# CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF ARMED CONFLICT

### Nil S. Satana

Department of International Relations, Bilkent University, Turkey

Keywords: inter-state conflict, intra-state conflict, civil war, cause of conflict

## Contents

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Inter-state Conflict
- 2.1. Definition
- 2.2. Causes
- 3. Intra-state Conflict
- 3.1. Definition
- 3.2. Identity and Intra-State Conflict
- 3.3. Grievance as a Cause of Intra-state Conflict
- 3.4. Greed as a Cause of Intra-state Conflict
- 3.5. Religious Conflict
- 4. Relationship between Intra-state and Inter-state Conflict
- 5. Conclusion
- Acknowledgements Glossary Bibliography Biographical Sketch

### Summary

This chapter provides an overview of how armed conflict is defined and studied as interstate and intra-state conflict, and which root causes lead to these two different types of armed conflict. It also examines the major trends in armed conflicts and concludes with a commentary on the prevention of such conflicts.

### 1. Introduction

The seminal work of Clausewitz (1976), *On War*, argues that war is merely an instrument of policy and that armed conflict is not mindless all-out military struggle. Schelling (1966) agrees that conflict is indeed another form of strategic bargaining and it should be treated as such in the study of war as a security issue. These and other prominent scholars of International Relations (IR) posit that armed conflict is widespread and it is a continuation of political interactions between actors in international relations. Several causes lead to a breakup in diplomatic relations of states and conflict ensues when other means of communication are exhausted.

This chapter provides an overview of widely accepted causes of armed conflict, by focusing on inter-state and intra-state conflict. The IR literature has separately studied the causes of these two forms of military conflict by using different levels of analysis. This essay will sort out the most prominent causes of conflict in a multidimensional

framework and concluding remarks will include comments on prevention of armed conflict.

TO ACCESS ALL THE **31 PAGES** OF THIS CHAPTER, Visit: http://www.eolss.net/Eolss-sampleAllChapter.aspx

#### Bibliography

Baldwin, David (ed). (1993). *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, 377 pp. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. [This edited book discusses several aspects of neorealist and neoliberal international relations theories and highlights how these theories view conflict and cooperation.]

Birnir, Jóhanna K. (2007). *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*, 279 pp. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. [This book reviews the literature on ethnicity and electoral politics and argues that ethnicity is not necessarily conflictual in electoral politics].

Birnir Jóhanna K. and Nil S. Satana. (2009). "Incompatibles jarring, or sparring of the sacred and the secular? Religion and Legislative Politics." Paper presented at the Workshop on Democratization and Conflict, ETH, Zurich, Switzerland. Available at: http://www.icr.ethz.ch/research/nccr1/democratization [A quantitative account of the relationship between religion, fundamentalism and legislative politics].

Blainey, Geoffrey. (1988). *The Causes of War*, 325 pp. New York, USA: Free Press. [A comprehensive survey of root causes of war].

Bremer, Stuart A. (1992). Dangerous Dyads: Conditions Affecting the Likelihood of Inter-state War, 1816-1965. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* **36**(2), 309–341. [A classic article with a dyadic approach to causes of international conflict].

Brown, Michael E. (ed.) (1993). *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, 276 pp. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press. [The causes of ethnic and communal conflict and the regional and international implications of such conflicts].

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. (1999). An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace. *The American Political Science Review* **93**(4), 791-807. [One of the most comprehensive accounts of how institutional constraints of leaders, such as elections lead to peace between two democratic states].

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and David Lalman. (1992). *War and Reason: Domestic and International Imperatives*, 322 pp. New Haven, USA: Yale University Press. [One of the classics on foreign policy making and international conflict. The authors use game-theoretical, quantitative and comparative case study methods to analyze strategies to prevent inter-state conflict].

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. (1981). *The War Trap*, 226 pp. New Haven, USA: Yale University Press. [A decision-making analysis of inter-state war from a rational-choice perspective].

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. (1978). Systemic Polarization and the Occurrence and Duration of War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **22**, 241-67. [This article challenges the neorealist literature on the effect of system structure on occurrence an duration of war. It argues that empirical evidence does not support the conventional wisdom n the relationship between polarity and war].

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. (1975). Measuring Systemic Polarity. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **219**, 187-216. [The concept of polarity is operationalized and measured through tightness and discreteness of alliance ties].

