

University of Pennsylvania  
Political Science 598  
Origins of War  
Spring 2004, M 3-6

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## DESCRIPTION

This course will survey a broad range of approaches developed in international relations theory to explain the origins of war between and within states. While our focus will be largely theoretical, this concentration will be motivated and illustrated through an examination of two wars in the twentieth century: World War I and the recent civil war fought over the dissolution of Yugoslavia. We will start by examining how such variables as the security dilemma, offensive military strategies, shifts in the international distribution of power, diplomacy, arms races, democracy, imperial interests, and globalization may have shaped the respective decisions of European statesmen to plunge their societies into war in July of 1914. Second, we will assess whether the same set of theoretical tools developed to understand the problem of war between states can improve our understanding of the conditions under which state authority collapses and civil war breaks out.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

There will be five requirements for this course. First, you will be expected to attend class, keep up with the assigned readings, and participate in our discussions. Second, you will have three brief assignments due on January 26, April 12, and/or April 19. The first is due on January 26 and second two will be due during the final two class periods (April 12 and April 19). Third, you will write two short papers (750 to 1250 words) that critique our weekly readings. These papers are due at 1:00 p.m. on the Monday we meet to discuss those readings. Fourth, you will write a brief version of your final paper (1250 to 1750 words) that outlines its central argument. This paper will be due on **Thursday, April 8**. Finally, you will write a final paper (4500 to 6000 words for undergraduate credit; 6500 to 8000 words for graduate credit) due on **Wednesday, May 5** that develops and defends the argument presented in the shorter version.

Class Participation	15%
Description of Great Power interests & comments on colleagues' short papers	10%
2 Short papers	25%
Short version of final paper	10%
Final paper	40%

## ASSIGNMENT DESCRIPTIONS

### *The Great Powers and the decade leading up to WWI*

The first assignment will be due at the start of class on **January 26**. Identify the following characteristics of one of Great Powers (France, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary) in the decade prior to 1914: key political leaders and their respective political goals; imperial interests; allies; primary threats to national security; political system; behavior in following crises: 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> Moroccan crises (1905 and 1911), Bosnian Annexation crisis (1908), Balkan Wars (1912-1913). You will be emailing your description to all the students in class. If you need additional sources outside of our readings, I would recommend consulting the bibliography found in Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*. Additionally, I have checked out from the library each volume of a series of five studies on the foreign policy of each of these states prior to World War I. I will be loaning these out on a 24-hour basis throughout the course.

### *Paper Group and final presentations*

On April 5, I will place each of you in a three-person working group for your final papers. The purpose of this group will be to generate two sets of comments (in addition to mine) on the first version of your final paper and organize presentations for the final two class periods. By **5:00 p.m. on Thursday April 8**, you will be responsible for distributing three copies of the short version of your final paper—one copy to me and one copy to each member of your working group. You will then write a short comment (300 to 400 words) on each of the papers written by the other two members of your working group.

Our classes on April 12 and April 19 will be composed of a series of short discussions on each of your final paper projects. You will briefly present to the entire class the arguments contained in your final paper. The two members of your working group will then present their respective comments, which will be due at the start of class. Finally, the rest of the class will get the opportunity to ask questions of your final project. The order of presentations will be determined by random draw on March 1.

### *Final Paper*

Your final paper will utilize the theories discussed in class to develop your own explanation as to why either World War I or the recent conflict in the Balkans began. It will be due at 1:30 p.m. on the day our final exam is scheduled (**Wednesday, May 5**).

### *Late Assignments*

Assignments will be penalized 5 points for each day (24 hour period) they are late with one exception: the two short papers critiquing our weekly readings. Because you will be expected to outline the arguments of these papers in class, I will not accept late papers for these assignments.

## READING MATERIALS

The reading material for the course will be comprised of a series of journal articles and books. I will place two packets containing all of the readings not contained in the required books on reserve at the library. I will have a third copy to be loaned out if you wish to make a copy of the entire packet. Additionally, many of these readings found in scholarly journals can be found online through the library's home page (e.g. *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, *World Politics*, *International Organization*). Finally, the following three books are required and available at the bookstore.

James Joll. 1992. *The Origins of the First World War*. 2d ed. Longman: Harlow, England.

Misha Glenny. 1996. *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. 3d revised ed. New York: Penguin Books.

Amy Chua. 2002. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Doubleday.

## CLASS SCHEDULE

### January 12

Introduction and overview of the class

### **I. The origins of interstate war**

#### January 26

World War I

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*, all.

*Description of great power interests due*

#### February 2

Anarchy, the Security Dilemma and Offense-Defense Theory

Robert Jervis. 1978. Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214.

Stephen Van Evera. 1984. The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War. *International Security* 9(1): 58-107

Jack Snyder. 1984. Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984. *International Security* 9(1): 108-146.

