

GVPT 409E
SEMINAR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS & WORLD POLITICS:
THEORIES OF WAR¹

Summer 2007 (Session 1)
4 June – 15 July

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

I welcome you to Government and Politics 409E Summer Session 1 – The Theories of War Online. This course introduces us to one of the most interesting, demanding, complex, and least understood events that occur throughout history: war. The subject of war has generated an immense literature covering anthropology, economics, sociology, and biology. Each discipline asks unique questions about war. Philosophers ask why humans choose war while strategists and tacticians ask how one can win a war. We will focus on the political science inquiries pertaining to the causes of war, which includes political psychology, nationalism, territory, and power. Additionally, we will also discuss some topics on deterring conflict, and the establishment of conditions conducive to peace. Since the subject matter is so demonstrably larger, we are unfortunately constrained in both the breadth and the depth to which we attempt to understand conflict in the international system.

We will not read much on the history of specific wars, the conduct of armies, the aftermaths of war, etc. Rather, our purpose is much grander, and thus much more elusive: what causes war to occur? What conditions favor conflict? Is war an inevitable outcome of international politics? Can we prevent war? Therefore, we shall focus our attention on understanding the arguments that explain why war occurs among states. We will move through the levels of analysis, i.e., the individual, the state, and the structure/system, to read various theories and explanations on the occurrence of war. About half way through the course, we then shift gears to topics such as deterrence, the democratic peace, and the theories on trade and conflict. The question will shift from the causes of war, to the prevention of war among states, and some of the more interesting and controversial ideas in international relations. While empirical evidence is important, our concern is the arguments of the individual authors and how they relate to one another.

I want to stress that this will be a reading intensive course. The average week will have 180 pages of primary scholarship, i.e. original articles and chapters, that will require sufficient time to read, reflect, and understand the arguments. I expect every student to spend a serious amount of time reading the articles and reviewing the arguments. Each week will also require several small quizzes to demonstrate your comprehension of the material and your abilities to synthesize it, as well as critical think about these explications of war. Given that we are interested in the theories of war, we must first understand what

¹ I reserve the right to make changes to the syllabi if necessary throughout term to the assignment schedule and/or reading list.

these theories tell us, how they fit together, and what disagreements exist among the authors. One of the benefits of teaching this as an online course is that you, the student, may choose your pace in reading the materials each week. Since we do not meet during the week, that is an additional six to seven hours that you can spend reading during a time that you find convenient. If you have questions about the articles, please do not hesitate to contact myself and/ or Jon Brown with your concerns.

I also want to stress that communication is of the utmost importance for all of us given that this is an online course. Please read (and reread) the syllabus carefully to understand all of the policies, assignments, and due dates for the course. If, *at any time*, you have questions, please consult with Jon Brown and me. To access the course online, please visit (<https://elms.umd.edu/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp>). If you cannot logon to the website, please contact me immediately and I will update the course.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

For this course, I have three learning objectives for us to accomplish.

1. We want to increase our familiarity and understanding of the political science literature on the subject of war. Though some scholars argue war will not/ cannot occur again among the Great Powers, part of that argument rests on us understanding why war would happen in order to prevent it. Thus, we must have some knowledge of why states choose. As we shall find, understanding war is a difficult process, yet an invaluable one.
2. In comprehending these arguments about war, we also want to think critically about what the authors are telling us, and whether those theories merit our attention. Evaluation allows us to move forward from simply understanding the arguments to asking serious questions about the logic and plausibility of the authors' theories. Each of us will find some theories compelling; others will not find them convincing and often times for good reasons. We must learn to articulate our reasons for supporting an argument, defending it against criticism, and to acknowledge the limitations as well as the areas of potential for the theories we read. We will analyze the evidence provided by the authors as additional evaluation of the arguments.
3. Finally, during the term we will work on writing skills through a number of assignments. Writing remains an essential component for *any profession*, not just those studying war and politics. For each portion of the course, I will provide feedback and suggestions on how to improve written projects.

