

**Political Science 322**  
**War and Peace**  
Middlebury College  
Spring 2022  
Lecture (Munroe 311): TTH, 9:30-10:45 am

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War and peace are inherently political phenomena, resulting from decisions made by leaders pursuing particular goals. This course explores explanations for war and peace, recognizing that they dovetail into each other. War *is* politics, and peace is more than the absence of war. This course approaches the occurrence of war and peace from a scientific perspective. How do we explain these phenomena? How do we evaluate the validity of these explanations? Students will gain a practical understanding of more nuanced and sophisticated theories on war and peace and be able to apply these ideas to current and future international conflicts.

The course will proceed as follows: we begin with a definition of war and consider the causes. Why do wars begin? We consider conditions and decision that lead to both the occurrence and avoidance of war. Next, we consider how wars end and peace begins. How do wars end? Are there steps various actors can take to encourage a successful peace process? What role do different actors play in this cycle of war and peace?

### Readings

Readings are an essential part of the course. Students are expected to complete all readings by the assigned date. There are three texts assigned for this class, and some classes will include mandatory readings available through Canvas. Readings on Canvas are marked with a “→” symbol; readings from the assigned texts are marked with a “●” symbol. Note that some of the readings you encounter in this course are difficult. Your reading load has been adjusted to compensate for difficulty, but fair warning is given to *read closely*. By the end, you will have learned how to get the most out of the articles you read, increasing your reading efficiency and retention.

### Texts:

- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War, 3rd Edition*. New York: Free Press.
- Wagner, R. Harrison. 2007. *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Goemans, Hein. 2000. *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

## Grades

20% Participation

5% Assignment 1, in-class assignment

35% for 5 short response papers (each paper counts as 7% of the final grade)

**Choose 2 of the following 3 assignment options:**

20% First Analytical Essay, due Friday, March 18 at 11:59 pm

20% Final Analytical Essay, due Friday, May 20 at 11:59 pm

20% Research Proposal, due Wednesday, May 4 at 11:59 pm

Participation is extremely important. You should be prepared to answer and ask questions for every lecture.

## Assignments

Assignments are designed with choice in mind to allow you some agency over the components of your grade. You will submit five response papers over the term. You may choose which class meetings you want to write your responses to, but you must turn them in before that day in class. I recommend spreading out these papers so that you have some assessment and feedback across the term. You will also choose to write two of three options: a first essay, a final essay, or a research proposal. The essays will be more traditional assignments with prompts and word limits and an analytical essay structure. The research design is described in more detail below and in a separate document. This is a great assignment for those who might want to explore their own ideas or for people contemplating a senior thesis.

*Policy on paper submissions:* Paper should be submitted on Canvas by the assigned due date and time in PDF format. Late papers will be penalized 1/3 of a letter grade for each day they are late. The next day begins when the due date time passes (e.g., if it is due at 5 pm on a Thursday, then a submission on Friday at 6 pm is two days late).

*Response Papers:* The response papers are due at the start of the class for which the readings are assigned and should be between 250-500 words. You do not need a traditional citation page; simply reference the readings from that day in the paper. They should consider the following questions:

- What is the common thread among the readings?
- What are the arguments presented (briefly, for all readings)?
- Is the evidence compelling? Why or why not?
- Write down two questions or critiques of the arguments or evidence from these readings. This can be just one reading or all of them.
- Report the word count.

*Analytical Essays:* The analytical essays will each be between 1500-1750 words and will be the traditional writing assignment with a prompt and all the usual trappings like title page, bibliography, etc. Please include the word count.

*Research Proposal:* The research proposal (1500-2000 words) is designed to get you thinking about questions that we haven't asked or haven't answered well. You are not expected to conduct the research, just think of a research question, briefly examine what we already know about it and think about what you think is a good explanation. In consultation with me, we will determine how you would try to test your explanation against others. The proposal, however, is merely a proposal.

While you will not be asked to complete the analysis given in the proposal, the exercise helps you understand an observed phenomenon, the explanations people have given for it and asks you to develop your own ideas. It also asks you to think about what evidence you would need to support or refute your explanation. This is not a research paper. You will want to look at previous literature, but you are not expected to collect data or cases or carry out the design. If you are considering an independent study or a thesis, however, this is a particularly useful exercise, even if your independent study or thesis is not about war and peace.