Buzan, Barry. (1984). Peace, Power and Security: Contending Concepts in the Study of International Relations. *Journal of Peace Research* **21**(2),110-125. [This article focuses on the concepts of peace, power and security and argues that while the opposition between peace and power are over-studied, the concept of security should be further examined].

Carment, David B., and Patrick James. (1996). Two-level Games and Third-Party Intervention: Evidence from Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans and South Asia. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* **29**, 521-54. [A game-theoretical analysis of third party intervention in inter-state conflict].

Cashman, Greg. (1993). *What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict*, 327 pp. New York, USA: Lexington Books. [A comprehensive review of causes of war].

Clausewitz, Carl von. (1976). *On War*, 193 pp. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press (originally published in 1832). {Seminal work on the art of war, which accepts war as a viable tool to solve conflicts].

Collier, Paul and Nicholas Sambanis. (2005). *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, 353 pp. Washington D.C., USA: World Bank. [An economic review of causes of civil war].

Collier, Paul, Havard Hegre, Lani Elliot, Nicholas Sambanis, Martha Reynal-Querol. (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, 221 pp., Washington D.C., USA: The World Bank. [This book discusses how developmental policies of international regimes can decrease the likelihood of civil conflict in developing states].

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffer. (2002). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, 563–96.

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. (1998). On the Economic Causes of Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers* **50**,563–73. [One of the first comprehensive studies on economic causes of civil conflict].

Cox, Robert W. with Timothy Sinclair. (1996.) *Approaches to World Order*, 552 pp. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. [A critical approach to international politics].

Crescenzi, Mark J.C. (2005). *Economic Interdependence and Conflict in World Politics*, 153 pp. New York, USA: Lexington Books. [This book develops a strategic theoretical model of how economic interdependence between two states can deter them from demanding political concessions that could lead to armed conflict].

Crescenzi, Mark J.C. (2003). Economic Exit, Interdependence, and Conflict: An Empirical Analysis. *The Journal of Politics* **65**(3), 809-832. [An empirical account of the relationship between economic interdependence and armed conflict].

David, Steven R. (2008). *Catastrophic Consequences. Civil Wars and American Interests*, 204 pp. Baltimore, USA: The Johns Hopkins University Press. [This book analyzes the latest threats against American security and interests].

Dixon, William. (1994). Democracy and Peaceful Settlement of International Conflict. *American Political Science Review* **88**(1), 14-32. [A seminal article on normative interpretation of democratic peace].

Doran, Charles F. (1989). "Power Cycle Theory of Systems Structure and Stability: Commonalities and Complementarities." In *Handbook of War Studies*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky, 372 pp., Boston, USA: Hyman. [Seminal work on how hegemonic states rise and fall in cycles].

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Randolph Siverson. (1985). Arms Races and Cooperation. *World Politics* **38**, 118-146. [An article on the literature of the incentives of states in the areas of arms control].

Doyle, Michael. (1986). "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* **80**(4), 1151-69. [A review of the liberal IR literature examining three different approaches to liberalism].

Eldridge, Albert E. (1979). *Images of Conflict*, 229 pp. New York, USA: St. Martin's Press. [A study on societal level of conflict].

Enloe, Cynthia. 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, 418 pp. London, UK: University of California Press. [A classic in feminist IR literature focusing on the correlation between militarism and women].

Enloe, Cynthia. (1990). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 224 pp. Berkeley, CA, USA: University of California Press. [One of the first attempts to interpret IR from a feminist perspective].

Farber, Henry S., and Joanne Gowa. (1995). "Polities and Peace." *International Security* **20**(2), 123–46. [An article focusing on the relationship between regime type and conflict and critiquing the democratic peace literature].

Fearon, James D. and David Laitin. (2003). "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* **97**(1), 75-90. [This article argues that the current tide of civil wars is a result of accumulation of protracted conflicts sin the 1950s and not the end of the Cold War. Also statistical findings of the article show that ethnicity and religion are not major causes of insurgency and civil wars].

Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* **49**, 379-414. [This article covers the rational choice perspective and models why rational leaders would initiate costly wars].

Fox, Jonathan. (2004). *Religion, Civilization, and Civil War: 1945 Through the Millennium*, 301 pp. Lanham, MD, USA: Lexington Books. [An empirical assessment of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations argument].

