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Diplomacy Syllabi

School of Diplomacy and International
Relations

Spring 2020

Causes of War

R. Joseph Huddleston

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DIPL 6131: Causes of War

School of Diplomacy & International Relations, Seton Hall University
Tuesdays 5:00 – 7:10, Alfieri Hall 122 (ST 122)

Professor: R. Joseph Huddleston

Office Hours: Mon 12:45 – 1:45 pm & Tues 2:30 – 4:30 pm

Email: joseph.huddleston@shu.edu

This syllabus is current as of January 19, 2020 You will be notified in class and/or by e-mail when the syllabus is updated.

Required Materials

Paul Vasquez, ed. 2012. <i>What Do We Know about War?</i> (on Bb)	Vasquez
David Mason and Sara Mitchell, eds. 2016. <i>What Do We Know about Civil Wars?</i>	MM
Jack Levy and William Thompson. 2010. <i>Causes of War</i> (on Bb)	LT

You will also be assigned academic readings accessible through Seton Hall’s library.

Course Description

This course provides an overview of the study of the causes and trajectories of interstate war, civil war, rebellion, and political violence. We will explore the debates about and the most accepted explanations for the outbreak and protraction of international conflict. Then we will pivot to the topic of civil war and international proxy warfare, which now constitute the most common forms war takes.

Grading

Participation	20%
Two position paper (choose 2 of 3), 15% each	30%
Presentation and discussion	15%
Final Paper	35%

Course Grading Scale



Participation (20%)

Participation includes attendance and thoughtful engagement with all parts of the class. This course is taught around class discussion, debate, and activities. We are dependent on each other’s efforts to prepare for and engage in class activities and have a worthwhile learning experience. Each class session’s participation will be graded as following:

- 2 points: Active, thoughtful participation that demonstrates understanding of the assigned material and current events. Full participation in classroom activities and discussion of position papers.

- 1.5 points: Limited participation that demonstrates some understanding of the assigned material and current events. Limited participation in classroom activities and discussion of position papers.
- 1 point: Attendance with little or no participation in class.
- 0 points: Unexcused absence (beyond 1 allowable unexcused absence)

You are expected to **complete all assigned readings before the class** for which they are assigned, and to arrive in class prepared to discuss that material. You may also find it helpful to prepare notes and talking points before each session, including your thoughts, opinions, analysis, and questions about the week's materials.

Position Papers and Final Paper Assignments

Position Papers (30%): 800-1200 words, excluding references

You will write two position papers throughout the semester, each worth 15% of your grade. You may **choose which two of the three highlighted topics** you want to write about. They are listed in the course schedule below in the week they are due. Position papers should be at least 800 words and at most 1200 words (usually 3-4 pages). They should begin with a short introduction that gives an overview or context for the topic. The paper should then state its primary argument (either for or against the position assigned) and provide supporting arguments and evidence. Alternative arguments should be explored and refuted using evidence. A short conclusion should briefly summarize the student's position on the issue. All students should come prepared to class to actively discuss and debate the position paper topic each week they are due.

Position papers are **due electronically at the beginning of class**. Late assignments are docked 10% for each 24 hours following their respective deadlines. Assignments more than one week late will be given a 0.

Final Paper (35%): 3000-4500 words, excluding references

There are three options for final research projects.

1. Write a conventional research paper exploring a key issue or question related to the causes or trajectories of modern wars, including civil wars and proxy wars. This conventional research paper should be similar to the academic articles we read in class, exploring a key research question, testing a hypothesis or set of hypotheses, and/or applying a theoretical lens to the topic.
2. Do a comprehensive historical paper on a specific conflict, or on a rebel or insurgent organization or set of organizations. In addition to a historical timeline of actor behavior and government response, this project will review the literature on the group and theoretical findings that have been made about this group.
3. Choose and evaluate a current or historical policy (of a state, alliance, or international organization) related to international security and/or conflict prevention. What are/were the major policy goals? What strategies are/were used to achieve those goals? How is/was success measured and evaluated (if at all)? Was it/has it been a successful policy? Did it/has it had spillover effects or negative externalities?

