

Understanding War and Peace

Second edition

Written for undergraduate students studying the politics of conflict and cooperation, *Understanding War and Peace* considers the roots of global conflicts and the various means used to resolve them. Edited by Dan Reiter with contributing authors who are all leading scholars in the field, it balances approachable, engaging writing with a conceptually rigorous overview of the most important ideas in conflict studies.

Focusing on concepts, policy, and historical applications, the text minimizes literature reviews and technical jargon to engagingly present all major topics in international conflict, including nuclear weapons, peacekeeping, terrorism, gender, alliances, nuclear weapons, environment and conflict, civil wars, and public opinion. Enriching the textbook pedagogy, each chapter concludes with a summary of a published quantitative study to introduce students with no prior quantitative training to quantitative analysis. Online resources for instructors include an instructor manual, a test bank, and contemporary case studies for each chapter topic regarding the conflict in Ukraine.

Dan Reiter is the Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of Political Science at Emory University. He is one of the leading scholars in international relations, having published across the breadth of conflict topics, including the causes of war, bargaining and war, alliances, terrorism, nuclear weapons, gender and conflict, military effectiveness and war outcomes, IR decision-making, domestic politics and foreign policy, the democratic peace, military strategy, foreign-imposed regime change, and others. He has won many scholarly awards, served on the editorial boards of leading journals in political science and international relations, and taught undergraduates for decades.



"Understanding War and Peace is an outstanding textbook that offers an insightful and comprehensive introduction to the complex world of international conflict. Written by a team of leading scholars in the field, it delivers an engaging and accessible overview of the most important concepts and historical applications in the study of war, making it an ideal resource for undergraduate students. The book's focus on policy and real-world examples, coupled with its innovative pedagogy, including quantitative analysis, and valuable online resources, make it an indispensable tool for anyone seeking a deeper understanding of global conflicts and their resolutions."

Professor Allan C. Stam, University of Virginia

"Understanding War and Peace is an exceptional textbook that thoroughly prepares students for further analysis and coursework in international conflict. Its highly innovative structure is unique and extremely valuable as a teaching tool. Finally, a hallmark of this book is that it is exceptionally well-written, and therefore easily engages the reader and maintains the reader's interest."

Professor Hein Goemans, University of Rochester

"This concise text is a fantastic resource for engaging international relations students. It draws on first-rate scholarship to teach complex, important topics in an accessible manner. *Understanding War and Peace* is a valuable addition to any syllabus and is sure to promote learning, spur discussion, and provoke thought among those entering the field."

Professor Caitlin Talmadge, Georgetown University

"Understanding War and Peace is an accessible but comprehensive guide to the complex and fundamental issue of conflict in the contemporary international system which can be used as an introductory textbook but may also be useful to the concerned public."

Professor Filippo Andreatta, University of Bologna

"Cleverly conceived and lucidly written, this book relies on leading scholars to provide a sweeping education about the field of international relations: its topics, methods, and debates."

Professor Jennifer M. Lind, Dartmouth College



Understanding War and Peace

Second edition

Edited by

Dan Reiter

Emory University, Atlanta







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/highereducation/isbn/9781009123365

DOI: 10.1017/9781009127721

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First edition © Dan Reiter, Kyle Beardsley, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Christopher Gelpi, Cullen S. Hendrix, Michael C. Horowitz, Sarah E. Kreps and Paul Poast. The first edition was published as an online, modular textbook at www.understandingwarandpeace.com

Second edition 2024

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Reiter, Dan, 1967- editor.

Title: Understanding war and peace / Dan Reiter.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023003026 (print) | LCCN 2023003027 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009123365 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781009125031 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009127721 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: War. | Peace.

