

PSCI 3107A
The Causes of War
Friday 11:35a.m. – 2:25 p.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Dr. Brian C. Schmidt
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Course Description and Objectives

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 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 different theoretical perspectives on the origins of large-scale inter-state 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. To help sort through the 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 addition to reviewing the theoretical literature on the cause of war, we will also examine a few specific cases such as World War I, World War II, the Cold War, and the Iraq War. The research paper that you are required to complete will result in you becoming an expert in a specific war of your choosing. We will also review a number of videos to illustrate some of the major themes of the course. The course concludes with a brief investigation of 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 three required texts for the course. All of the texts 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 and other on-line resources that are available through the Carleton University library website (<http://catalogue.library.carleton.ca>).

Students are expected to complete all of the assigned reading prior to attending 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. Dale Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Cornell University Press, 2000).
3. Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

Course Requirements

Your final grade will be determined on the following basis:

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|-------------------------------------|-----|
| • Short Quizzes | 15% |
| • Research Paper Proposal (Oct. 12) | 10% |
| • Research Paper (Nov. 23) | 35% |
| • Final Exam (Dec. 6 – 19) | 40% |

Explanations

Short Quizzes: There will be approximately five unannounced short quizzes. 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. Your overall quiz average will constitute 15% of your grade. At least one quiz will be administered prior to October 12, 2012.

You do have the option of completing a short, two-page review of one of the videos that I will be showing in class. The review of the video should include an explicit attempt to connect the content of the video to the theme of the lecture and the assigned reading. The grade that you receive on your movie review can be used to replace one of your quiz grades. If you select this option, the movie review is due one week after the video was shown in class.

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 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 **October 12, 2012**. 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).

In compliance with the Faculty of Public Affairs Early Feedback Guidelines, the paper proposal will be returned to you on October 19, 2012.

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 November 23, 2012.** In order to receive credit for taking the course, you must submit a research paper; if you do not submit a research paper you will automatically fail the course. A more detailed description of the paper assignment is attached to this syllabus.

You are responsible for personally handing me your paper in class on November 23, 2012. The Political Science drop box is intended to collect late assignments only if you have extenuating circumstances and are unable to submit the paper directly to me in class. Please be aware that the drop box is emptied every weekday at 4 p.m. and all items collected at that time are date-stamped with the day's date. All papers handed to me after 4 p.m. on November 23, 2012 will be considered late and will be downgraded one letter-grade category per day (e.g. a B+ paper, one day late, will receive a B) and this includes weekends.

Final Exam: The final exam will test your knowledge of all the major theories, ideas, concepts, and wars 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 (Dec. 6 - 19).

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. For example, a B+ paper, one day late, will receive a B.

Course Schedule

*(R) on reserve in the library

Week 1 (Sept. 7) Course Introduction

Week 2 (Sept. 14) Explaining and Understanding War

Waltz, Preface, ch. 1.

Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, ch. 1
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)

Video: Deadly Game of Nations

Week 3 (Sept. 21) Image I: Individuals as the Cause of War

Waltz, chs. 2 and 3
Daniel Byman and Kenneth Polack "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesmen Back In," *International Security* (Vol. 25, No. 4, 2001): 107-46.(R)

Video: Inside the Mind of Adolf Hitler

Week 4 (Sept. 28) Rational and Irrational Decision-making

Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, chs. 5-6.
John Stoessinger, *Why Nations Go to War, 10th ed.*, ch. 10 (R)
Jack Levy, "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems," *World Politics* (Vol. 36, No. 1, Oct.1983), pp.76-99. (R)

Video: The Fog of War

Week 5 (Oct. 5) No Class (University Day)

Week 6 (Oct. 12) Image II: Domestic Politics and War

Waltz, chs. 4-5.
Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, ch. 4.

Video: Truth, War and Consequences

Week 7 (Oct. 19) Democracy and War/Dyadic Interactions

Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, chs. 3, 4 (104-117)
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)

Week 8 (Oct. 26) Realism and War

Waltz: chs. 6 and 7
Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, ch. 2
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. 4 (Spring 1988), pp. 615-628. (R)

Week 9 (Nov. 2) Structural Realism and Dynamic Differentials Theory

Copeland, *The Origins of Major War*, Introduction, chs. 1-2

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. 4 (Spring 1988), pp. 591-613. (R)

John J. Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) (R)

Video: Six Days in June

Week 10 (Nov. 9) World War I and World War II

Copeland, *The Origins of Major War*, chs. 3-5

John Stoessinger, *Why Nations Go to War*, 10th ed., ch. 1 (R)

Video: *The Great War: Explosion and Stalemate*

Week 11 (Nov. 16) Cold War and Civil War

Copeland, *The Origins of Major War*, ch. 6

Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, ch. 7

John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace," *International Security* (Vol. 10, No. 4, Spring 1986), pp. 1-44 (R)

Week 12 (Nov. 23) The Iraq War

Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. 118, No. 3, 2003) (R)

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2003) (R)

Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "What to do about Iraq," *The Weekly Standard* (January 21, 2002) (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)

Video: *The World According to Bush*

Week 13 (Nov. 30)

Just War Theory

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

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

Research Paper Assignment

The writing assignment asks you to choose and study a war that you find interesting. Since 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 the cause of war that you have encountered during the semester? 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 that you have selected to your specific case and assess how well the historical details of the 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 be sure to avoid the tendency of turning 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 must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. 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 assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by (*November 9th, 2012 for December examinations and March 8th, 2013 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 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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

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

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

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.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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 in the after-hours academic life 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, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, 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.