
IR 222: PREVENTIVE WARS

Semester: Fall 2009**Lectures:** Thu: 02:00 PM—4:40 PM**Location:** Hylan 206**Office Hours:** Tue./Thur. 11 AM-12 PM**Instructor:** Thomas Chadeaux**E-mail:** tchade@ur.rochester.edu**Office:** 327 Harkness Hall**Phone:** 585-275-0620

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Prevention is perhaps the most common justification for war. Both world wars, and more recently the invasion of Iraq and concerns over China's economic and military rise, illustrate its historical and present relevance. In this seminar, we analyze the theory, history, and practice of preventive wars – wars fought to avoid negotiating in a position of weakness in the future. When and why do states fight them, and what lessons can we draw from history to avoid them in the future?

GRADING

<i>Examination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight</i>
Class participation	Participation to discussions / questions.	35%
Class Presentations	Present a point of view on one of the subjects proposed and lead the debate against members of the other team.	10%
Summaries (4)	Summarize one paper (additional reading) and present it to the class.	10%
Final Paper	Essay on a subject of your choice, to be discussed with me (about 10 pages), due before thanksgiving break	25%
Final Exam	Written, in class. 6 short questions+ 1 short essay.	20%

Short questions aim to test your knowledge. Any fact or concept covered in the class or the readings can be asked. Answers need only be a few sentences long, half a page at most.

Examples of short questions:

- What is appeasement?
- What is the difference between a preventive and a preemptive war?
- What are the main accomplishments of the Washington naval agreement?

The short essay will test your understanding of concepts and their relationships. Your answer should be around three hand-written pages.

Examples of short essay:

- Is the 2003 Iraq war a preventive war? Discuss
- Can preventive wars be just?

TEXTBOOKS / READING MATERIAL

Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press

COURSE OUTLINE

PART I: THEORY

SEMINAR 1 – 09/03 – PRESENTATION & OVERVIEW

SEMINAR 2 – 09/10 – WHY STUDY WAR AND HOW TO STUDY IT?

Trends

- [Gleditsch, Wallensteen, Eriksson, Sollenberg and Strand. 2002. Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset. *Journal of peace* 39\(5\):615—637](#)
- [Mearsheimer, John. 1990. Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War. *International Security*.](#)
- Carl Kaysen, "Is War Obsolete?" in Lynn-Jones, *Cold War and After*, pp. 81-103

How to study it?

- [Gartzke, Eric. 1999. War is in the Error Term. *International Organization*.](#)

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "The Contribution of Expected Utility Theory to the Study of International Conflict," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 53-76.

SEMINAR 3 – 09/17 – CLASSICAL THEORIES OF WAR

- [Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan. Ch. 13](#)
- Morgenthau, Hans. 2005. *Politics Among Nations*. McGraw-Hill. Ch. 1
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Chap. 1
- Waltz. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. McGraw-Hill
- Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press. Chapters 2
- Cashman. 1993. *What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict*. Lexington Books. Ch. 8

SEMINAR 4 – 09/24 – BARGAINING AND WAR

- Powell, Robert. 1999. *In the Shadow of Power*. Princeton University Press. Ch. 3, 4 (make your best effort at understanding the models, but focus more on the text).
- Fearon, James. 1995. Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization*.
- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale, 1966), ch. 2 (pp. 35—92)

SEMINAR 5 – 10/01 – PREVENTIVE AND PREEMPTIVE WAR THEORIES

- Organski. 1968. *World Politics*. Knopf.
- Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," *World Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (October 1987), pp. 82-107.
- Robert Gilpin. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 156-185 ("Equilibrium and Decline") and 186-210 ("Hegemonic Change and War.")
- Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press. Chapter 4
- Dan Reiter, "Exploding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen." *International Security* 20 (Fall 1995): 5-34
- Powell, Robert. 2006. "War as a Commitment Problem". *International Organization*.

SEMINAR 6 – 10/08 – ARMS RACES / OFFENSE-DEFENSE

- Randolph M. Siverson and Paul F. Diehl, "Arms Races, the Conflict Spiral, and the Onset of War," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 195-218. A criticism of the argument that arms races cause war
- Powell, Robert. 1999. *In the Shadow of Power*. Princeton University Press. Ch. 2
- Samuel P. Huntington, "Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 3rd ed. (NY: University Press of America, 1988), pp. 637-670
- Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* Vol. 30, No. 2 (January 1978), pp. 167-214. (skim)
- Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press. Ch. 3, 6

SEMINAR 7 – 10/15 – AVOIDING PREVENTIVE WARS AND ENDING THE WAR

- Ziegler, David. 1981. *War, Peace and International Politics*. Boston: Little, Brown. Chapter 15 ("Disarmament"), pp. 249-267, and chapters 8, 11 ("World Government," "Collective Security,") pp. 127-45, 179-203.
- Richard Smoke. 1977. *War: Controlling Escalation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Jacob Bercovitch and David Wells. 1993. "Evaluating Mediation Strategies: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis," *Peace and Change*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 3-25.
- Princen, Thomas. *Intermediaries in International Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Luttwak. 1999. Give War a Chance. *Foreign Affairs*

SEMINAR 8 – 10/22 – DOMESTIC POLITICS AND PREVENTIVE WAR

Two-level games

- Levy, Jack S. 1989. "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman. pp. 259-288.

