

Political Science 379: Morality, Conflict and War

Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 9:30-10:45 a.m.

Bolton B-95

Spring 2022

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Course Description

This course examines the conditions that make for war and peace in world politics, and also considers relevant moral and ethical arguments about war. In the first part of the course, we examine historical patterns and trends in warfare, as well as the many causes of war. In the second part, we consider the morality and ethics of war, the outcomes and consequences of war, and proposals to help prevent or limit war.

Learning Objectives

Having completed this course, students should be familiar with many factors that seem to mitigate or exacerbate military conflict between states. Students should be able to apply such factors to real-world scenarios—such as historical cases of war or current conflicts in troubled areas of the world. Students will also be able to thoughtfully consider moral and ethical arguments relevant to the onset, conduct and consequences of conflict and war.

Class Preparation

Students are expected to: 1) finish the assigned readings before the class for which they are assigned, 2) attend class regularly, 3) show up to class on time, and 4) participate in class discussion.

In assessing various authors' works, students should be able to answer the following questions: 1) What does the author seek to explain? 2) What evidence does the author offer in support of the argument? 3) What are the key concepts? 4) From what theoretical perspective does each argument originate? 5) Are there counter arguments that can be made? 6) What do you make of the author's overall argument?

For this three-credit course, students (on average) should expect to spend 144.5 hours on this course. This class meets twice a week for 75 minutes, for a total of 37.5 hours of required lecture and discussion time. Students should expect to spend approximately 70 hours reading the course material and watching the required films. There are also three essay quizzes, a student presentation, and discussion notes that will require approximately 12 hours. Students should reserve at least 25 hours to study for the midterm and final exams.

Grades

Grades will be based on the best two of three short essay quizzes (worth 8.33% each), attendance and participation (8.34%), one midterm exam (35%), and one final exam (40%).

Interested students may choose to write a seven-to-ten-page research paper on a topic approved by me. In this case, the research paper counts for 20% and the final exam 20%. The research paper guide with more information and specific guidance is available at the end of the syllabus. *The optional research paper is due Tuesday, May 3, 2022, at the beginning of class.* I do not accept late papers.

Student Presentations, Participation, and Attendance

Each student must present on one class discussion question and serve as a discussant for two others. Students presenting (or providing written commentary) in a given week should talk to me after class on Thursday the week before, in order to agree on what will be debated or discussed. Each student making a presentation or providing commentary will prepare their own talking points and these notes are due after class on the day that the presentations/discussions are scheduled. Students that miss four class periods will receive a zero for the 8.34% of their participation and attendance grade.

There will be no make-up quizzes, although one quiz may be dropped. No make-up exams will be given without a documented medical or University accepted excuse. Students must produce the appropriate documentation stating why they were not able to be in class at the exact time of the exam.

If you miss an exam, please contact me immediately (beforehand if possible). If you miss the midterm or final exam without giving me prior notice, you must contact me within 24 hours of the exam, or you will not be allowed to take a make-up exam. The midterm and final exams are both non-cumulative exams. **The midterm exam will be given during the regular class period during the 7th week of class (Tuesday, March 8, 2022). The final exam will be given during the scheduled final exam time (Thursday, May 19, 2022, 7:30-9:30 a.m.).**

Students with special needs are responsible for making their needs known in the first two weeks of the semester, especially if accommodations are needed in order to meet any of the requirements of this course. For additional information about UWM University policies see <<http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/SecU/SyllabusLinks.pdf>>. This web site contains a list of University policies and links regarding such issues as incompletes, grade appeal procedures, and policies about academic misconduct, among other things.

UWM Covid-19 Statement

Panther Community Health and Safety Standards: UWM has implemented reasonable health and safety protocols, taking into account recommendations by local, state and national public health authorities, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a member of our campus community, you are expected to abide by the Panther [Interim COVID-Related Health & Safety Rules](#), which were developed in accordance with public health guidelines. These standards apply to anyone who is physically present on campus, UWM grounds, or participating in a UWM-sponsored activity:

- All individuals visiting UWM facilities must wear face coverings while indoors;
- Unvaccinated students coming to campus are required to test weekly for COVID-19; and,
- You should check daily for COVID-19 symptoms and not come to campus if you are

feeling sick.

Additional details about student and staff expectations can be found on the [UWM COVID-19 webpage](#).

