008. - <i>Che: Part One</i>, 2009. - <i>Darkest Hour</i>, 2017. - The Favourite, 2018. - The Great, 2020-2022</p> <p>Additional recommended readings</p>
<p>Week 5 (Feb 3 2026)</p>	<p>What kinds of states make war?</p> <p>Are some <i>types</i> of states more likely to fight each other? Are democracies generally peaceful? Why don't democracies fight each other? Or do they? Is the so-called democratic peace conditional or contingent on other factors?</p> <p>"[E]verything being computed, I believe that in cases in which there is urgent danger, some stability will be found more in republics than in princes. For although republics have the same intent and the same wish as a prince, their slow motion will make them always have more trouble in resolving than the prince, and because of this have more trouble in breaking faith [...] I do not speak of breaking pacts for some cause of nonobservance, an ordinary thing; but I do speak of those that are broken for extraordinary causes, in which I believe, because of the things said, the people makes lesser errors than the prince, and because of this can be trusted more than the prince." -Niccolo Machiavelli, "<i>Discourses on Livy</i>"</p> <p>"Now the republican constitution [...] has also the prospect of attaining [...] perpetual peace. [If] the consent of the subjects is required to</p>	<p><u>Everyone watches</u> Wag the Dog, 1997.</p> <p><u>Readings below to be divided among the students for in-class activity, see Quercus for details.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maoz, Z., & Russett, B. (1993). Normative and structural causes of democratic peace, 1946–1986. <i>American Political Science Review</i>, 87(3), 624-638. • Gowa, Joanne. "The democratic peace after the Cold War." <i>Economics & Politics</i> 23, no. 2 (2011): 153-171. • Mousseau, Michael. "The democratic peace unraveled: It's the economy." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 57, no. 1 (2013): 186-197. • McDonald, Patrick J. "Great powers, hierarchy, and endogenous regimes: Rethinking the domestic causes of peace." <i>International Organization</i> 69, no. 3 (2015): 557-588. • Barnhart, Joslyn N., Robert F. Trager, Elizabeth N. Saunders, and Allan Dafoe. "The suffragist peace." <i>International Organization</i> 74, no. 4 (2020): 633-670. • Mansfield, Edward D., and Jack Snyder. "Democratization and the Danger of War." <i>International security</i> 20, no. 1 (1995): 5-38.

	<p>determine whether there shall be war or not, nothing is more natural than that they should weigh the matter well, before undertaking such a bad business. For in decreeing war, they would of necessity be resolving to bring down the miseries of war upon their country. This implies: they must fight themselves; they must hand over the costs of the war out of their own property; they must do their poor best to make good the devastation which it leaves behind; and finally, as a crowning ill, they have to accept a burden of debt which will embitter even peace itself, and which they can never pay off on account of the new wars which are always impending."</p> <p>- Immanuel Kant, "To the Perpetual Peace"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weeks, Jessica L. "Strongmen and straw men: Authoritarian regimes and the initiation of international conflict." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 106.02 (2012): 326-347. <p>In-tutorial activity 4: Democracies, Autocracies, Conflict and Cooperation</p> <p>Additional recommended readings</p>
<p>Week 6 (Feb 10 2026)</p>	<p>Military Strategy and Doctrine</p> <p>How do actors try to get what they want? What does it mean to have a strategy? Do all actors have strategies? Are states "strategic actors"? How do they adjust to other actors' preferences and behavior? What is strategy in war?</p> <p>"The object in war is to attain a better peace-even if only from your own point of view. Hence it is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire. This is the truth underlying Clausewitz's definition of war as a 'continuation of policy by other means'-the prolongation of that policy through the war into the subsequent peace must always be borne in mind. A State which expends its strength to the point of exhaustion bankrupts its own policy and future. If you concentrate exclusively on victory, with no thought for the after-effect, you may be too exhausted to profit by the peace, while it is almost certain that the peace will be a bad one, containing the germs of another war. This is a lesson supported by abundant experience."</p> <p>- Liddell Hart, "<i>Strategy</i>"</p> <p>"Thus, strategy [...] is not concerned with the efficient application of force but with the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Posen, Barry R. "Explaining Military Doctrine." <i>The Use of Force</i>, (1999): 23-43. Smith, M. L. R. "Strategy in an Age of 'Low-Intensity' Warfare: Why Clausewitz is Still More Relevant than his Critics." In <i>Rethinking the nature of war</i>, pp. 28-52. Routledge, 2005. Downes, Alexander B. "Desperate times, desperate measures: The causes of civilian victimization in war." <i>International Security</i> 30, no. 4 (2006): 152-195, READ 152-170, skip pages 170-177 and SKIM pages 178-188. <p>In-tutorial activity 5: Lose the Battle, Win the War? Air, Land, and Sea</p> <p><u>Movie night recommendations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Ran</i>, 1985. - <i>(Red Cliff) Chi Bi</i>, 2009. - <i>Squid Games</i>, 2021. <p>Additional recommended readings</p>

