

POLITICAL SCIENCE 324-01
CAUSES OF WAR
Fall 2012
TF 9:15am – 10:35am
Hickman Hall Rm.201 (HCK-201 DC)

Professor: Geoffrey Wallace
Office: 403 Hickman Hall
Phone: 732-932-9380
Email: geoffrey.wallace@uky.edu
Course webpage: On Sakai
Office Hours: Tuesday 1:00pm – 2:30pm OBA

Course Description

This course examines the problem of war, and consequently of peace, from both a theoretical and empirical perspective. The primary purpose of this course is to introduce students to the systematic study of the causes of interstate war. We will seek to discover what conditions make the outbreak of war between states more or less likely to occur. The course organizes the causes of war around three main levels of analysis: individual, state, and systemic. After considering each level of analysis and how they might be combined, the final section of the course deals with several special topics, such as the role of nuclear weapons and peacekeeping.

Throughout the course we will pay special attention to evaluating both the logic and evidence supporting various causes of war. Upon completing the course students will not only be acquainted with the main types of explanations for war, but will also be able to evaluate evidence supporting or impugning these explanations. Students should also be able to apply this knowledge to hypothetical or real-world scenarios in order to assess the prospects for peace and conflict in the current and future world order.

All the information found in this syllabus, as well as readings, assignments, and announcements will be found on the Sakai course website (available at <https://sakai.rutgers.edu/portal>). It is the student's responsibility to check the website on a frequent basis.

Readings

Weekly readings are posted on the course website. Along with these readings, the following books are required for purchase (they are also placed on Course Reserve).

- Geoffrey Blainey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. New York: Free Press.
- Sagan, Scott D., and Kenneth N. Waltz. 2003. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*. New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton.

Students are also strongly encouraged to read an internationally-oriented newspaper, such as the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*. Reading a daily news source is not only useful for keeping abreast of current events, but also provides a valuable opportunity to grasp and apply key course concepts to contemporary international relations. The instructor may also sometimes distribute recent news

articles that seem especially relevant for particular course themes, which we will then discuss during class meetings.

Course Requirements

Preparation and Participation (10%)

This is primarily a lecture course, but students are also expected to come prepared to discuss the weekly reading assignments. This means readings should be completed before the first class of each week unless otherwise noted by the instructor. The reading load is quite substantial with an average of around 100 pages per week. The readings are also quite challenging both theoretically and empirically, which means they cannot be skimmed and students should plan ahead accordingly. Participation will be evaluated both on the quantity and quality of comments from students during class. This is not an attendance grade; students are required to contribute to class discussion to receive points for this component of their grade.

For students who may be reserved about participating in class, as an additional participation option students may submit 1-2 page (double spaced) reflective memos on each week's readings. The general content of the memos is open, but students can engage the readings in a number of ways: critique the authors' arguments, apply the arguments to contemporary events, address some of the discussion questions, etc. Essays are due by the start of the Tuesday class after the week the readings were assigned; no late memos will be accepted. Only hard copies will be accepted – no electronic copies. Again, please note: this is simply an additional option for obtaining participation. If you regularly participate in class, you can achieve high points for this portion of your grade without writing any of the reflective memos. And as always, I encourage everyone to participate in class irrespective of whether or not they decide to write memos, since this generally creates a more open, engaging, and interesting class environment for everyone involved.

Attendance is not required but is highly encouraged. A significant portion of the overall course grade is from participation and it is necessary to participate in class to receive these points. Moreover, lectures often cover substantially more material than what is assigned in the readings. Be forewarned, it will be very difficult to succeed, or even do well adequately, in this course without both attending class and doing the readings on a regular basis. If students are absent, it is his/her responsibility to obtain notes from lecture. Lecture notes and power point slides will not be provided by the instructor.

