

POLS 405.090
Spring 2006
W 5:30-8:30 p.m.
Office Hours: MW 9-10:30 a.m.
TR 1-2:00 p.m. and by appointment

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Capstone Seminar: War

What is a Capstone? Course Objectives

The Capstone seminar in Political Science is designed to be a culminating experience for students. As majors, you all complete a common set of courses early in your program of study that sets out the foundation of the discipline and its primary concerns and begins the processes of skill building. You then branch off into different subfields (American politics, comparative politics, international relations, political thought and public law, public administration and public policy) and take a variety of courses with different substantive and skill emphases in the “middle” of the major. The Capstone provides a venue where you will be able (and expected) to draw upon the ideas and skills you have gained thus far to explore a new and overarching topic in Political Science that has relevance to your futures. Capstone seminars provide an integrative experience that substantively allows you to employ insights, ideas from work in different subfields and includes intensive writing, independent research, oral presentation, opportunities to apply theories and concepts to new problems and cases, and practice in articulating and defending your own views.

This seminar seeks to use the topic of war to accomplish the Capstone’s goals. War is a relatively rare event in the international system, but its impacts are always a part of international relations. Since the Treaty of Westphalia was signed ushering in the modern nation-state system, there have been as many as 80 years in which no war occurred; however, 75 of the interstate wars that have been fought in that time have resulted in over 30 million battlefield fatalities among combatants and tens of millions of civilian deaths. Put another way, more than 100 states in the international system have never been parties to an interstate war but some have been parties to more than ten since the Congress of Vienna in 1815. As Daniel Geller and J. David Singer note, one paradox of war is that most societies are in continuous preparation for what is ultimately a very rare (or nonexistent) event for many ... but when war occurs, the stakes are enormous, not only for participating nations but for those around them.¹

The primary purpose of this seminar is to use and build on the backgrounds, skills and insights you have gained in Political Science up to now to explore how and why the United States and other international actors engage in war, how war has affected societies

¹ Daniel Geller and J. David Singer, Nations At War: A Scientific Study of International Conflict (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 1.

and how war may be changing with the continued evolution of the international system. As such, this seminar will examine the political, economic, cultural and personal implications of war in contemporary U.S. society, with international examples offered for comparative purposes. In the process, you will confront multiple perspectives on the nature of contemporary war and conduct independent research throughout the semester on an aspect of war that particularly interests you.

Course Content

It is impossible to even begin to comprehensively consider the vast theoretical and substantive literatures on war available to students today; thus, with one significant exception, what we will explore will largely be suggestive of the many different directions you can follow consistent with your individual interests. We will open the course by looking theoretically at responses posited to the question “why war?” and examine some of the empirical efforts to better understand the nature and evolution of war in the international system. This will be followed immediately by an exploration of some ethical and normative issues that are raised perennially about war. These early discussions will serve as a backdrop to a later consideration of recent work that notes significant changes in the frequency of wars and the ways wars are fought since the breakup of the bipolar structure that characterized the Cold War international system.

The one substantive exception to the suggestive survey of issues surrounding war will be a more pointed examination of America’s experience in Vietnam. Arguably, no single set of events has more profoundly affected America’s domestic and international politics in the last fifty years ... and yet even as its effects remain far-reaching, knowledge of the conflict itself and specific awareness of its lasting impacts continues to wane. We will look more explicitly at America’s Vietnam experience and its aftermath with an eye both toward better appreciating how it continues to affect America in today’s world and how the nature of war and its legacy may be influencing the larger patterns of war becoming evident in today’s international system.

Method of Presentation

This course will be run as a seminar. Formal presentations by the instructor will be rare. Class sessions will serve as a venue for exploration and informed discussion of the materials we are reading and otherwise considering. We will also spend considerable class time working on aspects of your research throughout the semester.

Class Participation

Given the purposes of the Capstone and the way class sessions are structured, class participation is a vital component of this course and your **ACTIVE** involvement in all class sessions is absolutely essential. Participation in class discussion is expected and will be considered carefully in the final course evaluations. Such participation includes listening carefully and critically to the views expressed by classmates, as well as the expression of your own ideas. It is also expected that you will be willing to periodically

take the lead in discussing issues and ideas based on the materials you are reading and researching. You should always be prepared during each class session to discuss current political events as they relate to the subject of the course.

