

17.432 // Tuesdays 1-3 // Room E25-117
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CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF WAR: THEORY AND METHOD

This course explores the causes of modern war, with a focus on preventable causes. Course readings cover theoretical, historical, and methodological topics. Major theories of war are explored and assessed in the first few weeks of the class, asking at each stage "are these good theories?" and "how could they be tested?" Basic social scientific inference--what are theories? what are good theories? how should theories be framed and tested?--and case study methodology are also discussed. The second half of the course explores the history of the outbreak of a number of major wars. We use these cases as raw material for case studies, asking "if these episodes were the subject of case studies, how should those studies be performed, and what could be learned from them?"

Course requirements: Students will be asked to write 2 short papers (7-10 typed doublespaced pages) and two 1-page exercises. One of the 7-10 page papers will be a case study; the other can be a case study or can be an assessment of theories of the causes of war. The 1-page exercises are due Sept. 25 and Oct. 16; the papers are due at times TBA.

This is a graduate course open to undergraduates by permission of the instructor only.

Recommended for purchase at the MIT Coop:

Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace, expanded ed. (MIT Press: 1993) ISBN: 0-262-62088-X
Robert Axelrod, The Evolution of Cooperation (NY: Basic Books, 1984).
James Joll, The Origins of the First World War, 2nd ed. (NY: Longman, 1992) ISBN: 0-582-08920-4
P.M.H. Bell, The Origins of the Second World War in Europe, 2d ed. (NY: Longman, 1998) ISBN: 0-582-49112-6
Saburo Ienaga, The Pacific War, 1931-1945 (Pantheon, 1979) ISBN: 0-394-73496-3
Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, trans. Rex Warner (Penguin, 1972)
Steven E. Miller et al., eds., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, rev. ed (Princeton University Press, 1991) ISBN: 0-691-02232-1
Stephen Van Evera, Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)

Also at the COOP, but only recommended:

Greg Cashman, What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict (NY: Lexington Books, 1999) ISBN: 0-669-21215-6
Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 6th ed., rev. by John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996)

None of Cashman is assigned but it is a useful basic synopsis of much of the literature. Turabian is a style reference that you should own and obey.

All other readings will be available as course notes that can be purchased from the Technology Copy Center in the basement of building E-52, except some that will be handed out in class.

Readings in books available in the COOP bookstore are denoted below with a "BK"; course notes readings are denoted below with a "C"; handouts are denoted with an "H".

I. INTRODUCTION: FRAMING, TESTING & USING THEORIES

Sept. 11: Hypotheses, Laws, Theories and Case Studies (85 pages)

BK 1. Van Evera, Guide to Methods, chapter 1, "Hypotheses, Laws and Theories." My basic advice on framing and testing theories.

C 2. Kenneth N. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979), pp. 1-17 ("Laws and Theories"). A different view on theories by a famous IR theorist.

II. HYPOTHESES ON THE CAUSES OF WAR (5 Weeks)

Sept. 18, 25: Propositional inventories on war, and military causes of war.

A. Propositional inventories on war (160 pages):

C 1. Jack Levy, "The Causes of War: A Review of Theories and Evidence," in Philip E. Tetlock, Jo L. Husband, Robert Jervis, Paul C. Stern, and Charles Tilly, eds., Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 1991), 1:209-333; and Jack S. Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," Annual Review of Political Science, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 139-165. The best surveys of hypotheses on war's causes.

C 2. Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War," in John F. Reichert and Steven R. Sturm, eds., American Defense Policy, 5th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), pp. 8-18. An excerpt from Waltz's classic Man, the State, and War, a book that also served as a propositional inventory.

I also recommend that you take a look at Gregg Cashman, What Causes War?, available at the MIT COOP textbook section for this course as a recommended reading. A good basic synopsis.

B. Hypotheses on military power-factors as causes of war (i.e. theories addressing the fine-grained structure of power) (120 pages):

C 1. Thomas C. Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven: Yale, 1966), pp. 221-251 ("The Dynamics of Mutual Alarm.") The classic statement of "stability theory"--"war is more likely when the side moving first gains an advantage."

C 2. Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," World Politics, Vol. 40, No. 1 (October, 1987), pp. 82-107. "Windows" of opportunity and vulnerability cause war; such "preventive" wars are common.

