

## POLITICAL SCIENCE 154: PEACE AND CONFLICT (SUMMER SESSION I, 2011)

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Location: 1305 Humanities & Social Sciences Time: Monday/Wednesday 11:00 AM - 1:50 PM  
Instructor: Erik Gartzke (Assoc. Professor) Office: 327 SSB Hours: Tues 1:30-3:00PM  
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### Course Description:

Peace has been sought after and debated since earliest times. Intellectual traditions in the study of peace are diverse, but few theories offer claims that are readily verifiable or that are solid enough in terms of their logic to persuade large numbers of people over the long term. Modern world history is punctuated by repeated claims that war has become obsolete. Yet, war recurs. The recurrence of war (if not its regularity) has lead some to argue that warfare is endemic to human nature (or the nature of all living things?), and thus that the search for peace is foolish or worse. How is one to know whether (and when) peace can be achieved? What theories are credible when arguments are imperfect and evidence is incomplete? How can one improve the study of peace in an era of contrasting cues and rising global consequences? This course examines these questions.

### Course Requirements:

- **Class Participation** (15% of course grade): Come to class prepared to assert your ideas. There is a ***much larger premium*** on being willing to voice opinions than on being 'right.'
- **Short Essay** (35% of course grade): The short essay is your chance to express a creative solution to a timely world crisis. The topic will be given in class. The essay should be argumentative (take a position and make your best case). Length is a maximum of 5 pages. You will need to read up on the subject (check major newspapers and current periodicals like *the Economist* or *Newsweek*). The essay must be hard copy, typed, double spaced, 1 inch margins, 12 point font, on standard paper. Spelling and grammar will impact your grade. **Put page numbers on each consecutive page.** Papers **MUST BE TURNED IN ON TIME.** Late papers are subject to a significant reduction in grade.
- **Final Exam** (50% of course grade): The final will be conducted in class, in an essay and short answer format (11:30 AM – 2:29 PM, Friday July 29<sup>th</sup>, Room: TBA).

Note #1: Students are encouraged to study and learn together. However, all written assignments must be the sole product of the person submitting the work. Don't cheat and don't plagiarize. If you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please consult with the instructor.

Note #2: It is your responsibility to apprise me of any factor that may interfere with your ability to perform in this class well in advance of scheduled assignments. Appropriate measures for disabilities and other concerns will be taken in accordance with University of California policy.

Note #3: In order to document requests, students seeking a review of any grade must prepare a written memo detailing his or her request and citing reasons for requesting the proposed change.

### Required Texts:

- Cortright, David. 2008. *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Referred to as "Cortright." ISBN: 978-0-521-67000-5
- Barash, David P. 2000. *Approaches to Peace: A Reader in Peace Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Referred to as "Barash." ISBN: 978-0195123869

Additional readings are assigned. These will be made available on reserve in Geisel Library. Required readings are required. Optional readings are included for your personal enrichment.

### DATE

### TOPIC/ASSIGNMENT

SESSION 1: Monday, June 27

Foundations "How Pragmatic is Peace"

Required: Cortright: Chapter 1; Barash: Introduction

- Machiavelli, Nicolo. 1505. [The Prince](http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/m/machiavelli/niccolo/m149p/). Chapters 8-10, and 14. (<http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/m/machiavelli/niccolo/m149p/>)
- Aquinas, Thomas. 1225-1274. *Summa Theologica*. Secunda Secundae Partis, Question 29 "[On Peace](http://www.newadvent.org/summa/302900.htm)" (<http://www.newadvent.org/summa/302900.htm>), and Question 40 "[On War](http://www.newadvent.org/summa/304000.htm)" ([www.newadvent.org/summa/304000.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/summa/304000.htm)) This is not an endorsement of religion.
- Grotius, Hugo. [On the Law of War and Peace](http://www.constitution.org/gro/djbp.htm). (<http://www.constitution.org/gro/djbp.htm>)

SESSION 2: Wednesday, June 29

Why War? "On the Theory of War"

Required: Barash: Chapter 1

- Blainey, Geoffrey 1973. *The Causes of War*. New York: Free Press. Read the Preface and Chapters 1, 9 and 16.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1988. "Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." in *Origin and prevention of major Wars*. Boston: MIT Press, p. 39-52.

