# POL 351: WAR AND PEACE STUDIES

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**Course Materials**

- John Baylis, James Wirtz, and Colin S Gray (2016), *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 5th ed. (Oxford University Press) [abbreviated in syllabus as BWG]
- Andrew J Bacevich (2013), *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War*, updated ed. (Oxford University Press)
- David P Barash (2014), *Approaches to Peace: A Reader in Peace Studies,* 3rd ed. (Oxford University Press)
- Matthew Levinger (2013), *Conflict Analysis: Understanding Causes, Unlocking Solutions* (United States Institute of Peace)

**Course Objectives**

*"An unjust peace is better than a just war" – Cicero (1st cent. BC)*
*"A just war is better than an unjust peace" – Oliver Cromwell (17th cent.)*

A war changes everything. It is perhaps the most serious human undertaking to choose a course of action in that it requires individuals to kill or be killed. The misery and suffering that accompanies war for soldiers and civilians alike is well documented – yet armed conflict continues to be seen as a reasonable and necessary option. How can this be explained? This is where we will begin our investigation: what are the causes of war (and also, therefore, the causes of peace)? Can war be eliminated? Is this desirable?

War is almost never an end in and of itself; it is designed to achieve other goals. To the extent that policymakers believe that a war is a useful *tool* for achieving some purpose, strategy becomes a central question. Strategy involves questions about how to effectively use armed violence for political ends. We will look at classic conceptions of this and then look at the "state-of-the-art" in military strategy, focusing in particular on the ways the US has perceived the use of the armed conflict. This discussion will culminate in an examination of case studies to examine how military strategy interacts with political ends (and vice versa). A central question is whether the use of armed force is an effective tool for achieving political ends.

A third question we will ask is if there are *more* effective tools than armed force for certain political ends. This will bring us to the field of conflict resolution: why do/will some use force and can other steps be taken to stop/prevent the use of force? Wars have high economic and humanitarian costs that create incentives to find non-war alternatives. What steps should/can be taken in which circumstances?

Finally, we will look at the future of war and peace, asking specifically if the world is somehow becoming qualitatively different and making old theories and conclusions obsolete. The same questions pursue humanity into the future: what causes armed conflict, is armed conflict a useful political tool, and are there other more effective tools than armed conflict. The new question is whether our current answers (or attempts at answers) are still valid in the 21st century.

*Political Science Program Learning Outcomes*

PLO 2: You will be able to evaluate, design, and apply social science research with respect to political phenomena.

- Conflict map and journal
- Exams

PLO 5: You will develop and express ideas in written communication in an effective and scholarly manner.

- Conflict map

*International Studies Program Learning Outcomes*

PLO 1: You will be able to recognize and appreciate the historical, political, social, cultural, and economic dimensions of international processes and issues.

- Conflict map and journal
- Exams

**Course Grading**

The following is the breakdown of how the final grade will be determined:

25% Exam #1
25% Final Exam (cumulative)
10% Conflict Journal
25% Conflict Map
15% Attendance and Participation

*Conflict Journal*

Each student will select one armed conflict (or potential armed conflict) on which to gather information, analyze, and propose a policy. A list of armed conflict options is attached to the syllabus, though you are welcome to choose a conflict not on the list (with professor's advice and consent).

Each student will keep a "journal" of her/his research on this conflict. Every Monday, at the beginning of class, the student will turn in that week's update to the journal. The main purpose of the journal is to record current events occurring in the country/conflict so that your research is as up to date as possible ("conflict tracking"). In many cases, news events of the broader region will be important to provide a context for your conflict. In the journal, you will also record articles or books you are examining on the topic and why these may be helpful to your research. At the end of the semester, your journal should be a fairly comprehensive and current account of the conflict you have chosen.

*Conflict Map*

The conflict map will take all of the research you have done on the conflict and present it in a clear, concise, and structured format that would make it easier for a policymaker with little to no knowledge of the conflict to be better informed about the circumstances. You will be the expert on the conflict (remember you've spent the whole semester researching it, so you really will have some expertise) providing up-to-date, accurate, and relevant information to the policy-maker.

In addition, your conflict map will also include a policy proposal for what steps to take to resolve the conflict. You may address the policy to any policymaking institution you wish (e.g., the US, the UN, the country in question, etc.). This section of the paper should address what should be done, why, the implications and consequences of following your policy, and why alternative policies would be less effective or more problematic than your proposed policy.

