

Course Code: <b>PSCI 481</b>	
Course Name: <b>Interstate War</b>	
Academic Year and Term: 2021-2022, Spring Semester	
Meetings: Tuesdays, from 11:30-14:20 at HH 336	
<b>Dr. Alexander Lanoszka</b> Hagey Hall, 349 <a href="mailto:alexander.lanoszka@uwaterloo.ca">alexander.lanoszka@uwaterloo.ca</a> Office Hours: Teams by appointment	<b>Evaluation Criteria:</b> <b>20%</b> Participation <b>15%</b> Three-Page Response Paper <b>5%</b> In-class Response Paper Discussion <b>10%</b> Two-Page Proposal <b>50%</b> Research Paper

## Course Description

This course covers interstate war. The questions that we will explore include, but are not restricted to, the following: How is war different from other political activities? Why do states fight wars? How do domestic politics affect war-fighting? We will bring to bear diverse theories to probe these questions. We will be devoting a few weeks on the First World War because its complexity has inspired many key theories in International Relations scholarship. It will also serve as a case study for understanding how war shapes politics, and vice versa.

Because this course is an advanced seminar course, I assume that you are familiar with the basics of International Relations theory and its major concepts. I highly recommend that undergraduate enrollees have already taken PSCI 281 World Politics before taking this course.

## Pedagogical Approach

We will use a seminar format for most of the sessions. As such, I expect you to come to class prepared—that is to say, having done, and reflected on, the readings in advance of each meeting. I might “lecture” on occasion if I anticipate that key concepts are hard for students to grasp at first.

Note that graduate students will have one more reading per week that they must do in addition to the set that undergraduates all do.

## **Assessment**

### **20% Participation**

I expect students to participate in discussions regarding the class material and weekly readings. I will evaluate students based on the frequency and quality of their interventions. Students will receive something between 14 and 20 if they come to all meetings and make an intervention in the classroom at least two-thirds of the time. The quality of the intervention also matters such that, contrary to Joseph Stalin, quantity does not have a quality all of its own. Indeed, a tendency to speak over your classmates in an attempt to dominate or shut down discussion will result in a subtraction of your grades. Students will receive 8-12 if they miss more than the minimum acceptable meetings (without proper documentation) and/or have sporadic interventions over the course of the term. Students will receive 1-6 if they miss class often and remain silent over the course of the term. You must be a complete no-show to get 0.

I understand that some of you might not be comfortable speaking in front of your peers, but I strive to make the environment as open and comfortable for you to contribute. Please consult me if you wish to discuss this issue further in private. If nothing else, ask clarifying questions because I guarantee someone else has the same question.

I also understand that life “happens.” You are entitled to miss one session with no questions asked. I will be tracking attendance. See “Make Up for Missed Meeting” on how you can receive compensatory credit.

### **15% Three-Page Response Paper and 5% In-Class “Presentation”**

Students will sign up for one week. Each paper is to comment critically on at least one of the required readings for that week. These papers must be distributed in .doc format to the entire class in a closed thread on the Learn website by 18:00 EST on the Monday preceding class; authors must also be prepared to discuss this paper in

class. Only do the minimal necessary in terms of summarising the reading(s). I am more interested in your assessment of the logic and evidence used to support an argument.

You may wish to consider the following questions when drafting your response paper. Do the conclusions follow from the premises? What are the assumptions, hidden or explicit? Are there alternative interpretations of the evidence? Are there sins of omission or commission that directly bear on the validity of the argument? What do the findings say about leading theories in international relations? Does the piece make a contribution to our understanding of war and politics? Not all these questions may be relevant.

At the beginning of each reading discussion, the student(s) who wrote a response paper for that reading will in 3-5 minutes briefly summarize the paper they reviewed and then articulate the arguments that they made in their response paper. Note that I am not asking for a summary of the paper in the actual response paper, but in the presentation I want you to summarize the paper. You will be graded on the quality of your review and how clearly and persuasively you articulated your critiques.

N.B.: I will not make alternative arrangements to this assessment. If you do not like this assessment, then please drop the course. You must make sure that you can do the response paper in the timely manner expected of you. It is essential for the smooth functioning of this course. No exceptions.

