

Political Science 376

Credits: 3

Fall 2017

Class Meeting Time: TTh 1:20-2:50

Professor Michael Jasinski

Office Hours: Wednesdays 10:30-1:30

Sage Hall 4624

Email: jasinskm@uwosh.edu**International Conflict**

or

"Peace is a dream of sages; war is the history of Man".

Louis-Philippe, comte de Ségur (1753-1830)

Officier, diplomate, membre de l'Académie française

Course Description: The course examines international conflict theories, explains how states use force to achieve their political objectives, and illustrates the impact of conflict and military preparedness on a country's domestic politics. It focuses on the aims and means of waging war by United States, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Russia, the impact of technological progress on the changing face of war, and the role international interdependence and domestic political conflicts play in decisions to use military force.

Readings: All course readings are on D2L. This course requires no textbooks.

This course carries the Global Scholar designation:

Global Scholar courses build upon the knowledge, skills and perspectives that students gain in their (required) **USP Global Citizenship** (GC) course. Together, GC and GS courses aim to provide students with the knowledge of nations, cultures or societies beyond the U.S.; the recognition of how interaction, interdependence and inequity among diverse geographical, social, political, or economic systems have shaped historical and contemporary global challenges and opportunities; and the skills needed to engage with the responsibilities of informed citizenship in a complex, interdependent and changing world.

Global Scholar Learning Outcomes

- Students will gain knowledge of the broad range of international conflict theories.
- Students will acquire knowledge of and appreciation for diverse national "ways of war" conditioned by individual countries' geography, history, and politically relevant neighborhood, and ways by which their experience of war influences their political culture. Countries covered in detail include United States, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Russia.

Political Science Student Learning Outcomes**1) Understand and apply theory frameworks**

Political Science students should be able to

- A. recognize normative and ethical components of politics
- B. understand theoretical foundations of politics in the different subfields
- C. recognize the value of theories for making sense of the past and present

D. apply theoretical arguments and concepts in the service of explanation or prediction of political phenomena

2) Understand and apply history as a lens of inquiry

Political Science students should be able to

- A. use history as a framework for understanding contemporary politics
- B. understand that discerning historical patterns and their disruption are critical parts of the discipline

Assessing the Student Learning Outcomes:

--**Three exams**, consisting of short essay questions based on the material covered by the readings and in the class discussion. Each exam will count for 15% of the final course grade. The highest exam grade will count for an additional 15%.

-- **Weekly reading summaries.** You are required to submit to a D2L dropbox weekly summaries of assigned readings. Each summary (which should be about **one page, single-spaced**) is to address, to the best of your ability, the key points raised in each of the readings and reflect on the major theme of the week, outlined following each week's list of readings below. A list of issues to focus on will be posted on D2L not later than Friday of the preceding week. The posted discussion questions, by the way, will reappear once again. Readings summaries will be graded on a pass-fail basis. You may fail to submit one summary during the semester. Failure to submit each additional summary will lower your course grade by 2 points.

--**Participation in class discussion:** This accounts for the 15% of your course grade. Class participation grade will be assessed as follows:

Frequent and topical participation: 100%

Occasional participation: 85%

No participation, or very rare participation: 70%

All readings summaries submitted on time and to standard: +15% (not to exceed 100%)

Research Paper This project will count for 30% of your course grade. If you so desire, you may submit an early draft of the paper at least two weeks prior to semester's end and receive a "preview grade" prior to submitting the final paper. Pick one of the following options.

Option 1: Conflict Forecasting Exercise. Your task here is simple and modest: predict a war (defined as a lethal exchange of hostilities between the armed forces of two or more sovereign, independent states) that has a sufficiently significant likelihood of occurring somewhere, anywhere, in the world in the next 25 years or so. You will select two or more countries likely to use armed force against one another and lay out the prediction through the application of conflict theories discussed in this course why a war is likely to occur in this case. You will analyze the international context, balance of power both on regional and global scale, the role of the international anarchy and institutions, the domestic political factors, geography of the region, technology, and other relevant factors. You will conclude by predicting the short-term (i.e., who wins), and long-term effects of that conflict, and include a discussion of the actual likelihood of this conflict occurring and the factors that might prevent it from flaring up.

Option 2: “Who started it?” Here you pick a past conflict and attempt to ascertain the role played by the three levels of explanation, namely leaders and elites personal preferences, that country’s domestic political situation, and the international environment, in the decision of the aggressor country to initiate an armed conflict.

