PolitiCal Science 437: War in World PoliTiCS

Fall 2013
September 5, 2013

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Class: Tuesday and Thursday 9:45 AM – 11:00 AM, 108 Wartik Lab

Office Hours: Tuesday 2 PM – 4 PM
and by appointment.

Course Goals and Overview

This course will examine a number of issues surrounding international conflict (crises and wars). The course will examine the causes, conduct, and consequences of wars. We will use wars from around the world and drawn from a variety of historical periods as examples, but this course is not primarily a historical assessment or description of wars through history. Rather, we will focus on a number of theoretical and normative issues which have relevance for understanding war as a general political phenomenon. We will tend to focus on a handful of cases as examples and illustrations of these issues, including WWI, WWII, Vietnam, the 1990-91 Persian Gulf war, the 2003+ US-Iraq war, and with frequent references and comparisons to the recent conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. We will also discuss insurgency and terrorism, relating them to “classic” conventional warfare fought between large, organized military forces.

We will first discuss various images of war, and discuss how war and attitudes toward war have changed over time. We next turn to broad historical and methodological schools of thought about how war should be analyzed. We will also discuss a few specific theories on the causes of war. We will then discuss a number of specific issues involved with war, including military strategy, ethics and war, propaganda and war, race and war, and how war has changed over time. As a wrap-up, the ideas from the rest of the course are projected forward to the future of war in the international system and to current problems including terrorism.

Throughout the course, we will emphasize several themes:

1. War has changed systematically over time in important ways, raising important new questions at the same time that old issues remain;
2. There are a number of different theories about why wars occur;
3. There are normative, practical, domestic, and strategic issues intertwined in the conduct of war both between and within states;
4. Domestic political constraints, attitudes, goals, and functions play a key role in determining when and how wars are fought; war does not take place in a vacuum or in a purely military setting;
5. We can project into the future and make an assessment of how international conflict is likely to change or remain the same in the future;
6. Politics are an integral part of war; war is not solely a military enterprise.

Because of the multiple goals of this class, readings in the course are of two major types. Some readings will address broad questions such as “what is war” or “what is propaganda.” These readings are often theoretical, and lay out the constraints and issues involved in considering a particular topic. The second type of reading will focus on applying some concept to a particular case or set of cases. This set of readings are known as “empirical,”
meaning “using data,” and use history as examples or applications of concepts and theory to the real world. In
class we will be relating the general concepts to the specific cases, but you should work to do this on your own.

Assignments

- 2 Short Quizzes: 5% each (around Sept. 12, Nov. 19)
- Midterm Exam: 25% (October 15)
- Research Paper: 30% (due December 5; preliminary sections due October 29, November 5, November 14)
- Final: 30% (Cumulative; during finals week)
- Participation: 5%

The quizzes will be focused on the required readings and movies, along with major class discussion
points. The exams will consist of short answer and essay questions. The final exam will be cumulative, and will
have both short answer questions and 2 to 3 essay questions.

We will discuss the paper in detail around the time of the midterm. Generally, your assignment is to
choose some past war or wars, and apply one or more of the topics from class to that war or wars. Your topic(s)
must be related to those we discussed in the class. The objective is to use the ideas from that topic (for example,
strategy, ethics, race, or a cause of war) to shed light on the war or wars you have chosen to focus on. Specifically,
you have two options for your research paper. Either you may:

1) choose a single war, and apply two of the topics we have discussed in this class to that war; or
2) choose a single topic that we have discussed and apply that topic to two wars.

The assignment is then to discuss the topic(s) in the context of the war(s) you choose. For example, under
the second option, you might contrast how race affected US strategy in WWI and WWII, or compare how the US
and Israel dealt with issues of military ethics in Vietnam and Lebanon, respectively. Under the first option, you
might explore the interaction of race and propaganda in the Vietnam war, or explore how strategy and domestic
politics affected the way the German Army fought in WWII. YOU MUST HAVE YOUR TOPIC AND CHOICE
OF WARS APPROVED BY ME!