### **10% Two-Page Proposal Due 19 June 2022 at 23:59 ET**

This proposal must describe the puzzle or question that you plan to address in your final essay, provide an overview of how you intend on structuring the paper, and list at least three sources you plan to use with a brief description of each. It should follow the same formatting guidelines as laid out above.

### **50% Essay Due 7 August 2022 at 23:59 ET**

Undergraduate students must write a 12 page (approx. 3000 words) essay, whereas graduate students must write an 18-20 page (approx. 4500-5000 words) essay. You are free to write on an issue of your choice, but students must ground their paper

in one of the course's themes and **MUST** make a theoretical question or problem the central focus of the paper. The paper will be assessed on its content, organisation, use of academic sources, quality of said sources, and originality.

## **Essay Formatting**

These rules govern the formatting of **ALL** written work submitted for this class.

- 1” margins all around
- Page numbers—if your first page is the cover page, then set this page number to 0. (In Word, select “Page Numbers” from the “Insert” menu and click on “Format.”)
- Consistent usage of one standard citation style (e.g., Chicago, MLA, etc.)
- A standard cover page that includes the word count
- Double spacing
- Submit all work in .doc or .docx formats, and not PDF!

Failure to format your essay properly will result in a deduction of your mark.

## **Office Hours**

Owing to the pandemic and timing constraints, we will have office hours by appointment by way of Microsoft Teams. Send me an email and we will arrange to have a meeting at a mutually convenient time. I will not explain to you what was discussed in any session that you might have missed.

## **Letter Writing Requests**

Absolutely **DO NOT** put my name down as a reference without asking for my permission first. I strongly encourage all students contemplating further postgraduate studies to consult with me first. Please note that I have very specific guidelines about letter writing. Read the document first before approaching me. Doing so will save everyone time and energy.

<http://www.alexlanoszka.com/LanoszkaPolicy.pdf>

## **Late Penalties**

For each day late, I will deduct two percentage points from your overall grade. One minute past the appointed deadline counts as the first day late.

## **Email Confirmation and Communication**

Once you have read through this syllabus, please send me an email with subject line **“PSCI 481: Syllabus Read”**. In this email, state your name, your reasons for enrolling in this course, and previous courses that may be relevant. The email should be no longer than four sentences.

Please note that all emails sent to me should include “PSCI 481” at the beginning of the subject line. Responses could take up to 1-2 business days (no weekends). If I believe that answering your email would take me more than five minutes to do, then I would invite you to meet me during my office hours instead. If you have not received a response after 2 business days, then please resend your email. I will **ONLY** respond to emails that are sent from your [uwaterloo.ca](mailto:uwaterloo.ca) account.

Do not email me questions that could be answered by looking at the syllabus. If you do, then you should not expect a response.

## **Make Up for Missed Meeting**

If a student has missed more than one tutorial session, then that student may complete an extra credit assignment to make up for each missed attendance. There are no other ways of receiving extra credit in the course. The extra credit assignment involves writing a 1000 word discussion paper that reflects on a public lecture at the UW Department of Political Science, the Balsillie School of International Affairs, or the Centre for International Governance Innovation on a topic related to war or international security. I must approve any other public talk. The discussion paper must use concepts discussed in the course or the readings. Each discussion paper will receive a mark of either  $\frac{1}{2}$  or 1. Discussion papers must be submitted to me and none can be submitted after the last day of classes.

## **Academic Integrity**

In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

- (a) **Discipline:** A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for her/his actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 - Student Discipline. For information on categories of offences and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline at <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm>.
- (b) **Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of her/his university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4 at <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm>.
- (c) **Appeals:** A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm> See also: Student Appeals at <https://uwaterloo.ca/arts/current-undergraduates/student-support/artsundergraduate-office>.
- (d) **Turnitin.com:** Plagiarism detection software (Turnitin) will be used to screen assignments in this course. This step serves to verify that use of all material and sources in assignments is documented. In the first week of the term, details will be provided about the arrangements for the use of Turnitin in this course. If you do not wish to have your assignments submitted to Turnitin, an alternative arrangement between you and I can be worked out where your work can still be rigorously assessed to ensure its academic integrity.

## Accommodation for Students with Disabilities

The AccessAbility Services (AS) Office (Needles Hall, Room 1401) collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the AS Office at the beginning of each academic term.