Due to the structure of the course, you should not expect to do well without regular class attendance and consistent, active participation. Given that this is a night class that meets only once a week, students who wish to succeed should plan on attending all class sessions and be present for the entire three hour period; **anyone missing more than one class session over the course of the semester (excused or unexcused – no distinctions are made) should expect to have their participation grade lowered significantly (this means being present for the entire class session – leaving early for any reason constitutes absence).**

Special Circumstances

If you have any kind of special circumstances that I should know about, please make me aware **right away**. For example, if you have a diagnosed (or undiagnosed) learning challenge, if you have a physical condition of any kind that affects your learning, or if you are an athlete or a club member who will travel during the semester, I need to know that at the start of the term in order to make certain that your needs can be met. It will be infinitely more difficult to accommodate you sufficiently if you delay in disclosing your needs. Confidentiality will be respected in all instances. In addition, if you are a student who has problems writing papers, taking class notes, presenting material orally, etc., there are many resources and programs you can take advantage of to improve your class performance. All you have to do is ask and I can direct you to the appropriate help.

Please note: If you are a SNAP student eligible for accommodation, you MUST provide me with a copy of the notification letter you have been given by the SNAP office well before the need for any accommodation arises. If you are a student athlete who will miss class time due to away events, you MUST follow the procedures set out by the College in order to expect due consideration. In both cases, I will not guarantee granting your request if I have not received proper notice.

Office Hours

I have designated sets of office hours that are established for you to use in order to meet with me outside of class. Do not be reluctant to come by my office at these times, especially if you have questions that are left unanswered from class or if you are experiencing any difficulties or uncertainties in the course. If these times conflict with your schedule, we can work out a mutually convenient time to meet. I am around a lot – do not hesitate to make use of me outside the classroom.

Course Groundrules

Attendance: You are expected to be present for all of the class sessions in this course. Absence from more than one class session during the term, whether excused or unexcused, is excessive. Students missing more than one class session (including leaving early from class sessions) will lose one full letter grade from the participation portion of their total average for each additional absence.

Late Work: Given the nature of this capstone and its structure, late work will not be tolerated. Work that is turned in after the date and time due will lose ten points off the total automatically (ie. a paper with a numerical grade of 85 becomes a 75) and an additional ten points will be subtracted for each subsequent extra day. Work is considered late (and the clock begins ticking) if it is not handed in at the time requested. All due dates and times are listed in the syllabus – you know right now when everything you are expected to produce should be finished so there should be no excuse for late work.

Electronic Submission: **NO written work may be submitted to me electronically for credit under any circumstances.** You must have legible printed copies of papers for me to collect when assignments are due.

Academic Dishonesty: You were bound by an Honor Code when you enrolled at the College of Charleston. I expect you to abide by that code. If you are found to have plagiarized any of your written work, you will automatically fail this course and be turned over to the Honor Board for further disciplinary action. If you have any doubts about what constitutes plagiarism or cheating of any kind, ask before you act.

Courtesy and Tolerance: As this course progresses, you will doubtlessly find that your ideas about politics and war do not always match the views of your fellow students, the authors of your texts, or your instructor. This is the stuff of politics and war. However, if this course is to prove rewarding for everyone, it is absolutely essential for each participant to respect and tolerate the ideas and opinions of others in the class. It is equally important for everyone to discuss issues on the basis of information and analysis rather than emotion and volume. By adopting such a posture, you will hopefully find the course will be a challenging and enlightening experience where you will have many opportunities to rethink what you know or believe to be true about politics and war.

Time Spent Outside of Class: I have high expectations for you in this course and have crafted it with that in mind. Given the nature of a Capstone experience, you will need to spend at least two to three hours working outside of class for every hour you spend in the classroom in order to successfully complete the work in this course. Some weeks may require more time. Students who are not committed to spending that kind of time studying and preparing for class should expect to struggle. It is important to note that time alone does not automatically ensure success – the kind of time you devote to your work and how you approach the endeavor may be just as critical. You can devote time to preparing and studying that is effective and ineffective. If you ever wish to

discuss these issues with me, feel free – there may be important changes we can make to your approach that can maximize your effort.