GENERAL POLICIES

1. I will try to meet the needs of any student that arise out of either preexisting or new conditions, such as personal, social, physical, emotional or other impairments. Students must present an Accommodation Form if they are planning to use the Disability Support Service Office. A copy of the Accommodation Form should be on file in the Disability Support Service (DSS) Office, 0126 Shoemaker Bldg. (301) 314-7282: dss@umail.umd.edu
2. The University of Maryland, College Park has a nationally recognized code of Academic Integrity, administered by the Student Honor Council. This code sets standards for academic integrity at Maryland for all undergraduate and graduate students. As a student, you are responsible for upholding these standards for this course. All assignments must have this sentence on the front page: "*I pledge on my honor that I have not given or received any unauthorized assistance on this examination.*" It is important for you to be aware of the consequences of cheating, fabrication, facilitation, and plagiarism. For information on the code of Academic Integrity or the Student Honor Council, please visit: <http://www.studenthonorcouncil.umd.edu/whatis.html>

E-MAIL

I will routinely use email to send messages about class assignments, and relevant events related to class participation. I will check my e-mail twice a day, Monday through Thursday, once in the morning and again in the evening. If the questions require a longer than usual response, I may notify you that I will need some time to think and write an appropriate response to your inquiry. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, I will not guarantee a response to messages within 24 hours, but I shall do my best. Jon will have a separate policy on e-mail, and he will make his best effort to

If your address changes, update this information with the university by visiting <http://www.testudo.umd.edu/apps/saddr/>

BOOKS & READINGS

Text Books - Required: None

Readings – All required readings will be available through the University of Maryland Research Portal (<http://www.lib.umd.edu/>). I will post a majority of the articles on the website, but you will be required to search through the online research databases to find additional materials for your papers. I strongly suggest that for each reading you take some notes on the arguments presented by the authors. These brief summaries will help immensely with the quizzes and the final examination.

I will post a set of notes for each set of readings. These notes will be a brief 2 to 3 page outline of some broad themes that generally fall under the topic heading, but not sufficiently addressed in the literature provided. I suggest reading the notes after to the articles, as the notes will include some basic questions that you must be able to answer for quizzes and the final examination. Furthermore, I also suggest that you read the assignments in the order I have presented them on the syllabus. Let me stress that these notes will **not** be summary documents of the readings and they will **not** be a sufficient for the quizzes or the final exam. Instead, these notes should serve as a guide to make sure you understand the appropriate concepts from the reading and to elaborate some ideas that the authors did not discussed.

Recommended: I recommend the following texts as excellent introductions and reference guides to the writing and research process. Several of these texts are in newer editions, but it does not matter which edition that you possess. No matter what career you pursue, these books are invaluable.

- Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams. 1995. *The Craft of Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hacker, Diana. 1999. *A Writer's Reference*. New York: Bedford/ St. Martin's Press.
- Strunk Jr., William and E. B. White. 2000. *The Elements of Style*. Any Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Turabian, Kate L. 1996. *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

GRADES & EVALUATIONS

I will use a standard grading scale for this course (A ≥ 90%; B ≥ 80%; C ≥ 70%; D ≥ 60%; F ≤ 59%). I do not curve. The grade distribution for this semester is:

Weekly Quizzes = 5 Quizzes * 6%	= 30%
Final Exam	= 30%
Comparative Analysis	= 40%

ASSIGNMENTS

ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE

	<i>Beginning Date</i>	<i>Due Date</i>
<i>Quiz 1</i>	12:00 of Thursday, 7 June 2007	Midnight of Saturday, 9 June 2007
<i>Quiz 2</i>	12:00 of Thursday, 16 June 2007	Midnight of Saturday, 18 June 2007
<i>Quiz 3</i>	12:00 of Thursday, 21 June 2007	Midnight of Saturday, 23 June 2007
<i>Quiz 4</i>	12:00 of Thursday, 28 June 2007	Midnight of Saturday, 30 June 2007
<i>Quiz 5</i>	12:00 of Thursday, 5 July 2007	Midnight of Saturday, 7 July 2007
<i>Quiz 6</i>	12:00 of Thursday, 11 July 2007	Midnight of Saturday, 13 July 2007
<i>Comparative Analysis</i>	Start Soon!	Midnight of Saturday, 7 July 2007
<i>Final Exam</i>	12:00 of Wednesday, 10 July 2007	Midnight of Saturday, 13 July 2007

