

PSCI 3107A

**THE CAUSES OF WAR
Monday 11h35 – 14h25
Canal Building 3101**

Instructor: Andrea Charron
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Office Hours: Mondays 10h00 – 11h00
or by appointment

Course Description:

From its inception to the present day, the study of war has been a major preoccupation of the field of International Relations. 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 it has been a constant in history. The twentieth century, for example, has been described as the most murderous with an estimated 187 million battle-related deaths; the current century has not improved significantly and what is more, civilians are now the main targets of force.

The fundamental objective of this course is to familiarize students with a number of different theoretical perspectives on the origins of war especially inter-state forms. Throughout the semester, we will attempt to answer the question “why war” by examining some of the “great wars”.

This course follows the tradition of international relations in asking ‘Why War’, but in an age where total war, nuclear weapons, civil war, and terrorism seem to constantly change the definition of war. While the historical and ‘scientific’ approaches to war will be discussed, a critical approach will be taken to the study of war based on new types of warfare. The theme of this course is the exploration of the causes of the current and future wars and this necessitates an idea of what new wars may look like. From this starting point, we will assess a variety of theories and models of war, as well as looking to past historical cases and experiences.

The course will follow the traditional set of ‘images’ put forward by Kenneth Waltz in *Man, the State, and War* (1959); the individual, state, and systemic images. However, other levels of analysis models and theories that challenge these traditional ideas of war will also be explored. Lecture, discussion, class exercises and screening of relevant films will all contribute to an exploration of old and new ideas of the causes of war.

The instructor will present the course content primarily through lectures, which will occupy approximately half of the class. These lectures will generally cover the readings. The second half of the class will consist of a discussion or simulation, additional texts, or film dealing with the causes of war.

Specific Course Objectives:

1. To understand different theoretical perspectives on the causes of war and expand on ideas and theories discussed in PSCI 2601.
2. To encourage students to think critically about war and the consequences of war.
3. To provide a basis for further advanced study or specialization in the field of war studies and international relations.

Specific Course Aims:

By the end of the course, students will:

1. Understand some of the theoretical foundations of war;
2. Have critically reviewed a conflict via a film; and
3. Have improved their writing and critical thinking.

Requirements:

The two major course requirements are: 1) to write an analysis of a current conflict (choice of Libya 2011 or Iraq 2014) using Martha Finnemore's book, *The Purpose of Intervention* and 2) an evaluation of a film about war and provide an alternative critique on the reason(s) for the war not explored by the film. The book review/conflict analysis is due 2 November 2015 and the film review is due not later than 2:30 p.m., Monday 7 December 2015. Early submissions are welcome. Late submissions will lose a letter grade for each 24 hours after deadline. The film review will not be accepted after **4 p.m., Wednesday 9 December**. Note, marking rubrics are available on cuLEARN.

Each student will make one oral presentation of 15-20 minutes over the course of the term and lead a discussion on the topic for that class. The format for this presentation may vary but should promote discussion.

The breakdown of marks is as follows:

- Outline for film and book/conflict review: 10% (5% each due 5 October and 19 October)
- Midterm in-class test: 25% (due 9 November)
- Book/Conflict Review: 35% (due 2 November)
- Film Review/Alternate Reason: 30% (due 7 December)

Readings:

The weekly readings provide students with a base knowledge of the background, structures and issues relevant to analyzing war. Required readings are identified below. Supplementary readings provide an initial research list for future study and developing presentations. The instructor will provide advice and guidance on supplementary sources. Students are expected to undertake critical research paying particular attention to primary sources in preparing presentations and assignments; they are also expected to apply the usual academic standards in evaluating research materials.

One text is required for the course (available at the bookstore) and other readings (see below) are recommended as supplementary reading. The required and recommended readings were chosen

for three reasons: they are touchstone academic works of the field of study, provide baseline information and/or serve as introductions to a range of scholarly and diverse literature. All readings listed here -- with some exceptions -- are available on the Internet, in the library or at the bookstore or on cuLEARN.

The **required** text is:

- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*. (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Although not required, the following are **recommended** for their relevance to course topics:

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (Columbia University Press, 2001).

Margaret Macmillan, *The War that Ended Peace: The Road to 1914* (London: Profile Books, 2014).

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd Edition (Toronto: Pearson 1999).

SCHEDULE OF SEMINAR WORK AND READINGS

▪ **Introduction**

Friday September 4 Introductions, preliminary perspectives and administrative matters
How do we measure war?

Readings: Familiarize yourself with the links below

Correlates of War at <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>

Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO), see data at <http://www.prio.no/Data/>

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) at <http://www.sipri.org/>
especially "yearbook"

Uppsala Conflict Data Program at <http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/search.php>

Graduate Institute of Geneva at
http://graduateinstitute.ch/Jahia/site/political_science/cache/offonce/Bhavnani_datasets;jsessionid=E6845CAB43D4594DEAFE1E86B607C817

Transparency International at <http://www.transparency.org/>

UN Human Development Index at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>

September 14 Concepts, terms and issues

How do we define war? What is the difference between “old” war and “new” war?

