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# IR 222: PREVENTIVE WARS

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**Semester:** Fall 2009**Lectures:** Thu: 02:00 PM—4:40 PM**Location:** Hylan 206**Office Hours:** Tue./Thur. 11 AM-12 PM**Instructor:** Thomas Chadeaux**E-mail:** [tchade@ur.rochester.edu](mailto:tchade@ur.rochester.edu)**Office:** 327 Harkness Hall**Phone:** 585-275-0620

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## COURSE DESCRIPTION

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Prevention is perhaps the most common justification for war. Both world wars, and more recently the invasion of Iraq and concerns over China's economic and military rise, illustrate its historical and present relevance. In this seminar, we analyze the theory, history, and practice of preventive wars – wars fought to avoid negotiating in a position of weakness in the future. When and why do states fight them, and what lessons can we draw from history to avoid them in the future?

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## GRADING

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<i>Examination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight</i>
Class participation	Participation to discussions / questions.	35%
Class Presentations	Present a point of view on one of the subjects proposed and lead the debate against members of the other team.	10%
Summaries (4)	Summarize one paper (additional reading) and present it to the class.	10%
Final Paper	Essay on a subject of your choice, to be discussed with me (about 10 pages), due before thanksgiving break	25%
Final Exam	Written, in class. 6 short questions+ 1 short essay.	20%

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**Short questions** aim to test your knowledge. Any fact or concept covered in the class or the readings can be asked. Answers need only be a few sentences long, half a page at most.

*Examples of short questions:*

- What is appeasement?
- What is the difference between a preventive and a preemptive war?
- What are the main accomplishments of the Washington naval agreement?

**The short essay** will test your understanding of concepts and their relationships. Your answer should be around three hand-written pages.

*Examples of short essay:*

- Is the 2003 Iraq war a preventive war? Discuss
- Can preventive wars be just?

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## TEXTBOOKS / READING MATERIAL

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Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press

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## COURSE OUTLINE

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### PART I: THEORY

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#### SEMINAR 1 – 09/03 – PRESENTATION & OVERVIEW

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#### SEMINAR 2 – 09/10 – WHY STUDY WAR AND HOW TO STUDY IT?

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##### **Trends**

- [Gleditsch, Wallensteen, Eriksson, Sollenberg and Strand. 2002. Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset. \*Journal of peace\* 39\(5\):615—637.](#)
- [Mearsheimer, John. 1990. Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War. \*International Security\*.](#)
- [Kaysen, Carl. 1990. "Is War Obsolete?". \*International Security\* 14\(4\). pp. 42—64.](#)

##### **How to study it?**

- [Gartzke, Eric. 1999. War is in the Error Term. \*International Organization\*.](#)

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1989. "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. pp. 53-76.

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SEMINAR 3 – 09/17 – CLASSICAL THEORIES OF WAR

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**Required Readings**

- [Hobbes, Thomas. \*Leviathan\*. Ch. 13](#) ("Of the natural condition of mankind").
- Morgenthau, Hans. 2005. *Politics among Nations*. McGraw-Hill. Chapter 1.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapters 2 ("The First Image"), 4 ("The Second Image"), 6 ("The Third Image").
- Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press. Chapter 2.
- Mearsheimer, John. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. Ch. 2 ("Anarchy and the Struggle for Power", pp. 29—54), ch. 5 ("Strategies for Survival, pp. 155—162), ch. 8 ("Balancing vs. Buckpassing", pp. 269—272), ch. 9 ("The Causes of Great Power War", pp. 334—347).
- Keohane, Robert. 1986. *Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond*. In Robert Keohane, *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 158—203.