Readings and Texts

Reading assignments will be made out of the following books:

Lawrence Freedman, ed. War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Charles Neu, America's Lost War: Vietnam, 1945-1975 (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson Inc., 2005)

Tim O'Brien, The Things They Carried (New York: Penguin Books, 1990)

John Mueller, The Remnants of War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004)

Andrew Bacevich, The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

All required texts are available at the College of Charleston and University Bookstores. Additional required readings are marked with an asterisk (*) in the course outline. You may purchase complete volumes of these readings at SAS-E-INK on Wentworth Street – the packets will be divided into two parts.

The following list of scholarly journals may provide useful resources for your independent work:

International Security	International Interactions
Journal of Conflict Resolution	Journal of Peace Research
International Studies Quarterly	Perspectives on Politics
American Political Science Review	International Organization
American Journal of Political Science	Journal of Politics
European Journal of International Relations	World Politics
International Political Science Review	Cooperation and Conflict
Conflict Management and Peace Science	

It is also important for you to keep up with current events as you take this course. Unfortunately, the Charleston Post and Courier will not be much help in this regard. **I am therefore urging you to subscribe to The New York Times and read it as often as possible.** You may purchase a discount subscription from the College of Charleston Bookstore that allows you to obtain copies of the paper Monday-Friday for a significant savings over the newsstand price. A copy of the necessary form accompanies this syllabus.

Method of Evaluation

Grades for this course will be determined as follows:

- 1. Class Participation (10%):** Your constructive input is an essential component of this course. It is expected that you will attend class consistently and that you will be prepared to discuss the required readings on the day they are assigned. At the end of the semester, you will receive a grade based on the contribution you have made to class proceedings.

Note: Everyone is expected to view Simon Norfolk's photographic exhibit sometime between 1/13 and 2/8 in the Halsey Gallery and attend his talk in Physician's Auditorium on Thursday, February 16 from 7-8:30 p.m. Your participation in this event is part of your class participation grade and you will also have a written assignment based on his talk.

- 2. Weekly Reading Reactions and Questions (10%):** Each week (sometime by Tuesday at 10:00 p.m. prior to our Wednesday meeting), you will email me a brief reaction to the week's readings along with two thoughtful discussion questions. Your reaction may be just a few sentences (or a few paragraphs depending on how much you have to say). What struck you? What did you find interesting? Or not interesting? What – if anything – did the readings make you think about? These reactions are designed to be fairly casual and promote some out of class dialogue with me – no need to stress about whether or not you are saying something profound. Your reactions should, however, demonstrate that you have critically assessed the material assigned for our upcoming class session. You may choose to focus on one of the readings or several of them.
- 3. Analytical Essay and Convocation Write-Up (10%):** To follow up on our discussion of the Vietnam War, you will complete a 5-7 page analysis paper that will apply the theories and concepts explaining war to the Vietnam experience. More guidelines on this assignment will be distributed in class. Also, you will provide a summary and reflection of Simon Norfolk's convocation address as preparation for our discussion of the human impacts of war. Again, more guidelines will be distributed in class.
- 4. The Capstone Independent Research Assignment (70%):** Over the course of the entire semester, you will be engaged in your own research on some aspect of war – either generally or specific to a particular conflict, period of time, country or region of interest. After completing an initial reflection essay early in the term, you will be conducting your research in stages throughout the semester. Each of the components listed below will be graded and the final integrative paper will be turned in at the end of the semester. The components of the research paper include:

- a. an annotated bibliography (5%)
- b. a formal proposal (5%)
- c. a literature review (10%)
- d. a normative essay (10%)
- e. an empirical essay (10%)
- f. oral presentations of your work and peer review efforts (10%)
- g. an integrated final research paper (20%)

Due dates for each of these assignments are listed in the course outline below. More information on the research project is contained in an accompanying handout and instructions/guidelines for specific portions of the paper will be handed out during the semester.