Classification: LCC U21.2 .U64 2023 (print) | LCC U21.2 (ebook) | DDC 355.02-dc23/eng/20230515

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023003026

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023003027

ISBN 978-1-009-12336-5 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-009-12503-1 Paperback

Additional resources for this publication at www.cambridge.org/reiter.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or

will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Extended Contents List		page vii
List of Contributors		xiii
Preface		XV
D	an Reiter	
	Introduction Dan Reiter	1
P	art I: Broad Perspectives	
1	Bargaining and War Dan Reiter	13
2	Sex, Gender, and Violence Valerie M. Hudson and Dan Reiter	44
P	art II: Domestic Politics and War	
3	Domestic Political Institutions and War Jessica L. P. Weeks	85
4	Public Opinion and the Conduct of Foreign Policy Christopher Gelpi	114
5	Leaders, Decisions, and Foreign Policy Michael C. Horowitz	146
6	Economics and War Paul Poast	175
P	art III: Conflict within States	
7	Civil Wars Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham	207

٧



vi Contents

8 Terror Philip	rism B. K. Potter	237
Part IV:	Diplomacy and Conflict	
9 Interna Dan Ro	ational Alliances eiter	269
	Party Peacemaking and Peacekeeping Beardsley	300
Part V: Special Topics in Conflict		
	ar Weapons el C. Horowitz	339
12 Drone Sarah	e Warfare E. Kreps	371
	onment and Conflict S. Hendrix	405
Index		435



Extended Contents

List of Contributors	page xiii
Preface	XV
Dan Reiter	
Introduction Dan Reiter	1
Part I: Broad Perspectives	
1 Bargaining and War Dan Reiter	13
Introduction	13
What Do States Fight Over?	14
Why States Fight: Lack of Information	19
Why States Fight: Commitment	24
Why States Fight: Issue Indivisibility	26
Bargaining and the Termination of Wars	27
Bargaining and Civil Wars	30
Possible Critiques of the Bargaining Model	31
Case Study	35
Quantitative Study	39
Summary	41
Key Terms	41
Review Questions	41
Discussion Questions	42
Additional Reading	42
References	42
2 Sex, Gender, and Violence Valerie M. Hudson and Dan Reiter	44
Introduction	44
The War against Women and Girls	45
Sex, Gender, and Aggression	47
The First Political Order	50
	vii



viii Extended Contents

	Marriage Market Obstruction: Brideprice, Polygyny, and Sex-Selective Abortion/	
	Infanticide	54
	Male Violence against Women (MVAW)	59
	The Repression of Women, Civil Wars, and Wars between Nations	61
	Policy Solutions	66
	Case Study	68
	Quantitative Study	73
	Summary	75
	Key Terms	75
	Review Questions	76
	Discussion Questions	76
	Additional Reading	76
	References	77
P	art II: Domestic Politics and War	
3	Domestic Political Institutions and War Jessica L. P. Weeks	85
	Introduction	85
	How Politics within States Affects Conflict between States	87
	Case Study	104
	Quantitative Study	109
	Summary	111
	Key Terms	112
	Review Questions	112
	Discussion Questions	112
	Additional Reading	113
	References	113
4	Public Opinion and the Conduct of Foreign Policy Christopher Gelpi	114
	Introduction	114
	Can Public Opinion Influence Foreign Policy in Democracies?	115
	Case Study	134
	Quantitative Study	139
	Summary	142
	Key Terms	143
	Review Questions	143
	Discussion Questions	143
	Additional Reading	143
	References	144



		Extended Contents	i)
5	Leaders, Decisions, and Foreign Policy Michael C. Horowitz		146
	Introduction		146
	Leaders and International Relations Theory: A Missing Dimensi	on?	147
	The Selection of Leaders		150
	The Policy Preferences of Leaders: Where Preferences Come from	n and Why They	
	Can Matter		152
	Leaders and Domestic Politics		159
	Whose Reputation?		163
	Case Study		165
	Quantitative Study		170
	Summary		172
	Key Terms		172
	Review Questions		172
	Discussion Questions Additional Reading		173 173
	References		173
	References		1/5
6	Economics and War		175
	Paul Poast		
	Introduction		175
	Guns and Butter		177
	The Economic Consequences of War		188
	Case Study		192
	Quantitative Study		197
	Summary		199
	Key Terms		199
	Review Questions		200
	Discussion Questions		200
	Additional Reading		200
	References		201
P	art III: Conflict within States		
_			
7	Civil Wars Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham		207
	Introduction		207
	What Is a Civil War?		207
	Why Do Civil Wars Occur?		210
	Conflict Dynamics in Civil Wars		218
	How Civil Wars End		223