**Additional Readings**

- Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. pp. 58-84
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. 3rd ed. NY: Free Press. Chapter 3 ("Dreams and Delusions of a Coming War"), pp. 35-56
- Cashman. 1993. *What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict*. Lexington Books. Ch. 8

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SEMINAR 4 – 09/24 – BARGAINING AND WAR

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**Required Reading**

- Powell, Robert. 1999. *In the Shadow of Power*. Princeton University Press. Ch. 3, 4 (make your best effort at understanding the models, but focus more on the text).
- Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War". *International Organization*.
- Schelling, Thomas. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale. ch. 2 (pp. 35—92).

### **Additional Readings**

- Powell, Robert. 2002. "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict". *Annual Review of Political Science* (5):1—30.

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### SEMINAR 5 – 10/01 – PREVENTIVE AND PREEMPTIVE WAR THEORIES

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#### **Required Reading**

- Organski. 1968. *World Politics*. Knopf. pp. 297—338 (conclusion of ch. 11—“The Balance of Power” and entire ch. 12—“The Power Transition”)
- Levy, Jack S. 1987. "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," *World Politics*, 40(1). pp. 82-107.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press. Chapter 4
- Reiter, Dan. 1995. "Exploding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen." *International Security* 20:5-34
- Powell, Robert. 2006. "War as a Commitment Problem". *International Organization*.

#### **Additional Readings**

- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 156-185 ("Equilibrium and Decline") and 186—210 ("Hegemonic Change and War.")

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### SEMINAR 6 – 10/08 – ARMS RACES / OFFENSE-DEFENSE

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#### **Required Reading**

##### Arms Races:

- Glaser, Charles. 2000. "The Causes and Consequences of Arms Races". *Annual Review of Political science*, 3:251—76
- Powell, Robert. 1999. *In the Shadow of Power*. Princeton Univ. Press. Ch. 2

##### Offense/Defense:

- Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. *Causes of War*. Cornell University Press. Ch. 3, 6
- Glaser & Kaufman. 1998. "What Is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?" *International Security*, 22(4):44—82.

#### **Additional Readings**

##### Arms Races:

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1988. "Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results." In Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, 3rd ed. NY: University Press of America, pp. 637-670

- Kennedy. 1983. Arms Races and the causes of war, 1850—1945. In *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870—1945*, PM Kennedy, pp. 165—77. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Siverson, Randolph M. 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.

Offense/Defense:

- Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, 30(2):167—214.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1984. "The cult of the offensive and the origins of the First World War". *International Security*, 9(1):58—107.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1998. "Offense, defense, and the causes of war". *International Security*, 22(4):5—43.

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SEMINAR 7 – 10/15 – AVOIDING PREVENTIVE WARS AND ENDING THE WAR

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**Required Reading**

- Princen, Thomas. *Intermediaries in International Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Luttwak. 1999. Give War a Chance. *Foreign Affairs*
- Chadeaux, Thomas. 2009. *Bargaining Over Power*. Manuscript.
- Parge Fortna, Virginia. *Peace Time*. Intro + Chs 1 and 6
- Lund, Michael. 1996. *Preventing Violent Conflicts. A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy*. United States Institute of Peace Press. Ch. 3 and 5

**Additional Readings**

- Ziegler, David. 1981. *War, Peace and International Politics*. Boston: Little, Brown. Chapter 15 ("Disarmament"), pp. 249-267, and chapters 8, 11 ("World Government," "Collective Security,") pp. 127—45, 179—203.
- Jacob Bercovitch and David Wells. 1993. "Evaluating Mediation Strategies: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis," *Peace and Change*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 3-25.
- Richard Smoke. 1977. *War: Controlling Escalation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

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SEMINAR 8 – 10/22 – DOMESTIC POLITICS AND PREVENTIVE WAR

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**Required Reading**

- Fearon, James. 1998. Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and the Theories of International Relations. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1:289—313
- Schweller, RL. 1992. "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *World Politics* 44(2):235—269.
- Levy, Jack S. 1989. "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman. pp. 259-288.
- Fearon, James. 1997. "Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands vs. sinking costs." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41.
- Garfinkel, Michelle. 1994. Domestic Politics and International Conflict. *American Economic Review*, 84(5):1294—1309

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SEMINAR 10 – 11/05 – CIVIL WARS

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**Required Reading**

- [Fearon, James. 2004. Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?](#) *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Walter, Barbara. 1997. "The critical barrier to civil war settlement". *International Organization*, 51(3):335—64.
- Fearon and Laitin. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90,4(1996):715-735.
- Kumar, Radha. 1997. "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1, pp. 22-34.
- Lake and Rothchild. 1996. "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," *International Security* 21(2):41-75.