Required Readings and Films

The three required textbooks, available to purchase online at <http://www.uwm@ecampus.com> are:

Richard K. Betts (ed.). (2017) *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, fifth edition. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. ISBN-13: 9781138290693.

Michael Walzer. (2000) *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, fourth edition. New York: Basic Books. ISBN-13: 9780465037070.

David W. Ziegler. (2000) *War, Peace, and International Politics*, eighth edition. New York: Addison Wesley Longman. ISBN-13: 9780321048370.

I have placed a copy of all of the required textbooks on two-hour reserve in the UWM library. There are also a number of additional required readings for the course. All of these required readings are listed on the syllabus and are available on our course Canvas site (under “content”).

Additionally, there are a number of **required films** (and/or sections of documentaries) that have been placed on media reserve in the UWM library as part of the course. These movies are listed both on the syllabus and are also briefly discussed in the PS 379: Morality, Conflict and War Media Reserve Guide. Please take notes while you watch these films and strive to incorporate some of this material (where relevant) into your exam essays.

Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

The following schedule is subject to modification. Try to finish each day’s reading before class.

I. Introduction

Week 1 (Tuesday, 1/25 and Thursday, 1/27): Overview of the Course; Studying Conflict and War/Patterns of Conflict, Crisis, and War.

1. Ziegler: Studying Causes (pp. 125-127), Studying War (pp. 87-89), Recent Wars (pp. 69-79), Lessons of Intervention (pp. 97-104), and German Reaction to Versailles and the Rise of Hitler (pp. 25-30), and the Manchurian Crisis (pp.202-205).

II. Causes and Correlates of War

Week 2 (Tuesday, 2/1): Individual-Level Explanations: Human Nature and Regime Type: Realism.

1. Ziegler: Human Nature and Troublemakers (pp. 127-133).
2. Betts: Machiavelli, Niccoló. “Doing Evil in Order to Do Good.” (pp.75-79); Hobbes, Thomas. “The State of Nature and the State of War.” (pp.80-84).
3. Canvas: Thucydides, “The Peloponnesian War, Melian Dialogue (Book 5, Chapter 17).” Electronic text translated by Richard Crawley, accessed 1/15/2008. < <http://www.wellesley.edu/Classical Studies/CLCV102/Thucydides—MelianDialogue.html>>.
4. Walzer: Against Realism (pp. 3-20).

Week 2 (Thursday, 2/3): Regime Type: Liberalism and Democratic Peace Theory.

1. Ziegler: Democratic Peace (pp.137-140).
2. Betts: Kant, Immanuel. "Perpetual Peace." (pp. 138-144); Doyle, Michael W. "Liberalism and World Politics." (pp. 151-166) and Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S., "Power and Interdependence." (pp. 167-174).

Week 3 (Tuesday, 2/8): Nationalism and Identity

1. Ziegler: State and Non-State Actors (pp. 105-115); Nationalism (pp. 133-135); Terrorism (pp.147-152); Re-read Some Recent Wars (pp. 69-79 and pp. 95-104).
2. Betts: Gellner, Ernest. "Nations and Nationalism." (pp. 344-356) and Kaufman, Chaim. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil War." (pp. 356-374).

(Thursday, 2/10): Civilizations. QUIZ #1

1. Betts: Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?" (pp. 32-51).
2. Canvas: Stephens, Bret. "How to Manage Savagery." *Commentary*. September 2008.

Week 4 (Tuesday, 2/15): Diversionary Theory and Transnational Tension.

1. Canvas: CNN, All Politics. (8/20/1998) "Most Lawmakers Support Clinton's Military Strikes." Accessed 1/11/2008.
2. Canvas: BBC News. (12/17/1998) "From Scandal to Rocket Raids: Mixed Response from GOP." Accessed 1/11/2008.
3. Media reserve: Just for fun, watch the movie "Wag the Dog." This comedy/drama is based upon the book *American Hero* by Larry Beinhart. The film is about a President caught in a sex scandal just before the election. The Administration decides to create a fictitious war to divert attention away from the scandal and top Hollywood producers are called to the White House to "produce" the war.

(Thursday, 2/17): Transnational Tension.

1. Canvas: Cooley, John K. 1984. "The War over Water" in *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*, Richard K. Betts, ed., third edition, Boston: Pearson Education, 2008, pp. 596-606.
2. Betts: Homer Dixon, Thomas F., "Environmental Changes and Causes of Acute Conflict" (pp. 614-628) and De Soya, Indra, "Ecoviolence" (pp.629-640).