	<p>exploitation of potential force [...] not just with enemies who dislike each other but with partners who distrust or disagree with each other [...] not just the division of gains and losses between two claimants but with the possibility that particular outcomes are worse (better) for both claimants than certain other outcomes." - Thomas Schelling, "<i>Strategy of Conflict</i>"</p> <p>"<i>Si vis pacem, para bellum</i>" - Latin saying</p>	
<p>Week 7 (Feb 24 2026)</p>	<p>Technology and Strategy</p> <p>How does technology affect broad outcomes in international security and the decision to use force? Does technology dictate/shape/constrain strategy and policy? Can technology be "neutral"?</p> <p>“Thus far the chief purpose of our military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have almost no other useful purpose.” - Bernard Brodie, "<i>The Absolute Weapon</i>".</p> <p>"But wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served as a negative good by preventing the spread and growth of an evil force, but the destructive power of modern weapons eliminated even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good.[...] In a day when vehicles hurtle through outer space and guided ballistic missiles carve highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can claim victory in war. A so-called limited war will leave little more than a calamitous legacy of human suffering, political turmoil, and spiritual disillusionment. A world war – God forbid! – will leave only smoldering ashes as a mute testimony of a human race whose folly led inexorably to ultimate death. So if modern man continues to flirt unhesitatingly with war, he will transform his earthly habitat into an</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brodie, Bernard. "War in the atomic age." In: <i>The absolute weapon: Atomic power and world order</i> (1946): 14-56. READ ONLY PAGES 14-25. • Talmadge, Caitlin. "Emerging technology and intra-war escalation risks: Evidence from the Cold War, implications for today." <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> 42, no. 6 (2019): 864-887. <p>In-tutorial activity 6: Air, Land, and Sea: Redux</p> <p><u>Movie night recommendations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Mouse That Roared 1959 - <i>Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb</i>, 1964. - <i>WarGames</i>, 1983. - <i>Battlestar Galactica</i> (Miniseries), 2003. <p>Additional recommended readings</p>

	<p>inferno such as even the mind of Dante could not imagine." - Martin Luther King, "<i>Nobel Peace Prize Lecture</i>"</p>	
<p>Week 8 (Mar 3 2026)</p>	<p>Norms, Laws, and War</p> <p>What are some of the legal constraints on whether and how states fight? What is the role for principles of legality and justice in matters of war?</p> <p>"War ought not to be undertaken except for the enforcement of rights; when once undertaken, it should be carried on only within the bounds of law and good faith. Demosthenes well said that war is directed against those who cannot be held in check by judicial processes. For judgements are efficacious against those who feel that they are too weak to resist; against those who are equally strong, or think that they are, wars are undertaken. But in order that wars may be justified, they must be carried on with not less scrupulousness than judicial processes are wont to be." Now war is of the utmost importance, seeing that in consequence of war a great many sufferings usually fall upon even innocent persons, Therefore in the midst of divergent opinions we must lean towards peace." - Hugo Grotius, "The Law of War and Peace"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fazal, Tanisha M. Wars of law: Unintended consequences in the regulation of armed conflict. Cornell University Press, 2018. Chapter 4, 109-130. ● Legro, Jeffrey W. "Culture and preferences in the international cooperation two-step." American Political Science Review 90, no. 1 (1996): 118-137. ● Gross, Michael L. Moral dilemmas of modern war: torture, assassination, and blackmail in an age of asymmetric conflict. Cambridge University Press, 2010. Chapter 3. Shooting to Kill: The Paradox of Prohibited Weapons 54-76 <p>In-tutorial activity 7: Regulating the Use of Force in War: Air, Land, and Sea + Arms Control</p> <p><u>Movie night recommendations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beasts of No Nation, 2015. - Once Upon a Time in America, 1984. - Charlie Wilson's War, 2007. - Elite Squad 2: The Enemy Within, 2010. - The Wire, 2002-2008. <p><u>Additional recommended readings</u></p>