The Final Paper is due electronically on Sun., May 10 at 11:59pm. Upload PDF to Bb.

Guidelines for Position Papers and Final Paper

These assignments should be turned 12-pt Times New Roman font, double-spaced, with 1-in margins. Include a word count on the first page. Papers should utilize one of the *Chicago Manual of Style* citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography.

Your assignments should be turned in to Blackboard as PDF documents. (If you need help generating a PDF, see [here for Word](#), and [here for Pages](#).) You will turn all assignments in through Blackboard, due electronically at the beginning of class on the listed date.

I will grade your work, give you feedback, and assign your grades digitally.

Presentation and Discussion (10% + 5%)

The final two sessions will feature student presentations on specific conflicts or rebel movements since 1945. You will apply ideas from class to analyze the causes, outcomes, and strategies of these rebellions. For each presentation, there will also be one student assigned to respond and discuss the ideas presented in the context of this course.

Primary Student Learning Outcomes:

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of: key concepts, theories, and debates about the causes and trajectories of conflict between and within states; debates about the role of international structures, institutions, and individual decision-makers in the causes of war; debates about the origins and trajectories of intrastate conflicts; selected conflict case studies. Students should also have developed the skills to: analyze complex international systems; find and synthesize empirical information; and develop, articulate, and defend policy positions.

Meetings and Materials**Week 1 (1/14) Introduction: Causes of War**

Required:

- Jack Levy. 1998. "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Steven Pinker, Bradley Thayer, Jack Levy, and William Thompson. 2013. "The Decline of War." *International Studies Review* 15(3)
- Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* (1999) 78(4)

Recommended:

- Levy and Thompson, Ch. 1 (pp 1-22)
- Carl von Clausewitz, 1874. *On War*, ch. 1. Full text [here](#)
- Erik Gartzke. 1999. "War is in the Error Term." *International Organization* 53(3)

Week 2 (1/21) International Systems

Required:

- LT, Ch. 2
- Thomas Schelling. 1966. *Arms and Influence*, pp. 1-78 (on Bb)

- Robert Jervis. 1978. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30(2)
- Charles Glaser. 1997. "The Security Dilemma Revisited," *World Politics* 50(1)
- Kenneth Waltz. 1988. "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(4)
- Hensel, Ch. 1 in Vasquez

Recommended:

- Gilpin, "Hegemonic War and International Change," book chapter (on Bb)
- Shawn McFall. 2017. "[The Perception Gap over Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East.](#)" *E-IR*
- Barry Buzan. 1984. "Peace, Power, and Security: Contending Concepts in the Study of International Relations," *Journal of Peace Research* 21(2)

**** **Add/Drop Deadline** ****

Week 3 (1/28)

State and Society

Required:

- LT, Ch. 4
- Barry Buzan, Ch. 1-2 of *People, States, and Fear* (on Bb)
- Janice Bially Mattern. 2001. "The Power Politics of Identity." *European Journal of International Relations*, 7(3)
- Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett. 1993. "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986," *American Political Science Review* 87(3)
- Mansfield and Snyder. 1998. "Democratization and War." *Foreign Affairs* 74(3)
- Jessica Weeks. 2012. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106(2)

Recommended:

- Sorensen. 2001. "War and State-Making: Why Doesn't it Work in the Third World?". *Security Dialogue* 32(3)
- Williams, Michael. 1998. "Identity and the Politics of Security." *European Journal of International Relations* 4(2)
- Erik Gartzke. 2007. "The Capitalist Peace," *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1)
- Mousseau, Ch. 9 in Vasquez

Buzan readings are great
- state, nation, security

Week 4 (2/4)

Institutions in War

Position Paper #1: The UN security council veto should be abolished.