Week 5 (Tuesday, 2/22): Territorial Claims.

1. Ziegler: Chapter 4, Wars in the Middle East (pp. 53-68).
2. Walzer: The Rights of Political Communities (pp.53-58).

(Thursday, 2/24): Anarchy, the Security Dilemma, and Arms Races.

1. Ziegler: Sovereignty (pp. 108-110), Anarchy (pp. 115-118), Arms races (pp. 221-228).
2. Canvas: Huntington, Samuel P. (1958) "Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results" in *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*, Richard K. Betts, ed., third edition, Boston: Pearson Education, 2008, pp. 391-411.

Week 6 (Tuesday, 3/1): Balance of Power Theory.

1. Betts: Blainey, Geoffrey, "Power, Culprits, and Arms." (pp.121-133).
2. Walzer: Preemptive War and The Balance of Power, Preemptive Strikes (pp. 75-85).

(Thursday, 3/3): Intervention.

1. Walzer: Self-Determination and Self-Help (pp. 86-108).

Week 7 (Tuesday, 3/8): **Midterm Exam**

III. Methods and Ethics of War

Week 7 (Thursday, 3/10): Aggression and Neutrality.

1. Walzer: Chapter 15 (pp. 233-250).
2. Media reserve: Hew Strachan's "The First World War." Disc 1. "To Arms" (also discussed Week #11) and "Under the Eagle" which shows the German invasion of Belgium and France.

Week 8 (Tuesday, 3/15): Noncombatant Immunity and Military Necessity.

1. Walzer: Chapter 9 (pp.138-159).
2. Media reserve: (recommended) "Saving Private Ryan" (1998).

(Thursday, 3/17): War Against Civilians: Sieges and Blockades.

1. Walzer: Chapter 10 (pp.160-175).
2. Media reserve: Hew Strachan's "The First World War." Disc 3. "Blockade 1916-1917." Also "The Battle for Russia." From the "Why We Fight" series (1943). The second part of the film shows footage of the siege of Leningrad and the battle of Stalingrad.

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Week 9 (Tuesday, 3/29): Guerrilla War, Terrorism and Unconventional War.

1. Walzer: Chapter 11 (pp.176-196).
2. Betts: Crenshaw, Martha. "The Strategic Logic of Terrorism." (pp.448-461), Bin Laden, Osama. "Speech to the American People." (pp. 462-466), Lawrence, T.E. "Science of Guerrilla Warfare" (pp. 466-475), and Tse-Tong, Mao. "On Guerrilla Warfare." (pp. 475-485).

(Thursday, 3/31): Supreme Emergency: The Decision to Bomb German Cities and Japan.

1. Walzer: Chapter 16 (pp. 251-268).
2. Media reserve: "The Battle for Britain." (1943) and from Ken Burns PBS documentary series, "The War" (2007). Required.
 - a. War: Episode One: "A Necessary War." Go to main menu and choose "scene selection." Chose "Pearl Harbor" and also "We Haven't Got a Chance."
 - b. War: Episode Six: "The Ghost Front." Go to the main menu and choose "scene selection." Choose "Our Boys" and "Fire Storm." This section discusses the American and British bombing of the German cities and the American fire-bombing campaign against Tokyo.

- c. War: Episode Seven: "It Happened in an Instant."
3. Media reserve: (recommended) "Letters from Iwo Jima" (2006).

IV. Outcomes and Consequences of War

Week 10 (Tuesday, 4/5): Costs of War; Winners and Losers. QUIZ #2

1. Ziegler: Iran-Iraq War (pp. 79-84).

(Thursday, 4/7): Costs of War; Winners and Losers Continued.

1. Walzer: The Tyranny of War (pp. 29-33); War's End and the Importance of Winning (pp. 109-124).
2. Canvas: Sherman, William T. "Letter to the Mayor and Councilmen of Atlanta." Reprinted from *Memoirs of William T. Sherman* vol. 2 (New York, 1875).

Week 11 (Tuesday, 4/12): Recurrent Conflict and Rivalry.

1. Ziegler: Chapters 1 and 2, Franco-German Rivalry (pp. 5-31).
2. Media reserve: review Hew Strachan's "The First World War." Disc 1. "To Arms." The film discusses the origins of the Great War.