**NOTA BENE: THIS SYLLABUS IS SUBJECT TO MINOR CHANGES. REFER TO THE LEARN WEBSITE FOR THE LATEST VERSION.**

<b>SCHEDULE</b>		
<b>M</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Lecture Topic</b>
1	3 May	Introduction: Trends in War
2	10 May	Clausewitz and the Bargaining Model of War
3	17 May	Political Regimes and War
4	24 May	The First World War (Causes)
5	31 May	The First World War (Alliance Politics)
6	7 June	The First World War (Termination)
7	14 June	Modern Tactics and Operations
8	21 June	Territory and Bargaining
9	28 June	Brutality
10	5 July	Ethnic War
11	12 July	War and Economics
12	19 July	Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding
<b>FINAL PAPER DUE: TBD at 23:59 ET</b>		

## Reading List and Course Schedule

### Meeting 1: Trends in War

In this session we will talk about the goals of this course as well as its assessment components. Do not expect me to review the syllabus at length, however.

Read until the Q&A section of the following link: Steven Pinker, “A History of Violence: Edge Master Class 2011,” retrieved from <https://www.edge.org/conversation/mc2011-history-violence-pinker>.

Tanisha M. Fazal, “Dead Wrong?: Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War's Demise,” *International Security*, vol. 39, no. 1 (2014): 95-125.

*Start reading* Michael Howard, *The First World War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007).

#### Recommended Reading:

Pascquale Cirillo and Nassim Nicholas Taleb, “What are the Chances of a Third World War?” *Significance*. Available at <https://www.fooledbyrandomness.com/significance.pdf>

Bear Braumoeller, “Is War Disappearing?” Available at [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2317269](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2317269).



## Meeting 2: Clausewitz and the Bargaining Model of War

We study international security because we want to understand why wars take place—preferably to make sure that they do not happen. Why then do wars occur? Why can states not peacefully resolve their differences so as to avoid paying the (potentially high) costs associated with war? We will review some classic explanations for why wars take place.

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984): 78-89; 113-123.

Mary Kaldor, “Inconclusive Wars: Is Clausewitz Still Relevant in these Global times?” *Global Policy*, vol. 1, no. 3 (2010): 271-281.

Dan Reiter, “Exploring the Bargaining Model of War,” *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2003): 27-33. DON’T READ THE ENTIRE PAPER.

James D. Fearon, “Rationalist Explanations of War,” *International Organization*, vol. 49, no. 3 (1995): 379-390. DON’T READ THE ENTIRE PAPER.

### Recommended Readings:

R. Harrison Wagner, “Bargaining and War,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (2000): 469-484.

James D. Fearon, “Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation,” *International Organization*, vol. 52, no. 2 (1998): 269-305.

## Meeting 3: Regime Type and War

Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 4 (2003): 585-602.

Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 80 (1986): 1151-70.

Bruce M. Russett, "Democracy, War and Expansion through Historical Lenses," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2009): 9-36.

Jessica L.P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014): 14-36.

### *Recommended Readings:*

Erik Gartzke and Alex Weisiger, "Under Construction: Development, Democracy, and Difference as Determinants of Systemic Liberal Peace," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 1 (2014): 130-45.

John M. Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1994): 87-125

Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace.," *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1994): 5-49.

Henry S. Farber and Joanne Gowa, "Politics and Peace," *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1995): 123-46.

Ido Oren, "The Subjectivity of the "Democratic" Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions of Imperial Germany," *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Fall 1984): 147-184.

## Meeting 4: The First World War (Causes)

The First World War was a brutal conflict that killed millions, ended long-lasting empires, hastened developments in military technology and medicine, destroyed exorbitant amounts of wealth, and led the way for Adolf Hitler to rise to power in Germany. We will examine this war in light of the explanations of war we reviewed in Week 2.

Stephen Van Evera, "Why Cooperation Failed in 1914," *World Politics*, vol. 38, no. 1 (1985): 80-117.

Keir A. Lieber, "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory," *International Security*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2007): 155-191.

Annika Mombauer, "The Fischer Controversy, Documents and the 'Truth' About the Origins of the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 48, no. 2 (2013): 290-314.

### Recommended Readings:

Fritz Fischer, *World Power or Decline: The Controversy over Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974): 3-19.

Marc Trachtenberg, "The Meaning of Mobilization in 1914," *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 3 (1990): 120-150.

