

**PSCI 3107D – The Causes of War**

**Course Outline**

**Class information:**

**Lecture schedule:** Fridays 8:35 a.m. to 11:25 a.m.

**Instructor:** Prof. Grant Dawson, Ph.D.  
**Phone:** Office: 520-2600, ext. 6198

**E-mail:** Grant\_Dawson@carleton.ca  
**Home:** 569-0000 (voice mail)

**Office Hours:** Mondays and Wednesdays 12:00 p.m. to 1:00 p.m.  
**Office Location:** 1407 Dunton Tower, drop in or by appointment

**Course description:**

This course addresses research into the causes of war. In answering the question ‘why war’, a variety of theoretical perspectives and cases will be examined and analysed. Our focus will be on inter-state conflict from the ancient Greeks to the war against terrorism. There will also be consideration of internal conflict in the 1990s, especially in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Kosovo.

**Who would take this course and why?**

The course is intended to assist scholars and future journalists and policy-makers to better understand why war occurs. Those with a historical bent will find the survey of conflicts and of thinking on conflict useful. Political scientists, journalists and students of public policy may find testing the theories of war and the drawing of what are popularly known as ‘lessons learned’ to be of interest. The topics covered in this course will help students to better interpret and understand modern day events.

Those who will profit most from this course include:

- Students interested in international affairs or organizations
- Students concerned about political, diplomatic or military history
- Students working on international theory and security issues
- Students interested in writing about state or intra-state conflict control, mitigation and resolution

## **Learning objectives for the course:**

Participants in this course will be expected to achieve a number of objectives:

Read articles and book chapters on the theories of war and pertaining to specific historical or contemporary case studies

Demonstrate knowledge and effective comprehension of the theories of war and historical and contemporary cases studies through participation in class activities (such as by asking questions and through group work) and seminars

Demonstrate ability to utilise course materials in the preparation of an 15 page essay (topics must be approved by instructor)

Demonstrate analytical grasp of course materials on final written exam

## **Format of lecture sessions:**

The course content will be presented through lectures. The lectures will occupy about 1 to 1 ½ hours of each 3 hour class. The objective will be to present 1 to 3 main ideas in each lecture and provide opportunity for student discussion and student engagement through in-class exercises. Regular lecture attendance will make it easier for students to decide on their essay topic, and make it easier for students to learn the course concepts and issues that may come up in future studies or non-academic work.

The second part of the lecture will unfold 1 of 2 ways. The class may engage in extended exercises of some sort, in which the students will have the opportunity to treat with the topics of discussion for that day. Or, the class will reassemble into smaller self-moderated seminars. Normally the seminars will address big issues that have several types of correct answers (to encourage dialogue). The topics will relate to recommended essay topics and to assigned readings.

The seminars will be useful to students because of their relevance to the term papers. The seminars will also provide students with a chance to talk and build confidence dealing with the issues in a more relaxed setting. Discussion group participants will have special opportunities to practice negotiation skills and to speak out in class, for later on seminars will be expected to prepare group statements for class presentation.

## **Texts:**

John G. Stoessinger, Why Nations Go to War, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., (April 2004)

Greg Cashman, What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict, (April 1993, reprinted 2000)

Both textbooks have been ordered and are available in the Carleton University Bookstore.

Other specific readings will be made available on reserve. From time to time additional readings may be added to the course; these too will be left on reserve or if possible in light of copyright concerns made available electronically. Some readings marked with an \* are from the course texts. Others are marked with an **R** for reserve books or an **RC** for photocopied journal articles or book chapters on reserve.

Students are expected to complete all readings before coming to class.

**Class evaluation:**

Participation (in lectures and seminars): 15% of total grade

Term Paper: 45% of total grade

Final exam: 40% of total grade

Participation grades will be based on participation in class and the seminars. Students who earn the most points will be those who not only show up, but who demonstrate a willingness to grapple with course materials. The seminars are important to the final participation grade. Students will be placed in 1 of 3 seminars that will meet during Weeks 5-8. The seminars will be self-moderated (the instructor can go to only 1 each week), but students will have to sign a sign-in sheet that the instructor will use when grading. By the end of Week 8, students should have reached a consensus on the topic assigned to their seminar and have a brief report with a list of ‘accords’ or a position paper explaining their stance. The result must be at least 500 words. During the first lecture after the last seminar meeting (Week 9), each group will present their report or paper to the class. The seminar documents will be saved by the instructor and, like the presentations, will count for part of the participation grade.