(Thursday, 4/14): Recurrent Conflict and Rivalry Continued.

1. Ziegler: Chapter 3 (pp. 35-49) and pp. 89-95 (US-Soviet Cold War).

V. Prevention or Limitation of War. No Face-to-Face Class. Canvas Lecture

Week 12 (Tuesday, 4/19): Proliferation and Deterrence I: General Principles.

1. Ziegler: Allies and Extended Deterrence (pp. 141-143).
2. Walzer: Reprisals (pp. 207-222).

(Thursday, 4/21): Proliferation & Deterrence II: Weapons of Mass Destruction.

No Face-to-Face Class. Canvas Lecture

1. Ziegler: Proliferation (pp. 140-141, 143-147).
2. Betts: Waltz, Kenneth N., "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better" (pp. 418-430).
3. Canvas: Waltz, Kenneth N. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb." *Foreign Affairs* 91:4 July/August 2012, pp.2-5.
4. Canvas: Kissinger, Henry, and Shultz, George P. "The Iran Deal and Its Consequences." *The Wall Street Journal*, April 11, 2015.

Week 13 (Tuesday, 4/26): Weapons of Mass Destruction Continued. QUIZ #3

1. Canvas: Daalder, Ivo and Lodel, Jan. "The Logic of Zero: Toward a World Without Nuclear Weapons." *Foreign Affairs* 87:6 November/December 2008.
2. Canvas: Joffe, Joseph and Davis, James W. "Less than Zero: Bursting the New Disarmament Bubble." *Foreign Affairs*. 90:1 January/February 2011.
3. Canvas: Blair, Bruce, Brown, Matt, and Burt, Richard. "Can Disarmament Work? Debating the Benefits of Nuclear Weapons." *Foreign Affairs*. 90:4 July/August 2011.

Week 13 (Thursday, 4/28): Arms Control and Disarmament.

1. Ziegler: Disarmament (pp. 228-283).
2. Canvas: Fairbanks, Jr., Charles H., and Abram N. Shulsky. "Arms Control: The Historical Experience" (pp. 454-465).
3. Canvas: Reread Huntington, Samuel P. (1958) "Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results" in *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on the Causes of War and Peace*, Richard K. Betts, ed., third edition, Boston: Pearson Education, 2008, pp. 391-411.

Week 14 (Tuesday, 5/3): Collective Security. (Optional paper due)

1. Ziegler: Chapter 13, Collective Security (pp. 199-220) and Chapter 17, The United Nations (pp. 267-281).

(Thursday, 5/5): Peacekeeping

2. Ziegler: Chapter 18, United Nations Peace Keeping (pp. 283-291).
3. Canvas: Autesserre, Severine. "The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars." *Foreign Affairs*. 98:1 (January/February 2019) pp. 101-116.
4. Media reserve: "Black Hawk Down" (2001). This film discusses the 1993 U.S.-U.N. mission gone wrong in Somalia. The film incorporates actual images taken by a reconnaissance plane that hovered over Mogadishu during the battle.

Week 15 (Tuesday, 5/10): Regional Integration and World Government.

1. Ziegler: Chapter 11, Regional Integration (pp. 171-179) and Chapter 10, World Government (pp. 155-168).
2. Betts: Ikenberry, G. John and Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "A World of Liberty Under Law." (pp. 649-654).

(Thursday, 5/12): Threat Assessment: Russian Intervention in Ukraine and Wrapping Things Up.

1. Betts: Putin, Vladimir. "The Threat to Ukraine from the West." (pp. 568-575), Cohen, Eliot A. "The Threat from Russia." (pp.575-580), Henderson, Neville. "The German Threat? 1938." (pp. 564-568).
2. Canvas: Ahmari, Sohrab. 2014. "The Weekend Interview with Anders Fogh Rasmussen: Waking Up to the Russian Threat." *The Wall Street Journal* Saturday/Sunday, April 12-13, 2014, A11.

Final Exam: Thursday, May 19, 2022, 7:30-9:30 a.m.

Optional Research Paper Guide

Students will write a seven-to-ten-page research paper analyzing the theoretical causes of one inter-state conflict, selected from the list of 95 wars compiled by Meredith Reid Sarkee from the Correlates of War data set. (See the attached list or go to <<http://cow.dss.ucdavis.edu/data-sets/COW-war>> Scroll down and click on the “Inter-State Wars List PDF.”)