- C 3. Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, The Use of Force, 5th ed. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, forthcoming). A statement of "offense-defense theory," and three single-case-study tests. Is this the way theories should be framed and tested?
- C 4. Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," World Politics Vol. 30, No. 2 (January 1978), pp. 167-214. The first development of offense-defense theory. The theory is now a centerpiece in security studies, the article is a classic. My piece, "Offense, Defense," subsumes most of it but you should pass your eyes across it nevertheless. Please skim pp. 167-185, focus on pp. 186-214.
- BK5. Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War," in Lynn Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 193-203. An application of offense-defense theory.
- C 6. Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War, 3rd ed. (NY: Free Press, 1988), chapter 3 ("Dreams and Delusions of a Coming War"). False optimism as a cause of war.
- C 7. David W. Ziegler, War, Peace and International Politics, 6th ed., (NY: HarperCollins, 1993), chapter 10 ("Disarmament"), pp. 183-204. A very basic discussion of a basic proposal--but what's wrong with it? What implicit hypotheses does it rest on? How could they be tested?

Oct. 2: Hypotheses on systemic power factors, and hypotheses on national misperception.

A. Hypotheses on systemic power factors (i.e. theories addressing the gross structure of power) (162 pages):

- C 1. Kenneth N. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979), pp. 161-176 ("Structural Causes and Military Effects"). Pages 176-193 are also included in your coursenotes, but you can skim them quickly; I include them just to give you the whole chapter for your files.
- C 2. Robert Gilpin, War and Change in World Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 156-185 ("Equilibrium and Decline") and 186-210 ("Hegemonic Change and War.") In pages 156-186 Gilpin argues that dominant states are often overtaken by challengers; in pages 186-210 he argues that these power-transitions cause war.

BK3. John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After

the Cold War," in Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace, expanded ed. (MIT Press: 1993), pp. 147-155, 165-167, 176-187. Mearsheimer endorses power-based explanations for war, attacks other explanations. Note: you should skim the rest of the article to get Mearsheimer's whole drift.

- C 4. Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425. A prominent dissent from the realists assigned above.

B. Hypotheses on national misperception: hypotheses from psychology; and structural & societal theories of misperception.

>>Hypotheses from psychology (43 pages):

- C 1. Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds., International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues, 3rd ed. (NY: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 472-489. A classic discussion of the delusions to which states are prone. Is Jervis' list of myopias a good one? Do they arise from the psychological causes he stresses, or from others? How could his hypotheses be tested?

- C 2. Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Some argue that using carrots solves conflicts while using sticks provokes them, others say the opposite (warning against appeasement). How can this dispute be resolved? Does Jervis say enough to resolve it? Note: pages 85-113 are also included in your coursenotes but you can skim them quickly; I include them just to give you the whole chapter for your files.

The existing literature on misperception from the psychology paradigm asks if policy makers make the cognitive errors of ordinary people. Do we need work on whether some political systems select elites in ways that over-represent certain psychological disorders--e.g., narcissism, compulsive-obsessive disorder, megalomania, paranoia--that have effects on state perceptions and foreign policy behavior?

>>Societal theories of misperception: militarism, nationalism, defects in academe and the press (27 pp.):

- BK1. Van Evera, "Primed for Peace," pp. 204-211 (on militarism and hyper-nationalism.)

- C 2. Nicholas Kristof, "A Tojo Battles History, for Grandpa and for Japan," New York Times, April 22, 1999. A current illustration of self-whitewashing nationalism.

C 3. Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Purpose of Political Science," in James C. Charlesworth, ed., A Design for Political Science: Scope, Objectives, and Methods (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1966), pp. 69-74. A snippet by an eminent IR theorist to raise the question of dysfunction in academe, & academic responsibility for national misperception. Note: to keep your files complete I include the whole piece in your coursnotes (pp. 63-79) but you needn't bother with pp. 63-68, 75-79.

C 4. Aaron Wildavsky, "The Self-Evaluating Organization," Public Administration Review, Sept./Oct. 1972, pp. 509-520. Can a theory of national misperception be fashioned from the argument made here? Does it shed light on learning theory?

C 5. David Pearson, "The Media and Government Deception," Propaganda Review, Spring 1989, pp. 6-11. A snippet to raise the question of press dysfunction.

