

#version August 23, 2005

## **War in International Relations – A Seminar**

**Professor Tim Cloyd**

**Class Meetings - Mondays – 2:10-4:00 p.m. – Fausett 12**

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### **Summary**

This course meets fourteen times during the semester. Thus, it is critical that you do the readings and come to class. This course explores the nature of war and its place as an institution in the international system. War has been a perennial feature of world politics. Since 9/11, however, we have become acutely aware of the complexities of security in and for the United States in world politics. We are now at war in Iraq, and we are waging a war against “terrorism”. What are some of the traditional ways of thinking about war in international relations? Are these theories still relevant?

In this course we will explore some of the traditional theories that have defined approaches to war, and then we will examine the new world we find ourselves in post 9/11. Our learning objectives will be as follows: a) to become familiar with theories of war and peace; b) to develop the ability to analyze arguments for various strategic doctrines and conceptions that define the causes of war and the role of war; c) to become familiar with the obstacles to overcoming war in the international system and to understand war as a instrument of policy; and e) to develop your own position on the future of war and the most important questions concerning United States and global security. In this course you will need to think theoretically and approach issues of war and peace as if you were making the decisions about what to do in the context of actual threats to United States and global security.

### **Course Requirements**

Each of you will be asked to write four (4) 3-5 page double spaced papers on a topic or a selection of topics. This will account for 40% of your grade. You are also required to write a 9-10 paper at the end of the semester on a topic that will draw the readings and the themes together. This will account for 15% of your final grade. You must turn in all of the papers. There will be a letter grade penalty for each day your paper is late.

Each of you will be asked individually or in a group to lead the class discussion. We will take turns doing this, and you will have fifteen (15) minutes to twenty (20) minutes to present the background of the reading, something about the author, the key points and arguments in the readings, and your own analysis of the works. Please feel free to use power point, hand-outs, and other technology in your presentation. You or your group will lead the discussion of the works for that day. You will be required to turn in your report in whatever format works best for you. This will account for 40% of your grade.

There will be some pop quizzes on the readings, and finally, we will all take turns bringing in a “thought for the day” or “a gem of a thought” from three works: *The Book of War: Sun-Tzu - The Art of War*; *Karl von Clausewitz – On War*; and *Chris Hedges - War Is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*. I can supply these books, and we will hand them around for our “devotional” reading. No hymns are necessary! Pop quizzes and the thought for the day will be 5% of your grade.

## Papers

I will give you the paper topics one week ahead of when each paper is due. You need to identify the key questions and issues on the topic. You need to draw on and when necessary provide citations of the readings. Summarize the argument in a short concise fashion and then make your argument. Provide a critical evaluation in which you make an argument and defend that argument. Decide what you want to say and stick with one or two well developed points. This is always better than hedging your position or muddling through in hopes of landing on something. So think through your paper. Write the paper and then read the paper a few times before you turn it in to me. Check grammar, punctuation, and spelling!

## Primary Texts:

We will read parts or all of the following texts.

History of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides (selections)  
0140440399 – Penguin Group (USA)

Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace. Richard K. Betts, ed. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Pearson/Longman. 2005.

Just War Against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World. Jean Bethke Elshtain. 2003. ISBN: 0465019102 – Basic Books

Arguing About War. Michael Walzer. 2004  
ISBN: 0300103654 – Yale University Press

The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Authorized edition. Norton. 2005

Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe. Graham Allison. Times Books/Holt. 2005.

**You do not have to buy these two works! We will only read selections from them in class and I have copies.**

War Is a Force that Gives Us Meaning. Chris Hedges. 2003  
ISBN: 1400034639 – Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group

The Book of War: Sun-Tzu, The Art of Warfare and Karl von Clausewitz, On War. Caleb Carr and Ralph Peters eds. Modern Library. 2000.

## Essays

“Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace,” Robert Jervis. APSA. Vol. 96. no. 1. March 2002

“American’s Imperial Ambition.” G. John Ikenberry. Foreign Affairs. Vol. 81, no. 5. September/October. 2002

“Bush and the World, Take 2: Fixing His Grand Strategy.” John Lewis Gaddis. Foreign Affairs vol. 84, no. 1, Jan/Feb. 2005

“Iraq: Winning the ‘Unwinnable’ War.” James Dobbins. Foreign Affairs. vol 84, no. 1. Jan/Feb. 2005

“Iraq: The Logic of Disengagement.” Edward Luttwark. Foreign Affairs. vol. 84, no. 1. Jan/Feb. 2005

### **Class Organization and Readings – Paper Topics will be handed out in class.**

#### **August 29, 2005 - Section One – First Class**

Agenda: Introductions; Course Overview; Review of Syllabus and Requirements; Review of Texts and Texts we could have used; Getting to know one another; Introductory discussion of War and Peace; Discussion of the methodology of studying international relations.