Required:

- LT, Ch. 6
- Stephen Biddle and Robert Zirkle. 1996. "Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World." *Journal of Security Studies* 19(2)

- Debate: Institutions and War
 - Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin. 1995. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20(1)
 - John Mearsheimer. 1995. "A Realist Reply." *International Security* 20(1)
 - Jon Pevehouse and Bruce Russett. 2006. "Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace." *International Organization* 60(4)
 - Jack Levy. 1993. "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *International Studies Quarterly* 30(2)
 - Case Reading: Afghanistan
 - Stephen Biddle. 2009. "[Is There a Middle Way?](#)" *The New Republic*
 - Micah Zenko. 2019. "[How Hypocrisy Became Standard Operating Procedure for the U.S. Government](#)," *Foreign Policy*
- Recommended:
- Doug Gibling, Ch. 10 in Vasquez
 - John Mearsheimer. 1994. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19(3)
 - Allison Carnegie. 2015. *Power Plays: How International Institutions Shape Coercive Diplomacy*. Cambridge University Press

Week 5 (2/11) **Individuals and Leadership**

Required:

- LT, Ch. 5
- Dan Byman and Kenneth Pollack. 2001. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In." *International Security* 25(4)
- Elizabeth Saunders. 2009. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* 34(2)
- Jenna Jordan. 2009. "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation," *Security Studies* 18(4)
- Case Reading: American Presidents
 - Mark Schafer and Scott Crichlow, *Groupthink*, chs. 4-5 (on Bb)
 - Jack Holland and Ben Fermor. 2017. "Trump's rhetoric at 100 days: contradictions within effective emotional narratives." *Critical Studies on Security* 5(2)
 - Robert Jervis. 2020. "[On the Current Confrontation with Iran](#)." *War on the Rocks*

Recommended:

- Azar Gat. 2009. "So Why Do People Fight? Evolutionary Theory and the Causes of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 15(4)
- Ward Thomas. 2000. "Norms and Security: The Case of International Assassination," *International Security* 25(1)
- Michael Horowitz and Alan Stam. 2014. "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders," *International Organization* 68(3)

- Harari. 2014. *Sapiens* excerpts (Bb)
- Schafer and Crichlow. 2010. *Groupthink Versus High-Quality Decision Making in International Relations*, Columbia University Press

Week 6 (2/18) **Allies and Rivals**

Required:

- Kang, Ch. 2 in Vasquez
- Glenn Snyder. 1984. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics," *World Politics* 36(4)
- Thomas Christensen and Jack Snyder. 1990. "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44(2)
- LT, Ch. 3
- Diehl and Goertz, Ch. 5 in Vasquez
- John Vasquez. 1996. "Distinguishing Rivals That Go to War from Those That Do Not: A Quantitative Comparative Case Study of the Two Paths to War." *International Studies Quarterly* 40(4)
- Case Reading: NATO
 - Blackboard reading
 - Sara Bjerg Moller. 2019. "[Drawing the Line](#)" and "[What Macron Got Right](#)" in *Lawfare*

Get rid of this one

Add Moller NATO "Building the Airplane" piece

Recommended:

- Stephen Walt. 1985. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," *International Security* 9(4)
- Dan Reiter. 1994. "Learning, Realism, and Alliances: The Weight of the Shadow of the Past," *World Politics* 46(4)

Week 7 (2/25) **Escalation and Bargaining**

Position Paper # 2: The US military's killing of Major General Qassem Suleimani of Iran's IRGC in January 2020 was a net positive for promoting peace and long-term security/stability for Iraq and/or US foreign policy.

