

Professor Bruce Larkin
Department of Politics
Fall 2007

University of California at Santa Cruz
MWF 3.30-4.40
Social Sciences 1 Room 110

Politics 161 War

This class examines the politics of war choice, selected wars, and theoretical claims about 'war causes'. The cases read more closely are the Peloponnesian War, WWI, Vietnam, and Iraq [2003-..].

Politics 161 is open to upper-division students of any discipline, and sophomores who have completed successfully a year at UCSC. The heart of this course is reading, talking, and writing, and the reading required is substantial and must not be shortchanged. If you are uncomfortable about including a heavy reading course in your program of study you probably should not take this course.

Your writing assignment is to select a war and write four successive five-page papers to display your growing knowledge and judgment about the question: who started this war and why? This assignment is not as easy as it looks.

Required Reading: Cases

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*.¹ Required: Book 1: all (§§ 1-146). Book 2: §§ 1-71. Book 3: §§ 1-51, 70-86. Book 4: §§ 1-42, 117-119. Book 5: §§ 85-116. Books 6 and 7: recommended.

Joll, James. *Origins of the First World War* (New York: Longmans, 1984).

Tuchman, Barbara. *The March of Folly from Troy to Vietnam* (New York: Knopf, 1984).

Ricks, Thomas E. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (Penguin, 2007).

Required Reading: Theory

Holsti, Kalevi J. *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order 1648-1989* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991].

Howard, Michael. *War and the Liberal Conscience* (Rutgers, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978).

Larkin, Bruce. *War Stories* (New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 2001); or on line at <http://www.learnworld.com/WarStories/WarStories.pdf>

¹ I strongly recommend buying the Strassler [ed] version: Robert B. Strassler [ed], *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War* (New York: Free Press, 1996), which incorporates the Crawley translation in toto. It is in both paperback and hardcover editions. [This is recommended for its extensive maps and notes.] The text (but without section numbers) is online at <http://classics.mit.edu/Thucydides/pelopwar.html> In addition, the Crawley translation is available in earlier editions: *The Complete Writings of Thucydides* [New York: Modern Library, 1934, or later]. [Note: This is the unadorned Crawley translation. The most recently-published version goes by the title *History of the Peloponnesian War* (T. E. Wick, editor).]

Vasquez, John. *The War Puzzle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars* (Princeton: Basic Books, 1977).

Works I May Discuss in Lecture. Some additional books inside square brackets [A. Nony Mouse. The Cat Wars] and articles marked [Reader: 17-21 Mouse] are noted by session.

Schedule. The first meeting of this class is **Friday, 28 September 2007**. There is reading assigned for the second class: **please be prepared**. The last class is **Friday, 7 December**. The class does not meet on Monday, 12 November or Friday, 23 November. There are **29 class meetings**. Attendance is *required* and an attendance log is kept. The four five-page elements of your writing assignment are to be submitted at the beginning of class on 19 October, 2 November, 16 November and 3 December in hardcopy and digital form (ONLY paste into email, not as attachment, to politics161@learnworld.com with the subject line as follows: LASTNAME firstname Paper One, of course substituting your name, and Two, Three, Four in due course e.g. "LARKIN Bruce Paper Three"). The hardcopy version is due at the beginning of class on the day due, by handing it to me. The digital version must follow within two days.

The syllabus is divided into 29 'sessions'. Some class time will be reserved for videos, speakers, notes on bibliography and resources. *All* readings are *required*, except as noted.

Final Exam. There will be a final exam on the date specified in the Schedule of Classes: Tuesday, 11 December, 8-11 a.m., in our regular classroom. HOWEVER the two-hour exam will begin at 9 a.m. and end at 11. You must take and pass the exam in order to pass the course. The exam will not be offered at any other time for any reason other than disabling illness, so please do not register for this course if you have vacation plans that interfere.

Evaluation. Elements of your performance will contribute to your final grade with the following weights:

knowledge and use of readings	20%
synthetic insight	25%
analytic care	15%
argument	18%
research finding/choice of sources	16%
extemporaneous facility	6%

Absence from lecture may be noted in the evaluation. You must pass the final to pass the course.