<p>Week 9 (Mar 10 2026)</p>	<p>Military Effectiveness: Causes and Consequences</p> <p>How do states build, organize, and pay for war? Do certain types of institutions afford advantages in warfighting? Why are some states better at fighting than others? How does technology affect how countries fight? What is the relationship between battlefield/military effectiveness and war outcomes?</p> <p>"When you see danger and hardship, do not forget the masses. Within the state be generous and foster good faith. Within the army be magnanimous and martial. When the blades clash, be decisive and adroit. Within the state there should be harmony; within the army there should be standards. When the blades clash, investigate [the battlefield situation]. Within the state display cooperation; within the army display uprightness; in battle display good faith." - <i>Methods of Ssu-ma</i></p> <p>"The general public became wary of the excesses of his unconventional and hedonistic lifestyle and of the huge ambition apparent at every turn in all areas of his involvement: they thought he was aiming at tyranny, and turned against him. So, even though in the public sphere his command of strategy was unrivalled, on a personal and individual level the people took exception to his behaviour, and replaced him with others: by so doing they caused the city's downfall not long afterwards" - Thucydides, <i>"The Peloponnesian War"</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brooks, Risa A. "Making Military Might: Why Do States Fail and Succeed?: A Review Essay." <i>International Security</i> 28.2 (2003): 149-191. • Biddle, Stephen. "Explaining Military Outcomes" In: Brooks, Risa and Elizabeth Stanley (eds.) <i>Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness.</i> (2007): 207-220. • Grauer, Ryan, and Michael C. Horowitz. "What determines military victory? Testing the modern system." <i>Security Studies</i> 21, no. 1 (2012): 83-112. SKIM pages 93-111. <p>In-tutorial activity 8: Gaming the 1948 Arab-Israeli War</p> <p><u>Movie night recommendations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rome, Open City, 1945. - Born on the Fourth of July, 1989. - Da 5 Bloods, 2020. <p><u>Additional recommended readings</u></p>
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<p>Week 10 (Mar 17 2026)</p>	<p>Friends, Allies, Partners, Proxies</p> <p>Why do actors help each other in a world of "self-help"? What are alliances? What are the challenges in building and maintaining security partnerships? Do "birds of a feather flock together"? Is it always better to fight with friends than on your own?</p> <p>"Amity with a more powerful monarch carries great danger for kings, except when one is actually at war with an enemy. A king shall seek the protection of one who is stronger than the neighbouring enemy. Should a king seek the help of a king who loves him or a king who is loved by him? The best alliance is that made with one who loves him " - Kautilya, "<i>Arthashastra</i>"</p> <p>"And here it is to be noted that a prince must beware never to associate with someone more powerful than himself so as to attack others, except when necessity presses [...] For when you win, you are left his prisoner, and princes should avoid as much as they can being at the discretion of others." - Niccolo Machiavelli, "<i>The Prince</i>"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch: Interview with Marina Henke on European Security and German Foreign Policy. (minutes 15:38-39:00) • Weitsman, Patricia A. "Wartime alliances versus coalition warfare: how institutional structure matters in the multilateral prosecution of wars." <i>Strategic Studies Quarterly</i> 4, no. 2 (2010): 113-138. • Cappella Zielinski, Rosella, and Ryan Grauer. "A century of coalitions in battle: Incidence, composition, and performance, 1900-2003." <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> 45, no. 2 (2022): 186-210. READ ONLY 195-206 • SKIM: Treaty, Washington. "The North Atlantic Treaty." Washington DC-4 April (1949). • SKIM: Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (Warsaw, 14 May 1955) <p>In-tutorial activity 9: Coalition Dilemmas in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War</p> <p><u>Movie night recommendations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Quiet American, 2002. - Star Wars (original trilogy, 1977, 1980, 1983) - Lord of the Rings (2001, 2002, 2003). - In the Loop, 2009. <p>Additional recommended readings</p>
<p>Week 11 (Mar 24 2026)</p>	<p>How, Why, and When Wars End: Victory, Defeat, and Compromise</p> <p>How do wars end? When does the fighting stop? Do wars end when the fighting stops?</p> <p>Case study: Korean War Case How did Korean War end? Why did it end when it and the way it did? Is the Korean War really "over"?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reiter, Dan. <i>How Wars End</i>. Princeton University Press, 2009. Chapters 1 and 5. pp1-7, 63-91. • Stanley, Elizabeth A. "Ending the Korean War: The role of domestic coalition shifts in overcoming obstacles to peace." <i>International Security</i> 34, no. 1 (2009): 42-82. • SKIM: Min, Eric. "Painful Words: The Effect of Battlefield Activity on Conflict Negotiation Behavior." <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 66, no. 4-5 (2022): 595-617. • Browse the Korean War Armistice collection in the Wilson Center Digital Archive.