C. Systemic theories of misperception: "the system makes states fool each other."

C 1. James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," International Organization, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer 1995). I include the whole article in your coursnotes (pp. 379-414) but **please read only pp. 390-401** (on "war due to private information and incentives to misrepresent").

Note: no class Oct. 9 (Columbus day holiday).

Oct. 16: Hypotheses on domestic political & social structure: democracy, revolution, culture, gender, democracy, social equality & social justice, minority rights & human rights, prosperity, economic interdependence, capitalism, communism, imperial decline and collapse, cultural learning, religion as a cause of peace and war (246 pp.):

C 1. Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Democracy and Peace," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1992), pp. 369-376. An excellent short survey of the status of democratic peace theory.

OR

H Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Peace and Democracy," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 2:643-652. A longer, more recent survey of the status of democratic peace theory. Obtained too late to get it into the coursnotes.

- C 2. Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues, 3rd ed. (NY: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 56-69. A key piece that helped re-start discussion of democratic peace theory.
- C 3. Stephen M. Walt, "Revolution and War," World Politics, Vol. 44, No. 3 (April 1992), pp. 321-368. Revolutions & revolutionary states cause war, for a range of reasons.
- C 4. Benjamin Cohen, The Question of Imperialism (NY: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-72, focus on 34-49, skim the rest. A good distillation of Marxist theories of imperialism, hence of war, since Marxists saw imperialism as the taproot of war.
- C 5. Joshua S. Goldstein, International Relations (NY: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 282-295 ("Feminism"); and Louis Harris, "The Gender Gulf," New York Times, December 7, 1990, p. A35. A good basic summary of feminist arguments on the causes of war, and some striking data supporting arguments that the genders differ sharply on the use of force. (We need a systematic summary of evidence on this question.)
- C 6. Francis Fukuyama, "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 77, No. 5 (September/October 1998), pp. 24-40. Men are hard-wired to be violent--so let's put them in charge! Skim also Barbara Ehrenreich, Katha Pollitt, et al., "Fukuyama's Follies," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 1 (January/February 1999), pp. 118-129.
- BK 6. John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 45-69. War has been delegitimated, much as slavery was before it. Even conventional war is now a fading institution.
- BK 7. Carl Kaysen, "Is War Obsolete?" in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 81-103. Mueller is right for the wrong reasons. War is obsolete because it has lost its utility, not because it horrifies anyone.
- C 8. Jack S. Levy, "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., Handbook of War Studies (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 259-288. An important folk theory explored here.
- C 9. Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War, chapter 2 ("Paradise is a Bazaar"), pp. 18-32. Do prosperity and interdependence promote peace?

C 10. Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North, "Lateral Pressure in International Relations: Concept and Theory," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., Handbook of War Studies (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 289-326. A later restatement of a prominent theory of war. The authors argue that economic development can raise the risk of war.

BK 11. Van Evera, "Primed for Peace," pp. 211-218. On social stratification, democracy, revolution, and capitalism.

C 12. Leopold Bellak, "Why I Fear the Germans" (op-ed), New York Times, April 4, 1990, p. A29; and responses, NYT, May 10, 1990, p. A30. Snippets to raise the question of national culture, its utility in explaining war.

October 23: Hypotheses on strategic interaction; applications of theories of war to explain history; causes of civil war; case study method

A. Hypotheses on strategic interaction (175 pp.):

BK 1. BRobert Axelrod, The Evolution of Cooperation (NY: Basic Books, 1984), pp. vii-54, 73-87, 109-141. Would the prescriptions offered here work if applied by foreign policymakers? If not, why not?

C 2. 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.

C 3. Jack S. Levy, "Long Cycles, Hegemonic Transitions, and the Long Peace," in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., ed., The Long Postwar Peace: Contending Explanations and Predictions (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), pp. 147-176. A survey of long-cycle literature.

C 4. 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. A synopsis of the thought of this prominent rational-choice theorist of war's causes.

B. Emotions and war: the role of vengeance, contempt, honor, contrition, apology, insult, pride.

Needed: a more developed literature on this topic.

C. Religion and war.

- H 1. David Noel Freedman and Michael J. McClymond, "Religious Traditions, Violence, and Nonviolence," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 3:229-239. A survey of the problem of religion and war. Is more work needed on this topic? Why is good work on the subject scarce?