Fox, Jonathan. (2002). *Ethnoreligious Conflict in the Late 20th Century: A General Theory*, 253 pp. Lanham, MD, USA: Lexington Books. [A comprehensive study on how ethnoreligious identity can be linked to conflict. Both a theoretical and an empirical analysis is carried out.].

Fox, Jonathan. (2000). "Religious Causes of Discrimination Against Ethno-Religious Minorities," *International Studies Quarterly* **44**(3): 423-450. [This article argues that religion can be used to justify discrimination of ethno0religious minorities].

Gartzke, Erik. (2000). Preferences and the Democratic Peace. *International Studies Quarterly* 44(2), 191–210. [Applying expected utility theory, this article suggests that the democratic peace finding is fragile when other control variables are included in the analysis].

Geller, Daniel S. (2000). "Explaining War: Empirical Patterns and Theoretical Mechanisms." In *Handbook of War Studies II*. ed. Manus I Midlarsky, 372 pp. Boston, USA: The University of Michigan Press. [Summary of the empirical patterns and theoretical mechanisms related to international conflict].

Gellner, Ernst. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*, 152 pp. New York, USA: Cornell University Press. [Seminal book on root causes of nationalism].

Gelpi, Christopher F. & Michael Griesdorf. (2001). Winners or Losers? Democracies in International Crisis, 1918–94. *American Political Science Review* **95**(3), 633–647. [This article investigates how regime type affects the result of an international crisis. Particular focus is on whether democracies more likely to win the wars they fight].

George, Alexander and Juliette George. (1956). *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House*, 361 pp. New York, USA: Day. [This studies the significance of leadership in foreign policy making].

Gilpin, Robert. (1981). *War and Change in World Politics*, 272 pp. New York: Cambridge University Press. [This seminal book examines the economic causes of decline of a hegemon as well as retrenchment strategies to stall the decline].

Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg and Håvard Strand, (2002). Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* **39**(5), 615-637. http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/UCDP-PRIO/4-2007/ [The Codebook of the PRIO Armed Conflict Data set].

Goertz, Gary, and Paul F. Diehl. (1992). *Territorial Changes and International Conflict*, 180 pp. New York, USA: Routledge. [A study on how territorial issues lead to inter-state conflict].

Goertz, Gary & Paul F. Diehl, (1993). Enduring Rivalries: Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Patterns. *International Studies Quarterly* **37**(2), 147–171.[The rivalry between some states prolong. This article seeks to understand why some rivalries endure and others do not].

Goldstein, Joshua. (2001). *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, 523 pp. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [A very comprehensive account of the relationship between gender and conflict in IR].

Gowa, Joanne. (2000). *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace*, 144 pp. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press. [A realist critique of the liberal democratic peace literature].

Gurr, Ted. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*, 421 pp. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press. [Seminal work on communal violence and grievances of minority groups].

Hegre, Håvard. (2003). Disentangling Democracy and Development as Determinants of Armed Conflict. Presented at the *Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association*. http://www.prio.no/files/file40692\_ddcwwb.pdf?PHPSESSID=b8a30ac [This article examines the interaction between democracy and economic development to asses their interactive effect on conflict].

Heinberg, Richard. (2003). *The Party is Over: Oil War and the Fate of Industrial Societies*, 306 pp. Canada: New Society Publishers. [This book discusses how the search for natural resources such as oil by advanced countries will lead to conflict in the future].

Henderson, Errol. (2002). *Democracy and War. The End of an Illusion*?, 191 pp. Boulder, USA: Lynne Reiner. [This book critically examines the impact of democracy on war. While the empirical value of the democratic peace literature is acknowledged, theory is rather under-developed].

Hensel, Paul R. 1996. Charting a Course to Conflict: Territorial Issues and Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-1992. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* **15**(1), 43-73. [An article that establishes a statistical link between territorial issues and militarized inter-state disputes].

Hermann, Margaret G. (1980). Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders. *International Studies Quarterly* **24**(1), 7-46. [This seminal work argues that one should investigate the personal characteristics of leaders to understand how foreign policy decisions are made. A purely systemic approach would not reveal the foreign policy-making mechanisms in the state].

Hobden, Stephen and Richard Wyn Jones. (2005). Marxist Theory of International Relations. (ed. J. Baylis and S. Smith) *The Globalization of World Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 225-251. [A chapter on theoretical background of Marxism in IR].

Hobson, John A. (1961). *Imperialism, A Study*, 396 pp. London: George & Unwin. [Classic work that examines the origins of imperialism].