Holger H. Herwig, "Germany and the 'Short-War' Illusion: Toward a New Interpretation," *The Journal of Military History*, vol. 66, no. 3 (2002): 681-694.

Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1984): 108-146.

Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1984): 58-107.

Marc Trachtenberg, Robert Jervis, Dale C. Copeland, and Stephen A. Schuker, "New Light on 1914?" *H-Diplo Forum* 16, <https://issforum.org/forums/newlight1914>, 5 September 2017.

## Meeting 5: The First World War (Alliance Politics)

Scott D. Sagan, "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability," *International Security*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1986): 151-175.

Mira Rapp-Hooper, "Ambivalent Albion, Ambitious Ally: Britain's Decision for No Separate Peace in 1914," *Security Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4 (2014): 814-844.

Alexander Lanoszka, *Military Alliances in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2022): chapter 5.

### Recommended Readings:

Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *International Organization*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1990): 137-168.

Dominic Tierney, "Does Chain-Ganging Cause the Outbreak of War?" *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 55, no. 2 (2011): 285-304.

Stephen M. Saideman and David P. Auerswald, "Comparing Caveats: Understanding the Sources of National Restrictions upon NATO's Mission in Afghanistan," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 1 (2012): 67-84.

Marina E. Henke, "The Politics of Diplomacy: How the United States Builds Multilateral Military Operations," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 2 (2017): 410-424.

## Meeting 6: The First World War (Termination)

Elizabeth A. Stanley and John P. Sawyer, "The Equifinality of War Termination: Multiple Paths to Ending War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 53, no. 5 (2009): 651-676.

Dan Reiter, *How Wars End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009): chapter on WWI.

Thomas Dolan, "Demanding the Impossible: War, Bargaining, and Honor," *Security Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3 (2015): 528-562.

### Recommended Readings:

Zachary C. Shirkey, "Uncertainty and War Duration," *International Studies Review*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2016): 244-267.

Alexander Lanoszka and Michael Hunzeker, "Rage of Honor: Entente Indignation and the Lost Chance for Peace in the First World War," *Security Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (2015): 662-667.

Alexander Weisiger, "Victory Without Peace: Conquest, Insurgency, and War Termination," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, vol. 31, no. 4 (2014): 357-382.

Alexandre Debs and Hein E. Goemans, "Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 104, no. 3 (2010): 430-445.

## Meeting 7: Territory and Bargaining

Kenneth Schultz and Hein Goemans, "Aims, Claims, and the Bargaining Model of War," *International Theory*, vol. 11, no. 3 (2019): 344-374. (SKIP pages 351-358.)

Dan Altman, "By Fait Accompli, Not Coercion: How States Wrest Territory from Their Adversaries," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 4 (2017): 881-891.

Dominic D.P. Johnson and Monica Duffy Toft. "Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict," *International Security*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2013): 7-38.

### *Recommended Readings:*

Tanisha M. Fazal, "State Death in the International System," *International Organization*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2004): 311-344.

Monica Duffy Toft, "Territory and War," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2014): 185-198.

Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min, "From Empire to Nation-State: Explaining Wars in the Modern World, 1816–2001," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 71, no. 6 (2006): 867-897.

John Agnew, "The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory," *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1994): 53-80.

## Meeting 8: Modern Tactics and Operations

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006): 28-51.

Stephen Biddle, *Nonstate Warfare: The Military Methods of Guerrillas, Warlords, and Militias* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021): 22-45.

Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015): 12-40.

Bonnie Berkowitz and Artur Galocha, "Why Russia's Military is Bugged Down by Logistics in Ukraine," *Stars & Stripes (Washington Post)*, 31 March 2022, <https://www.stripes.com/theaters/europe/2022-03-31/why-russia-military-bugged-down-logistics-ukraine-5542010.html>.

### Recommended Readings:

Tami Davis Biddle, "British and American Approaches to Strategic Bombing: Their Origins and Implementation in the World War II Combined Bombing Offensive," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1995): 91-144.

Michael A. Hunzeker, *Dying to Learn: Wartime Lessons from the Western Front* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021): German chapter.

Andrew F. Krepinevich, "Calvary to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions," *The National Interest* (1994): 30-42.

Julian Corbett, *Principles of Maritime Strategy* (Dover Books, 2004): 49-83.