By the end of the third week of class, your choice of war must be approved. Students may not write on the same conflict. The sign-up for the selection of war topics will be made on a first-come-first-served basis. Students will identify three or four independent variables (i.e., causes or explanations) for their selected case and analyze the relative impact of the identified variables as causes of the conflict. These causes will be drawn from the explanations and theories considered in the course material. For example, students might consider causes such as: a state leader’s ideology (e.g., the desire to spread their ideal system of government, political power and/or economic influence); structural causes (e.g., balance of power); foreign influences, pressures, or threats; domestic political pressure; national identity; and/or a territorial/border dispute.

The paper will consist of two parts. In the first section of the research paper (3-5 pages), students will **identify the theoretical causes** of the inter-state conflict. In the theory section of the paper, students are expected to present a theoretical argument about how each cause (or “independent variable”) contributed to the outbreak of the conflict. For each factor chosen, (a) explain the theoretical logic of why the factor is thought to be a cause of conflict in general, and (b) hypothesize about how each variable is expected to apply to your particular case. Work through the general logic of the causes of conflict/war and make specific references to your case, to show how each part of the logic applies to the specific case. Consider how the independent variables might interact. Is one cause or explanation expected to be relatively more influential as an explanation for your war? Why or why not? All of your reasoning in this section should apply logically to several potential inter-state wars. Avoid formulating theories based on your knowledge of the specific conflict unless the reasoning can be generalized to many other potential wars or inter-state conflicts.

In the final section of the paper, students will **consider the evidence** for their causes. Students are expected to *analyze and explain* how the conflicts’ historical record supports (or fails to support) each of the theoretical causal explanations specified in the previous section. Does the evidence support each theory in a way that is predicted? Why or why not? Use specific information from your chosen war to explain and support your argument. Keep in mind that no real-world example is perfectly explained by three or four causes. We hope for our theories to explain as much as possible, but we have to be careful to look for evidence of what they don’t explain. Students should also **make (and justify) a projection about the likelihood that the same adversaries will become involved in another conflict or war sometime in the next decade.** This should be based upon your understanding of the three or four causes—have they changed, or do they appear likely to produce another war?—as well as on any other information that you consider relevant.

Research papers must include references to books and refereed academic journal articles. Students may cite readings assigned in the course but must also include references to at least five other additional books or refereed academic articles. A useful reference source for most war topics is the library’s book collection. For example, useful books may include specific histories of the war. There are military and diplomatic histories of each participant in the war as well as

general histories of the states or regions at issue. With respect to inter-state wars, facts such as specific start and end dates, participants, and the number of fatalities for each conflict are available on an Excel spreadsheet (listed by the war #) from the Correlates of War Project Inter-State War Data (v.4.0) found at: <<http://cow.dss.ucdavis.edu/data-sets/COW-war>>. Regarding academic journal articles, I recommend searching the UWM libraries website. (Go to “search and find” on the upper left side of the main library page. Click on Databases A-Z and search JSTOR and Worldwide Political Science Abstracts. Try searching by using the name of the war or conflict, a term like “causes,” names of political actors, and other terms related to the explanations or causes. Students must ***include a summary of their theoretical argument and evidence (or research findings) in the introduction of their research paper.*** This section is usually easiest to write after the rest of the paper is finished.

The research paper is to be double-spaced, and the ten-page limit does not include materials such as the title page, bibliography, and/or any additional charts, maps, or data included. The ten-page maximum requirement is based upon standard fonts and margins. Be sure to use the spelling and grammar review, number your pages, and use a standard reference guide when citing your references, such as the Chicago Manual of Style Online. The Chicago-Style Quick Guide can be found at:

<https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html>. It provides many useful samples citation references. (Many political science journals use the “author-date” method, which is probably the most common way to cite references in the field.)

Students are responsible for citing all references and for submitting their own work. It is very important that you ***submit your work; use quotations when incorporating the work of others; cite references when paraphrasing; and cite all references carefully.*** UWM takes the issue of academic integrity seriously. Students caught cheating or plagiarizing other’s work (which may include “cutting and pasting” from the work of others, paraphrasing without citing the source, use of quotations without citing the source, and inadequate citation of references) will receive an “F.” Be aware that cases of academic misconduct reported to the University may result in severe penalties after a review process.