Research Paper (30%)

Each student is required to write one 8-10 page original research paper examining the causes of an international war. Details will be provided in a separate handout, but the paper will involve a *significant* amount of original research. A hard copy of the paper is due at the beginning of class on Wednesday, November 21, 2012. For general concerns about writing assistance, you are encouraged to contact the Rutgers Learning Center (<http://lrc.rutgers.edu/writing.shtml>).

Any papers turned in after the start of class will be penalized 10% per day, or any part thereof. No papers will be accepted after the start of class on Tuesday, November 27. It is your responsibility to ensure late work reaches me (i.e., don't simply place something in my mailbox). Electronic copies will not be accepted as proof of submitting your paper – a hard copy must be handed in to the instructor. Extensions are only available under the direst of circumstances, such as a *documented*

illness or debilitating injury spanning much of the time when you could have worked on the assignment. Even in these exceptional cases, you are responsible for informing me ahead of time, when circumstances permit, that an assignment will be late. Unnecessary delays in notification will disqualify you for an extension.

Midterm Exam (25%)

The midterm will take place during regular class time on Tuesday, October 16, 2012. The exam includes all material and readings covered up to that point in the course.

Final Exam (35%)

The final exam is a take home exam that will be due by noon on Tuesday, December 18, 2012. The exam includes all material and readings covered, but with an emphasis toward the latter half of the course.

Make up exams for either the midterm or final will be permitted only under the gravest of circumstances and with appropriate documentation. Students are required to notify the instructor before the exam takes place of any reason why they are unable to take the exam at the designated time. Any make up exams must be taken prior to the exam being returned to the class. It is the student's responsibility to contact the instructor so that the instructor can schedule a time for the make up.

Grading Policy and Appeals

Final grades will be assigned according to the following scale:

90 and higher = A; 87 – 89 = B+; 80 – 86 = B; 77 – 79 = C+; 70 – 76 = C; 60 – 69 = D; 59 and below = F

A student wishing to appeal any grade must make their request in writing prior to meeting with the instructor. The written appeal must be typed and clearly state the reason(s) the student feels the grade they received is incorrect. Appeals must be made within two weeks of when the exam or assignment was originally returned to the class. Appeals simply asking for more points will not be considered. The instructor reserves the right to re-grade the entire exam or assignment once an appeal is made, which may result in an increase or decrease in the score a student receives.

Plagiarism and Cheating

Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and are treated as such by both the university and the instructor. Be aware that the instructor is apt to impose the most severe penalty allowed by university rules, which includes but is not limited to issuing an automatic grade of 0.0 for the course. If students have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, or other matters of academic integrity, the following link may be helpful

http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/files/documents/AI_Policy_9_01_2011.pdf.

Per the policy adoption in September 2011 to promote a strong culture of academic integrity, students are required to sign on examinations and major course assignments submitted for a grade “On my honor, I have neither received nor given unauthorized assistance on this examination (assignment)”.

Section II specifically discusses the definitions of cheating and plagiarism. If you are having trouble assimilating outside information into your own ideas or have any other questions concerning

academic writing, see the Rutgers Learning Center (<http://lrc.rutgers.edu/>), or come to my office hours.

Special Needs

If you have a documented disability that requires academic accommodations, please see me as soon as possible during scheduled office hours or after lecture. In order to receive accommodations in this course, you must provide me with a Letter of Accommodation from the Office of Disabilities Services, Lucy Stone Hall, Livingston Campus, 54 Joyce Kilmer Ave., Suite A145, (848) 445-6800.

Classroom Expectations

Some of the material covered in this course may be controversial. While debate is expected and in fact encouraged, students are required to conduct themselves in a professional manner at all times. Students are expected to arrive on time and ready to start class. We have a very short period of time for each class, and it is disrespectful to the instructor and your fellow classmates to show up late. All disruptive behavior is not permitted during class, including but by no means limited to sleeping, talking outside of regular discussion, using cell phones, and insulting classmates and/or the instructor. Laptops are permitted, but students wishing to use a laptop will be required to sit in the back rows or on the far sides of the classroom so as not to distract others.