Required:

- Sample, Ch. 6 in Vasquez
- Robert Jervis. 1988. "War and Misperception." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(4)
- Dan Reiter, "Bargaining and War", Ch. 1, purchase [here](#) for \$2.99
- James Fearon, 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49(3)
- Ron Hassner. 2008. "To Halve and Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies* 12(4)
- Case Reading: WWI
 - Stephen Van Evera. 2013. *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*, Ch. 7 (on Bb)

Add Steps to War model

Different case for escalation would be much better

Recommended:

- Samuel Williamson. 1988. "The Origins of World War I." *The Journal*

of Interdisciplinary History 18(4)

(3/3) *** Spring Break: No Class *******

Week 8 (3/10) Causes of Civil Wars

Required:

- Nicholas Sambanis. 2004. "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6)
- Young, and Seymour and Cunningham, Ch.2 - 3 in MM
- Patrick Mello. 2010. "Review article: In search of new wars: The debate about a transformation of war." *European Journal of International Relations* 16(2)
- Harmonie Toro. 2012, "From Dissent to Revolution" in *Ashgate Research Companion to Political Violence* (on Bb)
- Berry Posen. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35(1)
- Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. 2012. "[10 Reasons Countries Fall Apart](#)." *Foreign Policy*
- Case Reading: Syria
 - Newspaper Readings on Bb

Recommended

- Gleditsch, Melander, and Urgal, Ch.1 in MM

Week 9 (3/17) Nationalism

Required:

- Beth Simmons. 2005. "Rules over Real Estate: Trade, Territorial Conflict, and International Borders as Institutions," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(6)
- Gellner, "Nations and Nationalism," in Betts 344-356 (on Bb)
- Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Addison Westley, 1978. Chapter 7. (On Bb)
- Frantz Fanon. 1963. "On Violence," in *The Wretched of the Earth* (on Bb)
- James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1)
- Case Reading: Eritrea
 - Ciment summary (on Bb)
 - Nikolaos Biziouras. 2013. "The Genesis of the Modern Eritrean Struggle (1942 – 1961)" *Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 4

Recommended:

- Mason, Mitchell, and Prorok, "Overview", MM 1-14

Week 10 (3/24) Recruitment and Participation

Required:

- Jeremy Weinstein. 2005. "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4)

Not useful. Replace,
or start at p21

look for "ethnic" vs.
"civic" nationalism

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2)
- Jakana Thomas and Kanisha Bond. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review* 109(3)
- Stathis Kalyvas and Laia Balcells. 2010. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 104(3)
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham. 2013. "Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3)
- Case Reading: El Salvador
 - Ciment summary (Bb)
 - Elisabeth Wood. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7: "Campesino Accounts of Insurgent Participation." (on Bb)

consider moving to wk 13

Recommended:

- Reed Wood and Jakana Thomas. 2017. "Women on the Frontline: Rebel group ideology and women's participation in violent rebellion." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1)

Week 11 (3/31) **Terrorism and Civilian Victimization**

Required:

- Jessica Stanton. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* 75(4)
- Virginia Page Fortna. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69(3)
- Dara Kay Cohen. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence." *American Political Science Review* 107(3)
- Laia Balcells. 2010 "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2): 291-313.
- Erica Chenoweth. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity," *Journal of Politics* 72(1)
- Case Reading: Bosnia
 - Ciment summary (Bb)
 - Nils Weidmann. 2011. "Violence 'From Above' or 'From Below'? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* 73(4)

cut this one. not about civil war

Recommended:

- Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107(4)

Week 12 (4/7) **Rebel Governance**

Position Paper #3: The US should diplomatically recognize Somaliland, Northern Cyprus, Abkhazia, etc., and make it a general policy to recognize and support other self-determination governments that have mass domestic support and control and/or govern the territory they claim. (Some variation in this topic is allowable. Discuss with me.)