Option 3: A Nation At War. War effort consists of three major components which we will discuss in the course of the course. The first is the qualities and preferences of the national leadership. The second is the quality, proficiency, and size of the armed forces. The third, though possibly the most important one, is the degree to which the nation as a whole is mobilized to support the war effort. The outcome of any conflict is determined by the combination of these three factors, and your task is to pick a country at war and analyze how it fought that war. If it won or lost it (and I guess there really isn’t a third alternative), which of these factors were decisive?

Option 4: Personality profile. Ultimately the decision to go or not to go to war is made by a single individual, the supreme commander, the chief executive of the country, the commander in chief, who may be acting on the advice of advisors, but nevertheless has to make that decision and then has to prosecute the war. So here the objective is as follows: analyze the reasons a specific national leader decided to go to war (including own personal personality traits, where relevant) and then the effectiveness of that leader in his (or her, in rare cases) capacity as the supreme military commander.

Option 5: Quantitative Research Design. Not for the faint of heart. In other words, only for those who are taking PS 245 at the same time as this class.

Attendance: You are allowed three unexcused absences with no penalty. Each additional unexcused absence will reduce your final course grade by 1 point. Occasional lateness will not be penalized; however, frequent lateness may negatively affect your class participation grade.

Academic Honesty: All work is to be your own. No notes, books, or other study materials will be permitted during exams. Violations of the academic honesty code will be pursued in accordance with university procedures. You may (in fact, you are encouraged to do so) work in groups on your readings summaries, however each member of the group should turn in his/her individual summary. Furthermore, if you so choose, you may team up with another student in the section to co-author the required research paper for this course.

Political Science majors should take Political Methodology (245) in either their sophomore or first semester of their junior year. PS245 is a prerequisite for the senior capstone, Political Analysis (401), and cannot be taken concurrently.

Week 1: “One commands, all others obey.”

Michels “Political Parties” Part II

Walker, “Motivational Foundations of Political Belief Systems: A Reanalysis of the Operational Code Construct”

Klandermans, “Collective Political Action”

Nye, “Types and Skills”

Druckman, “Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty”

This is the “First Image” aspect of international conflict, namely the influence of national leaders, their personality characteristics, leadership skills, and political preferences which, contrary to what is often assumed, are not necessarily centered on defeating external adversaries.

Week 2: “*War is bad in that it begets more evil than it kills*”.

Levy, “Domestic Politics and War”

Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games”

Kant, “To Perpetual Peace”

Holsti, “War, Peace, and the State of the State”

The “Second Image” addresses the influence of domestic politics on the initiation and conduct of war, with considerable variation due to regime type and state strength/weakness. While some theories posit that a certain combination of domestic political characteristics will ensure international peace, others argue that the most important causes of war are domestic ones, and that international conflict is simply the internationalization of domestic political conflict.

Week 3: “*International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power.*”

Gilpin, “Hegemonic War and International Change”

Jervis, “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma.”

Morgenthau, “The Balance of Power.”

Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory”

Sobel, “Economic Liberalism and Market Exchange in the Global Arena”

Walt, “Alliances: Balancing and Bandwagoning”

Finally, the “Third Image,” namely the international dimension of conflict which centers on the fact that states exist in an anarchic international system and have to cope with its inherent insecurity. Given the inherent inequality among the member states of the international systems, fluctuations in the balance and distribution of power are associated with differing patterns of international conflict.

Week 4: “*You can do anything with bayonets except sit on them.*”

Art, “The Four Functions of Force.”

Morgenthau, “The Future of Diplomacy.”

Schelling, “The Diplomacy of Violence”

Barnett, “Legal Constraints”

Coping with inherent insecurity of the anarchic international system often takes the form of the use of military force, which comes in many forms, which in turn have implications for both domestic politics and for the state of the international system.

Week 5: “*Whoever makes a pact with these means of violence—and every politician does—is exposed to its specific consequences.*”

Weber, “What is a State?”

Barkey and Parikh, “Comparative Perspectives on the State”

Clausewitz, “On War,” Book VIII, Chapters 3 and 6

Biddle and Long, “Democracy and Military Effectiveness”

Using military force first requires raising it, with serious implications for domestic politics, as different types of political systems excel or fail at providing certain types of military capabilities or at the ability to sustain a military effort.

Exam 1 Tuesday Week 6

Week 6: *“Tactics without technology are useless, technology without tactics is pointless.”*

Levy, “The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology”

Krepinevich, “Cavalry to Computer”.

Military force is also conditioned by technological advances which not only change how wars are fought but also how countries are governed.

Week 7: *“A soldier will fight long and hard for a bit of colored ribbon.”*

Palmer, “Frederick the Great, Guibert, Buelow: From Dynastic to National War”

Paret, “Napoleon and the Revolution in War”

Elting, “Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite: The Armies of the Revolution”

Elting, “Enter la Grande Armee”

Rothenberg, “The Napoleonic Wars” (excerpts)

There have been many military revolutions in human history, with the Napoleonic one’s effects still being felt today.