Course Outline

(+) denotes reading from Lawrence Freedman's edited volume War
 (*) denotes reading found in SAS-E-INK packets

Part I – The “Basics” of War (January 11-January 25)

I. Course Introduction – What is a Capstone? – January 11

Week's Reading: None

Assignment: Write a typed two to three page narrative of interesting issues, questions surrounding war (generally or specific to a conflict) that you might find worthy of exploring in more depth over the course of the semester and why these ideas currently interest you, seem worthy of more examination. Consult class readings, description of Capstone research guidelines for ideas – think too about what you have been exposed to in other courses that might have relevance to this assignment. You will submit this essay to me before our next class session – **it is due in my office by 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, January 17.** Bring a copy of your narrative to class on Wednesday, January 18, as it will form the basis for part of our class discussion.

II. The Causes of War – January 18

This class session will explore the many competing theories of “why war?” that inform international relations and delve into the factors (or correlates of war) that are judged to most heavily influence the emergence of interstate conflict. As such, we will begin examining war from several different levels of analysis and specifically assess the state of knowledge borne by the more recent methodological efforts to study war “scientifically”. We will also identify different kinds of wars, as well as make distinctions between war and “war” and debate why war has been a relatively understudied topic in American politics, even as it has been the overriding concern of scholars in international relations and comparative politics.

Week's Reading: (+) Quincy Wright, “Definitions of War”
 (+) Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War”

- (+) Raymond Aron, "Biological and Psychological Roots"
- (+) Saul B. Cohen, "Geopolitics"
- (+) Martin Van Creveld "Why Men Fight"
- (+) Ibn Khaldun, "Four Kinds of War"
- (+) Martin Wright, "War of Gain, Fear and Doctrine"
- (+) Robert Gilpin, "Hegemonic War and International Change"
- (+) Vladimir Lenin, "Socialism and War"
- (+) Seyom Brown, "Structural Factors"
- (+) Michael Doyle, "Liberal States and War"
- (*) Mary Tetreault and Ronnie Lipschutz, "People and War" in Global Politics as if People Mattered (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), pp. 107-124;
- (*) Stuart Bremer, "Who Fights Whom, When, Where and Why?" in John Vasquez, ed. What Do We Know About War? (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), pp. 23-36;
- (*) David Mayhew, "Wars and American Politics" Perspectives on Politics 3 (September 2005), pp. 473-493.

Assignment: Based on the class discussion we have had today of possible research topics on war and what you have found interesting, begin compiling an annotated bibliography of scholarly readings in your particular area of choice. Your initial bibliography must contain at least ten scholarly citations. This preliminary annotated bibliography is due to my office by **4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, January 24.**

III. Arguing About War – the Ethics of Conflict – January 25

This class session will center on the ethical questions surrounding war that have been raised over time and the place they occupy in explaining and understanding different forms of conflict. A portion of this discussion will center specifically on the concept of "just war".

- Week's Reading:**
- (+) Wilfred Owen and Herbert Reed, "Two Poems"
 - (+) John Yoder, "The Pacifism of Absolute Principle"
 - (+) Martin Ceadel, "Pacific-ism"
 - (+) Hans Morgenthau, "Six Principles of Political Realism"
 - (+) Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh, "Why Bush Went to War"
 - (+) Michael Walzer, "Sieges"
 - (+) Hannah Arendt, "The Trial of Adolf Eichmann"
 - (+) Barrie Paskins, "The Responsibilities of Defense Scientists"
 - (+) W. V. O'Brien, "Just War Doctrine and Revolutionary War"
 - (+) J.E. Hare and Carey B. Joynt, "Intervention"
 - (+) Paul C. Warnke, "Vietnam and Nuremberg"
 - (*) Neta Crawford, "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterrorism War," Perspectives on Politics 1 (March 2003), pp. 5-25.

Assignment: Using the preliminary annotated bibliography of last week and the comments you have received as a foundation, complete the preliminary research proposal framework that is handed out in class. This assignment is due in my office by **4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, January 31.**

Part II – America’s Vietnam War (February 1-March 15)

IV. The French and American Mandarins (1945-1963) – February 1

This class session will examine the reemergence and eventual disintegration of the French colonial establishment in Indochina and the growth of an American presence in Vietnam. As part of this discussion, we will explore the political dynamics among the French, Vietnamese and American governments, as well as the changing American perspective on Southeast Asia as the Cold War became more serious.