## **Class Policies**

*Absence:* Attendance is required. Absences are excused in cases of illness and personal emergency with proper documentation. Absence due to a college-sponsored event or religious holiday is also excused, provided that the student informs me of the absence at least two weeks in advance. Vacation and social engagements are not excused. Remote attendance will not be offered because this class is highly interactive and a remote option is too disruptive. If you are ill, please consider whether rest would serve you better than class and whether you risk exposing the class to your illness. Please follow all campus COVID regulations.

*Special Needs:* If you have special physical or academic needs, you are responsible for informing me at the beginning of the semester and pursuing the proper channels for making arrangements to handle your needs. The Americans With Disabilities Act Office provides instructors with a list of arrangements that need to be made for the student. This assessment is the responsibility of the student to obtain. All arrangements requested by the ADA Office will be provided.

<http://www.middlebury.edu/campuslife/services/ada/policy/>

*Electronic Devices:* Cell phones and tablets must be silent during class. Laptops are not allowed in class unless the student has a documented special need, or if we need them for a class activity.

*Office Hours and Appointments:* Students are strongly encouraged to meet with me during my office hours or make an appointment to discuss questions and address any difficulties with the course, as well as paper topics, readings, etc.

## **Honor Code and Plagiarism**

Middlebury's Honor Code should be strictly followed for any tests or other work submitted for this course. The Honor Code can be found at:

[go/honorcode/](http://go/honorcode/)

Plagiarism is a violation of the Honor Code. Using another person's ideas and information either in exact form or by paraphrasing *without proper citation* is plagiarism. In your papers, you are required to cite all sources, use quotations where necessary and provide a bibliography. I take violations very seriously. If you are unsure about citations and sources, please ask me.

## Week 1

**Feb. 15:** ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING AND BRIEF IN-CLASS WRITING ASSIGNMENT

**Feb. 17:** WAR AND PEACE, THE CYCLE

- Blainey, Chapters 1 & 2

## Week 2

**Feb. 22:** DEGENERATE EXPLANATIONS OF WAR

- Blainey, Chapters 9-11
- Waltz, Kenneth. 1988. "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(4): 615-628.

**Feb. 24:** THE ORIGINS OF REALISM IN WAR THEORY, OR HOW WE GOT HERE

- Wagner, Chapters 1 & 2

## Week 3

**Mar. 1:** WHAT ABOUT OTHER INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS? (BRING LAPTOPS TO CLASS)

- Kang, David and Kenneth Swope. 2020. "East Asian International Relations over the *Longue Duree*," in *East Asia in the World*. eds. Stephan Haggard and David Kang. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 2.

**Mar. 3:** FIRST THE EARTH COOLED; THEN THE DINOSAURS CAME...

- Wagner, Chapter 3

## Week 4

**Mar. 8:** BARGAINING THEORY AND WAR

- Wagner, Chapter 4: 131-154
- Muthoo, Abhinay. 2000. "A Non-Technical Introduction to Bargaining Theory." *World Economics* 1(2):145-166.

**Mar. 10:** BARGAINING THEORY AND WAR CONT'

- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.
- Clark, Christopher. 2012. "Conclusion." *Sleepwalkers*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Park, Seo-Hyun. 2020. "The Sino-Japanese War, 1994-1895." in *East Asia in the World*. eds. Stephan Haggard and David Kang. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

- **Recommended if you need a refresher on WWI:** James Joll and Gordon Martel. 2007. *The Origins of the First World War, 3rd Ed.* New York: Pearson Longman. Especially chapters 2, 3 and 5.

## Week 5

### **Mar. 15: THAT RUMSFELD QUOTE**

“Reports that say that something hasn’t happened are always interesting to me, because as we know, there are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns – the ones we don’t know we don’t know. And if one looks throughout the history of our country and other free countries, it is the latter category that tend to be the difficult ones.” -Donald Rumsfeld, Department of Defense New Briefing, Feb. 12, 2002.

- Wagner, pp. 161-170.
- Reed, William. 2003. “Information, Power, and War.” *American Political Science Review* 97(4): 633-641.
- Debs, Alexandre and Nuno Monteiro. 2014. “Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War.” *International Organization*. 68(1): 1-31.

### **Mar. 17: POWER SHIFTS, COMMITMENT PROBLEMS**

- Wagner, Chapter 5.
- Walter, Barbara. 1997. “The Critical Barriers to Civil War Settlement.” *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.
- Jones, Bruce. 1999. “Military Intervention in Rwanda’s Two Wars: Partisanship and Indifference.” in *Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention*, eds. Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. Chapter 4.