The conflict map should be between 10 and 13 pages (double spaced), with a *minimum* of 20% of the space devoted to the policy. The final paper will be due April 21 at 11:00 AM.

*Attendance and Participation*

Attendance is very important in an upper-division course since this is the forum in which we discuss all these ideas more in depth. Attendance is 7% of the total grade and will be calculated in the following manner:

| # of classes missed | Attendance grade |
|---|---|
| 0-1 | 7 |
| 2 | 6 |
| 3 | 5 |
| 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 3 |
| 6 | 2 |
| 7 | 1 |
| 8 | 0 |
| 9 | dropped from course |

Participation is a subjective measure of the how involved in class discussions a student is. Quantity does not impress me as much as quality – the student who just talks to be heard better have something that adds to the discussion. However, everyone should participate and 8% of the total grade will be a subjective judgment of how well you added to class discussions.

**Final Examination Policy**

Successful completion of this class requires taking the final examination **on its scheduled day.** No requests for early examinations or alternative days will be approved.

**PLNU Copyright Policy**

Point Loma Nazarene University, as a non-profit educational institution, is entitled by law to use materials protected by the US Copyright Act for classroom education. Any use of those materials outside the class may violate the law.

**PLNU Academic Honesty Policy**

Students should demonstrate academic honesty by doing original work and by giving appropriate credit to the ideas of others. Academic dishonesty is the act of presenting information, ideas, and/or concepts as one's own when in reality they are the results of another person's creativity and effort. A faculty member who believes a situation involving academic dishonesty has been detected may assign a failing grade for that assignment or examination, or, depending on the seriousness of the offense, for the course. Faculty should follow and students may appeal using the procedure in the University Catalog. See Academic Policies for definitions of academic dishonesty and for further policy information.

**PLNU Academic Accommodations Policy**

If you have a diagnosed disability, please contact PLNU's Disability Resource Center (DRC) within the first two weeks of class to demonstrate need and to register for accommodation by phone at 619-849-2486 or by e-mail at DRC@pointloma.edu. See Disability Resource Center for additional information.

**PLNU Attendance and Participation Policy**

Regular and punctual attendance at all classes is considered essential to optimum academic achievement. If the student is absent from more than 10 percent of class meetings, the faculty member can file a written report which may result in de-enrollment. If the absences exceed 20 percent, the student may be de-enrolled without notice until the university drop date or, after that date, receive the appropriate grade for their work and participation. See Academic Policies in the Undergraduate Academic Catalog.

**PLNU Mission** To Teach – To Shape – To Send

Point Loma Nazarene University exists to provide higher education in a vital Christian community where minds are engaged and challenged, character is modelled and formed, and service is an expression of faith. Being of Wesleyan heritage, we strive to be a learning community where grace is foundational, truth is pursued, and holiness is a way of life.

# WAR AND PEACE STUDIES: Schedule of Lectures and Readings

## PART I: CAUSES OF WAR AND PEACE INTERNATIONALLY

**1/10 Introduction**

**1/11 Hu(man) Nature and Violence**

- BWG: 72-77
- John C Mitani, David P Watts, and Sylvia J Amsler (2010), "Lethal Intergroup Aggression Leads to Territorial Expansion in Wild Chimpanzees," *Current Biology* 20(12): R507-08
- Konrad Lorentz (1966), "On Aggression," in Barash 14-19
- Raymond Aron (1966), "Biological and Psychological Roots," in *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*: 340-41
- Martin Van Creveld (1991), "Why Men Fight," in *The Transformation of War*: 218-23
- Margaret Mead (1940), "Warfare Is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity," in Barash 20-23
- Chris Hedges (2002), "War Is a Force that Gives Us Meaning," in Barash 24-26

**1/13 Realist Theories of War and Peace**

- Michael Doyle (1997), "The Range of Realism" and "Balancing Power Classically," in *Ways of War and Peace*: 41-48, 161-74
- Robert Gilpin (1983), "Hegemonic War and International Change," in *War and Change in World Politics*: 186, 197-98
- Thucydides, "The Melian Dialogue," in *The Peloponnesian War*
- Reinhold Niebuhr (1940), "The War and American Churches," in *Christianity and Power Politics*
- Reuel Marc Gerecht (Aug 26, 2013), "Assad Has Called Obama's Bluff," *NY Times Room for Debate*
- Stephen M Walt (Aug 26, 2013), "Weapons Assad Uses Shouldn't Affect US Policy," *NY Times Room for Debate*