Optional:

- Carr, E.H. 1939. *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939*. London: Macmillan.
- Cashman, Greg. *What Causes War?: An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49:3 (Summer) pp. 379-414.
- Guevara, Ernesto. 1998. *Guerrilla Warfare*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Especially Chapter 1.

SESSION 3: Monday, July 4 [NO CLASS -- Holiday] Happy July 4<sup>th</sup>!

Required: Cortright: Chap. 2, 9; Barash: Chapter 2, except Barash "International Law," Marrack "The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping," and Kant "Perpetual Peace."

- Hardin, Garrett 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162: 1243-1248. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0036-8075%2819681213%293%3A162%3C1243%3ATTOTC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-8>
- Mueller, John. 1989. *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*. New York: Basic Books. Read the introduction.
- Kaysen, Carl. 1990. "Is War Obsolete?" *International Security* 14(4):42-64.

Optional:

- Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Putnam, Robert. D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42(3):427-460.

SESSION 4: Wednesday, July 6 God and the Liberal Tradition "Liberal Dialectic"

Required: Cortright: Chap. 3, 10; Barash: Chap. 2, Kant "Perpetual Peace."

- Wilson, Woodrow. 1918. "[Speech on the Fourteen Points](http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/wilson-points.htm)." (<http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/wilson-points.htm>).
- Doyle, Michael W. 1986. "Liberalism in World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 80(4):1151-1169.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West." *Foreign Affairs* 87(1)

Optional:

- Butler, Nicholas Murray. 1912. *The International Mind: An Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes*. New York: Scribner.
- Butler, Nicholas Murray. 1924. *The Faith of a Liberal: Essays and Addresses on Political Principles and Public Policies*. New York, Scribner.
- Butler, Nicholas Murray. 1969 [1940]. *Why War?: Essays and Addresses on War and Peace*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press.
- Angell, Norman. 1933. *The Great Illusion*. New York: Putnam.
- Cobden, Richard. 1903. *Political Writings of Richard Cobden*. Vol. I, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Also at: <http://www.econlib.org/library/YPDBooks/Cobden/cbdPWtoc.html>
- Gartzke, Erik. 2005. "Economic Freedom and Peace." In James Gwartney and Robert Lawson, *Economic Freedom of the World*. Vancouver: Fraser Institute.
- Rosecrance, Richard. 1996. "The Rise of the Virtual State." *Foreign Affairs* 75(4):45-61.
- Rosecrance, Richard. 1985. *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World*. New York: Basic Books.
- Rosecrance, Richard. 1999. *The Rise of the Virtual State: Wealth and Power in the Coming Century*. New York: Basic Books.

SESSION 5: Monday, July 11 Democratic Peace "Democratic Peace Theory"

Required: Cortright: Chap. 4, 11; Barash: Chap. 3.

- Owen, John M. 1994. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security* 19(2):87-125.
- Oneal, John R. and Bruce Russett. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, & Conflict, 1950-1985." *International Studies Quarterly* 41(2):267-293.
- Ray, James Lee. 1998. "Does Democracy Cause Peace?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 13(1):27-46.

Optional:

- Doyle, Michael W. 1997. *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism*. New York: Norton.

- Russett, Bruce, and John R. ONeal. 2001. *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Layne, Christopher. 1994. "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace." *International Security* 19(2):5-49.
- Rosato, Sebastian. 2003. "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 97(4):585-602.
- Gates, Scott, Torbjorn L. Knutsen, and Jonathan W. Moses. 1996. "Democracy and Peace: A more Skeptical View." *Journal of Peace Research* 33(1):1-10.
- Spiro, David. 1994. "The Insignificance of the Liberal Peace." *International Security* 19(2):50-86.
- Gowa, Joanne. 1999. *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Slantchev, Branislav L., Anna Alexandrova, and Erik Gartzke. 2005. "Probabilistic Causality, Selection Bias, and the Logic of the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 99(3):459-462.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 2002. "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War." *International Organization* 56(2):297-337.

SESSION 6: Wednesday, July 13 International Organizations and International Law

Required: Cortright: Chap. 5, 12; Barash: Chap. 3. Barash "International Law,"

- Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19(3):5-49.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Lisa L. Martin. 1995. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20(1):39-51.
- Kupchan, Charles, and Clifford A. Kupchan. 1995. "The Promise of Collective Security." *International Security* 20(1):52-61.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1995. "The False Premise of Realism." *International Security* 20(1):62-70.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1995. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20(1):71-81.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1995. "A Realist Reply." *International Security* 20(1):82-93.