Week’s Reading: Charles Neu, America’s Lost War, pp. 1-70;

- (*) David Levy, “The Contest: How Americans Got Involved in a Land War in Asia,” in The Debate Over Vietnam 2nd edition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 21-45;
- (*) Brian VanDeMark, “A Way of Thinking: The Kennedy Administration’s Initial Assumptions about Vietnam and their Consequences,” in Lloyd Gardner and Ted Gittinger, eds. Vietnam: The Early Decisions (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), pp. 24-36;
- (*) Gareth Porter, “The Imbalance of Power, 1953-1965,” in Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 1-31.

Assignment: Make sure you have viewed Simon Norfolk’s exhibit of war photographs in the Halsey Gallery by **Wednesday, February 8**.

V. America’s War in Vietnam (1964-1968) – February 8

Soon after John F. Kennedy’s assassination, his successor Lyndon Johnson escalated America’s efforts in Vietnam. By the middle of 1965, America was engaged in a full-fledged war to preserve the integrity of South Vietnam. This portion of the course looks at the decisions leading to the escalation and some of the retrospective political assessments of these decisions. It will also begin to seek an understanding of the initial optimism that accompanied these efforts and the gradual erosion of confidence as America’s war scope continued to grow. The consideration here will conclude with an examination of the Tet offensive and its role in exacerbating the growing political disillusionment with the war expressed by many American policymakers. Within months of the surprise North Vietnamese and Viet Cong offensive, the political landscape in the U.S. had shifted dramatically and beckoned a new phase in America’s Indochina encounter.

Week’s Reading: Charles Neu, America’s Lost War, pp. 71-154;

- (+) Edward Luttwak, “The Logic of Strategy”
- (+) Michael Howard, “The Dimensions of Strategy”
- (+) Thomas Schelling, “The Strategy of Conflict”
- (+) Carl Von Clausewitz, “Key Concepts”
- (+) Baron De Jomini, “Strategy and Grand Tactics”
- (+) Napoleon, “Maxims”
- (+) Helmuth Von Molke, “Doctrines of War”
- (+) Charles Ardant Du Picq, “Moral Elements of Battle”
- (+) Julian Corbett, “Command of the Sea”
- (+) Giulio Douhet, “Command of the Air”
- (+) B. H. Liddell Hart, “The Indirect Approach”
- (+) F.O. Miksche, “Blitzkrieg”

- (+) V.D. Sokolovsky, "Soviet Strategy"
- (+) A. Beaufre, "A Strategy of Deterrence"
- (+) Stanley Karnow, "General Giap on Dien Bien Phu and Tet"
- (*) Michael Hunt, "That Bitch of a War" in Lyndon Johnson's War (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), pp. 72-107.

Assignment: Based on the direction of your proposal and the feedback you have received on it, you are to take the scholarly sources you have found and craft a literature review that introduces and effectively summarizes the relevant published material surrounding your topic. Specific guidelines on writing a literature review will be handed out in class. This assignment is due to my office by **4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, February 14.**

VI. A War for Peace: Nixon, Kissinger and the Vietnamese Endgame (1969-1975) – February 15

When Richard Nixon assumed the presidency, he brought with him a plan to "Vietnamize" the war in Indochina – giving money and equipment to American allies and encouraging them to wage the conflict. At the same time, Nixon widened the war into Cambodia and Laos. This portion of the course examines the Nixon administration's strategies for extricating America from Vietnam and the terms under which Nixon sought to achieve "Peace With Honor" as well as the circumstances that led the Vietnamese communists to prevail in 1975.

Week's Reading: Charles Neu, America's Lost War, pp. 155-232;
 (+) Thomas Schelling, "The Threat that Leaves Something to Chance"
 (+) Richard Hunt, "Pacification and Attrition in Vietnam"
 (*) Jonathan Schell, "Man of Peace" in The Time of Illusion (New York: Random House, 1975), pp. 137-197.

Assignment: Attend the POLS Convocation on Thursday, February 16 from 7-8:30 p.m., featuring Simon Norfolk. Summarize Norfolk's talk and relate Norfolk's discussion of war to readings we have done up to now. The write-up of the convocation is due in class on **Wednesday, February 22.**

VII. The Human Impacts of War – February 22

This portion of the course will examine the human impacts and effects of war and its aftermath. It will draw on themes raised in Norfolk's talk and will explicitly explore experiences from the Vietnam conflict and the most recent Iraq war.