x Extended Contents

	Long-Term Effects of Civil War	226
	Case Study	228
	Quantitative Study	232
	Summary	234
	Key Terms	234
	Review Questions	235
	Discussion Questions	235
	Additional Reading	235
	References	236
8	Terrorism	237
	Philip B. K. Potter	
	Introduction	237
	What Is Terrorism?	239
	The Historical Evolution of Terrorism	241
	The Logic of Terrorism	243
	Counterterrorism and Deradicalization	254
	Case Study	258
	Quantitative Study	260
	Summary	263
	Key Terms	263
	Review Questions	264
	Discussion Questions	264
	Additional Reading	264
	References	265
P	art IV: Diplomacy and Conflict	
9	International Alliances Dan Reiter	269
	Introduction	269
	Why Do States Form Alliances?	270
	The Problem of Compliance	272
	Case Study	288
	Quantitative Study	294
	Summary	296
	Key Terms	290 297
	Review Questions	297
	Discussion Questions	297
	Additional Reading	298
	References	298
	120101011000	270



		Extended Contents	xi
10	Third-Party Peacemaking and Peacekeeping Kyle Beardsley		300
	Introduction		200
	Definitions of Third-Party Efforts to Nurture Peace		300 301
	Mechanisms for Enhancing Peace		310
	Limits		314
	Dilemmas		319
	Case Study		323
	Quantitative Study		328
	Summary		333
	Key Terms		333
	Review Questions		333
	Discussion Questions		334
	Additional Reading		334
	References		334
Pa	rt V: Special Topics in Conflict		
11	Nuclear Weapons		339
	Michael C. Horowitz		
	Introduction		339
	Nuclear Weapons and How They Are Delivered		340
	Who Builds Nuclear Weapons?		344
	The Barriers to Nuclear Acquisition		348
	Nuclear Deterrence and Coercion		350
	Nuclear Proliferation and International Strategy		353
	The Role of Arms Control		356
	Case Study		360
	Quantitative Study		366
	Summary		368
	Key Terms		369
	Review Questions		369
	Discussion Questions Additional Reading		369 370
	References		370
	References		370
12	Drone Warfare		371
	Sarah E. Kreps		
	Introduction		371
	What Are Drones?		372
	Why Turn to Drones?		374



xii Extended Contents

	Do Drone Strikes Work?	376
	Are Drone Strikes Legal? Are They Ethical?	379
	Drone Strikes and the Separation of Powers	382
	Drone Proliferation and Its Consequences	384
	The Future of Drones: The Four S's	388
	Case Study	391
	Quantitative Study	398
	Summary	400
	Key Terms	401
	Review Questions	401
	Discussion Questions	402
	Additional Reading	402
	References	402
13	Environment and Conflict Cullen S. Hendrix	405
	Introduction	405
	What Are Environmental Conflicts?	406
	Environmental Conflicts and Interstate Conflict	407
	Environmental Conflicts and Civil Conflict	414
	Where Do Environmental Conflicts Occur?	417
	When Do Environmental Conflicts Occur?	419
	Conflict Effects on the Environment	420
	Climate Change and Conflict	422
	Case Study	426
	Quantitative Study	430
	Summary	433
	Key Terms	433
	Review Questions	433
	Discussion Questions	433
	Additional Reading	434
	References	434
Ind	lex	435



List of Contributors

Dan Reiter, Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of Political Science, Emory University

Kyle Beardsley, Professor of Political Science, Duke University

Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Professor of Government and Politics, University of Maryland

Christopher Gelpi, Professor and Director and Chair of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, Mershon Center for International Security Studies, Ohio State University

Cullen S. Hendrix, Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics

Michael C. Horowitz, Richard Perry Professor of Political Science and Director of Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania

Valerie M. Hudson, University Distinguished Professor and George H. W. Bush Chair, Professor of International Affairs, Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University

Sarah E. Kreps, John L. Wetherill Professor of Government, Cornell University

Paul Poast, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

Philip B. K. Potter, Associate Professor of Politics and Policy and Director of the National Security Policy Center, University of Virginia

Jessica L. P. Weeks, Professor and H. Douglas Weaver Chair in Diplomacy and International Relations, University of Wisconsin

xiii



Preface

DAN REITER

Understanding War and Peace (second edition) is a textbook for use in lower and upper level undergraduate classes in international relations, conflict, and war. The textbook covers leading ideas about the causes, prosecution, termination, consequences, and prevention of many kinds of violent conflicts, including wars between states, civil wars, insurgency, drone warfare, terrorism, violence against girls and women, and others.