Holsti, K. J. (1991). *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and the International Order*, 1648–1989, 379 pp. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.[Chronological analysis of the armed conflicts after Westphalia until 1989].

Holsti, Ole R., P. Terrence Hopmann, and John D. Sullivan. (1973). *Unity and Disintegration in International Alliances: Comparative Studies*, 293 pp. New York, USA: Wiley. [A study composed of chapters analyzing the alliances in world politics].

Horowitz, Donald. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, 697 pp. Berkeley, USA: University of California Press. [A classic on how ethnicity as an identity can be conflictual].

Huntington, Samuel P. (1996). *The Clash Of Civilizations And The Remaking Of World Order*, 367 pp. New York, USA: Simon & Schuster. [Seminal work positing conflict in the post-Cold War world will be between civilizations and not between states].

Huth, Paul K. (1996). *Standing Your Ground: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict*, 288 pp. Ann Arbor, MI, USA: University of Michigan Press. [This book focuses on two different dimensions of territorial disputes; political and military aspects].

Jelen Ted, G. and Clyde Wilcox (eds). (2002). *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few, and the Many*, 340 pp. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. [A study on religious dimensions of conflict in several countries in a comparative perspective].

Juergensmeyer, Mark. (2003). *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, 319 pp. CA: University of California Press. [An impressive account of motivations of terrorists. The author finds a strong link between religion and violence based on his interviews of terrorists].

Jervis, R. (1988). War and Misperception. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* **18**(4), 675-700. [This article applies the insights of the 1976 book to conflict].

Jervis, Robert. (1976). *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, 445 pp. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Seminal book examining how perceptions are formed and how they affect international politics].

Intriligator, Michael D. and Dagobert L. Brito. (1984). Can Arms Races Lead to the Outbreak of War? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **28**(1), 63-84. [This article argues that arms races escalate crises into war].

Kalyvas, Stathis. (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 485 pp. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge: University Press. [A rational account of strategic decision-making processes that lead to civil war].

Kalyvas, Stathis. (2001). "New" and "Old" Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction? *World Politics* **54**(1), 99-118. [This article challenges the notion of 'new' versus 'old' wars and argues that there is nothing new about the civil wars that escalated after the end of the Cold War].

Kant, Immanuel. (1957). *Perpetual Peace*, 59 pp. New York, USA: Colombia University Press. [Seminal work that lays the ground for the democratic peace literature subsequently].

Kaplan, Morton A. (1957). *System and Process in International Politics*, 252 pp. New York, USA: John Wiley. [Examination of different aspects of systemic structure in IR].

Keohane, Robert O. (1986). "Neorealism and Its Critics." In *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate.* (ed. David A. Baldwin), 377 pp. New York, USA: Colombia University Press. [A very comprehensive critique of neorealist IR theory].

Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye. (1977). *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, 297 pp. Boston, USA: Little Brown. [Seminal work that lays out the complex interdependence theory of IR].

Klare, Michael T. (2004). *Blood and Oil: the Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Dependency on Imported Petroleum*, 265 pp. New York, USA: Metropolitan Books. [This argues that the U.S. is dependent on oil imported from other states and this is a major cause of conflict].

Klare, Michael T. (2001). *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*, 249 pp. New York, USA: Henry Holt Company. [This shows that decreasing energy resources lead to conflict].

Kugler Jacek, and A. F. K. Organski. (1989). The Power Transition: A Retrospective and Prospective Evaluation. *Handbook of War Studies*, (ed. Manus I. Midlarsky), 372 pp. Boston, USA: Hyman. [An expanded version of the power transition theory developed by Organski decades ago].

Lake, David A. (1992). Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War. *The American Political Science Review* **86**(1), 24-37. [A classic article of the democratic peace literature].

Layne, Christopher. (1994). Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace. *International Security* **19**(2), 5–49. [Another realist critique of the democratic peace literature].

Lenin, V.I. (1963). *Lenin's Selected Works*. Volume 1, 608 pp. Moscow, S.U.: Progress Publishers. [Classic work of Lenin that examines the theoretical and practical aspects of socialism].

Levy, Jack. (1989). The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique. *Handbook of War Studies*, (ed. Manus I. Midlarsky). Boston, 372 pp. USA: Hyman. [A comprehensive literature review of the diversionary theory of war].