Bad URLs. Please let me know [politics161@learnworld.com] if a link doesn't work.

Contact. Email to: politics161@learnworld.com Telephone 1-413-695-0264 (includes voicemail), which may be a toll call. Office: Merrill Faculty Annex 151. Office hours: Monday, 1.30-3.00, Merrill Faculty Annex 151, and by arrangement.

Sessions:

1 28 Sep Introduction. [Video] Gulf War [1990-1991]. Gulf War debates. Who 'won' the Gulf War?

- 2** 1 Oct The Peloponnesian War. Note Athenian Assembly at § 1.132 ff.
Thucydides, Book 1 §§ 1.1-146.
- 3** 3 Oct The Peloponnesian War. Pericles' funeral oration § 2.35. Esp. grievances § 2.59 ff.
Thucydides, Book 2 §§ 2.1-71.
- 4** 5 Oct Theory, concept, and conversation. Are 'stories' central? Causal stories. Intention to war?
War Stories, pp. vii-xii, 1-67.
Thucydides, Book 3 §§ 3.1-51, 3.70-86. (Note: Mytilene. Corecra.)
[James Boyd White. *When Words Lose Their Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).]
- 5** 8 Oct The Peloponnesian War. Pylos. The Melian Dialogue. The Sicilian Expedition.
Thucydides, Book 4: § 4.1-42, 4.117-119. Book 5: § 5.85-116.
- 6** 10 Oct WWI. Was WWI a choice, or a mistake?
James Joll. *Origins of the First World War*.
[Reader: 59-70 Kahler.]
- 7** 12 Oct WWI. How would you have averted WWI?
- 8** 15 Oct Who is responsible? Is the 'arson/criminal model' persuasive? *Jus ad bellum*?
Michael Walzer. *Just and Unjust Wars*.
[Robert Kolb, "Origin of the twin terms jus ad bellum/jus in bello."
<http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/html/57JNUU>]
- 9** 17 Oct Is there *jus in bello*? My Lai. Abu Ghraib. Guantanamo. The soldier-civilian distinction?
- 10** 19 Oct Is avoiding tyranny a 'good reason'? Is suppressing threat a 'good reason'?
[Video] Prelude to War. Is
- 11** 22 Oct Is 'aggression' a useful concept? The 'legalist paradigm'? Why Walzer's 'extensions'?
Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*
- 12** 24 Oct Is self-determination a 'good reason'? Would you choose to fight to be free?
Michael Howard. *War and the Liberal Conscience*.
- 13** 26 Oct Can a democracy wage an unjust war? How do internal politics bear on war decisions?
[Video] Vietnam: A Television History [Part 7].
Barbara Tuchman. *The March of Folly*
[Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983).]
- 14** 29 Oct Is 'peacekeeping' a 'good reason'? 'Peacemaking'? Does UNSC sanction matter? Srbenica.
Rwanda. Darfur. Palestine. Suppressing threat revisited: 'Preventive war'?
[Paul Garde. *Vie et Mort de la Yougoslavie* (Paris: Fayard, 1993).]
- 15** 31 Oct Does failure to deter or resist carry a burden of responsibility for subsequent war? Is
prevention of large-scale 'conventional war' a persuasive reason to maintain nuclear forces?
Does 'empire'—or predominance—require war? ? Is 'winning' or 'gaining' or exercising
'supremacy' a 'good reason' to war? Does peace require empire?
[A. J. P. Taylor. *The Origins of the Second World War*.]
[Donald Cameron Watt. *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World
War 1938-1939* (New York: Pantheon, 1989).]
[Reader: 82-101 Lebow.]