The final paper will be 10-20 pages in length.

Papers are due at THE BEGINNING of the class period when they are due. Papers will be marked down
1/2 of a grade for each day they are late. Turn your paper in on time! Most of your paper grade will be based on
content and organization. However, spelling and grammar will count for one letter grade of your paper. Thus, a B
paper with many errors will receive a C. Papers must be word-processed, 10 or 12 point type, must have normal
margins (1 to 1-1/4 inches), and must have page numbers on them. Your paper must also be submitted to me
electronically, and I will use PSU’s link to the Turnitin software site, which submits your paper to turnitin.com to
check for plagiarism of online sources and other papers.

You must turn in preliminary parts of the paper at 3 points along the way:
1) Paper topic (what topic are you studying, and what wars are you examining?)
2) Preliminary bibliography
3) Detailed paper outline
Complete paper due in December, including electronic version emailed to me.

Each of the preliminary components is worth 1/3 of a letter grade. If you do not turn these in ON TIME,
or if they are not satisfactory, you will lose 1/3 grade each on the final paper.
Readings and Movies

Four books, a set of articles, and watching a set of movies are required for this class.

I expect you to read everything listed on the syllabus for a particular date before class. The lectures will not duplicate the reading. Instead, the lectures will draw on the readings for background and examples, present other viewpoints, relate ideas to the rest of the course, and relate cases to the general perspectives presented. The reading load is not light, but neither is it too heavy. Some readings take more time than others, and some days have more assigned readings than others. Make sure you leave yourself plenty of time, and look ahead for heavy reading days.

We will also be watching 3 feature length war movies, and a 4th optional one. These movies are about four very different wars (WWII, Vietnam, nuclear war, and Iraq). They were also filmed at different times. The goal in watching each is to see many of the concepts we talk about in class in practice, to get a feel for the nature of war in different periods, and to get a feel for different ways that war can be portrayed in film.

Required Books

The Betts book in particular is not cheap, and you might consider sharing it with a classmate if you are strapped for cash.

Articles
The required articles for the course are available on electronic reserve (http://www.libraries.psu.edu/psul/home.html and select “Course Reserves”). If you prefer, you may borrow the full set of articles from me and have it photocopied.

Movies
You may watch the required movies in one of two ways.
- First, we will have a “movie night” to watch each movie as a group. You are welcome to bring one or two friends to these if you like, they are intended to be fun along with watching the movie. We will hand out the exact schedule for rooms and times within the first few days of class. (Movies will be shown around 7 PM).
- Second, if you can’t make it to movie night, you may watch the movie at a different time at the library, in the Music and Media Center, 211 West Pattee Library (865-3616). They have 15 individual viewing stations. If at least 3 of you want to watch the movie together, you can also reserve W214 for a group viewing (be sure to contact them plenty early because the schedule fills up).

The three required movies we will be watching are:
1. *To Hell and Back* (WWII; released 1955; 106 minutes).
2. *Platoon* (Vietnam; released 1986; 120 minutes).

The fourth movie is optional, but will give you insight into Cold War nuclear fears when we are talking about the effects of nuclear weapons:
4. *Fail-Safe* (nuclear war; released 1964; 112 minutes).
Addendum: Movie Night Schedule

- All movies will be shown in 167 Willard
- Movie night 1 (To hell and back): Tuesday 9/10, 7 PM
- Movie night 2 (Platoon): Tuesday 9/24, 7 PM
- Movie night 3 (Fail Safe): Tuesday 10/1, 7 PM
- Movie night 4 (Hurt Locker): Tuesday 10/29, 7 PM

Grading and Class Policies

I will give extensions on papers and midterms only in very extreme circumstances. You MUST have an extension approved by me WELL BEFORE the exam or paper deadline. If you miss an exam or a paper, you will receive a 0 on it. If you miss an exam due to an illness or death in the family, I WILL REQUIRE WRITTEN VERIFICATION OF WHAT HAPPENED.