Levy, Jack. (1988). Domestic Politics and War. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* **18**(4), 653-673. [This article criticizes war studies for not including domestic political factors in studies on causes of war. The author takes the first step to bridge the gap between domestic politics and international relations].

Licklider, Roy. (1995). The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993, *American Political Science Review*, **89** (3), 681-690. [A classic on how negotiated settlements affect the likelihood of reoccurrence of civil wars].

Linklater, Andrew. (1998). *The Transformation of Political Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era*, 263 pp. Cornwall, UK: Polity Press. [A critical analysis on concepts of political community, ethics and citizenship in post-Westphalian era].

Lujala, Päivi, (2009). "Deadly Combat over Natural Resources. Gems, Petroleum, Drugs, and the Severity of Armed Civil Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **53**(1), 50–71. [This article discusses how natural resources affect the severity of armed civil conflict. The findings indicate that the availability and location of natural resources have an influence on severity of the conflict].

Maoz, Zeev. (1996). The Onset and Initiation of Disputes. *The Process of War: Advancing the Scientific Study of War.* (eds. Stuart A. Bremer and Thomas R. Cusack), 343 pp. Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach Publishers. [A liberal critique of realist theory with empirical findings that support the analysis of conflict in dyadic level instead of systemic level].

Maoz, Zeev and Nastin Abdolali. (1989). Regime Types and International Conflict, 1816-1976. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **33**(1), 3-35. [An empirical and positive assessment of the democratic peace proposition].

Maoz, Zeev. (1989). Joining the Club of Nations: Political Development and International Conflict, 1816-1976. *International Studies Quarterly* **33**(2), 199-231. [This article examines the relationship of regime formation and revolutions on military conflicts using the COW data set].

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. (1995). Democratization and War. *Foreign Affairs* **74**(3), 79-97. [This study focuses on the process of democratization instead of the dichotomy of democracy and autocracy].

McMillan, Susan M. (1997). Interdependence and Conflict. *Mershon International Studies Review* **41**(1): 33-58. [This essay questions how the correlation between interdependence and conflict works by making a comprehensive review of the past literature on interdependence theory].

Mearsheimer, John J. (1990). Why We Will Soon Miss The Cold War. *The Atlantic Monthly* **266**(2), 35-50. [This article analyzes of the Cold War as a balancing element in Europe but coming to an end].

Midlarsky, Manus I. (1988). *The Onset of World War: Studies in International Conflict*, 320 pp. Boston, USA: Unvin Hyman Press. [A historical study of different dimensions of wars using empirical data].

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin. (2002). A Kantian System? Democracy and Third Party Conflict Resolution. *American Journal of Political Science* **46**(4),749-759. [This study looks at the effect of presence of democratic states in the international system as an element promoting democracy, using the third party actors].

Morgenthau, Hans J. 1967. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Peace*, 617 pp. New York, USA: Knopf. [Seminal work that lays out the basics of the realist IR theory].

Morrow, James D. (1991). Alliance and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model

of Alliances. *American Journal of Political Science* **35**(4), 904-933. [A game theoretical assessment of how asymmetry in alliances is related to armed conflict].

Most, Benjamin A. and Harvey Starr. (1989). *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics,* 234 pp. Columbia, SC, USA: University of South Carolina Press. [A pre-theoretic framework of opportunity and willingness to be applied in IR].

Mousseau, Michael. (2005). Comparing New Theory with Prior Beliefs: Market Civilization and the Democratic Peace. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22(1), 63-77. [This article argues that democracy alone does not lead to pacific relations between states. Democratic peace empirically stands only when two states are also above a certain level of economic development].

Mousseau, Michael. (1998). "Democracy and Compromise in Militarized Interstate Conflicts, 1816–1992," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, **42**(2), 210-230. [This article tests the validity of the democratic peace proposition and indicates that democratic dyads are more likely to resolve militarized interstate disputes with mutual concessions than autocratic dyads].

Neack, Laura. (2003). *The New Foreign Policy*, 243 pp. Maryland, USA: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. [A book on how to properly analyze foreign policies of states in a multidimensional, multi-level fashion].

Nincic, Miroslav. (1992). A Sensible Public: New Perspectives on Popular Opinion and Foreign Policy. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **36**(4), 772-789. [A review of the literature on how public opinion and the media affect foreign policy making processes].