Week 8: *“Not by speeches and votes of the majority are the great questions of the time decided — that was the error of 1848 and 1849 — but by iron and blood.”*

Holborn, “The Prusso-German School: Moltke, and the Rise of the General Staff”

Rothenberg, “Moltke, Schlieffen, and the Rise of the General Staff”

The effect of a military defeat, such as suffered by Prussia at the hands of France in 1806, can have far-reaching effects not only on the country’s military establishment but on fundamental aspects of its political system.

Week 9: *“They Shall Not Pass”*

Kennedy, “The Coming of a Bipolar World and the Crisis of the Middle Powers, Pt. 1.”

Taylor, “The Outbreak of War in Europe, 1914”

Maier, “Wargames: 1914-1919”

World War I is a remarkable conflict in that none of the defeated powers suffered an outright military defeat, and moreover the defeated powers tended to be the ones most in favor of starting the conflict in the first place. This war therefore provides an insight into the role of domestic politics both as a motivating factor for war and as a means of sustaining the war effort. The onset of World War I furthermore represents a case study in problems inherent in a multipolar international system, which is seen by many theorists as the most conflict-prone of all possible configurations.

Week 10: *“I go the way that Providence dictates with the assurance of a sleepwalker.”*

Hillgruber, “Hitler’s Program”

Horne, "Thank God for the French Army"
Horne, "Palinurus Nods"
Taylor, "The responsibility of the Officer Corps"
Aly, "Nazi Socialism"
Reynolds, "1940: The Fulcrum of the 20th Century?"
Koch, "Hitler's 'Programme' and the Genesis of Operation Barbarossa"
Kovacs, "The Military Origins of the Fall of France"

World War II represents another combination of personal, domestic political, and international factors behind the war, while also illustrating how good (or bad) performance in one war does not necessarily guarantee similar performance in the next one—rather to the contrary.

Exam 2 Weeks 6-10 Tuesday Week 11

Week 11: *"In our time the weak are not taken into account; only the strong are."*

Glantz, "The Parameters of the Soviet-German War"
Ulam, "For our country, for Stalin."
Kennan, "The Struggle Against Hitler, and the Purges"
Kennan, "The Nonaggression Pact"
Kennan, "Russia and the West as Allies"
Kennan, "Russia and the War in Asia"

This is the "Russian way of war", which for which World War II was a showcase, but which was also in evidence in earlier and later military conflicts involving that country. Russia represents an extreme case of a "continental power" whose politics revolve around the problem of national security threats posed by overland threats, and whose motivations to fight wars as well as the means by which they secure victories differ from maritime powers.

Week 12: *"In the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy as a prisoner's chains."*

Clark, "The American Strategic Experience"
Lee, "Early American Ways of War: A New Reconnaissance, 1600-1815"
Weigley, "Eisenhower's Lieutenants" Chapter 1: The American Army; Chapter 2: Weapons and Divisions.
Jacobs, "Strategic Bombing and American National Strategy, 1941-1943"

By way of contrast, the "US way of war" that, like the Russian or European approaches, is conditioned by the US history and geography, and which is better at some things than the Russian or European approaches, but worse at others. The US is an example of a "maritime power" which views international conflict through a very different lens (wars of choice rather than wars of necessity), and develops different tools for the task.

Week 13: *"I am become Death, the Destroyer of Worlds."*

Bernstein "Roosevelt, Truman, and the Atomic Bomb, 1941-1945: A Reinterpretation"
Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities"
Garthoff, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: The Soviet Story"
Gat, "On the Use of Air Power and Its Effect on the Outbreak of the Six Day War"
Safran, "Trial by Ordeal: The Yom Kippur War, October 1973"

Shlaim, "Failures in National Intelligence Estimates: The Case of the Yom Kippur War"

The impact of nuclear weapons on the international system and conventional conflicts in the nuclear age.

Week 14: *"I'm not going to start World War 3 for you."*

Ahmed, "Pentagon study declares American empire is collapsing"

Kofman, "A Comparative Guide to Russia's Use of Force"

Carpenter, "How Kosovo Poisoned US Relationship with Russia"

Hersh, "Military to Military"

The world today looks like it might be on the cusp of another round of great power conflict. The question here is, in what respects does the world today resemble that of 1792, 1914, or 1939? Which of the factors, personal, domestic, and international, which plunged the world into the previous three rounds of systemic conflict are in play today?

Exam 3 Thursday

Papers Due Friday