I am more than happy to answer questions in office hours, or just chat. Office hours are there for your use -- take advantage of them! If you have another class during my regular office hours, I will schedule a different time with you. I will answer as many questions as possible in class, so please ask! I would rather have class discussion than just lecture. Some of the ideas presented in class are controversial, especially since the international system is going through an upheaval, and so discussion can be very important. Please also feel free to contact me by email with questions. If the question requires a long answer, I may want to schedule a time to meet. Note that I am not on my email 24/7: especially depending on the time of semester, it may take a couple of days for you to get a response. As a helpful tip for all of your classes, take a look at http://www.wikihow.com/Email-a-Professor. This has a number of tips that are helpful for email etiquette that will carry over to all kinds of professional email communications.

I hope that debate and discussion will be important parts of this class, as they are part of critically evaluating arguments and perspectives in international relations. I expect you to talk to each other, not just to me. Participation by everyone is strongly encouraged, and will make class run much better. HOWEVER, the point of discussion is to use criticism and contrasting opinions to sharpen each other's arguments and bring out hidden assumptions, NOT to destroy each other's ideas or make yourself look better than someone else. NO disparaging remarks or personal insults will be tolerated in class. Neither will talking, doing crossword puzzles, reading newspapers, or doing other homework.

Academic Dishonesty

The Department of Political Science, along with the College of the Liberal Arts and the University, takes violations of academic dishonesty seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all members of the community are required to subscribe.

All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless an instructor clearly states that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with their instructor.

In an examination setting, unless the instructor gives explicit prior instructions to the contrary, whether the examination is in-class or take-home, violations of academic integrity shall consist but are not limited to any attempt to receive assistance from written or printed aids, or from any person or papers or electronic devices, or of any attempt to give assistance, whether the one so doing has completed his or her own work or not.

Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any Penn State administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity.
In cases of any violation of academic integrity it is the policy of the Department of Political Science to follow procedures established by the College of the Liberal Arts. More information on academic integrity and procedures followed for violation can be found at: http://laus.la.psu.edu/current-students/academics/academic-integrity/college-policies

Plagiarism

A more specific issue of academic dishonesty is that of plagiarism. If you don't know what plagiarism is, check with your advisor. Basically, though, plagiarism is taking written credit for someone else's work. Examples of plagiarism include turning in a paper written by someone else, presenting someone else’s ideas as if they were your own, or using parts of a book, article, or web site directly without quoting, or even paraphrased without acknowledging the source. I join the University in taking plagiarism very seriously. If I catch someone plagiarizing, I will give that person a 0 on the assignment, and will consider giving you an automatic F for the course, as well as bringing you up on academic charges. It is not hard to avoid plagiarizing -- if you use a quote from someone, acknowledge it in a footnote; if you paraphrase or summarize an argument, cite the source where you got the idea; if you use facts and figures from some source, note the source of your information. If you are still using the ideas and main text from some source without proper attribution, changing a few words does not mean you have not plagiarized.

Disabilities and Other Special Circumstances

Penn State welcomes students with disabilities into the University's educational programs. If you have a disability-related need for reasonable academic adjustments in this course, contact the Office for Disability Services (ODS) at 814-863-1807 (V/TTY). For further information regarding ODS, please visit the Office for Disability Services Web site at http://equity.psu.edu/ods/ Instructors should be notified as early in the semester as possible regarding the need for reasonable accommodations.

I will do my best to make special arrangements for students with any special needs or conflicts as far as course lectures or test-taking circumstances are required. Again, if you anticipate a particular requirement, let me know as soon as possible. I will always accommodate legitimate needs, but I am unlikely to accommodate last minute requests. Special circumstances include disabilities and any scheduled activities that you have that conflict with this class, including academic or athletic competitions. If you do not notify me of special circumstances early on, I am under no obligation to give you a make-up exam or assignment extension.