The chart above outlines the assignment schedule with beginning dates (i.e., the day I will release the assignment on Elms) and the due date. If you have a difficulty with a due date, please contact Jon Brown or myself. Please note that with the final examination and the Comparative Analysis, we will be firm with those deadlines as they constitute a major grading effort on our part and we have university deadlines to meet for turning in final course grades. Additionally, **YOU MAY TURN IN THE ASSIGNMENTS EARLY.**

QUIZZES

I require that you complete five quizzes for the course, each worth 6% totaling to 30% of the final grade. I will offer six quizzes throughout the semester. I will drop the lowest grade or you may choose to skip one without consequence. I strongly advise that you do the first five quizzes that way you can maximize your time on the final examination during the last weekend of the course. The quizzes will have ten questions. I will draw five questions from each set of readings covering the theoretical arguments and concepts. The questions may draw on the empirical evidence to illustrate the author's arguments, but only general empirical findings will be necessary for the quizzes. The questions will require that you have a solid understanding of the readings theoretical components.

I will distribute quizzes through the website by opening access to them on Thursday at noon, and you will have until midnight Saturday of that week to complete the quiz (Please see the brief schedule above for the deadlines and the Readings Schedule for a complete calendar). Quizzes will have a time limit of 75 minutes, so please be aware that once you start the quiz you should not leave it and come back to finish it.

FINAL EXAMINATION

I will distribute the Final Examination on Wednesday, 10 July 2007 and you will have until Saturday, 13 July 2007 to complete the assignment. The exam will constitute several questions about the literature we read for the course. It will require that you demonstrate some proficiency across all of the readings, through evaluation, integration, and synthesis of the ideas that the authors present. I will structure the examination into sections so that you may have some selection on which questions you choose to answer. I will provide further details about the final examination throughout the semester.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The written assignment is due on 7 July 2007. It must be double-spaced in Times New Roman 12 point font with 1-inch margins all around. There must be a minimum of six (6) pages in length and it should not be more than twelve (12) pages.

The written assignment for this course is to write a review article or literature review on at least **five (5)** different academic sources that address the same topic from different or contrasting perspectives. Before getting into the substance of the paper, there are two broad eligibility criteria that you must remember

when doing this assignment. First, what counts as an acceptable subject for this paper? Broadly speaking, any topic that falls under the general rubric of war and conflict is acceptable. Broad topics covered on the syllabus include such things as power transitions, balance of power, nationalism, rationalist explanations, etc. You could select a broad topic like this or a much more specific topic from within one of these categories. There are also a number of other topics not specifically covered on this syllabus like refugees, the use of rape as a systemic weapon of war, and the privatization of security services.

Second, what counts as an eligible academic source? There are three basic acceptable sources: 1) academic journal articles (See Appendix A: List of Approved Journals); 2) chapters from academic edited volumes; 3) a single author academic book or a chapter from it. I will **not** accept sources from the following three categories of sources. They are: 1) material on the syllabus for the course; 2) any form of media sources or journalism and 3) Internet websites. You may consult media sources, websites, or material on the syllabus in doing your research for this paper. Such sources do not count toward the requirement of at least five academic sources. Please note that an academic journal article, a book from an academic press, or an edited volume from an academic press is acceptable. A speech from a politician, any type of wikipedia entry, or a short summary of the issue from a website is not acceptable for this assignment.

To avoid any doubt on the eligibility of the topic and/or the academic sources, **you must submit a brief written proposal outlining the subject you plan to write about and a complete bibliography of the sources by 26 June 2007.** This proposal does not receive a grade. I will approve or reject the topic and sources at that time and/or offer you some suggestions on other things to consider. Students who do not submit the proposals will take their chances later that the topic and sources are acceptable.

The substantive focus of this assignment is for you to think critically about different arguments on the same topic and force you to engage with a diversity of opinion. In writing your paper, you should briefly summarize each of the sources to demonstrate that you have read and understood their arguments. In the analysis and evaluation part of the paper, you should indicate how the different authors approach the problem, how their interpretations of it compare and contrast, how significant a challenge or issue they see it as being, what variables they see as causing it, which actors they see as essential for addressing it, what evidence they offer to support their arguments, and what, if any, solutions, they offer for solving it. Obviously, it might not be possible to cover all of these topics in any given paper, thus you should think about these questions when reading and answer the ones most appropriate for your topic. In the conclusion of your paper, you should indicate which argument(s) you found most and least convincing and explain why.