	<p>"[i]t must be a peace without victory. [...] Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance".</p> <p>- Woodrow Wilson, "Peace without Victory"</p>	<p>In-tutorial activity 10: Gaming the Korean War</p> <p><u>Movie night recommendations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M.A.S.H., 1970. - Wolmido, 1982. - Taegukgi, 2003. - The Front Line, 2011. <p>Additional recommended readings</p>
<p>Week 12 (Mar 31 2026)</p>	<p>Making and Keeping the Peace: Mediation, Intervention, and Peacekeeping</p> <p>Why do states stick their noses in "other people's" conflicts? What are the consequences? When does mediation help?</p> <p>"The true denial of freedom is not that of the enslaving power, but rather that of the people who have the ability to end the subjection but choose to do nothing about it—yet more so if they make a virtue of their reputation as the liberators of Greece."</p> <p>- Thucydides, "The Peloponnesian War".</p> <p>"The road to hell is paved with good intentions"</p> <p>- Unattributed proverb.</p> <p>"Fiat justitia, et pereat mundus (justice be done, the world may perish)"</p> <p>- Philip Melanchthon (probably).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fortna, Virginia Page. "Interstate peacekeeping: Causal mechanisms and empirical effects." World Politics 56, no. 4 (2004): 481-517. • Stein, Janice Gross. "Proxy wars-how superpowers end them: the diplomacy of war termination in the Middle East." International Journal 35, no. 3 (1980): 478-499 (skim 500-519). • <i>SKIM</i>: Crescenzi, Mark JC, Kelly M. Kadera, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Clayton L. Thyne. "A supply side theory of mediation." International Studies Quarterly 55, no. 4 (2011): 1069-1094. <p>In-tutorial activity 11: Ending the Korean War</p> <p><u>Movie night recommendations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Star Trek: The Next Generation, S3E12 ("The High Ground"), 1990. - No Man's Land, 2001. - Hotel Rwanda, 2004. - The Constant Gardener, 2005. - Shake Hands with the Devil, 2007. - The Whistleblower, 2010. - The Siege of Jadotville, 2016. <p>Additional recommended readings</p>

Schoolhouse Rules and Resources

Grading and Assessment

Final Grades in the course are given as letter grades. They reflect your overall performance in achieving the stated course learning objectives. Assessment on interim evaluations can take many forms and are intended to give you an indication of where you stand relative to others. This will allow you to make adjustments to your approach, your expectations, and your performance.

Turnitin and AI Detection

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation website (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>). Essays and reports may also be subjected to AI detection software (see the section below on AI and academic integrity).

Accessibility Services

Academic accommodations and resources are available should you experience disability-related barriers that prohibit the demonstration of the knowledge and skills required to complete your academic program. These accommodations and resources are designed to provide equitable opportunities for students with disabilities to achieve their academic goals.

Disability-related accommodations are available through registration with the [University of Toronto's Accessibility Services](#). This helps maintain privacy and confidentiality and provides students with support when requesting and accessing accommodations. Students who register with Accessibility Services may also be eligible for disability-related services/equipment.

Instructors will direct students who make disability-related accommodation requests to register with [Accessibility Services](#). Once you complete the registration process, you will work with an Advisor who can set you up with reasonable, disability-related accommodations and/or resources.

Students with accommodations have access to Letters of Accommodation that should be provided to course instructors outlining specific accommodations they can request within that course. For example, if a student is given more time to work on an assignment this would be outlined in their Letter of Accommodation. Any accommodations not outlined in the letter from Accessibility Services are up to the instructor's discretion. Students can connect with their Accessibility Advisor to discuss their accommodations throughout the year.