Visit our web site

The Political Science Department website contains a wealth of information including course schedules, faculty office hours, faculty home pages describing their areas of teaching and research activities, answers to questions about advising, internship opportunities, announcements, and much, much, more. Check back often: we will continuously update our information about internships and career opportunities: http://polisci.la.psu.edu/
Course Outline  (note: all dates are approximate and are subject to change):

I. Images, Trends in Warfare, and Approaches to Understanding War  
   Weeks 1-2 (8/27, 8/29, 9/3, 9/5)

   Introduction and Policies

   Understanding war: Images, definitions, and issues (Week 1)  
   Images of war:  
   Excerpts 3, 6, 11, 12, 17, 22, 24 from War, Lawrence Freedman, ed. (Handout).

   Basic problems, Issues, and Factors (Norms, Anarchy, Security Dilemma):  
   Hobbes in Betts, p. 6-70.
   Machiavelli in Betts, pp. 61-65.

   Trends in war and the evolution of technology (Week 2)  
   Crenson, “Scholars Skirmish Over War Origins” (Electronic Reserve)
   Levy, “Continuity and Change in the Evolution of Warfare.” (Electronic Reserve)  
   Van Crevald, Chapter 1, 11, 18 (Electronic Reserve)

II. Why Wars Start: The Causes of War  
   Week 3 (9/10, 9/12)

   Broad Approaches to Understanding War: Justifications, Rationality, Biology  
   (Electronic Reserve)
   (Electronic Reserve)
   Aron, “Biological and Psychological Roots” (Electronic Reserve).
   Mead, “Warfare is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity” in Betts, pp. 219-223.

   IR Theories of War: Realism vs. Liberalism, domestic politics, and the democratic peace  
   Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” in Betts pp. 135-149.

*** MOVIE: TO HELL AND BACK (Around Tuesday September 10) ***

*** Quiz 1: Around September 12 ***
III. The Conduct of War I: Strategy and the Relationship Between Strategy and Politics

Weeks 4-7 (9/17, 9/19, 9/24, 9/26, 10/1, 10/3, 10/8, 10/10)

**Basic Strategic Thinking: Types, Effects, and Determinants of Military Strategy (Week 4)**
Clausewitz, Karl von. *On War*. Chapter 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 (Electronic Reserve)
(chapter 1 and 2 go together; chapters 4, 5, and 6 lead up to the argument in chapter 7)
Biddle, Stephen, “Strategy in War.” (Electronic Reserve)
Reiter and Meek, “Determinants of Military Strategy, 1903-1994” (Electronic Reserve)
(Read to understand different types of strategy, and summary of factors that influence choice)

**Applications: WWI, WWII, Vietnam, Persian Gulf (Week 5)**
In class: Short video on the 1990/1991 Persian Gulf War

*** MOVIE: PLATOON (Around Tuesday September 24) ***

**Insurgency and Counterinsurgency Strategy (Week 6)**
Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*
Lawrence in Betts, pp. 466-474.
Mao Tse Tung in Betts, pp. 475-485.

**Nuclear Weapons (Week 7)**
Waltz in Betts, 451-461.


*** MOVIE: FAIL-SAFE (Around Tuesday October 1) ***

*** NOTE: Final exam day and time will be announced by registrar’s office around now ***

*** NOTE: Final exam conflict filing period is September 30 - October 20 ***

Week 8: Catchup, Discuss Research Paper, Midterm. (10/15, 10/17)

*** Discuss Research Paper: October 15 ***

*** Midterm Review: October 15 ***

*** Midterm: October 17 ***
IV. Psychological Aspects of Killing and War; Images, Media, Propaganda, and Training

Weeks 9-10 (10/22, 10/24, 10/29, 10/31)

The influence and use of cartoons, posters, editorials, and movies

2 Videos in class:
- Video, excerpt of “Why Soldiers Fought,” examining Frank Capra’s movie “Prelude to War”
- Video, “The Combat Film” traces the evolution of war movies. 60 minutes.

Psychology / images and war
Discussion of films
Stein, “Image, Identity, and Conflict Resolution” (Electronic Reserve)

*** MOVIE: THE HURT LOCKER (Around Tuesday October 29) ***

Propaganda and war; Internal and External, Subtle and Overt Persuasion, the Use of Art
Alleyne “The Death of Propaganda” (Electronic Reserve).