#### ***Class Group Reading Session Read Aloud***

History of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides (selections)

Introduction – We will take turns reading this

The Debate at Sparta and the Declaration of War pp. 72-87 –

We will take turns reading this in groups (some of you will play the Corinthians, some the Athenians, and some the Spartans.)

Pericle’s Funeral Oration, pp. 143-151 We will take turns reading this

Revolt of the Mytilene, pp. 194-211

The Mytilenian Debate pp. 212-223 We will divide into two contending camps for this reading

The Melian Dialogue pp. 400-413 We will divide into the Melians and the Athenians for this reading

#### **September 12, 2005 - Section Two – Second Class (receive writing assignment)**

History of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides (selections) **(finish what we did not read in class from the sections listed below)**

Introduction

The Debate at Sparta and the Declaration of War pp. 72-87

Pericle’s Funeral Oration, pp. 143-151

Revolt of the Mytilene, pp. 194-211

The Mytilenian Debate pp. 212-223

The Melian Dialogue pp. 400-413

Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace. Richard K. Betts, ed. 2<sup>nd</sup>

Introduction: Does War have a Future? pp. 1-50

Francis Fukuyama – The End of History? p. 5

John J. Mearsheimer – Why we will Soon Miss the Cold War p. 17

Samuel P. Huntington – The Clash of Civilizations? p. 33

**International Realism: Anarchy and Power.** pp. 51-116

- Niccolo Machiavelli – Doing Evil in Order to do Good p. 60  
Thomas Hobbs – The State of Nature and the State of War p. 65  
Edward Hallett Carr – Realism and Idealism p. 69  
Kenneth N. Waltz – The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory p. 86  
Robert Gilpin – Hegemonic War and International Change p. 93  
Geoffrey Blainey – Power, Culprits, and Arms p. 105

**September 19, 2005 - Section Three – Third Class – September 19 (first paper due)**

Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace. Richard K. Betts, ed. 2<sup>nd</sup>

**International Liberalism: Institutions and Cooperation.** pp. 117 – 157

- Immanuel Kant – Perpetual Peace p. 121  
Hedley Bull – Society and Anarchy in International Relations p. 128  
Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye - Power and Interdependence p. 139  
John Mueller - The Obsolescence of Major War p. 146

**Psychology and Culture: Unconscious Sources of Conflict and Conscious Norms.** 159 – 217

- Sigmund Freud – Why War? p. 163  
Franco Fornari – The Psychoanalysis of War p. 171  
Margaret Mead – Warfare is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity p. 176  
Alexander Wendt – Anarchy is What States Make of It p. 181  
Martha Finnemore – Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention p. 202

**September 26, 2005 - Section Four – Fourth Class September 26**

Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace. Richard K. Betts, ed. 2<sup>nd</sup>

**Economics: Interests and Interdependence** pp. 219 - 274

- Niccolo Machiavelli - Money Is Not the Sinews of War: Although It is Generally so Considered p. 223  
Norman Angell – The Great Illusion p. 226  
Geoffrey Blainey – Paradise Is a Bazaar p. 228  
V.I. Lenin – Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism p. 236  
Joseph Schumpeter – Imperialism and Capitalism p. 243  
Alan S. Milward – War as Policy p. 252  
Kenneth Waltz – Structural Causes and Economic Effects p. 264  
Richard Rosecrance – Trade and Power p. 274

**Politics: Ideology and Identity** pp 287 - 349

- Michael Doyle – Liberalism and World Politics p. 291  
Ernest Gellner – Nations and Nationalism p. 307  
Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder – Democratization and War p. 318  
Chaim Kaufmann – Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars p. 331  
Radha Kumar – The Troubled History of Partition p. 349

**October 3, 2005 - Section Five – Fifth Class (assignment for second paper October 3)**

Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace. Richard K. Betts, ed. 2<sup>nd</sup>