Militarism

- Volker R. Berghahn, *Militarism: The History of an International Debate 1861-1979* (NY: St. Martins, 1982)
- Richard Cobden, "The Three Panics," in Richard Cobden, *Political Writings of Richard Cobden* (London: 1887).

Bureaucracy

- Francis E. Rourke, *Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1972), pp. 18-40.

Propaganda

- Derek Shearer, "The Pentagon Propaganda Machine," in Leonard Rodberg and Derek Shearer, eds., *The Pentagon Watchers* (NY: Anchor, 1970), pp. 99-142.

SEMINAR 9 – 10/29 – ETHICS: CAN PREVENTIVE WARS BE JUST?

- *New York Times*. 2004. Preventive War: A Failed Doctrine. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/12/opinion/12sun1.html>
- Doyle, Michael and Stephen Macebo. 2008. *Striking First. Preemption and Prevention in International Conflict*. Princeton University press
- Bellamy, Alex. 2006. *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq*. Polity. pp. 158—180
- Hensel, Howard. 2008. *The Legitimate Use of Military Force*. Ashgate. pp. 99-117

SEMINAR 10 – 11/05 – CIVIL WARS

- Sisk, Timothy D. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
- Montville, Joseph V. 1991. *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. NY: Lexington Books
- Kumar, Radha. 1997. "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1, pp. 22-34.
- [Fearon, James. 2004. Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others? *Journal of Peace Research*.](#)

PART II: CASE STUDIES

SEMINAR 11 – 11/12 – WARS UP TO WWI

The Pelopponesian War

- Thucydides, *The Pelopponesian War*, pp. 35-108, 118-164, 212-223, 400-429, 483-488, 516-538.

The Seven-years war

- Palmer, R.R. & Joel Colton. 1991. *A History of the Modern World*. 7th ed. NY: Knopf. pp. 273-285, ("The Great War of the Mid-Eighteenth Century.").
- Smoke, Richard. 1977. *War: Controlling Escalation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 195-236 ("The Seven Years War").

The Crimean War

- Palmer, R.R. & Joel Colton. 1991. *A History of the Modern World*. 7th ed. NY: Knopf. pp. 544-546 ("The Crimean War").
- Smoke, Richard. 1977. *War: Controlling Escalation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 147-194 ("The Crimean War").

The Wars of German Unification

- Ziegler, War, Peace & IR, Chapter 1, "The Wars for German Unification," (pp. 7-20)

SEMINAR 12 – 11/19 – WWI AND WWII

World War I

Required Reading:

- James Joll, *Origins of the First World War* (NY: Longman, 1984), chapter 2, pp. 9-34.
- Fergusson, Niall. 1999. *The Pity of War*.
- Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, pp. xi-xix, 20-108.
- Van Evera, ch. 7

Additional Readings

- Martin Kitchen, *The German Officer Corps, 1890-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), Chapters 5 and 6, pp. 96-142 ("The Army and the Idea of Preventive War," and "The Army and the Civilians.")
- Walter Consuelo Langsam, "Nationalism and History in the Prussian elementary Schools Under William II," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *Nationalism and Internationalism* (NY: Columbia U. Press 1950), pp. 241-260.
- Imanuel Geiss, *German Foreign Policy, 1871-1914*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. vii-ix, 75-83, 106-181; focus on pp. 121-127, 142-150.

World War II

Required Reading:

- R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* 7th ed. (NY: Knopf, 1991), pp. 798-799, 822-849.
- Sebastian Haffner, *The Meaning of Hitler*, pp. 3-165.
- Wolfram Wette, "From Kellogg to Hitler (1928-1933). German Public Opinion Concerning the Rejection or Glorification of War," in Wilhelm Deist, ed., *The German Military in the Age of Total War* (Dover: Berg, 1985), pp. 71-99.

Additional Readings

- Scott Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, ed., *The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 323-352.
- Jonathan G. Utley, *Going to War with Japan 1937-1941* (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 151-156.
- Waldo Heinrichs, *The Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 141-142, 177, 246-247 (note 68).

11/26 – THANKSGIVING BREAK

SEMINAR 13 – 12/03 – 1945 - PRESENT

To be discussed in class

SEMINAR 14 – 12/10 – REVIEW AND CONCLUSION

LECTURE POLICIES

LATE WORK POLICY

The following penalties may be applied for late work:

- Work submitted 1-2 calendar days AFTER its due date may be graded down a maximum of 10%.
- Works submitted 3-6 calendar days AFTER its due date may be graded down a maximum of 20%.
- Work submitted 7-21 days AFTER its due date may be graded down a maximum of 30%.

- Work submitted more than 21 days AFTER its due date will receive an automatic zero.

PAPER SUBMISSIONS

Your paper should include:

A title page with an abstract. This page should contain: the paper's title and your name; the date, course number and the name of the assignment (e.g., "Final paper").

The paper itself should be double-spaced, 1" margins on all sides, 12 pt font size, and right-justified. There should be no spaces between paragraphs within the paper.

A references page (APA style). Sources should be alphabetized by the author's last name (or, for sources without authors, by the first letter in the title).