

PSCI 3107B
The Causes of War

Lecture: Monday 8:35 - 11:25; SA 517

Instructor: Dr. Brian C. Schmidt
Office: D698 Loeb
Phone: 520-2600 ext. 1062

E-mail: schmidt@connect.carleton.ca
Office Hours: Monday 1 - 3
Tuesday 10 - 12

Course Description and Objectives

From its inception to the present day, the field of international relations has made the study of war its central concern. One of the primary justifications for establishing a separate field of international relations was that no other academic discipline made the study of war its central focus. There are a number of valid reasons for studying war, but perhaps most fundamentally is the fact that sovereign states frequently do engage in systematic, large-scale interstate warfare. The twentieth century, for example, has been described as the most murderous in recorded history with an estimated 187 million battle-related deaths. And while the character of war might be changing, the twenty-first century has so far not been a pacific one.

The fundamental objective of this course is to familiarize students with a number of important theoretical perspectives on the origins of large-scale international war. Throughout the semester, we will attempt to answer the question "why war"? There literally is enough literature about war to fill a considerable portion of a college library's shelves. To sort through the theoretical literature, the course will employ Kenneth Waltz's levels of analysis framework for understanding the causes of war. Our investigation of the cause of war will focus on the role of individuals, domestic politics, and the international system.

In this course we will be examining a single case study: the 2003 Iraq War. We will be applying the different theories that we study in an attempt to understand the cause of the Iraq War. We will also be examining the various arguments that were made by proponents and opponents of the Iraq War. The research paper that you are responsible for will result in you becoming an expert in one specific war of your choosing. The course also investigates the ethics of war by considering the just war tradition. For while war may indeed be hell, a number of normative conventions have been adopted over time that has resulted in a moral and legal vocabulary for speaking about the horror of war.

Course Texts

There are two required texts and one recommended text for the course that are available for purchase at the Carleton University Bookstore. The required texts as well as the other assigned readings have been placed on reserve in the library (reserve readings are indicated on the syllabus with an **R**). You can access many of the assigned journal articles by using JSTOR that is available through the Carleton University library website (<http://catalogue.library.carleton.ca>). The course reserve readings will also be available in the Political Science reading room. Please be considerate of the other students in the

class and do not remove these readings for your own personal use. Students are expected to complete all of the assigned reading prior to coming to class. Your ability to complete the course successfully is dependent on reading and understanding all of the assigned material.

1. Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (Columbia University Press, 2001).
2. *Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf eds., *The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (Simon and Schuster, 2003).
3. John G. Stoessinger, *Why Nations Go to War, 10th ed.* (Thomson Wadsworth, 2005). (recommended)

*This book is out of print, although copies are available at Amazon and other on-line book sellers. The book can also be purchased in the form of a PDF for \$9.99 (http://www.ebooks.com/ebooks/book_display.asp?IID=158783). Finally the book has been photocopied and is available through Graphic Services. If you inform the book store that you want a copy, Graphic Services will provide a copy for purchase.

Course Requirements

Your final grade will be determined on the following basis:

- Short Quizzes 15%
- Research Paper Proposal 10%
- Research Paper 35%
- Final Exam 40%

Explanations

Short Quizzes: During the course of the semester there will be approximately five unannounced short quizzes administered in class. The questions will be based on the assigned reading for that day. If you do not know the answer, submit a piece of paper with your name on it because you will at least receive some credit. There are no make-up quizzes and only those with a medical note or family emergency will be excused.

Paper proposal: You are required to turn in a 2 - 3 page paper proposal that clearly indicates the specific war that you have selected to research. You should identify the main combatants and attempt to ascertain the main issues that led to the war – what was this war all about? You should also provide some of the background information concerning your war (a brief historical account of the conflict). A provisional bibliography of books and articles that you will likely be consulting should be included in your proposal.

The paper proposal is due on **February 4, 2008**. Students must have their paper proposal and war accepted before they can turn-in a final paper. In the event that your proposal is not accepted, you will have seven days to re-submit a new proposal. After that time, a penalty of one letter-grade per day will be imposed (B+ to B).