The chapters are all specifically written with undergraduate readers in mind. That is, they are not reprinted or abbreviated journal articles. Chapters focus on concepts without being too heavy on jargon, they keep literature review to a minimum, and they make liberal use of policy and historical applications. Each chapter is written by a leading scholar with expertise in that field, ensuring that the content reflects the cutting edge of academic research, and each is designed as a stand-alone chapter, meaning that no chapter presumes that the student has read any other chapter, though the chapters do cross-reference each other. The chapters also do not presume that the student has taken any other relevant coursework, such as an introduction to international relations course or courses in research methods or statistics.

Each chapter contains three sections of content. The first chapter section is the main body of content, working through the main concepts with plenty of historical and policy examples as illustrations. The second chapter section is a case study of a historical episode, designed to illustrate some of the main concepts from the chapter. The third chapter section contains a nontechnical summary of a previously published quantitative study on some proposition from the chapter. This third section is designed to be readable for any student, even those without any background in statistics or math, and is intended in part to introduce students to the approach of using quantitative empirical methods. Both the second and third sections are independent of the first section, meaning that the first section can be assigned with or without assigning either the second or third sections.

There are also separate, chapter-specific content modules available online, on the textbook website. For example, there are chapter-specific modules on the Ukraine War. Instructors can assign a Ukraine War module to help illustrate conceptual ideas presented in an assigned chapter.

Each chapter contains several pedagogical tools. Students are provided with a list of key terms, all of which are discussed in the chapter. There are review questions, all of which are

ΧV



xvi Preface

answered within the chapter. There is also a list of discussion questions which can be used to generate discussion in class, or as shorter writing assignments. Each chapter also includes a list of suggested additional readings for students. Lastly, instructors have secure online access to a bank of multiple choice test questions, thirty questions per chapter.

The Introduction that follows this Preface serves two functions. First, it provides a general survey of war itself, touching on a few scholarly debates such as whether or not the frequency or intensity of war is in decline. Second, it introduces the essentials of the scientific method, defining terms such as hypothesis, independent variable, dependent variable, and spurious correlation. Knowing these terms will help students work through the summaries of quantitative research presented in the chapters. The discussion of research method is completely nonquantitative.

The book's substantive chapters that follow the Introduction cover many aspects of war and are grouped into five parts. The first offers broad perspectives on war. Chapter 1, "Bargaining and War" by Dan Reiter, presents the broad theoretical perspective of thinking about war as an exercise in bargaining, or more specifically that international relations is in general all about bargaining, and war is part of that bargaining process. This chapter tries to solve perhaps the most central puzzle in the entire study of war: if war is so costly, why do actors sometimes stumble into war?

Chapter 2, "Sex, Gender, and Violence" by Valerie Hudson and Dan Reiter, examines the relationships between the biological category of sex, the social category of gender, and violent behavior. It examines a number of possible causal pathways among sex, gender, and violence, and then discusses several different possible forms of violence caused by sex and/or gender dynamics, including conflict between states, civil wars, terrorism, violence against women and girls, and others.

The chapters in Part II examine the many possible connections between domestic politics and war. Chapter 3, "Domestic Political Institutions and War" by Jessica Weeks, begins Part II's examination of the relationships between politics within states and politics between states. The chapter touches on very well-established debates on the "democratic peace," the proposition that countries with democratic political institutions are significantly less likely to fight each other. But its primary focus is on contemporary ideas and debates, exploring in particular whether variation in authoritarian political institutions, such as whether an autocratic regime is ruled by a personalist dictator, a single political party, or a military junta, affects a state's likelihood of starting and winning interstate wars.

