
PLSC 169
International Security
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 9:00-10:15

Course Overview

This course provides an overview of the study of international security in the modern era. This course will have five parts. First, we will begin by using the rational-choice approach to study why wars happen, how states can avoid them, and how they end. Second, there will be a historical overview of major power wars. Third, we will study the politics of interstate war. Fourth, we will study civil wars and counterinsurgency. Finally, we will study international security with a look towards the future.

Instructor

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Requirements and Grading

The reading assignments will total about 150 pages per week. You will also be expected to stay up to date on key international events. You will write three short three-paged response papers (double spaced) over the course of the semester. There will be a midterm and final.

- **Lecture Participation (15%):** Students are expected to attend lecture having done the readings and actively participate in discussions and activities in class.

- Response Papers (15% (5 % each)): Students will write three responses over the course of class. The goal of response papers is to encourage students to think more deeply about the readings. Summaries of the readings should be kept to a single page. In a response paper students may give a critical review of the reading, relate the reading to current events, relate the reading to previous readings, and/or discuss how the reading raises certain research questions. Response papers for a particular lecture's required readings are due by the start of class and 20 percent will be docked for a late submission. Students may only write one response paper per calendar week. Response papers cannot be handed in before the third week of class.

Response papers should be uploaded to canvas. They should be double spaced, use size 12 Times New Roman font, and have 1 inch margins.

- Midterm (35%): The closed-book exam will consist of multiple choice and short answer questions.
- Final (35%): Will have the same format as the midterm.

Academic Integrity

Students should be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action, as cheating will be dealt with severely. Your response papers must be your own. In addition, any words, ideas, or data that you borrow from other people and include in your work must be properly documented. Failure to do either of these things is plagiarism.

Conduct in the Classroom

Our goal as a learning community is to create a safe environment that fosters open and honest dialogue. We are all expected to contribute to creating a respectful, welcoming, and inclusive environment. To this end, classroom discussions should always be conducted in a way that shows honor, respect, and dignity to all members of the class. Moreover, disagreements should be pursued without personal attack and aggression, and instead, should be handled with grace and care. This will allow for rigorous intellectual engagement and a more fruitful learning experience for all.

Class Schedule

In the syllabus below, required readings and suggested readings are listed for each week. You should read the required readings before class and review them after class. Suggested readings are only there just in case some day in the future students decide to further research on anything we cover.

Part I: Introduction

Lecture 1: Introduction and Course Overview (Aug. 29th)

Required Readings:

- Jonathan Bendor and Jacob N. Shapiro (2019). “Historical Contingencies in the Evolution of States and Their Militaries”. *World Politics* 71.1, pp. 126–161
- Daniel M. Jones, Stuart A. Bremer, and J. David Singer (1996). “Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-1992: Rationale, Coding Rules, and Empirical Patterns”. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 15.2, pp. 168–178, **(don’t read the whole article, only the selected pages)**

Suggested Readings:

- J. David Singer (1961). “The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations”. *World Politics* 14.1, pp. 77–92
- James D. Fearon (1991). “Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science”. *World Politics* 43.2, pp. 169–195
- Joshua D. Kertzer (2017). “Microfoundations in International Relations”. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34.1, pp. 81–97

Lecture 2: Systems-Level Theory (Sep. 3th)

Required Readings:

- Robert Jervis (1978). “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma”. *World Politics* 30.2, pp. 167–214
- Harrison Wagner R. (2007). *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*. University of Michigan Press, Ch. 1

Suggested Readings:

- Alexander Wendt (1992). “Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics”. *International Organization* 46.2, pp. 391–425
- Barry R. Posen (1993). “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict”. *Survival* 35.1, pp. 27–47
- Charles L. Glaser (1997). “The Security Dilemma Revisited”. *World Politics* 50.1, pp. 171–201
- Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik (1999). “Is Anybody Still a Realist?”. *International Security* 24.2, pp. 5–55

Lecture 3: The Bargaining Model (Sep. 5th)

Required Readings:

- James D. Fearon (1995). “Rationalist Explanations for War”. *International Organization* 49.3, pp. 379–414
- Stacie E. Goddard (2009). *Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Powell (2006). “War as a Commitment Problem”. *International Organization* 60.1, pp. 169–203
- Matthew O. Jackson and Massimo Morelli (2007). “Political Bias and War”. *American Economic Review* 97.4, pp. 1353–1373
- Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro (2014). “Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War”. *International Organization* 68.1, pp. 1–31