Readings:

Jeremy Black “What is War”, *RUSI Journal* 152(6) (2007): 42- 45.

Singer, J. David “Review: International Conflict: Three Levels of Analysis” *World Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 3. (Apr., 1960), pp. *selected*

(Read Finnemore Chapter 1: The Purpose of Force and Chapter 2: Sovereign Default and Military Intervention)

Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

September 21: First Image: War and the Individual

Christopher Scott McClure, “War, Madness and Death: The Paradox of Honor in Hobbes’ Leviathan”, *The Journal of Politics*, 76(1) (January 2014): 114-125.

Arash Abizadeh, “Hobbes on the Causes of War: A Disagreement Theory” *American Political Science Review*, 105(2), (May 2011): 298-315.

(Read Finnemore Chapter 3. Changing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention and Chapter 4. Intervention and International Order)

Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

September 28 State - Level I

What are the common “rational” explanations for states to go to war? (Might makes right)

Jeffrey Collins, “A Continent in Carnage”, *Wall Street Journal*, 2 Oct 2009. Found at <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204518504574421491396620838.html#articleTabs%3Darticle>

Wilson’s 14 point speech revisited

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp

Covenant of the League of Nations found at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp
(not esp. Articles 10 - 16)

(Read Finnemore Chapter 5: How Purpose Changes by now and determined how to apply Finnemore's purpose of intervention to either the intervention in Libya (2011) or Iraq (2014)).

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

October 5 State-Level II

Outline for Finnemore/Conflict Review due

What are the factors that may prevent a state from going to war? Authority and democracy?

Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 97, No. 4, Nov. 2003): 585-602.

Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance", *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August 1999) 78(4): 36-44.

Video: The Peacekeepers

- Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

October 12 Thanksgiving No Class

October 19 The International System and War

Outline for Film review due

Systemic (neo)realist theories, alliances, balance of power, hegemony and polarity, power transition, cycles

John G. Ikenberry, "The Enduring Power of the Liberal Order" *Foreign Affairs*, May 2014, Vol. 93 Issue 3: 80-90.

John Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine is the West's fault", *Foreign Affairs*, (Sep/Oct 2014): 77 – 89.

Weldes, Jutta. Constructing National Interests. *European Journal of International Relations* 2 no 3 (September 1986): 275 – 318. (skim)

Video: John Mearsheimer, "Why China Cannot Rise Peacefully", CIPS (26 October 2012) found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CXov7MkgPB4>

Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

October 26 Fall BREAK (NO CLASSES)

Work on Book Review
Watch your film

November 2 Perception and Bureaucracies

Book/Conflict Review Due

Perception and misperception, bureaucratic politics, groupthink, intelligence, and crises

Jervis, Robert. "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics*, 20:3 (April 1968): 454-479 (skim)

Graham Allison and Mortin Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications" *World Politics*, Vol. 24,(Spring 1972): 40-79. (skim)

Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

November 9 New War I Civil, Ethnic, Religious War

Types of civil wars, ethnic conflicts, religion and war

Midterm Test to cover up to 26 October.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?," *World Politics* 54 (October 2001): 99-118.

Charles King, "The Myth of Ethnic Warfare: Understanding Conflict in the Post-Cold War World" *Foreign Affairs*, 80(6) (2001): 165-170.

Ron E Hassener and Michael C. Horowitz, "Correspondence: Debating the Role of Religion in War" *International Security*, Volume 35, Number 1, Summer 2010, pp. 201-208.

Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

Consider attending a Remembrance Day Ceremony on 11 November.

November 16 Feminism, Decolonisation and Terrorism

Non-traditional thought on the causes of war, the military-industrial complex

John Mueller. "The Atomic Terrorist: Assessing the Likelihood." Paper prepared for the University of Chicago. Jan. 15, 2008. <http://polisci.osu.edu/faculty/jmueller>

Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism: New Rules for an Old Game", *Foreign Affairs*. Vol.75(5) (September/October 1996): 24 – 36.

Karen Beckwith, "Enloe's *Bananas Beaches & Bases: Making feminist sense of international politics.* (London : Pandora, 1989)" *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Feb., 1991), pp. 290-292.

Paul Moorecraft, "Rhodesia's War of Independence", *History Today* Volume 40 Issue 9 September 1990: 11-17.

Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

November 23 Just War, Humanitarian War, Preventative War

Pre-emption, prevention and legal and humanitarian reasons for war

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, Responsibility to Protect found at <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf> XI - XIII

Chapter VII, UN Charter of the UN found at www.un.org

Article 5, North Atlantic Treaty Organization found at www.nato.int

"War and International Law" found at <http://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/overview-war-and-law.htm>

Presenters:

#1 _____ #2 _____ #3 _____

November 30 Understanding Future War?

What will be the "future" of war? Would Hobbes still recognize it? Is it inevitable?

P.W. Singer, "The Future of War", *Popular Science* (July 2015): 47-51.

Elias Groll and Margaret Slattery, "The Future of War", *Foreign Policy Survey* (May/April 2013): 1 – 3).

December 7 Concluding Questions Film Review Due Today

Wrapup and review of key questions

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

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 University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

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.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline. Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).