**1/18 Conflict Dimensions**

- Levinger: 11-73

**1/20 Conflict Assessments**

- Levinger: 73-133

**1/23 Liberal Theories of War and Peace**

- Michael Doyle (1997), "The Varieties of Liberalism," in *Ways of War and Peace*: 205-12
- Andrew Moravcsik (2008), "The New Liberalism," in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*: 234-54

- William Kristol and Robert Kagan (2000), "National Interest and Global Responsibility," excerpt (pp. 68-74)
- Tony Blair (Jul 6, 2013), "Democracy Doesn't on Its Own Mean Effective Government," *The Guardian*
- Gareth Evans (Aug 23, 2013), "Diplomacy and Double Standards," *Project Syndicate*
- Optional: Bacevich, ch. 3: 69-96

**1/25 Has Violence Declined – Will It Disappear?**

- Video: (August 13, 2013), "Steven Pinker," *The Colbert Report* http://www.colbertnation.com/the-colbert-report-videos/428560/august-13-2013/tsa-expansion-program---steven-pinker
- Video: Steven Pinker (2007), "The Surprising Decline in Violence," *TED* http://www.ted.com/talks/steven_pinker_on_the_myth_of_violence.html
- Steven Pinker (2011), "On Angel's Wings," in *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*: 671-96
- John Gray (Sep 21, 2011), "Delusions of Peace," *Prospect*

**1/27 A Few Other Assorted Theories**

- BWG: pp. 67-71
- Marxism: Michael Doyle (1997), "Lenin's *Imperialism*," in *Ways of War and Peace*: 346-55
- Offense-Defense: Stephen Van Evera (1999), *Causes of War*: 117-23, 160-68
- Constructivism: Martha Finnemore (2003), *The Purpose of Intervention*: 16-22
- Power Transition: AFK Organski (1958), "The Power Transition," in *World Politics*: 292-93, 325-33, 338
- Misperception: Robert Jervis (1988), "War and Misperception," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(4): 675-700

**1/30 Is Religion (or a Particular Religion) a Major Cause of War?**

- Samuel P Huntington (1993), "The Clash of Civilizations," in Barash 48-55
- Video: Maps of War (May 27, 2009), "History of Religion," *The Richard Dawkins Foundation for Reason and Science* http://old.richarddawkins.net/videos/3893-history-of
- Mark Juergensmeyer (1993), "Why Religious Confrontations Are Violent," in *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*: 153-70
- Gwynne Dyer (Feb 18, 2012), "Religion an Increasing Source of Strife in Africa," *Japan Times Op-ed*
- Video: Rev. Jack Van Impe (Dec 31, 2012), "Islam and the Middle East" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2pURsgqIAyA
- Jonah Fisher (Aug 29, 2013), "Anti-Muslim Monk Stokes Burmese Religious Tensions," *BBC*
- John A Tures (Sep 10, 2011), "Myth of the Modern Religious War," *Pacific Standard Magazine*

## PART II: CONFLICT ANALYSIS

**2/1 Conflict Mapping**

- Levinger, chs. 6-7, 9: 135-63, 187-208

# PART III: STRATEGIC STUDIES

## Section A: Strategic Culture: Is the US Unique?

### 2/3 Strategic Culture

- BWG, ch. 5
- Valerie Hudson (2008), "Where Is Strategic Culture to Be Found? The Case of China," *International Studies Review* 10(4): 782-85
- Bacevich, Intro

### 2/6 The Role of the Military in the US

- Bacevich, ch. 1: 9-33

### 2/8 Vietnam's Effect on the US Military

- Bacevich, ch. 2: 34-68

### 2/10 The Revival of the US Military: The 1980s and 90s

- Bacevich, ch. 4: 97-121

### 2/13 Evangelicals and the US Military

- Bacevich, ch. 5: 122-46

### 2/15 Is American Militarism Exceptional?

- Bacevich, ch. 7: 175-204

## Section B: The Evolution of Military Strategy

### 2/17 Evolution of Modern Warfare

- Martin Van Creveld (1991), *Technology and War: From 2000 BC to the Present*: 81-98, 153-66
- BWG, ch. 2

**2/20 Sun-Tzu and Clausewitz**

- BWG, ch. 3
- Sun-Tzu (c. 4th cent BC), *The Art of Warfare*: chs. 3-4, 6-7, 11
- Clausewitz (1832), *On War*: selections