Information about registering with [Accessibility Services](#) is available on the website and in the office's Program Handbook: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/read-the-handbook/> There's also a short video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hAq62IF4IPg&t=2s> If you're unsure whether you have a disability, please don't hesitate to connect with the office to discuss: accessibility.services@utoronto.ca

Other Academic Accommodations

Students may need to apply for academic accommodations due to a disability, illness, religious observance, or personal emergency.

Students who require consideration for missed academic work for **any non-disability related reason** (e.g., COVID, cold, flu and other illness or injury, family situation) should report their absence through the online absence declaration tool via [ACORN](#) – **until otherwise indicated by the University. A Verification of Illness form is not currently required, but may become required should the public health situation change.**

If a non-disability-related accommodation request is made along with an absence declaration on ACORN, a resolution will be determined by the instructor. This may take the form of any alternate deliverable, deadline extension, re-weighted course grade calculation, make-up exam, or another solution deemed appropriate by the instructor. If an accommodation request is not made along with an absence declaration, the missed or late deliverable will be subject to an academic penalty. The extent of the penalty is at the discretion of the instructor.

Note: Students are expected to request accommodations in advance of assignments or tests. Failure to do so may result in a late penalty being applied.

Mental Health and Wellness

The University of Toronto's [Student Mental Health Resource Guide](#) is an online tool where students can access various on-campus and off-campus mental health resources, including those listed below. Appointments may be booked with them by contacting the Health and Wellness Centre at 416-978-8030 or info.hwc@utoronto.ca

Other Mental Health Resources

Feeling distressed? Are you in crisis? There's help. Call Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454 (Ontario); text GOOD2TALK to 686868. Free, confidential helpline with professional counselling, information and referrals for mental health, addictions and well-being, 24/7/365. You can also contact [My Student Support Program \(MySSP\)](#) 1-844-451-9700 (North America); 001-416-380-6575 (Outside of North America) or the [U of T Employee & Family Assistance Program \(EFAP\)](#) 1-800-663-1142 (toll-free); 1-866-398-9505 (TTY); 604-689-1717 (collect). Visit "[Feeling Distressed?](#)" for more resources.

Are you in immediate danger? For Personal Safety – Call 911, then Campus Community Police*
 UTSG Police: 416-978-2222 | U of T Mississauga Police: 905-569-4333 | U of T Scarborough Police
 416-978-2222 |
 Centre for International Experience Safety Abroad 416-946-3929.

*24/7/365; Campus Community Police can direct your call to the right service.

Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters

Please read the University's [Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters](#). It applies to all your academic activities and courses. The Code prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty including, but not limited to, cheating, plagiarism, and the use of unauthorized aids. Violating the Code may lead to penalties up to and including suspension or expulsion from the University. You are expected to know the Code and inform yourself of acceptable academic practices – ignorance of the Code or the acceptable academic practices is not a valid defense if you are accused of a violation.

Academic Integrity

Case write-ups, papers, assignments, and all other deliverables must be original work, giving credit to the work of others where appropriate. Using work done by others without due credit—this includes the use of AI (Large Language Models etc.)—will be considered a violation of academic integrity. This applies to individual and group deliverables. All members of a group are accountable for the academic integrity of their submissions. You are encouraged to consult the following websites to ensure that you follow the appropriate rules. Ignorance of these rules is not a defense in cases of violations, which can result in very serious academic sanctions. Please visit the [University of Toronto Academic Integrity](#) and the [UofT Writing Centre Resources](#) websites for further details and help on the proper use of citations.

Group Work and Behaviour

You are expected to treat teamwork the same way as you would in any professional organization. This includes but is not limited to:

- Contributing substantially and proportionally to each project
- Committing to a standard of work and level of participation agreed upon by the group
- Ensuring familiarity with the entire content of a group deliverable so that you can sign off on it with your name in its entirety as original work
- Accepting and acknowledging that assignments that are found to be plagiarized in any way will be subject to sanctions for all group members under the University's [Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters](#)
- Ensuring that all team members voice their opinions, thoughts, and concerns openly and in an inclusive and considerate environment
- Taking personal responsibility for voicing your own thoughts to enhance and contribute to team learning

If you encounter difficulties with any group member that cannot be resolved within the group, please contact your instructor for guidance.

Use of Technology

Like any professional setting, the University of Toronto expects all of its members to behave responsibly and with courtesy and respect for others when using technology. UofT is committed to equity, human rights, and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. Please read the University's [Student Code of Conduct](#) and policy on the [Appropriate Use of Information and Communication Technology](#).