The written assignment will be graded on the basis of the following factors:

1. *Follow Directions* – papers that conform to the above specifications, such as on time, length, margins, typestyle, appropriate topics, etc., will score better than those that do not. See below for the late policy.
2. *Quantity and Quality of Sources Consulted* – Papers with at least five eligible academic sources will score higher. If you are unsure whether a source counts as academic, ask a head of time. Papers with only four eligible academic sources will not score higher than an 80% on the assignment. Papers with only three eligible sources will not score higher than 65%. Fewer eligible sources will result in failing the assignment.
3. *Clarity of Argument and Expression* – Papers that clearly and succinctly express the main arguments and details of the analysis will score higher.
4. *Conciseness and Brevity* – Avoid unnecessary repetition.
5. *Structure* – Well-structured papers that follow a clear organization style will score well.
6. *Ability to Identify Important Points or Concepts* – You must carefully distill the essential components to each author's arguments while leaving the secondary points out. Additionally, you should identify

the points of agreement and disagreement between the various authors and sources. Papers not identifying important points and concepts and not addressing the kinds of questions mentioned above will not score as well.

7. *Depth, Specificity, and Sophistication of Analysis and Argument* – Papers must offer specific, original, innovative, complex, and/or insightful analysis and argumentation.

LATE POLICY & INCOMPLETES

Given that this is a summer course, we have limited time to cover a vast amount of material and missing assignments can quickly cause you to fall behind. I expect assignments turned in on time and meeting the requirements outlined in the section above. I do not accept assignments late without prior notification that includes a sufficient reason justifying the tardiness. **Please remember, you may turn assignments in early if the due dates conflict with your schedules.** I will stress that since this is an online course, communication is essential for it to function properly. Please contact me immediately if a problem arises. If you simply do not turn in an assignment, I will count that as zero.

I expect you to complete the course work on time and to finish all of the requirements by the end of the term, 15 July 2007. If extraordinary circumstances arise, again, please contact me and we will discuss your options for the course.

READING SCHEDULE

4 June 2007

INDIVIDUAL/ PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES – TOTAL PAGES = 74

- Jack S. Levy. 1983. Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems. *World Politics* 36 (1): 76-99.
- Robert Jervis. 1988. War and Misperception. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (4): 675-700
- Gregory M. Herek, Irving L. Janis, and Paul K. Huth. 1987. "Decision Making During International Crises: Is Quality of Process Related to Outcome?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31 (2): 203-226.

NATIONALISM & WAR – TOTAL PAGES = 109

- Barry Posen. 1993. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." *International Security* 18 (2): 80-124.
- Stephen Van Evera. 1994. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War." *International Security* 18 (4): 5-39.
- Jack Snyder and Karen Ballentine. 1996. Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas. *International Security* 21: 5-40.

QUIZ DUE BY: Saturday, 9 June at MIDNIGHT

11 June 2007

TERRITORIAL CONFLICT – TOTAL PAGES = 68

- Alexander B. Murphy. 1990. "Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80 (4): 531-548.
- Tuomas Forsberg. 1996. "Explaining Territorial Disputes: From Power Politics to Normative Reasons." *Journal of Peace Research* 33 (4): 433-449.
- Zacher, Mark. 2001. "The Territorial Integrity Norm" *International Organization* 55 (2): 215-50.

OFFENSE/ DEFENSE BALANCE & WAR – TOTAL PAGES = 133

- Glaser, Charles, and Chaim Kaufmann. 1998. What is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It? *International Security* 22 (4):5-43.
- Robert Jervis. 1978. Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. *World Politics*. 30 (2): 167-214.
- Karen R. Adams. 2003/04. Attack and Conquer: International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance *International Security* 28 (3): 45-83.

QUIZ DUE BY: Saturday, 16 June at Midnight

18 June 2007

BALANCE OF POWER – TOTAL PAGES = 101

- Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson. 2005. Hegemonic Threats and Great Power Balancing in Europe, 1495-2000. *Security Studies* 14 (1): 1-30.
- Hui, Victoria Tin-bor. 2004. Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe. *International Organization* 58 (1): 175-205.
- Randall Schweller. 2004. Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing. *International Security* 29(2):159-201.