The term paper must be 15-20 double-space pages long at 12 pt. font. The paper must include at least 10 footnotes / endnotes and 5 bibliographic entries that consistently follow a scholarly citation style. The topic may be your own or one suggested by the instructor (see below). If the former, obtain instructor approval before proceeding. One way to handle the paper would be to provide a full-length theoretical study. Another would be to discuss a theory or present a literature review in the first half of the paper, and a case study in the second. If you decide to focus on the cause of a specific war, which is a third option, remember to ensure that you provide an analysis and not a historical description of the war. The term paper is due without exception on the Friday of Week 10 (March 17). Late assignments will be deducted 1 letter-grade category per day [ex., a B+ paper received 2 days late will be downgraded to a B-].

The final exam will be scheduled during the formal examination period (April 10 – 29, 2006). The exam will be in the short answer / short essay question format (no multiple choice) and will probe understanding of core course concepts. It will be interested not simply in student memorisation, but also the quality of student analysis and student ability to apply the knowledge they have learned.

**Suggested essay topics:**

- Is war obsolescent?
- Place of war in contemporary international theory
- Can democracies prevent war?
- Examine a theory explaining the cause of war and test on a historical case
- Chose a war: who or what caused it? Who is to blame?
- Which theoretical perspective on war's causes do you find most convincing? Why?
- What cause – such as rational and deliberate policy making, irrational factors, identity politics, class or something else – do you think accounts for the most conflict? Your paper could adopt a historical or contemporary focus.

**Other considerations:**

The final paper must be handed in on the due date. This can be done either in class on the Friday of Week 10 or via e-mail sometime that day (a paper sent 12:01 a.m. on Saturday will be considered 1 day late). Please note that papers submitted by e-mail will be marked in 'track changes' and returned electronically. If you submit electronically, a title page, bibliography, etc. are still expected.

The final paper may use Internet sources but only if they are from a recognizable scholar, institution or academic network. Examples are material that scholars have written and decided to provide on-line on personal websites, reports from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and United Nations websites, or information from Columbia International Affairs Online. As for citation style when using such sources, try as much as possible to reflect the most applicable format for paper documents. Ensure you provide the Internet address and date of last access.

It is not acceptable to hand in the same assignment for two or more courses.

To obtain credit for this course, students must complete both the term work assignments and the written final exam. Failure to do so will result in a failing grade.

**Course readings:** [the instructor reserves the right to add or subtract from this list]

*Week 1 (January 6):*

“Explanations of the concept and causes of war”

- RC - Kenneth Waltz, “Explaining War,” in Paul Viotti & Mark Kauppi, International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1999), pp. 130-144
- RC - Jack Levy, “Contending Theories of International Conflict,” in Chester Crocker and Fen Hampson, eds., Managing Global Chaos (1996), pp. 1-24
- RC - Ian Clark, “War: Concept and Conduct,” in Waging War: A Philosophical Introduction, (1988), pp.10-30

*Week 2 (January 13):*

“The Relevance of Classical and Non-western Thought on the Causes of Warfare”

- Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, translated into English translated by Richard Crawley, (1954), Book 1 and Book 2, Chapter VI. Access the Malaspina University-College e-text at: <http://www.mala.bc.ca/~johnstoi/thucydides/tofc.htm>.
- RC - Sun Tzu, The Art of War, translated into English by Samuel B. Griffith, (1963 reprinted 1971), Chapters I-III

*Week 3 (January 20):*

“What is War – Major Theoretical Interpretations”

- RC- Pater Paret, “[Carl von] Clausewitz,” Peter Paret, ed., Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age (1986), pp. 186-213
- RC - John Shy, “[Antoine-Henri] Jomini,” Peter Paret, ed., Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age (1986), pp. 143-185
- R- Martin van Creveld, The Transformation of War (1991), pp. 124-156

*Week 4 (January 27):*

“The theory of the Liberal-Democratic Peace”

- RC - Michael W. Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs,” in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues, (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1992), pp. 56-69
- R - John Mueller, “The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World,” Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace, (expanded ed., 1993), pp.45-69
- Carl Kaysen, “Is War Obsolete?” in Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace, (expanded ed., 1993), pp.81-103.