Keir A. Leiber. 2000. Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security. *International Security* 25(1): 71-104.

George W. Bush. 2002. The National Security Strategy of the United States. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>

## **February 9**

### Structural Causes of War and Power Transition Theory

Dale C. Copeland. 2000. *The Origins of Major War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp. 1-117.

Jack Levy. 1987. Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War. *World Politics* 40(1): 82-107.

Wohlforth, William C. 1987. Perceptions of the Balance of Power in 1914. *World Politics* 39(3): 353-381.

Avery Goldstein. 2003. Power Transitions, Institutions, and China's Rise in East Asia: Theoretical Expectations and Evidence. Typescript.

## **February 16**

### Strategic Interaction, Diplomacy, Alliances, and Arms Races

Paul Kennedy. 1983. Arms Races and the Causes of War, 1850-1945. In Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945*, 165-177. London: George Allen.

Glenn H. Snyder. 1984. The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics. *World Politics* 36(4): 461-495.

Scott D. Sagan. 1986. 1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability. *International Security* 11(2): 151-175.

James D. Fearon. 1995. Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.

David Stevenson. 1997. Militarization and Diplomacy in Europe Before 1914. *International Security* 22(1): 125-161.

## **February 23**

### The Domestic Causes of War

Michael R. Gordon. 1974. Domestic Conflict and the Origins of the First World War: The British and the German Cases. *The Journal of Modern History* 46(2): 191-226.

Michael Doyle. 1986. Liberalism and World Politics. *American Political Science Review* 86: 1151-1170.

Randall L. Schweller. 1992. Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific? *World Politics* 44(2): 235-269.

Niall Ferguson. 1994. Public Finance and National Security: The Domestic Origins of the First World War Revisited. *Past and Present* 142: 141-168.

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder. 1995. Democratization and War. *Foreign Affairs* 74(3): 79-97.

Ido Oren. 1995. The Subjectivity of the "Democratic" Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions of Imperial Germany. *International Security* 20(2): 147-184.

## **March 1**

### Economic Causes

V. I. Lenin. 1993 [1917]. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. New York: International Publisher. chs 3-7.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1951 [1919]. The Sociology of Imperialisms. In *Imperialism and Social Classes*, ed. Paul M. Sweezy, trans. Heinz Norden, 1-130. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Inc. pp. 3-30, 83-130.

Barry Buzan. 1984. Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case. *International Organization* 38: 597-624.

Papayoanou, Paul. 1996. Interdependence, Institutions, and the Balance of Power: Britain, Germany, and World War I. *International Security* 20(4): 42-76.

David M. Rowe. 1999. World Economic Expansion and National Security in Pre-World War I Europe. *International Organization* 53(2): 195-231.

*random draw for presentation dates in the final two weeks of the term*

## **II. IR approaches to Civil War**

### **March 15**

#### Introduction and the Balkans

Misha Glenny. 1996. *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. pp. 1-232.

Barry R. Posen. 1993. The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict. *Survival* 35(1): 27-47.

James D. Fearon. 1998. Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict. In David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, pp. 107-126. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

David A. Lake. 2003. International Relations Theory and Internal Conflict: Insights from the Interstices. *International Studies Review* 5(4): 81-89.

### **March 22**

#### Ethnic Conflict

Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs* 72(3): 22-49.

V.P. Gagnon. 1994/1995. Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia. *International Security* 19(3): 130-166.

Jack Snyder and Karen Ballantine. 1996. Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas. *International Security* 21(2): 5-40.

Stuart J. Kaufman. 2001. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. pp. 1-48, 165-221.

### **March 29**

#### Economic Causes of Civil War

Amy Chua. 2002. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Doubleday.

Susan L. Woodward. 1995. *The Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. Washington: The Brookings Institution. pp. 1-145.

### **April 5**

#### The Role of Third Parties in the Origins and Termination of Civil War

Richard K. Betts. 1994. The Delusion of Impartial Intervention. *Foreign Affairs* 73(6): 20-33.

Beverly Crawford. 1996. Explaining Defection for International Cooperation: Germany's Unilateral Recognition of Croatia. *World Politics* 48(4): 482-521.

Chaim Kaufman. 1996. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Wars. *International Security* 20(4): 136-175.

Susan L. Woodward. 1999. Bosnia and Herzegovina: How Not to End Civil War. In Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*, 73-115. New York: Columbia University Press.

Barbara F. Walter. 1999. Designing Transitions From Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace. *International Security* 24(1): 127-155.

*Note: The shorter version of your final paper is due at 5:00 p.m. on Thursday, April 8. You must distribute one copy to me and an additional copy to each member of your working group.*

### **April 12, April 19**

#### Presentations