Course Schedule

The following is a preliminary schedule of topics and readings for the course. The schedule is subject to change based on the pace of the class. The instructor will clearly announce any changes.

Week 1 (September 4 and 7): Introductory Overview; Historical Patterns of Warfare

Blainey, Geoffrey. *The Causes of War*. Chapter 1. "The Peace that Passeth Understanding" (3-17).
Powner, Leanne C. 2007. "Reading and Understanding Political Science." Only read pg.1-14 (stop at the "Formal Modeling" section). Read carefully, since this article provides a foundation for more effectively reading and understanding most of the readings in the course. The exercises included in-text are completely optional.

PART I: INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS

Week 2 (September 11 and 14): Personal Psychology

Post, Jerrold M. 2003. "Saddam Hussein of Iraq: A Political Psychology Profile." In *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, ed. J. M. Post. Ann Arbor, M.I.: University of Michigan Press. (335-365).
Dyson, Stephen B. 2006. "Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2 (3):289-306.

Week 3 (September 18 and 21): Cognitive Psychology

Lebow, Richard N. 1981. *Between Peace and War*. Baltimore, M.D.: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Parts of Chapter 5 "Cognitive Consistency and Misperception" (Excerpt 102-107) and Chapter 6 "Sources of Misperception: The Role of National Self-Images" (Excerpt 192-222).
Blainey, Geoffrey. *The Causes of War*. Chapter 3 "Dreams and Delusions of a Coming War" (35-56) and Chapter 9 "War as an Accident" (127-145).

Taubman, G. L. 1997. "Nationalism, Loss-Gain Framing and the Confederate States of America." *Nations and Nationalism* 3 (2):251-271.

Week 4 (September 25 and 28): Small Group Explanations (Groupthink; Bureaucratic Politics Model)

- Janis, Irving. 1982. *Groupthink*. Boston, M.A.: Houghton Mifflin Company. Chapter 1 "Introduction: Why So Many Miscalculations?" (2-13).
- Kramer, Roderick M. 1998. "Revisiting the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam Decisions 25 Years Later: How Well has the Groupthink Hypothesis Stood the Test of Time?" *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 73 (2-3):236-271.
- Badie, Dina. "Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift toward Iraq." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6 (4):277-296.
- Pythian, Mark. 2006. "The Perfect Intelligence Failure? U.S. Pre-War Intelligence on Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Politics & Policy* 34 (2): (Excerpt 407-417).
- Allison, Graham. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63 (3): (Excerpt focusing on Allison Models I and III: 689-698; 707-715).
- Yetiv, Steve A. 2004. *Explaining Foreign Policy: U.S. Decision-Making and the Persian Gulf War*. Baltimore, M.D.: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 6 "Government Politics: Not Much, Actually" (121-137).

PART II: STATE-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS

Week 5 (October 2 and 5): Military Organizations and War

- Posen, Barry R. 1984. *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the Wars*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Chapter 2 "Explaining Military Doctrine" (Excerpts 34-54; 59-74).
- Snyder, Jack L. 1991. "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984." In *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, ed. S. E. Miller, S. M. Lynn-Jones and S. Van Evera. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. (Excerpt 20-52).
- Feaver, Peter D., and Christopher Gelpi. 2002. "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick? Veterans in the Political Elite and the American Use of Force." *American Political Science Review* 96 (4):779-793.

Week 6 (October 9 and 12): Diversionary Theory of War

- Oakes, Amy. 2006. "Diversionary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands." *Security Studies* 15 (3):431-463.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. New York, N.Y.: Free Press. Chapter 5 "Death-Watch and Scapegoat War" (68-86) and Chapter 6 "War Chests and Pulse Beats" (87-96).
- Fravel, M. Taylor. 2005. "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes." *International Security* 30 (2):46-83.