**Strategy I: Military Technology, Doctrine, and Stability** pp. 357-433

Samuel P. Huntington – Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results p. 361

Robert Jervis – Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma p. 382

Scott Sagan – 1914 Revisited p. 398

Jack Levy – The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology p. 411

Charles Fairbanks and Abram Shulsky – Arms Control: The Historical Experience p. 423

Kenneth Waltz – The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May be Better p. 433

**Strategy II: Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare** pp. 445-520

T.E. Lawrence – Science of Guerrilla Warfare p. 449

Mao Tse-Tung – On Guerrilla Warfare p. 457

Samuel P. Huntington – Patterns of Violence in World Politics

Martha Crenshaw – The Strategic Logic of Terrorism p. 491

Mark Juergensmeyer- Religious Radicalism and Political Violence p. 505

Richard Betts – The Soft Underbelly of Primacy p. 520

Arguing About War. Michael Walzer. 2004

Chapter 4 – Terrorism: A Critique of Excuses p. 51

**October 10, 2005 Section Six – Sixth Class – October 10 (Second paper due)**

Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace. Richard K. Betts, ed. 2<sup>nd</sup>

**Transnational Tensions: Migration, Resources, and Environment** p. 537-567

Myron Weiner – Security, Stability, and Migration p. 541

John Cooley – The War over Water p. 557

Thomas Homer-Dixon - Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict p. 567

**Conclusion: The Future Between Contending Forces** p. 583

Eliot Cohen – A Revolution in Warfare p. 585

Richard Betts – The Delusion of Impartial Intervention p. 597

Robert Koehane and Joseph Nye - Power, Interdependence, and the Information Age p. 608

Benjamin Barber – Jihad Vs. McWorld p. 618

We will also discuss – **Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network.** By James Der Derian. Although no reading from the text is assigned.

**October 17 - Section Seven – Class Seven**

“Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace,” Robert Jervis. APSA. Vol. 96. no. 1. March 2002

“American’s Imperial Ambition.” G. John Ikenberry. Foreign Affairs. Vol. 81, no. 5. September/October. 2002

“Bush and the World, Take 2: Fixing His Grand Strategy.” John Lewis Gaddis. Foreign Affairs vol. 84, no. 1, Jan/Feb. 2005

“Iraq: Winning the ‘*Unwinnable*’ War.” James Dobbins. Foreign Affairs. vol 84, no. 1. Jan/Feb. 2005

“Iraq: The Logic of Disengagement.” Edward Luttwark. Foreign Affairs. vol. 84, no. 1. Jan/Feb. 2005

### **October 24, 2005 Section Eight – Class Eight**

Just War Against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World. Jean Bethke Elshtain. Pages 1-111

### **October 31, 2005 - Section Nine – Ninth Class – (receive writing assignment October 31)**

Just War Against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World. Jean Bethke Elshtain. Pages 112-193

### **November 7, 2005 - Section Ten – Tenth Class ( third paper due November 14)**

Arguing About War. Michael Walzer. 2004

Chapter 1 – The Triumph of Just War Theory p. 3

Chapter 2 – Two Kinds of Military Responsibility p. 23

Chapter 5 – The Politics of Rescue p. 67

Chapter 7 – Kosovo p. 99

Chapter 8 – The *Intifada* and the Green Line p. 104

Chapter 10 – After 9/11: Five Questions about Terrorism p. 113

Chapter 11 – Five on Iraq p. 130

### **November 14, 2005 - Section Eleven – Eleventh Class November 21**

The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Authorized edition. Norton. 2005

Chapters 1-7 pp. 1-253

### **November 21, 2005 - Section Twelve – Twelfth Class**

The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Authorized edition. Norton. 2005

Chapters 8- 13 pp. 254-428

### **November 28, 2005 - Section Thirteen – Class Thirteen – ( receive writing assignment)**

Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe. Graham Allison. Times Books/Holt. 2005.

Read: Part One pp. 1-120

**December 5, 2005 - Section Fourteen – Class Fourteen (fourth paper due December 5 and receive writing assignment for the longer paper- December 5)**

Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe. Graham Allison. Times Books/Holt. 2005.

Read: Part Two pp. 123 - 209

**(Final paper due on or before the last day of exams)**

**A Final Note**

**This course requires a lot of reading. Thus I encourage you to work together in study groups to discuss the readings and to even divide up some sections to make sure you cover all of the readings and the ideas covered by these authors.**