**Additional Reading**

- Derouen, Lea and Wallenstein. 2009. "The Duration of Civil War Peace Agreements." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 26:367
- Collier, Paul. 1998. "On the Economic Consequences of Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers*, 51:168-83
- Fearon and Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97,1(2003):75-90
- Fearon, James D. 2005. "Primary Commodity Exports and Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49
- Collier and Hoefler. 2001. "Greed, Grievance and Civil War".
- Hoddie & Hartzell. 2003. "Civil War Settlements and the Implementation of Military Power-Sharing Arrangements". *Journal of Peace Research*, 40(3):303—320.

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SEMINAR 9 – 10/29 –

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1. ETHICS: CAN PREVENTIVE WARS BE JUST

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## 2. PREVENTIVE WAR IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

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### Required Readings

#### Ethics

- *New York Times*. 2004. Preventive War: A Failed Doctrine. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/12/opinion/12sun1.html>
- Doyle, Michael and Stephen Macebo. 2008. *Striking First. Preemption and Prevention in International Conflict*. Princeton University press. pp. 7—99

#### Preventive War in American Foreign Policy

- Silverstone, Scott. 2007. *Preventive War and American Democracy*. Routledge. Ch. 2 (“Preventing a Soviet Atomic Power Shift”) and ch. 6 (“Coercive Anti-Proliferation: From China 1964 to North Korea 1994”).
- Nichols, Thomas. 2008. *Eve of Destruction. The Coming Age of Preventive War*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Ch. 5 (“After Iraq”).

#### Additional Readings

- Silverstone, Scott. 2007. *Preventive War and American Democracy*. Routledge. Ch. 3: “Truman Rejects Preventive War.”
- Silverstone, Scott. 2007. *Preventive War and American Democracy*. Routledge. Ch. 4: “Eisenhower and the Growth of Soviet and Chinese Power, 1953-1955.”
- Silverstone, Scott. 2007. *Preventive War and American Democracy*. Routledge. Ch. 5: “The Cuba Crisis of 1962.”
- Nichols, Thomas. 2008. *Eve of Destruction. The Coming Age of Preventive War*. University of Pennsylvania Press. ch. 2: “Humanitarian Intervention, Sovereignty and Prevention”
- Nichols, Thomas. 2008. *Eve of Destruction. The Coming Age of Preventive War*. University of Pennsylvania Press. ch. 3: “The End of Deterrence”
- Nichols, Thomas. 2008. *Eve of Destruction. The Coming Age of Preventive War*. University of Pennsylvania Press. ch. 6: “Governing the New Age of Prevention”

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## PART II: CASE STUDIES

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### SEMINAR 11 – 11/12 – WARS UP TO WWI

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- [Richard Cobden. 1887. "The Three Panics," in Richard Cobden, \*Political Writings of Richard Cobden\*. Pp. 301—311 —391 \(available on google books\)](#)
- The Preventive War that Never Happened: Britain, France, and the Rise of Germany in the 1930s

<http://ejcontent.ebsco.com/ContentServer.aspx?target=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface%3Fcontent%3Da777386890%26format%3Dpdf%26magic%3Debscohostejs|AA3D3EFB68C36A3B40C78D54581474B7%26ft%3D.pdf>

- Rich, Norman. 1990. *Why the Crimean War? A Cautionary Tale*. McGraw-Hill.
- Gooch. 1969. *Origins of the Crimean War*. Heath & Co.
- Ponting, Clive. 2004. *The Crimean War: The Truth Behind the Myth*. Random House.