Research Paper: You are required to write a 12 -15 page research paper, in which you will describe a war of your choice, review contending explanations of this war's origins, and relate these explanations to the theories covered in the course. You must utilize two different theories of war and apply them to the war you have selected to research. **The paper is due in class on March 24, 2008.** A more detailed description of the paper assignment is attached to this syllabus.

Final Exam: The final exam will test your knowledge of all the major theories, ideas, concepts, and details of the Iraq War that we have studied throughout the term. The exam is comprehensive and will include all of the material outlined in the syllabus. You are responsible for all of the material that has been assigned in the course outline, discussed in the lectures, and found in the various movies that we will be viewing. The exam will consist of short-answer, identification questions and essay questions. More information about the exam will be provided at the end of the semester. The exam will take place during the university-scheduled exam period (April 11-29).

Other Guidelines

- Assignments sent by fax to the Department of Political Science will not be accepted.
- It is not acceptable to hand in the same assignment for two or more courses.
- To obtain credit in this course, students must meet all of the course requirements. Failure to complete all of the assignments will result in a failing grade for the course.
- Late assignments will be downgraded one letter-grade category per day, up until one week late. For example, a B+ paper, one day late, will receive a B.

Course Schedule

Week 1 (January 7)

Movie: Invasion of Iraq

Course Introduction

Week 2 (January 14)

On War and Explaining War

Waltz, Preface, ch. 1.

Sifry and Cerf: 5-17, 47-57, 61-85, 91-102, 129-134

Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* (New York: Penguin, 1986), Book I, chs. 1-3 (R).

Jack Levy, "War and Peace" in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A.

Simmons eds, *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002) (R)

Week 3 (January 21) Human Nature and War

Waltz, chs. 2 and 3
Sifry and Cerf: 18-44, 114-125
Movie: Saddam

Week 4 (January 28) Misperception and War

John Stoessinger, *Why Nations Go to War*, 10th ed., chs. 8-10 (R)
Jack Levy, "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems," *World Politics* (Vol. 36, No. 1, October 1983), pp. 76-99 (R)
Movie: Truth, War and Consequences

Week 5 (February 4) Domestic Politics and War

Waltz, Ch. 4
Jack Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb eds., *The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 79-99. Also available in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1988), pp. 653-673. (R)
Sifry and Cerf: 357-383, 482-485

Week 6 (February 11) Democracy and War

Sifry and Cerf: 486-489, 495-496
Bruce Russett, "Why Democratic Peace?," in Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller eds., *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 82-115 (R).
Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 97, No. 4, Nov. 2003): 585-602. (R).
Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security* (Vol. 29, No. 1, September 2004): 5-48. (R)

Week 7 (February 18) No Class – Winter Break

Week 8 (February 25) Imperialism and the Politics of Oil

Waltz: ch. 5
V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), chs. 5-6 (R).
Damien Cave, "The United States of Oil," Salon.com, November 19, 2001. Download from http://www.salon.com/tech/feature/2001/11/19/bush_oil/index.html
Movie: Oil in Iraq: Curse or Blessing

Week 9 (March 3) Realism and War I

Waltz: chs. 6 and 7

Robert Gilpin, "The Theory of Hegemonic War," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb eds., *The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 15-37 (R) Also available in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1988), pp. 591-613. (R)

Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb eds., *The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 39-52 (R) Also available in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1988), pp. 615-628. (R).

Week 10 (March 10) Realism and War II

Dale Copeland, *The Origins of Major Wars* (Cornell University Press, 2000), Introduction, ch. 1 (R).

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* Vol. 35, No. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 27-47 (R).

Jack Levy, "Preventive War and the Bush Doctrine," in Staneley A. Renshon and Peter Suedfeld eds., *Understanding the Bush Doctrine* (Routledge, 2007): 175-200.(R).

Week 12 (March 17) Just War Theory and the Iraq War

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (Basic Books, 2000), 51-63, 74-105. (R).

Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond, "Preventive War and Permissive Normative Order," *International Studies Perspectives* 4 (November 2003): 385-394. (R).

Eric Patterson, "Just War in the 21st Century: Reconceptualizing Just War Theory After September 11," *International Politics* 42 (2005): 116-134 (R).