POWER TRANSITIONS THEORY – TOTAL PAGES = 78

- Jack S. Levy. 1987. "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War." *World Politics* 40 (1): 82-107.
- Woosang Kim. 1992. "Power Transitions and Great Power War from Westphalia to Waterloo." *World Politics* 45 (1): 153-72.
- Schweller, Randall L. 1992. "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *World Politics* 44 (2): 235-269

QUIZ DUE BY: Saturday, 23 June at Midnight

25 June 2007

DETERRENCE – TOTAL PAGES = 78

- Huth, Paul K. and Bruce Russett. 1984. "What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980." *World Politics* 36(4): 496-526.
- Jervis, Robert. 1989. Rational Deterrence: Theory and Evidence. *World Politics* 41 (2):183-207.
- Lebow, Richard Ned and Janice Gross Stein. 1989. "Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Therefore I Deter." *World Politics* 41(2): 208-234.

DEMOCRATIC PEACE THESIS – TOTAL PAGES = 72

- Michael Doyle. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 80 (4): 1151-1170.
- James D. Fearon. 1994. Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes. *American Political Science Review*.88 (3): 577-592.
- John M. Owen. 1994. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security*, 19 (2): 87-125.

QUIZ DUE BY: Saturday, 30 June at MIDNIGHT

2 July 2007

PROBLEMS WITH DEMOCRATIC PEACE THESIS – TOTAL PAGES = 95

- Christopher Layne. 1994. "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace." *International Security*, 19 (2): 5-49.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder. 1995. "Democratization and the Danger of War." *International Security* 20: 5-38.
- Rosato, Sebastian. 2003. The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory. *American Political Science Review* 97 (4):585-602.

ECONOMIC PEACE THESIS – TOTAL PAGES = 85

- John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett. 1997. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 52 (1): 1-37.
- Stephen G. Brooks. "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (5): 646-70.
- Erik Gartzke. 2007. The Capitalist Peace. *American Journal of Political Science*. 51 (1): 166-191.

PAPER & QUIZ DUE BY: Saturday, 7 July at Midnight

9 July 2007

OPPOSITION TO THE ECONOMIC THESIS – TOTAL PAGES = 83

- Barry Buzan. 1984. "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case," *International Organization* 38: 597-624.
- Katherine Barbieri. 1996. "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or Source of Interstate Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 33: 29-49.
- Dale C. Copeland. 1996. "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." *International Security* 20: 5-41.

FINAL EXAM & QUIZ DUE BY: Saturday, 13 July at Midnight

Appendix A – A List of Approved Journals

American Political Science Review
American Journal of Political Science
International Studies Quarterly
International Studies Review
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Journal of Peace Research
International Organization
International Security
World Politics
International Interactions
Security Studies
Journal of Strategic Studies
Journal of Interdisciplinary History
International History Review
Conflict Management and Peace Science
Armed Forces and Society
Small Wars and Insurgencies
Journal of Political and Military Sociology
Journal of Politics
International Political Science Review
Millennium
Political Psychology
Political Science Quarterly
Review of International Studies

Appendix B – A Partial List of Approved Topics for Paper Assignment

Misperception & War
Nationalism & War
Territorial Conflict
Balance of Power
Offense/ Defense Balance
Power Transitions Theory
Deterrence
Democratic Peace Thesis
Economic Peace Thesis
Hegemonic/ General War
Preemption/ Preventive War
International Law & War
Polarity & War
Alliances & War
Asymmetric Conflict
Lateral Pressure Theory
Bargaining Model of War
Democratization & War
Diversionary Theory of War
Political Survival & War
Revolution & War
Bureaucratic Politics/ Organizational Processes & War
Military Doctrine & War
Prospect Theory & War
Enduring Rivalries & Conflict
Arms Races & War
Crisis Escalation
Audience Costs & Escalation
Reputation & International Conflict
Coercive Diplomacy & Deterrence
Crisis Management
Conflict Resolution & Mediation
Human Rights and War
Prisoners of War and Human Rights