Oneal, John R. and Bruce Russett (1999). The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations. *World Politics* **52**(1), 1–37. [A study on Kantian perpetual peace and the findings of the democratic peace proposition].

Organski, A. F. K. (1958). *World Politics*, 509 pp. New York, USA: Knopf. [Seminal work on the power transition theory].

Oren, Ido. (1995). The Subjectivity Of The 'Democratic' Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions Of Imperial Germany. *International Security* **20**(2), 147-184. [A realist critique of the liberal democratic peace theory].

Ray, James Lee. (1998). Does Democracy Cause Peace? *Annual Review of Political Science* **1**, 27–46. [The article discusses whether there is a causal connection between democracy and peace].

Ray, James Lee. (1995). *Democracy and International Conflict*, 243 pp. CA, USA: University of South Carolina Press. [A comprehensive survey of the empirical and theoretical democratic peace literature].

Richardson, Lewis F. (1960). Arms and Insecurity, 307 pp. Pittsburg, USA: Boxwood. [Mathematical study of causes of war].

Rosecrance, Richard N. (1966). Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and the Future. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **10**(3), 314-27. [A major critique of the concepts of bipolarity and multipolarity with emphasis on how these two concepts are not especially related to conflict in the world].

Russett, Bruce. (1993). *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 173 pp. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press. [A seminal book on democratic peace proposition and theories].

Saideman, Stephen M. (2001). *The Ties that Divide: Ethnic Politics, Foreign Policy and International Conflict,* 276 pp. New York, USA: Colombia University Press. [An analysis of how and why ethnic divisions affect international conflict].

Sambanis, Nicholas, (2004). "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **48**(6): 814–858. [This article discusses the differences between several different definitions of civil war and tries to come up with a better conceptualization of civil conflict].

Sarkees, Meredith Reid (2000). "The Correlates of War Data on War: An Update to 1997, " *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, **18**(1), 123-144. [This article discusses the updates to the Correlates of

War Project data].

Satana, Nil S. (2006). *Third Party Intervention in Civil Conflicts: Sorting out the Effects of Domestic Factors*. Doctoral Dissertation, 168 pp. State University of New York (SUNY), Buffalo, U.S. [This dissertation argues that domestic factors such as regime type and the preferences of rebels and the state in a civil war will affect the decision of a third party to intervene. A quantitative analysis of large-N data follows a game-theoretical framework and the comparative case study of the Kurds in Iraq and Turkey demonstrates the significance of domestic factors in taking the intervention decision].

Satana, Nil S. (2006). Civil Wars, American Interests and Actions: Catastrophic Precedents? *International Studies Review*, **11**, 804-807. [Review focusing on consequences of civil wars and their effect on other states, especially the U.S.].

Schelling, Thomas. (1966). *Arms and Influence*, 312 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press. [Seminal work on bargaining in international relations and deterrence as a foreign policy-making instrument].

Seul, Jeffrey R. (1999). 'Ours is the Way of God': Religion, Identity, and Intergroup Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research* **36**(5): 553-569. [This article argues that people use religion as the most important shortcut to understand the world around them, and they are more than willing to defend their religious beliefs. Thus religion can be closely linked to violence].

Singer, J. David, and Melvin Small. (1982). Correlates of War Project: International and Civil War Data, 1816-1992 [Computer file]. Ann Arbor, MI: J. David Singer and Melvin Small [producers], 1993. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 1994. [An introduction to the Correlates of War Project and includes the codebooks of the COW data sets].

Singer, J. David, and Melvin Small. (1968). "Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of War, 1815-1945." In *Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence.* (ed. David J. Singer), 394 pp. New York, USA: The Free Press. [An influential article on how alliances are formed before war outbreaks].

Siverson, Randolph M. and Paul Diehl. 1989. "The Conflict Spiral, Arms Races and the Outbreak of War," in *The Handbook of War Studies*, (ed. Manus Midlarsky), 372 pp. New York, USA: Allen and Hyman. [Seminal work on how arms races lead to a conflict spiral, which results in war].

Smith, Alastair. (1995). Alliance Formation and War. *International Studies Quarterly* **39**(4), 405-425. [This article examines whether alliance formation can be linked to war].

Smith, Anthony. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*, 344 pp. New York, USA: Holmes and Meier. [Seminal work on how nationalism arises in different settings].

Spiro, David E. (1994). "Give Democratic Peace a Chance? The Insignificance of the Liberal Peace," *International Security* **19**(2): 50–86. {A realist critique of the democratic peace proposition].