**2/22 Applications of Classic Military Strategy**

- Bacevich, ch. 6: 147-7
- Benjamin Armstrong (Jun 25, 2013), "Mahan, the Forgotten Grand Strategist," *National Interest* http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/mahan-the-forgotten-grand-strategist-8595

**2/24 Modern Military Strategy**

- BWG, ch. 9
- William S Lind (2004), "Understanding Fourth Generation War," *Military Review*: 12-16 http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/lind.pdf
- Umair Haque (aug 14, 2009), "Ten Rules for 5G Warfare," *Harvard Business Review* http://blogs.hbr.org/haque/2009/08/obamas_war_and_how_to_win_it.html
- Col. Vasile Maier and Lt. Col. Eugen Mavris (2012), "Fifth Generation Warfare – a SF Concept or an Inevitable Perspective?" *Romanian Military Thinking* http://www.mapn.ro/smg/gmr/Engleza/Ultimul_nr/maier,mavris-p.100-105.pdf
- Maj. Mark W Elfers (2009), "Fifth-Generation Warfare: Are We Reinventing the Wheel?" *Marine Corps Gazette* http://www.mca-marines.org/gazette/article/fifth-generation-warfare

**2/27 Technology and Media**

- BWG, ch. 7
- Bacevich, ch. 6: 147-74
- Vladimir Bratiae (2006), "Media Effects During Violent Conflict: Evaluating Media Contributions to Peace Building," *Conflict and Communication Online* 5(1)

**3/1 Cyber-Stuff**

- BWG, ch. 16

**3/3 Mid-Term Exam**

**3/6-10 Spring Break**

## Section C: Contemporary Problems and Strategies

### 3/13 International Law and Humanitarian Intervention

- BWG, chs. 6 and 15
- Robert W Merry (Sep 1, 2013), "America's Default Foreign Policy," *National Interest* http://nationalinterest.org/article/americas-default-foreign-policy-8952
- Tod Lindberg (Mar 11, 2013), "How to Prevent Atrocities," *Weekly Standard* http://www.weeklystandard.com/articles/how-prevent-atrocities_704957.html?nopager=1

### 3/15 Nuclear Strategy

- BWG, chs. 11-12
- David Kreiger and Angela McCracken (2003), "Ten Nuclear Myths," in Barash 100-03
- George P Schultz, et al, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," in Barash 104-06

### 3/17 Terrorism and Insurgency

- BWG, chs. 10 and 19
- RAND Corporation (2007), "Terrorism Past and Present," in Barash 175-79
- Robert Pape (2005), "Dying to Win," in Barash 194-97
- Ali Gomaa, "Clarifying the Meaning of Jihad," in Barash 197-98

### 3/20 Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency

- BWG, ch. 8
- Department of Defense (2007), "Counterinsurgency Approaches," in *US Army Counterinsurgency Handbook*: 5.16-5.25
- Noam Chomsky (2010), "The Evil Scourge of Terrorism," in Barash 180-85

### 3/22 Conventional Warfare

- BWGC, ch. 13
- Conrad C Crane (2013), "The Lure of Strike," *Parameters* 43(2): 5-12 http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/Issues/Summer_2013/1_Crane_SpecialCommentary.pdf
- Shawn Brimley, Ben FitzGerald, and Kelley Sayler (Oct 10, 2013), "The End of the US Military's Tech Edge?" *National Interest* http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/the-end-the-us-militarys-tech-edge-9212
- Michael C Sirak (Oct 2013), "NATO, v. 4.0," *Air Force Magazine* 96(10): 28-33 http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Documents/2013/October%202013/1013nato.pdf

**3/24 China**

- Office of the Secretary of Defense (2016), "Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2016" https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2016%20China%20Military%20Power%20Report.pdf

**3/27 Air-Sea Battle Doctrine**

- US Department of Defense (2013), "Air-Sea Battle: Service Collaboration to Address Anti-Access and Area Denial Challenges" http://www.defense.gov/pubs/ASB-ConceptImplementation-Summary-May-2013.pdf
- Christopher P Cavas (Jul 27, 2013), "Defining Air-Sea Battle," *DefenseNews* http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130727/DEFREG02/307270008/
- Bryan McGrath (Jul 15, 2013), "Five Myths about AirSea Battle," *War on the Rocks* http://warontherocks.com/2013/07/five-myths-about-airsea-battle/
- Thomas X Hammes (2012), "Offshore Control: A Proposed Strategy for an Unlikely Conflict," *Strategic Forum National Defense University*
- Amitai Etzioni (Sep 3, 2013), "Air-Sea Battle: A Dangerous Way to Deal with China," *The Diplomat* http://thediplomat.com/2013/09/03/air-sea-battle-a-dangerous-way-to-deal-with-china/?all=true
- Wendel Minnick (Sep 17, 2013), "China Pursues Systems to Keep US Forces at Bay," *DefenseNews* http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130917/DEFREG03/309160021/China-Pursues-Systems-Keep-US-Forces-Bay?odyssey=nav|head