Optional:

- Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?" *World Politics* 57(1):1-38.
- ONeal, John R., and Bruce Russett. 1999. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 52(1):1-37.

SESSION 7: Monday, July 18 Interdependence/Globalization "Chaotic Peace"

Required: Cortright: Chap. 6, 13; Barash: Chap. 6.

- Blanchard, Jean-Marc F., Edward D. Mansfield, and Norrin M. Ripsman. 1999. "The Political Economy of National Security: Economic Statecraft, Power, Interdependence, and International Conflict." *Security Studies* 9(1):92-118.
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Brian M. Pollins. 2001. "The Study of Interdependence and Conflict: Recent Advances, Open Questions, and Directions for Future Research." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(6):834-859.

- McMillan, Susan M. 1997. "Interdependence and Conflict." *The International Studies Review* 41(1):33-58.

Optional:

- Montesquieu, Baron de. 1989[1748]. *Spirit of the Laws*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1945. *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lenin, V.I. 1965. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Beijing, PRC: Foreign Languages Press.
- Brooks, Stephen. 1999. "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43(5):646-670.
- Bhagwati, Jagdish N. 2004. *In Defense of Globalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hobson, John H. 1938. *Imperialism*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2002. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton.

SESSION 8: Wednesday, July 20 Being Civil (N. Ireland, Israel/Palestine)

Required: Cortright: Chap. 8, 14; Barash: Chap. 5.

- Foreign Affairs. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations?: The Debate*. New York: Foreign Affairs. [ISBN: 0-876-09164-8].
- Barber, Benjamin. 1992. "Jihad versus McWorld." *Atlantic Monthly* 269(3):53-65.
- Kaplan, Robert D. 1994. "The Coming Anarchy: How Scarcity, Crime, Overpopulation, Tribalism, and Disease are Rapidly Destroying the Social Fabric of our Planet." *Atlantic Monthly* 273(2):44-76.
- Russett, Bruce, John Oneal, and Michaelene Cox. 2000. "Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Déjà vu?" *Journal of Peace Research* 37(5):583-608. Read also the response by Huntington.

Optional:

- Kaplan, Robert D. 2000. *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War World*. New York: Random House.
- Chiozza, Giacomo. 2002. "Is There a Clash of Civilizations?: Evidence from Patterns of International Conflict Involvement, 1946-97." *Journal of Peace Research* 39(6):711-734.
- Said, Edward. 1979. "Introduction" in *Orientalism*. Vintage Books. pp. 1-28.
- Take a look at: [http://www.csmonitor.com/specials/sept11/flash\\_civClash.html](http://www.csmonitor.com/specials/sept11/flash_civClash.html)

SESSION 9: Monday, July 25 Terror "Making Peace with the War on Terror"

Required: Cortright: Chap. 7, 15; Barash: Chap. 4.

- Neumann, Peter R. 2007. Negotiating with Terrorists. *Foreign Affairs* 86(1)
- Pillar, Paul R., "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism," from Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (Guilford, Conn: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2003), pp. 24-46.
- Betts, Richard. "The New Threat of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (January /February 1998), pp. 26-41.
- Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3):343-361.

Optional:

- Telhami, Shibley. "It's Not about Faith: A Battle for the Soul of the Middle East." *Current History* 100(650):415-418.
- Singer, P.W. "American and the Islamic World" *Current History* 101(658):355-364.
- Li, Quan. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2):278-297.
- Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding" *Political Science Quarterly* 119(1):61-88.

SESSION 10: Wednesday, July 27                      Imposing Peace (Bosnia/Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan)

Required: Cortright: Chap. 16; Barash: Chap 2, Marrack "Evolution of UN Peacekeeping,"

- Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. "[International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis](#)." *American Political Science Review* 94(4):779-801.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. "[Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects](#)." *World Politics* 56(3):481-519.
- Fearon, James D. 2007. "Iraq's Civil War" *Foreign Affairs* 86(2).

Optional:

- Nicholson, Harold. *Peacemaking, 1919*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap.
- Otunnu, Olara A., and Michael W. Doyle. 1998. *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for a New Century*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

**FINAL EXAM: 11:30 AM – 2:29 PM, Friday July 29<sup>th</sup>, Room: TBA**