A note on Generative AI

In this course, we embrace the integration of AI-enabled tools, like ChatGPT, Claude or Consensus, as valuable components of your professional toolkit. Instead of forswearing them, we will work together to develop the skills to use them responsibly and effectively. Just like you would utilize software like Stata or R in a statistics course, a calculator in a physics class, or spell-check when writing a paper, AI-powered tools can serve as valuable aids for specific tasks. **HOWEVER**, while they can enhance efficiency and assist with lower-order tasks, they are not substitutes for the essential higher-order thinking and creative skills that are at the heart of your university journey.

Just as you would seek guidance from academic writing labs or collaborate with peers to bounce ideas and refine your work, AI-enabled tools can offer insights, help brainstorm, or assist in proofreading, but you **should not rely on them to do your work for you**. Not only is that considered a violation of academic integrity norms (see above) it is also a terrible idea, since AI can't yet reliably produce quality content at the level that is expected of someone in your position as a student or a professional. Particularly in the realms of summarizing and analyzing existing work or historical data or discussing policy and current events, AI tools exhibit **serious** shortcomings. Their algorithms, [no matter how sophisticated they are](#), can sometimes "hallucinate," extrapolating from the data to generate content that may not accurately represent the original context or intention of written work and manufacture facts about people, places, and things. These tools are also limited by the data on which they are trained, which can be constrained by geography and time (content produced in certain languages and certain places are overrepresented, some training data may not include data before or after a certain cut-off point) or be otherwise biased. Language Models will reproduce existing biases and possibly accentuate them. Think of the [Microsoft Twitter bot, Tay](#), which was quickly shut down after it became a misogynistic, violent, racist, holocaust denier. Or take a look at [how hard it was for Dall-E and Midjourney to draw human hands](#) when they first came out. This highlights the importance of your role as a discerning thinker who understands when and how to leverage AI effectively, while also recognizing when human judgment and expertise are still irreplaceable.

Additional Recommended Readings

Week I: Introduction, the prevalence of war, the use of games

- Braumoeller, Bear F. *Only the dead: the persistence of war in the modern age*. Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Sarkees, Meredith Reid. "Patterns of civil wars in the twenty-first century: the decline of civil war?." In *Routledge handbook of civil wars*, pp. 252-272. Routledge, 2014.
- Fazal, Tanisha M. "Dead wrong?: Battle deaths, military medicine, and exaggerated reports of war's demise." *International Security* 39, no. 1 (2014): 95-125.
- Melander, Erik, Magnus Öberg, and Jonathan Hall. "Are 'new wars' more atrocious? Battle severity, civilians killed and forced migration before and after the end of the Cold War." *European Journal of International Relations* 15, no. 3 (2009): 505-536.
- Watch [Deborah Avant on Security Studies, Non-state actors and Multi-stakeholder Governance](#), esp. first 5 min.
- Wolfers, Arnold. "'National security' as an ambiguous symbol." *Political science quarterly* 67, no. 4 (1952): 481-502.
- Walt, Stephen M. "The Renaissance of Security Studies." *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1991): 211-239.
- Ayoob, Mohammed. The Security Problematic of the Third World. *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 2. (Jan., 1991), pp. 257-283.
- Cohn, Carol. "Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687-718. MacMillan, Margaret. *War: How conflict shaped us*. Random House, 2020. chapter 1, p 21-49.
- Sylvester, Christine. "[War, sense, and security](#)." In *Gender and International Security*, pp. 42-55. Routledge, 2009.
- Carpenter, Charli. "['You talk of terrible things so matter-of-factly in this language of science': constructing human rights in the academy](#)." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 363-383.
- Henderson, Errol A. "[Navigating the Muddy Waters of the Mainstream](#)." *African American Perspectives* (2007): 325.
- Nye Jr, Joseph S., and Sean M. Lynn-Jones. "[International security studies: a report of a conference on the state of the field](#)." *International security* 12, no. 4 (1988): 5-27.
- Kolodziej, Edward A. "[Renaissance in security studies? Caveat lector!](#)." *International Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (1992): 421-438.
- Rothschild, Emma. "[What is security?](#)" *Daedalus* 124, no. 3 (1995): 53-98.
- Smith, Steve. "[The increasing insecurity of security studies: Conceptualizing security in the last twenty years](#)." *Contemporary Security Policy* 20, no. 3 (1999): 72-101.
- Tickner, J. A. "Gendering Dimensions of War, Peace, and Security." *Gendering World Politics Issues and Approaches in Post Cold War Era* (2001): 36-64.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. Univ of California Press, 2014.
- Booth, Ken. *Theory of world security*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

