

## Political Science/IR 278W: War and Political Violence

Thomas M. Dolan, Instructor

Fall Semester 2009

Class: Gavet 312, MWF 11:00-11:50 AM

Office Hours: Friday, 9-11 AM and by appointment; Office is 232 Harkness Hall

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This class addresses several key questions about war: How do states decide how to fight a war? Why do wars end when they do? How should we think about the nature of war? We will delve into these issues by addressing the theoretical and empirical literature on how wars are fought and how they are ended. Readings will include both classics of military theory by the likes of Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, and Mao, and work on the nature of war and war termination by modern political scientists. Then we will address non-traditional forms of political violence like guerilla warfare and insurgency, civil wars, terrorism, and rioting. The domestic politics of war-fighting, particularly those involving public opinion will also be examined, as will some of the challenges of conflict resolution.

### Goals

The presentation of this course, and the evaluation of students' efforts in it, will be tailored to the following aims:

- Students will acquire an understanding of the politics of war, with particular emphasis on political decisions about strategy, the politics of pursuing war, and war termination.
- Students will develop their powers of political and social analysis, with an emphasis on logical argument and the effective use of evidence in drawing conclusions.
- Students will develop their faculties in writing and speaking about politics and political phenomena.

*Please note that none of these goals involve the advancement of anyone's political or policy opinions (including those of the instructor). While I encourage political activity and the fulfillment of one's citizenship duties outside of the classroom, a political science course is not a proper forum for the airing of one's personal politics.*

### Course Design

This course involves a combination of class seminars, directed readings, papers, a final exam, and opportunities for informal discussion during office hours. Each part serves a purpose, be it information transmission and retention, promoting rigorous analysis, or encouraging the development of new ideas. Failing to engage with all parts will diminish the return on your efforts. For this reason, pre-class preparation is essential for this course. Students are expected to have read and considered the assigned material prior to the course, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Questions are placed beneath each reading to help focus your attention to what the instructor believes are the most important points. Please remember that that the material of the course is delivered in *both* texts and in-class discussion, which means that the texts contain valuable ideas and information which may not be specifically addressed in class, and discussions and lectures will go beyond the readings. You are responsible for understanding both, so please be sure to raise questions about things you are unsure about.

## Assignments and Evaluation

**In-Class Participation, 10%** Your active participation in class is necessary if this class is to be a successful learning experience. This means you must come in having read the assignments and join in the class-room discussion of them, making evident that you have read and thought about them. You should expect to make at least one comment every week or so. While attendance is not graded as such, excessive truancy can affect this grade, since you are unable to participate when absent.

\*Excused absences, regardless of duration, will not affect this grade.

\*\*Incivility toward fellow students during seminar can negatively affect this grade.

**Historical Paper (20%) and Presentation (10%), Due on presentation day**, a 7-8 page paper analyzing the key political decisions taken by a belligerent in a war (or other political violence) approved for study by your instructor. During class that day, each war will be discussed in turn, and those writing on that war must present their findings as a group. Focus particularly on decisions to start a war, any changes in aims or strategy, and terminate it.

**Response Papers [1 page], #1: no later than 5 October; # 2, after fall break, no later than 2 December, each 5%**

Respond to a reading. Include a brief but effective summary and a meaningful critique of the piece. Papers are due on the day the reviewed reading is due.

**Term Paper (30%)** Due 6 December, a 12-14 page paper investigating a topic relevant to the course. Topics are due on 16 November, and **Must** be explicitly approved by the instructor.

**Final Exam (20%) Sunday 20 December at 12:30**

*Assignments are to be turned in by class time on the day they are due. They should be in hardcopy unless unforeseen circumstances prevent printing them in or handing them in a timely manner. For every 24 hours that pass thereafter, 5% of credit is lost, to a maximum of 40% lost.*

*Exams are to be sat at the date and time specified, unless prior approval has been given or a doctor's excuse is submitted at the next attended class meeting. Exams should be sat within 1 week of the general administration of the exam.*

## Grades

Grades are assigned to both individual pieces of work and cumulatively. The grade scale I use for both is below (note that "g" refers to the numerical grade you receive). I do not usually curve grades, but reserve the right to do so if I deem it necessary. All material is graded on its own terms, rather than through comparison with other students' work. For the cumulative grades, I do not round: what you get is what you get.

100>g≥93: A	90>g≥88: B+	80>g≥78: C+	70>g≥68: D+	60>g: E
	88>g≥83: B	78>g≥73: C	68>g≥63: D	
93>g≥90: A-	83>g≥80: B	73>g≥70: C-	63>g≥60: D	

Cheating and plagiarism are, of course, unacceptable in academic work, and when suspected will be pursued through the appropriate university channels. Proper citations and standards of integrity are not optional. If you have questions about what this means, please ask the instructor.