D. Applications of theory to explain history (74 pp.):

- BK1. John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 1-44. A application of IR theory to explain why the cold war never turned hot.

E. Civil war: how common (very!) What do we know about its causes and cures? (Not much!) (69 pp.)

- C 1. Peter Wallensteen and Margaret Sollenberg, "Armed Conflict 1989-99," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 37, No. 5 (September 2000), pp. 635-649. Nearly all wars today are civil wars.
- C 2. Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Civil War," International Security, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Spring 1996), pp. 136-175. When are civil conflicts insoluble? What should we do when they are? Kaufmann's solution outrages many.
- C 3. Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 1 (January/February 1997), pp. 22-34. An answer to Kaufmann.
- C 4. Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," International Organization, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 335-364. Civil wars are harder to settle than interstate wars, but why? Walter has an answer, and important prescriptions.
- C 5. Michael E. Brown, "Introduction," in Michael E. Brown, ed., The International Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-31. A survey of these and other hypotheses on the causes of ethnic conflict.

Some useful recent (spring/summer 2001) papers on civil war can also be found online at www.worldbank.org/research/conflict. For the papers click on the four "workshops" listed on the left hand side of the first page under "resources."

F. The Correlates of War project: inferring theories from large-n data sets.

- H 1. J. David Singer, "Correlates of War," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 1:463-471. Singer's summary of

his Correlates of War project. Singer does **not** use the case method; rather, he seeks correlations in large-n data sets, hoping that correlation will sometimes signal causation. How fruitful is this approach? When should it be used?

G. Segue to Cases: the Case Study Method. How Should Case Studies Be Performed?

- C 1. Jared Diamond, "The Science of History: What We Don't Know, Why We Don't Know It," Washington Post, February 7, 1999, p. B3. Can social science really be science? Answer: yes.
- C 2. Alexander L. George and Timothy J. McKeown, "Case Studies and Theories of Organizational Decision Making," in Advances in Information Processing in Organizations, Vol. 2 (Greenwich, Ct.: JAI Press, 1985), pp. 21-58. A classic statement on the execution of case studies.
- C 3. Arend Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," APSR, Vol. 65, 1971, pp. 682-693. Another important how-to-do-it on the case study method.
- BK 4. Van Evera, Guide to Methods, chapter 2, "Case Studies" Your instructor's thoughts on the topic.
- C 5. Andrew Bennett, "Lost in Translation: Big (n) Misinterpretations of Case Study Research" (Paper presented to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 1997). Much nonsense is believed about the case method. Some intelligent mythbusting is provided here.
- C 6. William J. Broad, "Crater Supports Idea on Extinction," New York Times, August 14, 1992. Here's a "case" that scientists are trying to explain. Are political/historical cases similar? Can political analysis proceed in the same way?
- C 7. "The C.I.A.'s El Salvador," New York Times, December 17, 1993, p. A39; Les Aspin, "Witness to Iran Flight 655," New York Times, November 18, 1988, p. A35. Social science starts with "facts." But what "facts" can we believe? Moral of these stories: you can't believe everything you read in the archives (or anywhere else).
- C 8. David Leven, "In Texas, the Death Penalty Still Fails to Deter," New York Times, Sept. 19, 1993, p. E16. Leven makes blunders of causal inference. Can you spot them?
- C 9. Ian Shapiro, "A Model That Pretends to Explain Everything," and Morris P. Fiorina, "When Stakes are High, Rationality Kicks In," both in New York Times, February 26, 2000, p. A15. Should students of war use rational choice methods more often? Two

short pieces on the great debate over rational choice.

- C 10. Syllabi on the case study method by professors Scott Sagan (Stanford), John Mearsheimer (Chicago), Andrew Bennett (Georgetown), John Odell (USC), Matthew Evangelista (Cornell), Ted Hopf (Michigan). In the past many political science departments defined "methodology" to consist solely of large-n (statistical) methods. While statistics was a required course at most schools, case study methodology often wasn't even taught. This is changing, as these syllabi illustrate. I include them for your general perusal and background. No need to give them a talmudic reading--they are for your reference.