Stark, Rodney. (2001). *One True God: Historical Consequences of Monotheism*, 336 pp. New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press. [A sociological study of social and political effects of monotheism].

Stedman, Stephen. (1996). Negotiation and Mediation in Internal Conflict. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, (ed. Michael Brown), 653 pp. Cambridge, MA, USA: MIT Press. [This article examines which negotiation techniques can be more useful in mediation of civil wars].

Stoessinger, John G. (2008). *Why Nations Go To War*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed., 370 pp. Belmont, CA, USA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning. [This book examines the most likely causes of war and argues that leadership and the decisions that leaders make are particularly important in the onset of wars].

Tickner, J. A. (1997). You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists. *International Studies Quarterly* **41**(4), 611-632. [This is a critique of mainstream IR theories that are generally gender-biased].

Tickner, J. A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, 180 pp. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. [Study on gender and international security written from the feminist perspective].

Vasquez, John A. (1996). Distinguishing Rivals That Go to War from Those That Do Not: A Quantitative

Comparative Case Study of the Two Paths to War. *International Studies Quarterly* **40**(4), 531-558. [This article discusses why some rival states fight and others do not, analyzing empirical data using statistical techniques].

Vasquez, John A. (1995). Why Do Neighbors Fight? Proximity, Interaction, or Territoriality. *Journal of Peace Research* **32**(3), 277-293. [This article argues that one of the most important causes of military conflict is territory. Also, neighbors are more likely to fight against one another].

Vasquez, John A. (1993). *The War Puzzle*, 378 pp. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [Seminal study focusing on territorial causes of conflict].

Van Evera, Stephen. (1994). Hypotheses on Nationalism and War. *International Security* **18** (4), 5-39. [This article argues that hyper-nationalism leads to war in certain circumstances].

Van Evera, Stephen. (1999). *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*, 270 pp. Ithaca, NY, USA: Cornell University Pres. [An analysis of most important hypotheses on war, with examples from the world wars].

Wallensteen, Peter and Margareta Sollenberg. (2001). Armed Conflict 1989–2000. *Journal of Peace Research* 38(5), 629–644. [This article presents the findings of the Armed Conflict data set that the authors collected in the Department of Peace and Conflict Research in Uppsala, Sweden. The data set is available at http://www.peace.uu.se].

Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1974). *The Modern World System. Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, 410 pp. New York, USA: Academic Press. [A historical analysis and critique of conventional IR theories and their approaches to conflict].

Walt, Stephen M. (1987). *Origins of Alliances*, 321 pp. Ithaca, USA: Cornell University Press. [Seminal neorealist work on balancing, alliances and military conflict].

Walter, Barbara and Jack Snyder. (1999). *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*, 331 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. [Edited book on causes of civil wars as well as third party interventions in civil wars].

Waltz, Kenneth. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*, 162 pp. MA, USA: Addison Wesley. For more on neorealism, see Waltz, Kenneth. (1959). *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*, 251 pp. New York, USA: Columbia University Press. [Seminal works that lay out the principles of structural realist IR theory].

Wendt, Alexander. (1992). Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization* 46(2), 391-426. [This article argues that the concept of the anarchical system in classical IR theories needs to be reconsidered. According to constructivism, the system structure is not fixed as realists and liberals would suggest].

Wilkenfeld, Jonathan and Michael Brecher. (2000). Interstate Crises and Violence. *Handbook of War Studies II.* (ed. Manus I Midlarsky), 564 pp. Boston, USA: The University of Michigan Press. [This article and the Interstate Crisis Database in general tackles crisis that do or do not turn into military conflicts].

Zakaria, Fareed. (2003). *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*, 295 pp. New York, USA: W. W. Norton & Company. [A book on the prerequisites of democratization and the factors that stall democratic transition].

#### **Biographical Sketch**

Nil S. Satana (Ph.D. in Political Science, State University of New York (SUNY), Buffalo, 2006).

She is Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations at Bilkent University, Turkey. Her research interests include various forms of conflict, mainly inter-state and intra-state wars and third party interventions in conflicts by major powers and international organizations. She also publishes on civil military relations. She focuses on the study of conflict in the Middle East with an emphasis on the

Kurdish issue in Turkey and Iraq in a comparative perspective.

UNFREE CHARGES