### **Changes to the Syllabus:**

In the event that there is a need for there to be any changes to the syllabus, an e-mail will be sent to all students' e-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar), and will be mentioned in class at two class meetings. Changes become effective immediately after their second mention in class, or the sending of the e-mail, whichever comes last.

**Cancellation of Class:** In the event that the instructor needs to cancel class, an e-mail will be sent to all students' e-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar) prior to class time.

### **Readings**

*Purchase:*

Sun Tzu's *Art of War*. Any Version.

I will be using

Sun-tzu, (2003) *The Art of War*. Minford, J., trans. Penguin Classics, deluxe edition

All other readings are available on-line through blackboard at my.rochester.edu

### **Schedule of Readings**

#### **2 September: Introduction**

(No Readings)

#### **Section 1: What is War?**

4 September: NO CLASS (APSA Annual Meetings)

7 September: NO CLASS (Labor Day)

#### **What is a working definition of war? What is the nature of war?**

9 September

Reading from Wright, Q. (1941) *A Study of War*.

11 September

Clausewitz, C. (1976/1993). *On War*. M. Howard and P. Paret, eds./trans. New York: Everymans Library. Book 1.

14 September

Reading from John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*. Vintage Books, 1993.

Jack Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture: Insights from the Anthropology of War," *International Organization* 56:1, pp. 7-45.

Recommended:

R. Harrison Wagner, *War and the State*. University of Michigan Press, 2007.

#### **Why Do Leaders Start Wars?**

16 September

Reading from Blainey, G. (1973) *The Causes of War*. New York: Free Press.

18 September

Peter Lieberman, "Punitiveness and US Elite Support for the 1991 Gulf War" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 51, #1 (February 2007), pp. 3-32.

Recommended:

Fearon, J. (1995) "Rationalist Expectations for War," *International Organization*.49:3, pp. 379-414.

Johnston, D. (2004) *Overconfidence and War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Section 2: Fighting Wars

**The Nature of Strategy and the Uses of Arms in Politics**

21 September

Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*. (Any Version)

23 September

Reading from Schelling, T. (1966) *Arms and Influence*.

Reading from Luttwak, E. (2001) *Strategy: The Logic of Peace and War* (Revised and Enlarged edition).

Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Recommended:

Liddell Hart, B. (1954) *Strategy*. New York: Praeger.

Jomini, A. H. *The Art of War*. W.P. Mendhall, trans.

Betts, R. (2000) "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security*.

**Conventional Warfare**

*Conventional Ground Strategies*

25 September

Reading from Mearsheimer, J. (1984) *Conventional Deterrence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Recommended:

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power*. Princeton University Press, 2004.

*Thin Red Line*, Fox 2000 Pictures, 1998

*Patton*. Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp. 1970.

*Naval Power*

28 September

Julian Corbett, *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy*. Part II, "Theory of Naval War," available at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15076/15076-h/15076-h.htm>

Recommended:

Owen Cote, *The Third Battle: Innovation in the Navy's Silent Cold War Struggle with Soviet Submarines*. Newport: Paper #16, US Naval War College Press, 2003. Available online through the library catalogue.

*Das Boot*. Bavaria Film, 1982. Watch it in German with the subtitles, it's better than the English dubbing.



### *Air Power*

30 September

Reading from Tami Davis Biddle, *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare*, Princeton University Press, 2002.  
Pape, R. (2004) "The True Worth of Air Power," *Foreign Affairs*. March, p. 116.

#### Recommended:

Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 1996.

#### Optional Movie Showing:

*Twelve O'clock High*, Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation, 1949.

### **Guerilla Warfare and Insurgencies**

2 October

Reading from Mao, *On Guerilla Warfare*.

5 October: NO CLASS, FALL BREAK

7 October

Reading from Galula, D. (1965) *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*.

#### Recommended:

Lawrence, T. E. (1920) "Evolution of a Revolt"

US Army/US Marine Corps Counter-Insurgency Manual

Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars" *International Security*, 2001

Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars," *World Politics*, 1975

Trinquier, R. (1965) *Modern Warfare*.

*Battle of Algiers*. 1966. Igor Film

*Lawrence of Arabia*. 1962. Horizon Pictures.

### **Tactics**

9 October.

Do the handout.

#### Recommended:

E. D. Swinton, The Defence of Duffer's Drift,

<http://www-cgsc.army.mil/carl/resources/csi/Swinton/Swinton.asp>

E. Rommel, *Infantry Attacks*.

### **War Presentations (12 and 14 October)**

### **Section 3: Other Kinds of Political Violence**

#### **Terrorism**

16 October

Pape, R. (2003) "The Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*. 97:3, p. 343.

19 October

Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Summer 2006.

### **Civil War**

21 October

Reading from Kalyvas, S. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

23 October

Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, Summer 1997

#### Recommended:

Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton University Press, 1970.