****MIDTERM TUESDAY, OCTOBER 16****

Week 7 (October 19): The Democratic Peace

- Plotz, David. 2000. "Greens Peace: A Controversial New Theory about the True Causes of War and Peace – In 18 Holes or Less." *New York Times Magazine*, June 4.

Doyle, Michael W. 1983. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part 2." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (4):323-353.

Week 8 (October 23 and 26): The Democratic Peace cont'd

Russett, Bruce. 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1 "The Fact of Democratic Peace" (3-23) and Chapter 2 "Why Democratic Peace?" (24-42).

Mansfield, Edward D., et al., and Jack Snyder. 2005. *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go To War*. Cambridge, M.A.: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 "The Perilous Path to the Democratic Peace" (1-19) and Chapter 2 "Reconciling the Democratic Peace with Accounts of Democratization and War" (21-37).

Week 9 (October 30 and November 2): Economic Interdependence

Rosecrance, Richard. 1986. *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World*. New York: Basic Books. Chapter 2 "The Worlds of International Relations: The Military-Political World, the Trading World" (22-43).

Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. New York, N.Y.: Free Press. Chapter 2 "Paradise is a Bazaar" (18-32).

Copeland, Dale C. 1996. "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." *International Security* 19 (5):5-41.

PART III: SYSTEM-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS

Week 10 (November 6 and 9): The Security Dilemma and Its Consequences – Arms Races, Offense-Defense Balance, and Deterrence

Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30 (2):167-214.

Lebow, Richard N. 1981. *Between Peace and War*. Baltimore, M.D.: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 4 "Brinkmanship" (Excerpt 82-97; just skim table on final pages).

Sagan, Scott D. 1989. "Origins of the Pacific War." In *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*, ed. R. I. Rotberg and T. K. Rabb. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, (323-352).

Week 11 (November 13 and 16): Distribution of Power and Polarity; Power Transition Theory

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1964. "The Stability of a Bipolar World." *Daedalus* 93 (3):881-909.

Deutsch, Karl, and J. David Singer. 1964. "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability." *World Politics* 16 (3):390-406.

Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. New York, N.Y.: Free Press. Chapter 8 "The Abacus of Power" (108-124) and Chapter 12 "Vendetta of the Black Sea" (177-185).

Wohlforth, William C. 1999. "The Stability of a Unipolar World." *International Security*, 24(1): 5-41.

****RESEARCH PAPER DUE AT START OF CLASS
ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 2012****

Week 12 (November 21): Power Transition Theory cont'd; Revisionist States

****Please note that class meets on the Wednesday of this week rather than the regularly scheduled Tuesday meeting day.****

Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Excerpts of Chapter 1 "The Nature of International Political Change" (9-18), and all of Chapter 4 "Equilibrium and Decline" (156-185) and Chapter 5 "Hegemonic War and International Change" (186-210).

Schweller, Randall L. 1994. "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In" *International Security* 19 (1): (Excerpt 85-107).

Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2003. "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27 (4):5-56.

****THANKSGIVING BREAK – NO CLASS ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 2012.****

PART IV: SPECIAL TOPICS ON THE CAUSES OF WAR

Week 13 (November 27 and 30): Nuclear Weapons

Sagan, Scott D., and Kenneth N. Waltz. 2003. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*. New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton. Chapters 1-3 (3-124).

Week 14 (December 4 and 7): Does Peacekeeping Keep the Peace?; Film (*Thirteen Days*)

Bellamy, Alex J., and Paul D. Williams. 2005. "Who's Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations." *International Security* 29 (4):157–195.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects." *World Politics* 56 (4):481-519.

Autesserre, Séverine. 2008. "The Trouble with Congo: How Local Disputes Fuel Regional Conflicts." *Foreign Affairs* 87 (3):97-110.

There are currently no assigned readings for the movie. We will use the film, which depicts the events surrounding the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis between the United States and the Soviet Union, as an opportunity to evaluate the relative usefulness of the theories so far covered in the course for explaining the course and outcome of the crisis.

Week 15 (December 11): Film cont'd