- David Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War," *World Politics*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (October 1995), 117-141.
- Richard K. Betts, "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (October 1997), 7-33.
- Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Summer 1983), 129-53
- Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), 87-102.
- Acharya, Amitav. "Human security: East versus west." *International Journal* 56, no. 3 (2001): 442-460.
- Abrahamsen, Rita, and Adam Sandor. "The global South and international security." *The Oxford handbook of international security* (2018): 1-18.
- Sabin, Philip. *Simulating war: Studying conflict through simulation games*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012.
- Mouat, Tom. "The use and misuse of wargames." *Scandinavian Journal of Military Studies* 5, no. 1 (2022).
- Reddie, Andrew W., Bethany L. Goldblum, Kiran Lakkaraju, Jason Reinhardt, Michael Nacht, and Laura Epifanovskaya. "Next-generation wargames." *Science* 362, no. 6421 (2018): 1362-1364.
- Reddie, Andrew W., Ruby E. Booth, Bethany L. Goldblum, Kiran Lakkaraju, Jason C. Reinhardt, Jacquelyn Schneider, Rachael Shaffer et al. *Cyber Wargaming: Research and Education for Security in a Dangerous Digital World*. Georgetown University Press, 2024.
- Brynen, Rex. "Gaming Middle East Conflict." (2013): 133-138.
- Schneider, Jacquelyn, and Jacob Ganz. "The Wargames That Prophesized America's Defeat in Vietnam." *War on the Rocks*, September 24, 2024.
- Schneider, J. "What war games really reveal." *Foreign Affairs*, December (2003).

Week II: The Purpose and Functions of War

- Sawyer, Ralph D. *The seven military classics of ancient China*. Basic Books, 2020.
- Kautilya. *The Arthashastra*. Edited by Rangarajan, L. N.. Penguin Books India, 1992. esp. parts X and XI
- Ferdowsi, Abolqasem. *Shahnameh: The Persian book of kings*. London: Penguin, 2006.
- Tilly, Charles. "Capital, coercion and European states." *Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell* (1990).
- Hui, Victoria Tin-bor. *War and state formation in ancient China and early modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2005. p.24-79
- Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control*. Princeton University Press, 2014. esp Chs 1-2
- Carvalho, Benjamin de, Halvard Leira, and John M. Hobson. "The Big Bangs of IR: The Myths That Your Teachers Still Tell You about 1648 and 1919." *Millennium* 39, no. 3 (2011): 735-58.
- Thies, Cameron G. "War, rivalry, and state building in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (2005): 451-465.
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. *Blood and debt: War and the nation-state in Latin America*. Penn State Press, 2002.
- Reno, William. *Warfare in independent Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Week III: The Causes of War