Those curious to see more qualitative methods syllabi can find them on the web at www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/syllabi.html. And for more on qualitative methods see www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/.

- C 11. Syllabi on the causes of war for courses taught by Jack Levy (Rutgers), Christopher Gelpi (Harvard), Stephen Walt (Chicago), Hayward Alker (USC), Louise Hodgden (Texas/Austin), and Dale Copeland (U. of Virginia). How the subject is taught elsewhere, by a diverse range of scholars. For your reference. (Handy to have for the day when you have to design your own version of this course.)

III. CASE STUDIES

October 30: The Seven Years war & the Korean War

A. Seven Years:

- C 1. Richard Smoke, War: Controlling Escalation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) pp. 195-236 ("The Seven Years War"). A good historical synopsis. What general theories of war causes does his account support?
- C 2. Patrice Higonnet, "The Origins of the Seven Years War," Journal of Modern History, Vol. 40 (1968), pp. 57-90. A striking revelation on the war's origins that changed historical understanding--200 years after the fact.

B. Korea:

- C 1. Allen S. Whiting, "The U.S. China War in Korea," in Alexander L. George, ed., Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management (Boulder: Westview, 1991), pp. 103-125. A synoptic account.
- C 2. Thomas J. Christensen, "Threats, Assurances, and the Last Chance

for Peace," International Security, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1992), pp. 122-154. Recent revelations about what caused, and what might (and might not) have prevented China's entry into the war.

November 6, 13: World War I

- BK1. James Joll, The Origins of the First World War, 2nd ed. (NY: Longman, 1992), entire (pp. 1-241). The most widely-used synopsis of the outbreak of the war.
- C 2. Imanuel Geiss, German Foreign Policy, 1871-1914 (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. vii-ix, 121-127, 142-150, 206-207. This book summarizes the views of the "Fischer School," which argues that German aggression was a prime cause of World War I. Pages 142-150 recounts the occurrence and aftermath of the War Council of 8 December 1912, a centerpiece of the Fischer school case; pages 206-207 reprint the Fischer school's "smoking gun" diary entry by Admiral Müller, discovered only in the 1960s. But many find Fisher and Geiss unpersuasive. How can this dispute be resolved?
- C 3. 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.") In Germany the army purveyed the concept of preventive war, the notion that war was healthy and beneficial, and other exotic ideas; and within Germany it became a law unto itself--a "state within the state," in Gordon Craig's phrase.
- BK4. Steven E. Miller et al., eds., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, rev. ed (Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. xi-xix, 20-133 (Snyder, Van Evera, & Sagan.) A Europe-wide cult of the offensive caused World War I--or did it?
- C 5. 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. German elementary and high schools were channels of nationalist propaganda.
- C 6. Louis L. Snyder, German Nationalism: Tragedy of a People (Port Washington NY: Kennikat, 1969), chapters 6 ("Historiography") and 10 ("Militarism"). Please read pp. 123-24, mid-139-152, 227-243; you need only skim pp. 124-139, 243-254. German historians were more a problem than a solution; German popular thought was militarized.

For more on World War I origins see the documents collection at

www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1914.html. And for more on the role of German public opinion in causing the war see specifically Wolfgang J. Mommsen, "Nationalism, Imperialism and Official Press Policy in Wilhelmine Germany 1850-1914," in *Collection de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome, Opinion Publique et Politique Exterieur I 1870-1915* (Milano: Universita de Milano/Ecole Francaise de Rome, 1981), pp. 367-383.

November 20: The Second World War in Europe

- BK 1. P.M.H. Bell, The Origins of the Second World War in Europe (NY: Longman, 1986), pp. 39-47, 70-88, 111-295. A good mainstream historical synopsis.
- BK 2. Holger Herwig, "Clio Deceived: Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany After the Great War," in Miller, ed., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, pp. 262-301. How Germans mis-remembered the origins and aftermath of the First World War.
- C 3. 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. How Germans came to love war again so soon after the Marne and Verdun. What explains the bizarre developments Wette describes?
- C 4. Sheri Berman, The Social Democratic Moment: Ideas and Politics in the Making of Interwar Europe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998): ix-x, 176-200. Why did the Great Depression of the 1930s bring benign Social Democrats to power in Sweden while bringing the vicious and expansionist Nazis to power in Germany? Clearly, the effects of depressions on modern industrial politics are not uniform; instead, a condition variable of some sort must decide these effects. Clearly, that condition variable must have had very different values in the Swedish and German cases. Berman's study tries to identify that condition variable. Does she do so persuasively?