*Week 5 (February 3):* **First meeting of seminar groups**

“The Relevance of Marxist and Feminist Thought on the Causes of Warfare”

- R - Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, “Feminism” in International Relations (1999),
- RC - Louis Harris, “The Gender Gulf,” The New York Times, December 7, 1990, p. A35.
- RC - Sigmund Neumann and Mark von Hagen, “[Friedrich] Engles and [Karl] Marx on Revolution, War, and the Army in Society,” Peter Paret, ed., Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age (1986), pp. 262-280

*Week 6 (February 10):*

“Realist Explanations of War”

- \* Greg Cashman, What Causes War? (2000), chapter 5, “The State and International Conflict,” pp. 124-129, 142-145, 152-157; and chapter 8
- R - Dale Copeland, The Origins of Major War (2000) , chapters 1 and 2, pp. 11-55
- R - Doug Gibling, “Alliances: Why Some Cause War and Others Cause Peace,” in John Vasquez, ed., What Do We Know About War? chapter 6, pp. 172-186

*Week 7 (February 17):*

“The Individual and War”

- \* Cashman, chapter 3, “Psychological Explanations and War,” pp. 36-76
- RC - Stephen Wayne, “President Bush Goes to War,” in Stanley Renshon, ed. The Political Psychology of the Gulf War (1993), pp. 29-48; [Also in the same volume, by way of contrast, see chapter 3 by Jerrold Post, “The Defining Moment of Saddam’s Life,” pp.49-66]
- \* John G. Stoessinger, Why Nations Go to War? (9th ed. 2004), chapter 10, pp.309-337

*Week 8 (March 3): Last meeting of seminar groups*

“The Identity Group and War”

- R - Barbara Ehrenreich, Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War (1997)
- RC - David Laitin, “Somalia: Civil War and International Intervention,” in Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention, Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., (1999), pp.146-180
- RC - Tanja Ellingson, “Colourful Community or Ethnic Witches’ Brew: Multi-ethnicity and Domestic Conflict during and after the Cold War,” Journal of Conflict Resolution 44 (April 2000), p.228-249
- RC - Ted Gurr, “Minorities, nationalists and ethno-political conflict,” chapter 4 in Chester Crocker and Fen Hampson, eds. Managing Global Chaos (1996), pp. 53-78

*Week 9 (March 10): Seminar group presentations and class discussion*

“Decisions to Go to War”

- \* Cashman, chapter 4, “Governmental Decision-Making,” pp. 77-123 passim
- R - George Quester, “Crises and the Unexpected,” in Robert Rotberg and Theodore Rabb, The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars, pp.127-145
- RC - Irving Janis, “Escalation and the Vietnam War,” in John Ikenberry, ed., American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays (1989), pp. 506-535

- R- David Welch et al, “The Cuban Missile Crisis,” in Robert J. Art and Kenneth Waltz, eds., The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics, (5<sup>th</sup> ed., 1999) chapter 13, pp.189-212

*Week 10 (March 17): Term paper due*

“Case Studies: World War One”

- R - James Joll, The Origins of the First World War (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1992), chapter 5, “The Primacy of Domestic Politics,” pp. 109-145
- \* Stoessinger, chapter 1, pp.1-23.
- R - Joseph Nye, “The Balance of Power and WWI,” in Joseph Nye, Understanding International Conflicts (4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2003), chapter 3, pp.57-82
- RC - Stephen Van Evera, “Why Cooperation Failed in 1914,” in Ken Oye, ed., Cooperation Under Anarchy, pp. 80-117

*Week 11 (March 24):*

“Case Studies: Post-Cold War Civil War – Yugoslavia, Somalia, Kosovo,”

- RC - Stuart Kaufman, “An International Theory of Inter-Ethnic War,” Review of International Studies 22 (April 1996), pp.149-172
- \* Stoessinger, chapter 5, “From Sarajevo to Kosovo,” pp.119-153
- Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, The Responsibility to Protect (2000), chapter 1, pp.1-9; chapter 2, pp.11-18; chapter 4, pp. 29-37; chapter 6, pp.47-55  
Access the e-text at: <http://www.iciss.ca>
- RC - Re-read Laitin (from Week 8)

*Week 12 (March 31):*

“Case Studies: War on Terrorism”

- RC - John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “An Unnecessary War,” Foreign Policy (Jan./Feb. 2003), pp. 51-59
- RC - Ulrich Beck, “The Silence of Words: On Terror and War,” Security Dialogue 34 (Sept. 2003), pp.255-267

- R - Brian Jenkins, chapter 4, "International Terrorism," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth Waltz, eds., The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics, (5<sup>th</sup> ed., 1999), pp. 70-77

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### 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 deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

**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](http://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: [www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf](http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf)

**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*.

**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.