Chapter 4, "Public Opinion and War" by Christopher Gelpi, focuses on domestic politics within democratic settings, and in particular on how public opinion might shape decisions for war. What kinds of factors shape public support for or opposition to war? Does public opinion drive the decisions of elected leaders for war, or are those leaders able to ignore public beliefs? The chapter draws on survey research aimed at answering these questions, as well as ideas from political psychology that seek to understand opinion formation.

Chapter 5, "Leaders and War" by Michael Horowitz, builds on Chapters 3 and 4 by examining national leaders, and in particular whether the background and profile of national leaders might affect the likelihood of war. It also unpacks whether national leaders can act with impunity, or whether they are constrained by the domestic political institutions of their countries, linking with the discussion in Chapter 3. Last, it examines national leader



Preface xvii

decisionmaking. When leaders must choose whether or not to go to war, are they acting with clear heads and vision, or are their choices clouded by cognitive or other biases?

Chapter 6, "Economics and War" by Paul Poast, pushes the discussion of domestic politics and war in a new direction, examining the connections between economics and war. One important way that wars affect domestic societies is through the economic cost required to pay for them. The average citizen is materially affected: more guns means less butter. How do leaders pay for wars? Are some means of paying for wars easier to sell to skeptical publics than others?

Part III of the book shifts the focus towards conflict within states. Chapter 7, "Civil Wars" by Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, lays important foundations for thinking about how civil wars break out. The outbreak of civil war means the government has failed in its most central function, the maintenance of order. How does this happen? What factors make the onset of civil war more likely?

Chapter 8, "Terrorism" by Philip Potter, examines the ultimate weapon of the weak, terrorism. It discusses the concept and definition of terrorism, and asks a series of questions, such as: Why do groups turn to terrorist tactics? Why do people join terrorist groups? Are terrorist groups more likely to emerge and thrive in some domestic political environments than others? What policy tools might be useful against terrorism?

Part IV examines two important forms of international diplomacy related to conflict. Chapter 9, "International Alliances" by Dan Reiter, concerns agreements between states to fight or work together when their security is threatened. The course of international diplomatic history has been powerfully shaped by alliances, from the Grand Coalitions that eventually defeated Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815 to the victories of the Allies in the World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century, to the emergence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Warsaw Pact alliances that created the structure of the Cold War, to the enduring relevance of many alliances into the 2020s. The chapter develops several important concepts concerning the form, origins, consequences, and compliance patterns of alliances.

Chapter 10, "Third-Party Peacemaking and Peacekeeping" by Kyle Beardsley, describes how third-party actors such as the United Nations and others sometimes try to end wars both within and between states through mediation. These actors also sometimes try to strengthen postwar peace through efforts such as the dispatch of peacekeeping troops to war-torn regions. The chapter examines the thinking behind these efforts to produce lasting solutions to conflict, and then also the conditions under which they might or might not work.

The fifth and final part examines three specific forms of contemporary conflict. Chapter 11, "Nuclear Weapons" by Michael Horowitz, discusses the most destructive technology of any kind developed by humans. It covers several of the core theoretical ideas about nuclear deterrence developed during the Cold War, concepts which remain important into the 2020s. It also examines contemporary questions of nuclear proliferation, examining the causes and consequences of, and possible policy solutions to, nuclear proliferation.

Chapter 12, "Drone Warfare" by Sarah Kreps, addresses the use of nonpiloted aircraft by states and nonstate actors in the new century. Drones emerged in the 2000s as a critical tool for the United States in its war on terror and insurgency, and since then has come to be used globally. What are the battlefield advantages and disadvantages of drones? Is drone use ethical



xviii Preface

or legal? Is it popular? Has drone use violated norms of democratic governance? What is the future of drones? This chapter addresses these questions and more.

Chapter 13, "Environment and Conflict" by Cullen Hendrix, unpacks the highly complex relationships between environmental degradation, natural resource depletion, and violent conflict. The chapter presents basic ideas about natural resources, and why they get depleted. It also examines several concepts connecting the depletion of natural resources and environmental degradation to a variety of forms of violent conflict, examining issues such as drought, transboundary water resources, climate change, and others.