November 27: The Pacific War

- C 1. 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.
- BK 2. Saburo Ienaga, The Pacific War, 1931-1945 (Pantheon, 1979) pp. vii-152, 247-256. Was the Japanese decision for war a rational response to circumstances, or in some sense "irrational"?

Ienaga and Sagan disagree--who's right?

- C 3. Jonathan G. Utley, Going to War With Japan 1937-1941 (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 151-156.
- C 4. 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). Was the crucial American decision to cut off oil exports to Japan taken by a bureaucracy out of control? Utley and Heinrichs disagree. How can this mystery be unravelled?

December 4: The Arab-Israeli War 1967: the 1991 Persian Gulf War; the Peloponnesian War

A. The 1967 Arab-Israeli War:

- C 1. Janice Gross Stein, "The Arab-Israeli War of 1967: Inadvertent War Through Miscalculated Escalation," in Alexander L. George, ed., Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management (Boulder: Westview, 1991), pp. 126-159.

B. The Persian Gulf War

- C 1. Alexander L. George, "Epilogue: The Persian Gulf Crisis, 1990-1991," in Alexander L. George, ed., Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management (Boulder: Westview, 1991), pp. 567-576.
- C 2. Norman Cigar, "Iraq's Strategic Mindset and the Gulf War: Blueprint for Defeat," Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 25, No. 1 (March 1992), pp. 1-29.
- C 3. Efraim Karsh, "Reflections on the 1990-91 Gulf Conflict," Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 19, No. 3 (September 1996), pp. 303-320.

C. The Peloponnesian War

- BK1. Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, trans. Rex Warner (Penguin, 1972), pp. 35-108, 118-164, 212-223, 400-429, 483-488, 516-538. A famous history by a great strategist that many later readers, across many centuries, felt evoked their own times and tragedies.
- C 2. Donald Kagan, The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), chapter 19 ("The Causes of the War"), pp. 345-356. Please focus on pp. 347-349, where Kagan debunks several explanations for the Peloponnesian war, and skim the rest. Kagan evaluates several contending explanations by framing and assessing their predictions. (His inferred

predictions are implicit but clear nevertheless.) Does his method work?

IV. THE FUTURE OF WAR

December 11: The Future of War: Using Theory to Predict and Prescribe; The Field Agenda in War Studies.

- BK1. Review again Carl Kaysen, "Is War Obsolete?" in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 81-103, assigned above. Kaysen says past causes of war are already gone--but if he's right, why does war continue?
- BK2. Read the rest of Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future," in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, some of which was assigned above.
- C 3. Frank Fukuyama, "The End of History?" in John T. Rourke, Taking Sides, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992), pp. 268-286. Fukuyama forecasts that the spread of democratic ideas will spread peace worldwide over the next several centuries, ending forever the cycle of wars that have plagued human history.
- C 4. Samuel P. Huntington, "No Exit: The Errors of Endism," in John T. Rourke, Taking Sides, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992), pp. 287-295. Huntington's pessimistic reply to Fukuyama.
- C 5. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Coming Clash of Civilizations: Or, the West Against the Rest," New York Times, June 6, 1993, p. E19. Humankind will again be at its own throat, this time in a confrontation of great civilizations.
- C 6. Ziegler, War, Peace and IR, chapter 11 ("Collective Security,"), pp. 179-203. Many people have offered this answer. Why has it failed?
- C 7. Stephen John Stedman, "Alchemy for a New World Order: Overselling 'Preventive Diplomacy'," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 3 (May/June 1995), pp. 14-20. Should peace be an American project? Are we up to it? Here argued: the U.S. should not attempt preventive diplomacy.
- C 8. Michael Lund, "Underrating 'Preventive Diplomacy'," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 4 (July/August 1995), pp. 160-163. Stedman is wrong, preventive diplomacy works.
- BK9. Van Evera, Guide to Methods, chapter 6 ("Professional Ethics"). This topic has nothing in particular to do with the causes of war, but you should form an attitude on the issues raised here.

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