## PART IV: CONFLICT RESOLUTION

**3/29 Case Study: Libya**

- International Crisis Group (Nov 4, 2016), "The Libyan Political Agreement: Time for a Reset," *Middle East & North Africa Report No. 170* https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/libya/libyan-political-agreement-time-reset

**3/31 Prevention**

- Chester A Crocker (2011), "Thoughts on the Conflict Management Field after 30 Years," *International Negotiation* 16(1): 1-10
- Max van der Stoel (2011 [1999]), "Early Warning and Early Action: Preventing Inter-Ethnic Conflict," *Security & Human Rights* 22(3): 299-306
- Johannes Karreth and Jaroslav Tir (2013), "International Institutions and Civil War Prevention," *Journal of Politics* 75(1): 96-109

**4/3 Peacekeeping**

- Erik Brattberg (2012), "Revisiting UN Peacekeeping in Rwanda and Sierra Leone," *Peace Review* 24(2): 156-62
- Richard Gowan (2011), "Floating Down the River of History: Ban Ki-Moon and Peacekeeping, 2007-2011," *Global Governance* 17(4): 399-416
- Armin Rosen (2013), "Getting Congo Right," *World Affairs* 176(3): 85-92
- Kylie Alexandra (2011), "Peacekeepers' Privilege and Sexual Abuse in Post-Conflict Populations," *Peace Review* 23(3): 369-76

**4/5 Peacemaking**

- Barbara F Walter (2009), "Bargaining Failures and Civil War," *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 243-61
- David E Cunningham (2013), "Who Should Be at the Table? Veto Players and Peace Processes in Civil War," *Penn State Journal of Law and International Affairs* 2(1): 38-47
- International Crisis Group (Oct 17, 2013), "Anything but Politics: The State of Syria's Political Opposition," pp. 1-6, 15-30

**4/7 Peacebuilding**

- Watch: University of San Diego (2013), "Bolstering Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding" (about 90 minutes) http://streamer.sandiego.edu/Streamer/StreamPlayer.aspx?Id=5c181fJLtpo&amp%3bbPN=1
- Alliance for Peacebuilding (2012), "Peacebuilding 2.0: Mapping the Boundaries of an Expanding Field," 7-21
- Eileen F Babbitt (2011), "Conflict Resolution and Human Rights in Peacebuilding: Exploring the Tensions," *UN Chronicle* 48(2): 27-29

**4/10 Case Study**

## PART V: WAR AND PEACE TODAY AND IN THE FUTURE

**4/12 Positive Peace**

- Watch: Johan Galtung (Jul 9, 2012), "How Do You Define Positive Peace?" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYFn_hSF3wQ
- James Smith Page (2010), "Peace Education," in *International Encyclopedia of Education*, 3rd ed. http://eprints.qut.edu.au/28731/1/c28731.pdf
- Watch: Leymah Roberta Gbowee (Dec 10, 2011), "Nobel Lecture" http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=1749
- Watch: Daily Show Interview of Leymah Roberta Gbowee (Nov 14, 2011) [watch both parts] http://www.thedailyshow.com/watch/mon-november-14-2011/exclusive---leymah-gbowee-extended-interview-pt--1
- Watch: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (Dec 10, 2011), "Nobel Lecture" http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=1748

- Watch:  Interview of Wangari Muta Maathai, 2004 Nobel Peace Prize Winner http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=1120

**4/19 Nonviolence**

- Paulo Freire, "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed," in Barash, 214-20
- Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" in Barash, 226-30
- David P Barash, "Nonviolence," in Barash, 241-44
- Leo Tolstoy, "Letter to Ernest Howard Crosby," in Barash, 250-54
- Albert Camus, "Neither Victims nor Executioners," in Barash, 256-58
- Mohandas Gandhi, "Ahimsa, or the Way of Nonviolence," in Barash, 258-65

**4/21 Peace Movements**

4/24 Future

4/26 Future

4/28 Future

## Final Exam:  Wednesday, May 3, 10:30-1:00