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97:1 (Feb 2003), pp. 75-90.

Nicholas Sambanis, "What is a Civil War?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48:6, (2004)

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "On Economic Causes of Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 50 (1998) pp. 563-73.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (2004), pp. 563-595.

### **Ethnic Violence and Riots**

26 October

Reading from David Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, University of California Press, 2001.

28 October

Reading from Roger Peterson, *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Reading from Paul Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, University of Washington Press, 2003.

30 October

John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War,'" *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer, 2000), pp. 42-70

#### Recommended:

Reading from Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale University Press, 2002.

### **Genocide**

2 November

Staub, E. (1989) *The Psychology of Good and Evil: Why Children, Adults, and Groups Help and Harm Others*. Cambridge UP. Ch. 21.

### **Political Violence Presentations (4-6 November)**

#### **Section 4: Politics of On-going Wars**

#### **Evaluating Success and Failures**

9 November

Reading from Gartner, S. (1997) *Strategic Assessment in War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

11 November

Reading from Welch. D. (2005) *Painful Choices*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.



## **Public Opinion**

13 November

Mueller, J. (1971) "Trends in Popular Support for the Wars in Korea and Vietnam," *American Political Science Review*, 65: 2, p. 385

16 November

Gelpi, C., P. Feather, and J. Reifler. (2005/6) "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq," *International Security*. 30:3, pp. 7-44.

### Recommended:

Peter Lieberman, "An Eye for an Eye: Public Support for War against Evildoers," *International Organization*, Vol. 60 (Summer 2006), pp. 687-722.

Giangreco, D. (2009) *Hell to Pay*. Naval Institute Press.

## **Civil-Military Relations, Mutinies, Coups, and Desertion**

18 November

Reading from Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor, *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf*. Little, Brown, and Co., 1995.

Bob Woodward, "The War Within" Articles 1-3, *The Washington Post*, 7-9 September 2008.

20 November

Readings from Hans Mommsen, *Alternatives to Hitler: German Resistance under the Third Reich*. Princeton University Press, 2000.

Statements of Lt. Cols. Ida and Takeshita. *Statements of Japanese Leaders, US Army Historical Service*. (Scans from the microfilmed version).

23 November

E. Shils and M. Janowitz. (1948) "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol 12, # 2, p. 280-

### Encouraged:

*Valkyrie*, United Artists, 2008

### Recommended:

Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Harvard University Press, 1957.

Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime*. Free Press, 2002.

War poetry set (see Blackboard)

Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

## **Section 5: Termination, Settlement, and the End of Wars**

### **Picking Aims, Talking, and Making the Agreement**

25 November

Reading from Kecskemeti, P. (1958) *Strategic Surrender*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter 1

30 November

Reading from Goemans, H. (2000) *War and Punishment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

2 December

Reading from Ikle, F. (1971) *Every War Must End*.

Recommended:

Bueno de Mesquita, B., et al. (1999) "An Institutional Explanation for the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review*, 93: 4, p. 791.

Slantchev, B. (2003b). "The Principle of Convergence in Wartime Negotiations," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 4, pp. 621-632.

**Losing**

4 December

Reading from D. Johnson and D. Tierney, *Failing to Win*. Harvard.

Reading from Schivelbusch, W. (2003) *Culture of Defeat*.

Recommended:

Downs, G. and D. Rocke, (1992) "Conflict, Agency, and Gambling for Resurrection," *American Political Science Review*. 38:2, pp. 362-80.

**Brokers and Peacemakers**

7 December

Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, 94:4, 2000.

**The special case of atomic warfare (24 April)**

9 December

Reading from Herman Kahn, *On Escalation*, 1965.

**The End of War?**

11 December

Reading from John Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*, Basic Books, 1990.

**Final Exam:** SUNDAY 20 December, 12:30 PM

## Other great books and movies about war and political violence that you may not have encountered

### Movies:

*All Quiet on the Western Front*

*Mrs. Miniver*—see war propaganda at its Oscar-winning best!

*Zulu*

*Bridge on the River Kwai*

*Letters from Iwo Jima*

### Books:

Thomas Schelling, *Strategy of Conflict*

Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution*

T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, or, *Revolt in the Desert*

Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*

Charles De Gaulle, *The Edge of the Sword*

Bernard Brodie, *War and Politics*

Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*

Jean Larteguy, *The Centurions*

Andrew Exum, *This Man's Army*

Nate Fick, *One Bullet Away*

*US Army Ranger Handbook*

John Keegan, *The Face of Battle*

John Keegan, *The Mask of Command*

Martin Crevald, *Supplying War*

Pavel Sudoplatov, *Special Tasks*

### Other:

William Broyles, "Why Men Love War," *Esquire* 1984

[http://www.wsu.edu/~hughesc/why\\_men\\_love\\_war.htm](http://www.wsu.edu/~hughesc/why_men_love_war.htm)