Required:

- Eli Berman and David Laitin. 2008. “Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model.” *Journal of Public Economics* 92(10)
- Charles Tilly. Excerpt from *Coercion, Capital, and European States* (Bb)
- Megan Stewart. 2018. Civil War as State-Building: Strategic Governance in Civil Wars. *International Organization* 72(1)
- Zachariah Mampilly. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War*. Cornell University Press. Chapter 3 (Bb)
- Ana Arjona. 2016. *Rebelocracy*. Cambridge University Press, “Introduction.” (Bb)
- Bridget Coggins. 2015. “Rebel Diplomacy: Theorizing Violent Non-State Actors? Strategic Use of Talk.” in *Rebel Governance in Civil War*. (Bb)
- Case Reading: Western Sahara
 - Ciment Summary (Bb)
 - R. Joseph Huddleston, “Shoestring Diplomacy: Lobbying and Litigation for Self-Determination.” Working Paper
 - R. Joseph Huddleston, “[Can John Bolton Thaw Western Sahara’s Long-Frozen Conflict?](#)” May 2019, *Foreign Policy*

Recommended:

- Thomas Zeitzoff. 2017. “How Social Media Is Changing Conflict.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9)
- [Charles Tilly, AD 990-1992: Twenty Years On](#), CSS Blog, 2011

Week 13 (4/14) Intervention and Proxy Warfare

Required:

- Linebarger and Enterline, Ch. 6 in MM
- David Edelstein. 2004 “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail.” *International Security* 29(1)
- Belgin San Akca. 2009. “Supporting Non-State Armed Groups: A Resort to Illegality?” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32(4)
- Chaim Kaufman. 1996. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 20(4)
- Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. “Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature,” *World Politics* 52(4)
- Charles Krauthammer. 1999. “A World Imagined: The Flawed Premises of Liberal Foreign Policy.” *The New Republic* (Bb)
- Case Reading: Yemen
 - Bb readings

Recommended:

- Virginia Page Fortna. 2004. “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War,”

maybe move to
"nationalism"

International Studies Quarterly 48(2)

- Roland Paris. 1997. "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," *International Security* 22(2)
- Patrick Regan. 2002. "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1)
- Radiolab, "[60 Words](#)"

Week 14 (4/21) Student Presentations

Week 15 (4/28) Student Presentations

(5/6 – 5/12) Finals Week

Final Paper due Sunday, May. 10 at 11:59pm

Upload to Blackboard

Policies and Resources

- **Academic Integrity & Dishonesty.** Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:
 - <http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/communitystandards.cfm>
 - <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.
- **Counseling.** The Office of Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers assistance to students in need of support. CAPS is located in Mooney Hall and can be reached at (973)-761-9500.
- **Absences.** Students are expected to attend all class sessions and participate in discussions. If a medical situation or other emergency arises students should inform the professor via email at the earliest possible opportunity as to the reason for their absence. Unexcused absences will bring down your participation grade.
- **Grade Appeals.** Grades in this course are not negotiable. If you think an error has been made, you may contest the grade on an assignment up to one week after it is returned. Clerical errors and outright mistakes will be corrected; other grading decisions will not be revisited.
- **Late Assignments.** Failure to turn in a paper on its due date will result in a grade penalty. All late papers (anything submitted after the deadline) will be penalized by 10% per 24hrs (i.e., a 100% A paper turned in one day late is an A- at 90%, two days late a B- at 80%, etc.). Assignments more than one week late will be given a 0. There may be exceptions made in cases of medical or family emergency.
- **Technology.** Students will be allowed to use laptop computers during class for the purposes of note taking only. All other activities (email, internet, Facebook, etc.) are prohibited during class. Students who violate this policy will forfeit their laptop privileges.
- **Disability Services Statement.** It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law

against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973)-313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

- **Citation Formats.** Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Blackboard page.
- **Policy on Incompletes.** Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an “FI” (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.
- **Academic Resources.** If you need support during this course, Seton Hall has resources for you. The Academic Resource Center is the general support place for students. The Online Writing Lab provides students with comments on papers via email within 48 hours. The Writing Center and the Math Learning Lab offer appointments for one-to-one tutoring. More information is available here:
 - <http://www.shu.edu/student-services/toolkit.cfm>