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SEMINAR 12 – 11/19 – WWI AND WWII

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**Required Reading**

- Fergusson, Niall. 2006. *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West*. Penguin Press. Chapter 9: Defending the Indefensible.
- Kissinger, Henry. 1994. *Diplomacy*. Simon & Schuster. Chapter 12: "The End of illusion: Hitler and the Destruction of Versailles."
- Van Evera, ch. 7

**Additional Reading**

- James Joll, *Origins of the First World War* (NY: Longman, 1984), chapter 2, pp. 9-34.
- 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.")
- Imanuel Geiss, *German Foreign Policy, 1871-1914*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. vii-ix, 75-83, 106-181; focus on pp. 121-127, 142-150.
- R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* 7th ed. (NY: Knopf, 1991), pp. 798-799, 822-849.
- Sebastian Haffner, *The Meaning of Hitler*, pp. 3-165.
- 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.
- 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.
- Jonathan G. Utley, *Going to War with Japan 1937-1941* (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 151-156.
- 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).



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11/26 – THANKSGIVING BREAK

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SEMINAR 13 – 12/03 – 1945 - PRESENT

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**Required Readings:**

**Six-Day War**

- Yost, Charles. 1968. "How it Began". *Foreign Affairs* 46:304.

**Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990)**

- Atlas and Licklider. 1999. "Conflict among Former Allies after Civil War Settlement: Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, and Lebanon." *Journal of Peace Research*, 36(1):35—54
- Walter, Barbara. 1996. "Designing Transitions from Violent Civil War." *International Security*, 24(1):127—155.

**Iraq 2003**

- Fearon, James. 2007. "Iraq's Civil War". *Foreign Affairs*, 86(2):2—15

**Additional Readings:**

- Haass, Richard. 2009. "Beyond Iraq: A New U.S. Strategy for the Middle East". *Foreign Affairs*, 88(1):41—59.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 1999. "Ethnic Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature". *World Bank Working Papers*.
- Walter, Barbara. *Committing to Peace: the Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*, ch. 6 ("Negotiating for Security Guarantees: The Civil War in Zimbabwe").
- Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management". *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(2):318—332.
- Betts, Richard. 2003. "Suicide From Fear of Death?" *Foreign Affairs*, 82(1):34.
- Mearsheimer, John and Stephen Walt. 2003. "An Unnecessary War." *Foreign Policy*.
- Mueller, John. 2005. The Iraq Syndrome. *Foreign Affairs*, 84(6):44—54.

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SEMINAR 14 – 12/10 – REVIEW AND CONCLUSION

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**Recommended Readings:**

- Ikenberry, John. 2002. "America's Imperial Ambition." *Foreign Affairs* 81(5):44—60.
- Nichols, Thomas. 2008. *Eve of Destruction. The Coming Age of Preventive War*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Ch. 4 ("International Perspectives on Preemption and Prevention").

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## LECTURE POLICIES

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### LATE WORK POLICY

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The following penalties may be applied for late work:

- Work submitted 1-2 calendar days AFTER its due date may be graded down a maximum of 10%.
- Works submitted 3-6 calendar days AFTER its due date may be graded down a maximum of 20%.
- Work submitted 7-21 days AFTER its due date may be graded down a maximum of 30%.
- Work submitted more than 21 days AFTER its due date will receive an automatic zero.

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### PAPER SUBMISSIONS

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Your paper should include:

**A title page** with an abstract. This page should contain: the paper's title and your name; the date, course number and the name of the assignment (e.g., "Final paper").

**The paper itself** should be double-spaced, 1" margins on all sides, 12 pt font size, and right-justified. There should be no spaces between paragraphs within the paper.

**A references page (APA style).** Sources should be alphabetized by the author's last name (or, for sources without authors, by the first letter in the title).