Week 13 (March 24) The Case for War with Iraq

Sifry and Cerf: 140-161, 165-280, 298-300, 313-318, 370-374, 387-391, 403-411, 440-444, 450-452, 465-478

Movie: The World According to Bush

Week 14 (March 31) The Case Against War with Iraq

Sifry and Cerf: 283-287, 301-312, 325-332, 339-355, 392-402, 414-433, 436-439, 445-449, 464, 501-502, 506-526

Movie: Insurgency

Research Paper Assignment

The writing assignment asks you to choose and study a war that you find interesting. Since most of the course focuses on theories of inter-state war, you are strongly encouraged to select an international war rather than an intra-state war. If you are unsure of which war to study, please come and see me early in the semester. After you have selected a war, your paper should do the following three things:

- Describe the essential facts of the case that you have selected. Who fought whom? When? Where? Over what? What were the main circumstances that led to the outbreak of the war you have selected? If you select a protracted war, it will be best to focus on a specific phase of the war such as the origins of the conflict.
- Review the literature on the origins of your chosen war. What are the major contending interpretations of the outbreak of the war? Who are the authors associated with each interpretation? Be sure that you identify at least two distinct theoretical interpretations of the war's origins, and the chief author(s) associated with each of them. You need to select two contrasting theories of war and apply them to your specific case.
- Consider to what extent the interpretations identified in the literature that you have been reading correspond to the different theoretical perspectives covered in the course. Does your war confirm, or disconfirm, or otherwise speak to claims, hypotheses, propositions, theories or accounts of war and war causes which you have encountered? How do the theories that you have selected help to explain your war? Is one theory more relevant or superior to the other? You need to apply the theories to your case and assess how well the historical details of your war can be explained by each of the two different theories. In your evaluation, please be sure that you make reference to specific authors.

Further instructions and details:

While I will be looking to see that you have covered each of the three things listed above, there is a great deal of freedom in how you actually write the paper. But please avoid the tendency to turn the paper into simply a historical narrative of the events of your chosen war. History is never neutral and you should strive to identify the theoretical and analytical framework of the books and articles that you have selected. You might want to provide contrasting factual accounts of the war that correspond to the different theoretical perspectives that you are utilizing. You will likely have to be creative in this exercise and determine how the theories that we have discussed in class actually relate to the war you have selected. How do you appraise one theoretical account as being superior to another? As you work on this assignment, please keep in mind that it is both a historical and theoretical enterprise. And once again, I am looking for two contrasting theoretical explanations of the war that you have chosen to study.

Writing is a very important skill and you should strive to write the best paper that you can. The paper should adhere to all of the rules and requirements of written composition. Paragraph development, grammar, punctuation, spelling, citations, title page, overall appearance are all important and will be taken into account when I grade your paper. Edit and proofread your paper before submitting it. Do not let yourself lose

crucial points because of spelling and punctuation errors.

It is extremely important to cite properly the sources you draw upon for facts and/or interpretation. Document all quotations and scholarly borrowing from other authors by careful footnoting. To avoid plagiarism, do not paraphrase or cite passages from other published sources without giving full credit to them. When you quote from an author be sure that you use quotation marks and cite the work and page number where the quotation can be located (beware, I do check). This should not be a mystery. A good writing manual will explain all the procedures for documenting a research paper. Take a careful look at the exemplary endnote format used in Copeland's *Origins of Major War*.

While web sources might be helpful to you, be sure that you are clear about the source of the material. If you do use a web source, be sure that you document it properly. This is an academic exercise and you should be consulting scholarly books and journal articles. When you do make reference to a particular source, you should strive to identify the author(s) (e.g. According to A.J.P. Taylor, "international anarchy was an underlying reason for the outbreak of WW II."). In addition to identifying the relevant theories to understand the war you have selected, you will need to support your theories with the facts of your case. How does theory help us to understand the specific historical details of your chosen case? Identifying and utilizing the best sources for understanding your war is crucial to a successful paper. This is often a time consuming process and you should begin it early.

Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadline for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **March 14th, 2008** for April examinations.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or

more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.