An exhibit of US WWII propaganda posters is on the web at

If you have “RealPlayer” installed on your web browser (Netscape or Internet Explorer), you can find websites with clips of various propaganda films over the past 75 years, such as
(clips on this site relates to the material discussed in the Dower book below)

A listing of war movies by period is at http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/Warfilm.html

The Psychology of War and Combat
New York Times “Treatment Can Ease Lingering Trauma of September 11” (Electronic Reserve)

*** Research Paper Topic due: Tuesday October 29 ***
V. The Conduct of War II: Ethics, International Law, Race, and War  
Weeks 11-13 (11/5, 11/7, 11/12, 11/14, 11/19, 11/21)

_The Laws and Ethics of War (Weeks 11-12)_
The development of the “Just War” Tradition and International Law
- Skim Frowe Chapters 1-2 for background
- Frowe Chapters 3-5 on Just War theory

Current International Law and War; Current issues
- Frowe Chapter 7: Non-combatants
- Frowe Chapter 8 and 9: Terrorism and torture
- New York Times, “Parsing Degrees of Atrocity within the Logic of Law” (Electronic Reserve).
- Hashmi, Sohail, “Interpreting the Islamic Ethics of War and Peace” (Electronic Reserve)

_Applications: WWI, WWII, Vietnam, Persian Gulf, Iraq, Terrorism_
- Levy, “The Contentions: How Americans Disagreed about the War and Destroyed the Consensus” (Electronic Reserve)

_Speaker on International Law in Military_

*** Research Paper Preliminary Bibliography due: Tuesday Nov. 5 ***

*** Research Paper Outline due: Thursday Nov. 14 ***

*** Quiz 2: Around November 19 ***

_Race and War (Week 13)_
- Race, Images, and Propaganda
- The effect of racial issues on military strategy

- Dower, _War without Mercy_.
  - Part 1: General Discussion
  - Part 2: Western views
  - Part 3: Japanese views

*** Thanksgiving break week of November 25 ***

*** Final research paper due Thursday December 5***

VI: Recent Changes in Warfare; The Future of War  
Weeks 14-15 (12/3, 12/5, 12/10, 12/12)

_Terrorism_
- Borum, Randy. “Understanding the Terrorist Mindset.” Excerpt from _Annual Editions: Violence and Terrorism 05/06_ pp. 18-20. (Electronic Reserve)
Nacos “Military and Nonmilitary Responses,” Chapter 11 of *Terrorism and Counterterrorism.*
(Electronic Reserve)

There are many interesting sources of terrorism information. One is the U.S. Department of State report, “Patterns of Global Terrorism,” see [http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/pgtrpt/](http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/pgtrpt/).

The Global Terrorism Database housed in a multi-university center based mainly at the University of Maryland is at [http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/](http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/).

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*Could War Become Obsolete? The Future of War*

Fukayama, "The End of History." In Betts., pp. 6-17


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*Review (December 8)*

** Final Exam (cumulative!) during finals week (December 16-20) **

** Final Exam schedule will be announced on elion in late September **
Some exemplary war movies by period/topic

- **WWI**
  - All Quiet on the Western Front
  - Sergeant York
  - The Big Parade

- **WWII**
  - Big Red One
  - The Longest Day
  - A Bridge Too Far
  - Saving Private Ryan
  - To Hell and Back
  - Sands of Iwo Jima

- **Cold War / Nukes**
  - Dr. Strangelove
  - Fail-Safe
  - The Morning After

- **Vietnam**
  - Platoon
  - Full Metal Jacket
  - Deer Hunter
  - Apocalypse Now

- **Insurgency**
  - The Battle of Algiers

- **Persian Gulf / Recent**
  - Heartbreak Ridge
  - Courage Under Fire
  - Black Hawk Down
  - Jarhead
  - Stop-Loss
  - The Hurt Locker