Week's Reading: Tim O'Brien, The Things They Carried (all)
 (+) Davidson Loehr, "The Fresh Kill, Vietnam 1967"
 (+) survey other readings from the Freedman collection on the Experience of War;
 (*) D. Michael Shafer, "The Vietnam Combat Experience: The Human Legacy" in D. Michael Shafer, ed., The Legacy: The Vietnam War in the American Imagination (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), pp. 80-103;
 (*) Tim O'Brien, "The Vietnam in Me" The New York Times Magazine (October 2, 1994), pp. 43-57.

Assignment: You are to have completed the normative essay by **4:30 p.m. Tuesday, February 28.**

VIII. The American Political Debate Over Vietnam and Its Initial Policy Effects – March 1

The lasting ramifications of the Vietnam War on American society began to emerge long before the conflict itself drew to a close. This section will explore a number of these early effects, including the war's impact on the separation of powers between executive and legislative branches of government, its effects on the American media, and the repercussions it left on the U.S. military.

- Week's Reading:** (+) A. Giddens, "States and Military Power in Social Theory"
(+) C. Dandeker, "The Bureaucratization of Force"
(+) M. Janowitz, "The Military Professional"
(+) A. Vagts, *The Military and Politics*
(+) Phillippe Manigart, "Mass Armed Forces in Decline"
(+) Jean Elshtain, "Feminism's War with War"
(+) Charles C. Moskos, "Armed Forces in a Warless Society"
(+) Brian Holden Reid and John White, "Desertion in the American Civil War"
(+) Edward Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Undermining German Morale"
(+) N. Kinzer Stewart, "Military Cohesion"
(* The War Powers Act (1973);
(* Timothy Boylan, "War Powers, Constitutional Balance and the *Imperial Presidency* Idea at Century's End," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29 (June 1999), pp. 232-249;
(* Leslie Gelb, "Vietnam: The System Worked," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1971), pp. 140-167;
(* Richard Holbrooke, "Presidents, Bureaucrats and Something In Between," in Anthony Lake, ed. *The Vietnam Legacy: The War, American Society and the Future of American Foreign Policy* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), pp. 142-165;
(* Gary R. Hess, "The Military Perspective on Strategy in Vietnam: Harry G. Summer's *On Strategy* and Bruce Palmer's *The 25-Year War*," *Diplomatic History* (June 1986), pp. 91-106;
(* Michael X. Delli Carpini, "Vietnam and the Press" in D. Michael Shafer, ed., *The Legacy: The Vietnam War in the American Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), pp. 125-156;
(* William Lunch and Peter W. Sperlich, "American Public Opinion and the War in Vietnam," *Western Political Quarterly* (March 1979), pp. 21-44;
(* Arnold Isaacs, "The Generation" in *Vietnam Shadows: The War, Its Ghosts and Its Legacy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 35-64;
(* Alan Brinkley, "1968 and the Unraveling of Liberal America" in Carole Fink et al., eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 219-236.

Spring Break – March 8

IX. Understanding Vietnam from a Greater Distance – March 15

This section of the course looks at some of the longer term legacies left by America's Vietnam experience and begins the examination of how they may have affected the way America has conducted itself in the world (and how it has waged war) since that time.

- Week's Reading:** (*) Frances Fitzgerald, "A Clash of Cultures" in Andrew J. Rotter, ed. Light at the End of the Tunnel 2nd edition (Wilmington, DL: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1999), pp. 297-313;
- (*) Noam Chomsky, "An Act of Imperialism," in Andrew J. Rotter, ed. Light at the End of the Tunnel 2nd edition (Wilmington, DL: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1999), pp. 323-342;
- (*) Norman Podhoretz, "A Defense of Freedom," in Andrew J. Rotter, ed. Light at the End of the Tunnel 2nd edition (Wilmington, DL: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1999), pp. 343-352;
- (*) William Duiker, "Why the Communists Won" in Sacred War: Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam (New York: McGraw Hill, 1995), pp. 251-258;
- (*) Marilyn Young et al. "Reflections on Robert McNamara's *In Retrospect*" Diplomatic History (Summer 1996), pp. 440-471;
- (*) Robert McMahon, "Contested Memory: the Vietnam War and American Society, 1975-2001," Diplomatic History (Spring 2002), pp. 159-185.