### **Mar. 23-27: Spring Break**

## Week 6

### **Mar. 29: ALLIANCES**

- Wagner, pp. 154-161.
- Smith, Alastair. 1995. “Alliance Formation and War.” *International Studies Quarterly* 39: 405-25.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. “Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes.” *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3): 427-440.

#### **Apr. 1: COALITIONS**

- Henke, Marina. 2017. "The Politics of Diplomacy: How the United States Builds Multilateral Military Coalitions." *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2): 410-424.
- Wolford, Scott. 2017. "The Problem of Shared Victory: War-Winning Coalitions and Postwar Peace." *Journal of Politics* 79(2): 702-716.
- Fordham, Benjamin and Paul Poast. 2016. "All Alliances are Multilateral: Rethinking Alliance Formation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 60(5): 840-65.

#### **Week 7**

#### **Apr. 5: WAR EXPANSION/DURATION**

- Blainey, Chapters 4 & 15.
- Regan, Pat. 2002. "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 55-73.
- Gartner, Scott and Randy Siverson. 1996. "War Expansion and War Outcome." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40:4-15.

#### **Apr. 7: REPUTATION**

- Schelling, Thomas. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 2.
- Walter, Barbara. 2006. "Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists But Not Others." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 313-330.
- Sartori, Anne. 2005. *Deterrence by Diplomacy* Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press. Chapters 1-2.

#### **Week 8**

#### **Apr. 12: DEMOCRATIC PEACE**

- Russett, Bruce, and Zeev Maoz. 1993. "Normative and Structural Causes of the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 87:624-38.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999. "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 93:791-807.

#### **Apr. 14: OTHER IDEAS ABOUT DYADIC PEACE**

- Henderson, Errol. 2009. "Disturbing the Peace: African Warfare, Political Inversion, and the Universality of the Democratic Peace Thesis." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 25-58.
- Gartzke, Erik and Alex Weisiger. 2013. "Permanent Friends? Dynamic Difference and the Democratic Peace." *International Studies Quarterly*. 57: 171-185.

- Peceny, Mark, Caroline C. Beer and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. 2002. "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 15-26.

## **Week 9**

### **Apr. 19: AUDIENCE COSTS AND CONTROVERSY**

- Fearon, James. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88:577-92.
- Jessica Weeks. 2008. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization*. 62(1): 35-64.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. 2012. "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis." *Security Studies* 21(1): 3-42.
- Schultz, Kenneth. 2012. "Why We Needed Audience Costs and What We Need Now." *Security Studies* 21(3): 369-375.

### **Apr. 21: DEMOCRATIZATION**

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and George W. Downs. 2006. "Intervention and Democracy." *International Organization* 60(3): 627-694.
- McDonald, Patrick. 2015. "Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace." *International Organization* 69(3): 557-588.

## **War Termination**

## **Week 10**

### **Apr. 26: LEADER-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS**

- Wolford, Scott. 2007. "The Turnover Trap: New Leaders, Reputation and International Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 772-788.
- Croco, Sara. 2011. "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment." *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 457-477.
- Post, Abigail and Paromita Sen. "Why Can't a Woman Be More Like a Man? Female Leaders in Crisis Bargaining." *International Interactions* 46(1): 1-27.

### **Apr. 28: ENDING WARS**

- Goemans, Chapters 1 & 2.
- Wagner, Harrison. 2000. "Bargaining and War." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 469-484.

## **Week 11**

### **May 3: ENDING WARS**

- Werner, Suzanne. 1998. "Negotiating the Terms of Settlement: War Aims and Bargaining Leverage." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(3): 321-343.
- Goemans, Chapters 8 & 9.

#### **May 5: PEACE DURATION**

##### **DUE: Research Proposal**

- Fortna, Page. 2003. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace." *International Organization* 57(2): 337-372.
- Werner, Suzanne and Amy Yuen. 2005. "Making and Keeping Peace." *International Organization* 59(2): 261-292.

#### **Week 12**

#### **May 10: INSTITUTIONS**

- Mearsheimer, John. 1994. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19(3): 5-49.
- Voeten, Erik. 2001. "Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action." *American Political Science Review*. 95(4): 845-858.
- Goddard, Stacie. 2018. "Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order." *International Organization* 72(4): 763-797.
- Lemke, Douglas and Charles Crabtree. "Territorial Contenders in World Politics." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(2) 518-544.

#### **May 12: THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

- Wagner Chapters 6 & 7.
- Morris, Ian. 2014. *War! What Is It Good For? Conflict and the Progress of Civilization from Primates to Robots*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Chapter 1.