- 16** 2 Nov What is required for ‘collective security’? UNSC. What endangers ‘collective security’? Kalevi J. Holsti. *Peace and War*.
- 17** 5 Nov Are we learning? Would knowing enough avert major war? Do we now know enough? Was Congress stymied on Iraq? Ongoing politics? Is the aversion of war a political art? Bruce Larkin. *War Stories*, pp. 69-87
- 18** 7 Nov The ‘Cold War’. What is ‘nuclear deterrence’? What was the role of *fear*? Of ‘ideology’?
- 19** 9 Nov 9.11 and the ‘War on Terrorism’. Afghanistan. The NATO mission.
Bruce Larkin. “Why This is Not a War and Why It Is Important to Understand This is Not a War.” <http://www.learnworld.com/DRAFTS/DRAFT.2001.10.17.NotAWar.pdf>
- 20** 14 Nov Iraq I. Overview
Thomas E. Ricks. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*
- 21** 16 Nov Iraq 2. White House initiatives.
GC.DD: The United States and the Iraq War 2003. [go to <http://www.gcdd.net>]
- 22** 19 Nov Iraq 3. WMD and ‘WMD Programs’ not found in Iraq.
- UNSC Resolution 1441. Via <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2002/sc2002.htm>
 - Blix, Hans: Report to the UN Security Council 27 January 2003.
<http://www.learnworld.com/org/TX=2003/TX.025=2003.01.27.UNSC.Blix.html>
 - ElBaradei, Mohamed: Report to the UN Security Council 27 January 2003.
<http://www.learnworld.com/org/TX=2003/TX.026=2003.01.27.UNSC.ElBaradei.html>
- [• 2 October 2003. Report of the Iraq Survey Group. Statement by David Kay on the Interim Progress Report on the Activities of the Iraq Survey Group (ISG) Before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, The House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Defense, and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.
<http://tinyurl.com/377ltn>]
- [•+. 30 September 2004. Charles Duelfer. *Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq’s WMD*. US Central Intelligence Agency. [A summary of “key findings” and the Report in three volumes. In March 2005 addenda were released. **Glance at the ‘key findings’**. Please skim the volumes and addenda.]. The index page for the report, with links to all sections, and to both pdf and html versions:
https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/iraq_wmd_2004/index.html
- Key findings:** http://www.npr.org/documents/2004/cia_wmd/key_findings.pdf or <http://tinyurl.com/3anz7t>
- Volume 1: <http://tinyurl.com/3yhjrn> or http://www.foia.cia.gov/duelfer/Iraqs_WMD_Vol1.pdf
Volume 2: <http://tinyurl.com/2jcxeb> or http://www.foia.cia.gov/duelfer/Iraqs_WMD_Vol2.pdf
Volume 3: <http://tinyurl.com/3axhfd> or http://www.foia.cia.gov/duelfer/Iraqs_WMD_Vol3.pdf
- Note for the Comprehensive Report with Addenda:
https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/iraq_wmd_2004/note.html]
- [Hans Blix. *Disarming Iraq* (New York: Pantheon, 2004)].
- 23** 21 Nov Iraq 4. 10 Downing Street and the politics of the British ally. The David Kelly affair.
GC.DD: The UK and the Iraq War 2003. [go to <http://www.gcdd.net>]

- 24** 26 Nov Iraq 5. Overview and termination.
Thomas E. Ricks. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*
- 25** 28 Nov Concepts and interpretations. Theories. What can 'war theory' do?
Bruce Larkin. *War Stories*, pp. 89-210.
[Reader: 118-128 Paret.]
[Reader: 2-35 Bueno de Mesquita, Krasner, Jervis.]
- 26** 30 Nov Is there 'progress toward war theory'? Toward 'understanding'?
[Jack Levy. "The Causes of War: A Review of Theories and Evidence."]
John Vasquez. *The War Puzzle*.
- 27** 3 Dec Preconditions of major war? Explanation of the spread of war? Are there propositions about the sources and spread of war which we may hold with confidence?
John Vasquez. *The War Puzzle*.
- 28** 5 Dec Do nuclear weapons change everything? CW? BW? Does 'terrorism' change everything?
Is war an inescapable consequence of technological possibility?
[Cf. syllabus for Politics 190U Security, Disarmament, and Nonproliferation]
[Bruce Larkin. *Designing Denuclearization*. Draft: go to www.gcdd.net]
- 29** 7 Dec [Final class.] Is war 'inevitable'? 'Out of our hands'? In what sense? What is to be done?
Are there (one, two, three, a few) finite, achievable steps that you would propose to enhance the probability of avoiding large-scale war (in any region, or globally)?

Notices.html

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