Lecture 4: Signaling and Diplomacy (Sep. 10th)

Required Readings:

- Erik A. Gartzke et al. (2017). “Signaling in Foreign Policy”. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press, **skim, focus on key concepts**
- Jessica L. Weeks (2008). “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve”. *International Organization* 62.1, pp. 35–64
- Jack Snyder and Erica D. Borghard (2011). “The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound”. *American Political Science Review* 105.3, pp. 437–456

Suggested Readings:

- James D. Fearon (1997). “Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs”. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41.1, pp. 68–90
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, Joshua D. Kertzer, and Jonathan Renshon (2018). “Tying Hands, Sinking Costs, and Leader Attributes”. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62.10, pp. 2150–2179
- Evan Braden Montgomery (2020). “Signals of strength: Capability demonstrations and perceptions of military power”. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 43.2, pp. 309–330

Part II: Historical Overview

Lecture 5: *The Long 19th Century* (Sep. 12th)

Required Readings:

- Geoffrey Wawro (2000). *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1914*. Routledge, Ch. 1, 4–5

Suggested Readings:

- Robert S. Quimby (1968). *The Background of Napoleonic Warfare; the Theory of Military Tactics in Eighteenth-Century France*. AMS Press
- Michael Howard (1969). *The Franco-Prussian War: the German invasion of France, 1870-1871*. Collier Books
- Geoffrey Parker (1996). *The military revolution: military innovation and the rise of the west, 1500-1800*. Cambridge University Press
- F. R. Bridge (2005). *The Great Powers and the European State System 1814-1914*. Pearson Longman

Lecture 6: *World War I: Outbreak* (Sep. 17th)

Required Readings:

- Stephen Van Evera (1984). “The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War”. *International Security* 9.1, pp. 58–107
- Michael Howard, “Men Against Fire: The Doctrine of the Offensive in 1914” *International Security* Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer, 1984), pp. 41-57 (focus on parts I and II).

Suggested Readings:

- Barbara W. Tuchman (2004). *The Guns of August*. Ballantine
- Christopher M. Clark (2012). *The sleepwalkers: how Europe went to war in 1914*. Allen Lane
- Keir A. Lieber (2007). “The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory”. *International Security* 32.2, pp. 155–191
- Jack Snyder and Keir A. Lieber (2008). “Defensive Realism and the ”New” History of World War I”. *International Security* 33.1, pp. 174–194

Lecture 7: World War I: Tactical Innovation (Sep. 19th)

Required Readings

- Stephen Biddle (2004). *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton University Press, Ch. 3
- Lupfer, Timothy T., “The Dynamics of Doctrine: The Changes in German Tactical Doctrine During the First World War” *Leavenworth Papers*, Combat Studies Institute, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1981. (58 pages)
- Taylor, Alan, “The Fading Battlefields of World War I” *The Atlantic* May 28, 2018. Available at this link.

Suggested Readings

- Taylor, Alan, “World War I in Photos” *The Atlantic* April 27th, 2014. Available at this link.
Trigger Warning: This ten-part photo series includes captioned photos that capture different aspects of the war. They can be quite informative. However, interspersed throughout are pictures of wounded, dead, or executed soldiers and civilians. If you wish to avoid such images, you should not click on the link.
- Eugene L. Rogan (2015). *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*. Basic Books
- John Keegan (1999). *The First World War*. A. Knopf

Lecture 8: Appeasement, Phony War, and the Fall of France (Sep. 24th)

Required readings

- Gat, Azar. (1996). “Isolationism, Appeasement, Containment, and Limited War: Western Strategic Policy from the Modern to ‘Postmodern Era’.” in Zeev Maoz and Azar Gat (eds.) *War in a Changing World*. University of Michigan Press. pp. 77-92.
- Karl-Heinz Freiser (2015). “The War in the West, 1939–1940: An Unplanned Blitzkrieg”. *The Cambridge History of the Second World War*, pp. 287–315

Suggested Readings

- Barry Posen (1984). *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the world wars*. Cornell University Press
- Elizabeth Kier (1997). *Imagining war: French and British Military Doctrine Between the Wars*. Princeton University Press
- Azar Gat (2000). *British Armour Theory and the Rise of the Panzer Arm: Revising the revisionists*. St. Martin’s Press in association with St. Antony’s College, Oxford