Assignment: You must have completed the analytical essay assignment on the Vietnam War by **4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, March 21.**

Part III – War in the Present and Future (March 22-April 19)

X. The Remnants of War – March 22

These next two weeks of the course will examine the empirical evidence emerging that suggests the nature and frequency of war is changing, particularly as the Cold War has waned. We will explore and contrast the notions of "total" versus "limited" war and discuss the importance of such distinctions in today's international environment.

- Week's Reading:** John Mueller, The Remnants of War, pp. 1-84;
- (+) Geoffrey Parker, "The Military Revolution"
 - (+) Ian F. Beckett, "Total War"
 - (+) Andrew Lambert, "Crimean Illusions"
 - (+) Geoffrey Best, "Restraints on Land War"
 - (+) Douglas Porch, "The Tactical Offensive in France"
 - (+) Stephen Ambrose, "The Secrets of Overlord"
 - (+) Christopher Thorne, "The Image of the Japanese"
 - (+) Colin Gray, "The Strategy of Blockade"
 - (+) David Macisaac, "The Evolution of Air Power"
 - (+) "U.S. Objectives with Respect to Russia"
 - (+) Hedley Bull, "Disarmament and the Balance of Power"
 - (+) John Mearsheimer, "Instability in Europe after the Cold War"

Assignment: You are to have completed your empirical paper by **4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, March 28.**

XI. The Changing Role of War in the International System? – March 29

- Week's Reading:** John Mueller, The Remnants of War, pp. 85-181;
- (+) C. E. Callwell, "Small Wars"
 - (+) Charles W. Gwynn, "Imperial Policing"
 - (+) L.J. Shadwell, "Savage Warfare"

- (+) “Mao’s Military Principles”
- (+) Walter Laqueur, “The Character of Guerrilla War”
- (+) John MacKinlay, “The Failure of the Multi-National Force: Lebanon 1983-1984”
- (+) Robert Osgood, “Limited War and Korea”
- (+) Michael Handel, “Surprise in October 1973”
- (+) Robert Osgood, “The Reappraisal of Limited War”
- (+) Andrew Pierre, “The Impact of Arms Sales”
- (+) Kenneth Waltz, “Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better”
- (+) Martin Van Creveld, “The Future of Low Intensity Conflict”
- (+) Lawrence Freedman, “Weak States and the West”
- (*) Gregg Easterbrook, “The End of War?” The New Republic (May 30, 2005), pp. 18-22;
- (*) Deborah Avant, “Private Security Companies” New Political Economy 10 (March 2005), pp. 121-131.

Assignment: Familiarize yourself with the findings of the Center for International Development and Conflict Management’s report entitled “Peace and Conflict 2005” by Monty Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr. Also, look at the Center for Systemic Peace report “Managing Systemic Peace” and the Human Security Center’s 2005 Human Security Report “War and Peace in the 21st Century”. We will discuss the findings and methodologies of these works at the beginning of class on **Wednesday, April 5** as part of our conversation about empirical analysis.

XII. War and Today’s America – Part I – April 5

This final substantive portion of the course will look at the provocative thesis surrounding the changing nature of America’s approach to war and how this is potentially part of a larger picture facing America in places like Iraq today. Final oral presentations of research work will take place over the last three weeks of the course.

Week’s Reading: Andrew Bacevich, The New American Militarism, pp. 1-96;
 (*) Ivan Arreguin-Toft, “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict,” International Security 26 (Summer 2001), pp. 93-128;
 (*) Gil Meron, How Democracies Lose Small Wars (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 3-26.

XIII. War and Today’s America – Part II – April 12

Week’s Reading: Andrew Bacevich, The New American Militarism, pp. 97-226.

XIV. Conclusions – April 19

Week’s Reading: (*) William James, “The Moral Equivalent of War,” in Essays on Faith and Morals (New York: Meridian, 1962), pp. 311-328.

Assignment: Your integrated research paper is due in my office by **4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, April 25**