- Waltz, Kenneth Neal. *Man, the state, and war: A theoretical analysis*. Columbia University Press, 2001. Chapter 1.
- Thucydides. *The Peloponnesian War*. Translated and Edited by Hammond, Martin, and P. J. Rhodes. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Kagan, Donald. *New History of the Peloponnesian War*. Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Boucoyannis, Deborah A. "Thucydides' The Peloponnesian War: Causes, Pretexts and Realist Traditions." *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1998): 105-130.
- Kirshner, Jonathan. "Handle him with care: The importance of getting Thucydides right." *Security Studies* 28, no. 1 (2019): 1-24.
- Kang, David C., and Xinru Ma. "Power transitions: Thucydides didn't live in East Asia." *The Washington Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2018): 137-154.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Benjamin Valentino. "Lost in transition: A critical analysis of power transition theory." *International Relations* 23, no. 3 (2009): 389-410.
- Copeland, Dale C. *The Origins of Major War*. Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "The origins of war in neorealist theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (1988)
- Vasquez, John A. *The war puzzle revisited*. Cambridge University Press, 2009. Esp part II.
- Reiter, Dan. "Exploring the bargaining model of war." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (2003): 27-43.
- Kirshner, Jonathan. "Rationalist explanations for war?" *Security Studies* 10, no. 1 (2000): 143-150.
- Gartzke, Erik. "War is in the Error Term." *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (1999): 567-587.
- Barbara F. Walter, "Bargaining Failures and Civil War," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 12 (2009), 243-261.
- Press, Daryl G. "The Credibility of Power: Assessing Threats during the "Appeasement" Crises of the 1930s." *International Security* (2004): 136-169.
- Löwenheim, Oded, and Gadi Heimann. "Revenge in international politics." *Security studies* 17, no. 4 (2008): 685-724.
- Hall, Todd H. "We will not swallow this bitter fruit: Theorizing a diplomacy of anger." *Security Studies* 20, no. 4 (2011): 521-555.
- Colgan, Jeff D. "Fueling the fire: Pathways from oil to war." *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 147-180.
- Meierding, Emily. "Dismantling the oil wars myth." *Security Studies* 25, no. 2 (2016): 258-288.
- Kahl, Colin H. "Population growth, environmental degradation, and state-sponsored violence: The case of Kenya, 1991-93." *International Security* 23, no. 2 (1998): 80-119.
- Meierding, Emily. "Climate change and conflict: avoiding small talk about the weather." *International Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (2013): 185-203.
- Kelanic, Rosemary A. "The petroleum paradox: oil, coercive vulnerability, and great power behavior." *Security Studies* 25, no. 2 (2016): 181-213.
- Adams, Courtland, Tobias Ide, Jon Barnett, and Adrien Detges. "Sampling bias in climate-conflict research." *Nature Climate Change* 8, no. 3 (2018): 200-203.
- Mach, Katharine J., Caroline M. Kraan, W. Neil Adger, Halvard Buhaug, Marshall Burke, James D. Fearon, Christopher B. Field et al. "Climate as a risk factor for armed conflict." *Nature* 571, no. 7764 (2019): 193-197.
- Busby, Joshua W. "Beyond internal conflict: The emergent practice of climate security." *Journal of Peace Research* 58, no. 1 (2021): 186-194.

- Bara, Corinne. "Forecasting civil war and political violence." *The Politics and Science of Prevision* (2020): 177.
- Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede. "One without the Other? Prediction and Policy in International Studies." *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2022).
- Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett. "The heart of the matter: The security of women and the security of states." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2009): 7-45.
- Wimmer, Andreas. *Waves of war: Nationalism, state formation, and ethnic exclusion in the modern world.* Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Wiegand, Krista Eileen. *Enduring territorial disputes: Strategies of bargaining, coercive diplomacy, and settlement.* University of Georgia Press, 2011.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. "Territory and war." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (2014): 185-198.
- Goertz, Gary, and Paul F. Diehl. "Taking "enduring" out of enduring rivalry: The rivalry approach to war and peace." *International Interactions* 21, no. 3 (1995): 291-308.
- Huth, Paul K. "Enduring rivalries and territorial disputes, 1950-1990." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 15, no. 1 (1996): 7-41.
- Goertz, Gary, and Paul F. Diehl. "The initiation and termination of enduring rivalries: The impact of political shocks." *American Journal of Political Science* (1995): 30-52.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Jack S. Levy. "Sleeping with the enemy: The impact of war on trade." *Journal of peace research* 36, no. 4 (1999): 463-479.
- Angell, Norman. *The great illusion: A study of the relation of military power to national advantage.* GP Putnam's sons, 1913.
- Peter Liberman, "The Spoils of Conquest" *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Autumn 1993), 125-53.
- Stephen G. Brooks, "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (October, 1999), 646-670.
- Christina L. Davis, "Linkage Diplomacy: Economic and Security Bargaining in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-23." *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Winter 2009), 143-179.
- Heginbotham, Eric, and Richard J. Samuels. "Mercantile realism and Japanese foreign policy." *International Security* 22, no. 4 (1998): 171-203.
- Erickson, Jennifer L. "Punishing the violators? Arms embargoes and economic sanctions as tools of norm enforcement." *Review of international studies* 46, no. 1 (2020): 96-120.
- Hultman, Lisa, and Dursun Peksen. "Successful or counterproductive coercion? The effect of international sanctions on conflict intensity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 6 (2017): 1315-1339.
- Liou, Ryan Yu-Lin, Amanda Murdie, and Dursun Peksen. "Revisiting the causal links between economic sanctions and human rights violations." *Political Research Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (2021): 808-821.
- Allen, Susan Hannah, and David J. Lektzian. "Economic sanctions: A blunt instrument?." *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 1 (2013): 121-135.
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