Lecture 9: WWII: Strategic Bombing, Industrial Production, and Attrition (Sep. 26th)

Required Readings:

- R. J. Overy (1995). *Why the Allies Won*. Jonathan Cape, Ch. 6, 7, and 4

Suggested Readings:

- J. Adam Tooze (2008). *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. Penguin USA
- R. J. Overy (2014). *The Bombers and the Bombed: Allied Air War over Europe 1940-1945*. Viking

Part III: Interstate War

Lecture 10: How Wars End? (Oct. 1st)

Required Readings:

- Oriana Skylar Mastro (2019). *The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime*. Cornell University Press, pp. 1-34
- Eric Min (2020). “Talking While Fighting: Understanding the Role of Wartime Negotiation”. *International Organization* 74.3, pp. 610–632

Suggested Readings:

- Branislav L. Slantchev (2003). “The Principle of Convergence in Wartime Negotiations”. *American Political Science Review* 97.4, pp. 621–632
- Catherine C. Langlois and Jean-Pierre P. Langlois (2009). “Does Attrition Behavior Help Explain the Duration of Interstate Wars? A Game Theoretic and Empirical Analysis”. *International Studies Quarterly* 53.4, pp. 1051–1073
- Scott Wolford, Dan Reiter, and Clifford J. Carrubba (2011). “Information, Commitment, and War”. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55.4, pp. 556–579
- Alex Weisiger (2016). “Learning from the Battlefield: Information, Domestic Politics, and Interstate War Duration”. *International Organization* 70.2, pp. 347–375

Lecture 11: Arming and Alliances (Oct. 3rd)

Required Readings:

- Keren Yarhi-Milo, Alexander Lanoszka, and Zack Cooper (2016). “To Arm or to Ally? The Patron’s Dilemma and the Strategic Logic of Arms Transfers and Alliances”. *International Security* 41.2, pp. 90–139
- Kevin Narizny (2003). “Both Guns and Butter, or Neither: Class Interests in the Political Economy of Rearmament”. *American Political Science Review* 97.2, pp. 203–220

Suggested Readings:

- Brett Ashley Leeds (2003). “Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes”. *American Journal of Political Science* 47.3, pp. 427–439
- Scott Wolford (2014). “Showing Restraint, Signaling Resolve: Coalitions, Cooperation, and Crisis Bargaining”. *American Journal of Political Science* 58.1, pp. 144–156
- Michael R. Kenwick, John A. Vasquez, and Matthew A. Powers (2015). “Do Alliances Really Deter?” *The Journal of Politics* 77.4, pp. 943–954

Lecture 12: Nuclear Weapons and Brinkmanship (Oct. 8th)

Required Readings:

- Thomas C. Schelling (1960). *The Strategy of Conflict*. Harvard University, Ch. 8
- Scott Douglas Sagan and Kenneth Neal Waltz (2013). *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate*. W.W. Norton & Co., Ch. 1-2

Suggested Readings:

- Thomas C. Schelling (1966). *Arms and influence*. Yale University Press
- Eric Schlosser (2013). *Command and Control : Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety*. The Penguin Press
- Vipin Narang (2014). *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era Regional Powers and International Conflict*. Princeton University Press, Project MUSE
- Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro (2017). *Nuclear Politics*. Cambridge University Press

Lecture 13: Reserved for Midterm (Oct. 10th)

Lecture 14: Democratic Peace (Oct. 15th)

Required Readings:

- Francis Fukuyama (1989). “The End of History?” *The National Interest* 16, pp. 3–18
- Daniel Mattingly, “China’s Soft Sell of Autocracy is Working and America’s Efforts to Promote Democracy are Failing” *Foreign Affairs*, September 25, 2024
- John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett (1999). “The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885–1992”. *World Politics* 52.1, pp. 1–37
- Michael R. Tomz and Jessica L. P. Weeks (2013). “Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace”. *American Political Science Review* 107.4, pp. 849–865

Suggested Readings:

- Michael W. Doyle (1986). “Liberalism and World Politics”. *American Political Science Review* 80.4, pp. 1151–1169
- Kenneth A. Schultz and Barry R. Weingast (2003). “The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition”. *International Organization* 57.1, pp. 3–42
- Sebastian Rosato (2003). “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory”. *American Political Science Review* 97.4, pp. 585–602

Lecture 15: Dictatorships at War and Peace (Oct. 22nd)

Required Readings:

- Sarah E. Croco and Jessica L. P. Weeks (2016). “War Outcomes and Leader Tenure”. *World Politics* 68.4, pp. 577–607
- Caitlin Talmadge (2015). *The Dictator’s Army: Battlefield effectiveness in authoritarian regimes*. Cornell University Press, Ch. 1

Suggested Readings:

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003). *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT Press
- Alexandre Debs and H. E. Goemans (2010). “Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War”. *American Political Science Review* 104.3, pp. 430–445

Part IV: Counterinsurgency and Civil Wars

Lecture 16: Insurgencies and Civil Wars: Onset and Strategy (Oct. 24th)

Required Readings:

- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (2003). “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War”. *American Political Science Review* 97.1, pp. 75–90
- Eli Berman, David A. Lake, et al. (2019). *Proxy Wars : Suppressing Violence through Local Agents*. Cornell University Press, Ch. 1
- Barry R. Posen (1993). “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict”. *Survival* 35.1, pp. 27–47

Suggested Readings:

- John Mueller (2000). “The Banality of ”Ethnic War””. *International Security* 25.1, pp. 42–70
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min (2010). “Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis”. *World Politics* 62.1, pp. 87–119
- Stephen Biddle (2021). *Nonstate Warfare : The Military Methods of Guerillas, Warlords, and Militias*. Princeton University Press

Lecture 17: Why Democracies Struggle Against Insurgencies? (Oct. 29th)

Required Readings:

- Gil Merom (2003). *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 14-80
- Peter Liberman (1993). “The Spoils of Conquest”. *International Security* 18.2, pp. 125–153

Suggested Readings:

- Jason Lyall (2010). “Do Democracies Make Inferior Counterinsurgents? Reassessing Democracy’s Impact on War Outcomes and Duration”. *International Organization* 64.1, pp. 167–192
- Eoin F. McGuirk, Nathaniel Hilger, and Nicholas Miller (2023). “No Kin in the Game: Moral Hazard and War in the US Congress”. *Journal of Political Economy* 131.9, pp. 2370–2401

Lecture 18: Hearts and Minds - Iraq and Afghanistan (Oct. 31st)

Required Readings

- U.S. Army (2006). *Field Manual 3-24: Counterinsurgency*. Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington DC, A40-A:51 (approximately 3 pages long)
- Eli Berman, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro (2018). “Small Wars, Big Data: The Information Revolution in Modern Conflict”. *Small Wars, Big Data*. Princeton University Press, Ch. 3, 7–8
- Edward N. Luttwak (2007). “Dead End: Counterinsurgency Warfare as Military Malpractice”. *Harper’s Magazine*, pp. 33–42

Suggested Readings:

- Jacqueline L. Hazelton (2021). *Bullets Not Ballots: Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare*. Cornell University Press
- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro (2012). “Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?” *International Security* 37.1, pp. 7–40

Lecture 19: The Insurgent/Terrorist's Perspective (Nov. 5th)

Required Readings:

- Jacob N. Shapiro (2013). *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. University Press, Ch. 2 and 5
- Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter (2006). "The Strategies of Terrorism". *International Security* 31.1, pp. 49–80

Suggested Readings:

- Jeremy M. Weinstein (2007). *Inside Rebellion the Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press
- Justin M. Conrad (2021). *Militant Competition : How Terrorists and Insurgents Advertise with Violence and How they Can be Stopped*. Cambridge University Press

Lecture 20: Individuals (Nov. 7th)

Required Readings:

- Eli Berman (2009). *Radical, religious, and violent: the new economics of terrorism*. MIT Press, Ch. 3-4
- Elisabeth Jean Wood (2003). *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press, Ch. 8
- Efraim Benmelech and Claude Berrebi (2007). "Human Capital and the Productivity of Suicide Bombers". *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21.3, pp. 223–238

Suggested Readings:

- Philipp Ager et al. (2022). "Killer Incentives: Rivalry, Performance and Risk-Taking among German Fighter Pilots, 1939–45". *The Review of Economic Studies* 89.5, pp. 2257–2292
- Connor Huff (2023). "Counterinsurgency Tactics, Rebel Grievances, and Who Keeps Fighting". *American Political Science Review*, pp. 1–6

Part V: Looking Forward

Lecture 21: *UN and Peacekeeping* (Nov. 12th)

Required Readings:

- Barbara F. Walter (1997). “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement”. *International Organization* 51.3, pp. 335–364
- Virginia Page Fortna (2004). “Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects”. *World Politics* 56.4, pp. 481–519
- Allison Carnegie and Christoph Mikulaschek (2020). “The Promise of Peacekeeping: Protecting Civilians in Civil Wars”. *International Organization* 74.4, pp. 810–832

Suggested Readings:

- Ilyana Kuziemko and Eric Werker (2006). “How Much Is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations”. *Journal of Political Economy* 114.5, pp. 905–930
- James Raymond Vreeland and Axel Dreher (2014). *The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council: Money and Influence*. Cambridge University Press
- William G. Nomikos (2022). “Peacekeeping and the Enforcement of Intergroup Cooperation: Evidence from Mali”. *The Journal of Politics* 84.1, pp. 194–208

Lecture 22: *Humanitarian Intervention: Part I* (Nov. 14th)

Required Readings:

- Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun (2002). “The Responsibility to Protect”. *Foreign Affairs* 81.6, pp. 99–110
- Samantha Power (2007). *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. Harper Perennial, Ch. 10
- Jon Western (2002). “Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia”. *International Security* 26.4, pp. 112–142

Suggested Readings:

- Steven L. Burg (1999). *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina : Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. M.E. Sharpe
- John L. Hirsch and Robert B. Oakley (1995). *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*. United States Institute of Peace

Lecture 23: *Humanitarian Intervention: Part II* (Nov. 19th)

Required Readings:

- Courtney J. Fung (2018). “Separating Intervention from Regime Change: China’s Diplomatic Innovations at the UN Security Council Regarding the Syria Crisis”. *The China Quarterly* 235, pp. 693–712
- Alan J. Kuperman (2008). “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans”. *International Studies Quarterly* 52.1, pp. 49–80

Suggested Readings:

- Alan J. Kuperman (2013). “A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO’s Libya Campaign”. *International Security* 38.1, pp. 105–136
- Justin Morris (2013). “Libya and Syria: R2P and the Spectre of the Swinging Pendulum”. *International Affairs* 89.5, pp. 1265–1283

Lecture 24: *Taiwan and the Prospect for US-China Conflict* (Nov. 21st)

Required Readings:

- Jennifer Lind (2018). “Life in China’s Asia: What Regional Hegemony Would Look like Essays”. *Foreign Affairs* 97.2, pp. 71–82
- Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich (2016). “Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese Antiaccess/Area Denial, U.S. AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia”. *International Security* 41.1, pp. 7–48
- Michael Beckley (2017). “The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia: How China’s Neighbors Can Check Chinese Naval Expansion”. *International Security* 42.2, pp. 78–119

Suggested Readings:

- Fiona S. Cunningham (2020). “The Maritime Rung on the Escalation Ladder: Naval Blockades in a US-China Conflict”. *Security Studies* 29.4, pp. 730–768
- Jonathan D. Caverley and Peter Dombrowski (2020). “Cruising for a Bruising: Maritime Competition in an Anti-Access Age”. *Security Studies* 29.4, pp. 671–700
- Brendan Rittenhouse Green and Caitlin Talmadge (2022). “Then What? Assessing the Military Implications of Chinese Control of Taiwan”. *International Security* 47.1, pp. 7–45

Lecture 25: *International Humanitarian Law and Courts* (Dec. 3rd)

Required Readings:

- Michael N. Schmitt (2009). “Deconstructing Direct Participation in Hostilities: The Constitutive Elements Forum: Direct Participation In Hostilities: Perspectives on the ICRC Interpretive Guidance”. *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 42.3, pp. 697–740
- Judith Gail Gardam (1993). “Proportionality and Force in International Law”. *American Journal of International Law* 87.3, pp. 391–413

Suggested Readings:

- Michael Walzer (n.d.). *Just and Unjust Wars : a moral argument with historical illustrations*. Basic Books

Lecture 26: *Summary and Review* (Dec. 5th)