Stephen Biddle and Robert Zirkle, "Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1996): 171–212.

Daniel L. Byman and Matthew C. Waxman, "Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate," *International Security*, vol. 24, no. 4 (2000): 5-38.

Robert A. Pape, "The True Worth of Air Power," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 2 (2004): 116-130.

Edward Newman, "The 'New Wars' Debate: A Historical Perspective is Needed," *Security Dialogue*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2004): 173-189.

Mary Kaldor, "Old Wars, Cold Wars, New Wars, and the War on Terror," *International Politics*, vol. 42, no. 4 (2005): 491-498.

Frank G. Hoffmann, *Hybrid Warfare and Challenges* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for National Security Studies, 2009).

## Meeting 9: Brutality in War

Margaret MacMillan, *War: How Conflict Shaped Us* (New York: Penguin, 2020): 150-174.

Robert Engen, "S.L.A. Marshall and the Ratio of Fire: History, Interpretation, and the Canadian Experience," *Canadian Military History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (2011): 39-48.

Alexander B. Downes, "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War," *International Security*, vol. 30, no. 4 (2006): 152-195.

Dara Kay Cohen and Ragnhild Nordås, "Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 5 (2015): 877-898.

### Recommended Readings:

Dave Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* (New York: Back Bay Books, 1996): 1-17.

Cynthia Cockburn, "Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War: A Feminist Standpoint," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2019): 139-157.

Dara Kay Cohen et al, "Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways," *United States Institute of Peace Special Report* (2013).

James D. Morrow, "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 101, no. 3 (2007): 559-572.

Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, and Sarah Croco, "Covenants without the Sword: International Law and the Protection of Civilians in Times of War," *World Politics*, vol. 58, no. 3 (2006): 339-377.

Geoffrey P.R. Wallace, "Welcome Guests, or Inescapable Victims? The Causes of Prisoner Abuse in War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 56, no. 6 (2012): 955-981.

## **Meeting 10: Ethnic War**

H. Zeynep Bulutgil, "Social Cleavages, Wartime Experience, and Ethnic Cleansing in Europe," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 52, no. 5 (2015): 577-590.

Richard Overy, "'Ordinary Men,' Extraordinary Circumstances: Historians, Social Psychology, and the Holocaust," *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 70, no. 3 (2014): 515-530.

Helen Fein, "Accounting for Genocide after 1945: Theories and Some Findings," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1993): 79-106.

Stuart J. Kaufman, "Escaping the Symbolic Politics Trap: Reconciliation Initiatives and Conflict Resolution in Ethnic Wars," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2006): 201-218.

## **Meeting 11: War and Economics**

Stephen Brooks, "Economic Actor's Lobbying Influence on the Prospects for War and Peace," *International Organization*, vol. 67, no. 4 (2013): 863-888.

Rossella Capella Zielinski, *How States Pay for War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016): theory chapter.

Jonathan Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers: Financial Caution on the Road to War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007): theory chapter.

### Recommended Readings:

Niall Ferguson, "Public Finance and National Security: The Domestic Origins of the First World War Revisited," *Past and Present*, vol. 142, no. 1 (1994): 141-168.

Gustavo A. Flores-Macias and Sarah E. Kreps, "Political Parties at War: A Study of American War Finance, 1789-2010," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 107, no. 4 (2013): 833-848.

Patrick E. Shea, "Financing Victory: Sovereign Credit, Democracy, and War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 58, no. 5 (2014): 771-795.

Paul Poast, "Central Banks at War," *International Organisation*, vol. 69, no. 1 (2015): 63-95.

Matthew DiGiuseppe, "Guns, Butter, and Debt: Sovereign Creditworthiness and Military Expenditure," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 52, no. 5 (2015): 680-693.

## **Meeting 12: Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding**

Virginia Page Fortna, "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects," *World Politics*, 56, no. 4 (2004): 481-519.

Barbara F. Walter, Lise Morje Howard, and Virginia Page Fortna, "The Extraordinary Relationship between Peacekeeping and Peace," *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 51, no. 4 (2021): 1705-1722.

Roland Paris, "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2010): 337-365.

Séverine Autesserre, "The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 98, no. 1 (2019): 101-118.

## Books on the First World War

Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1962).

President John F. Kennedy reportedly was reading this book around the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Tuchman takes the view that the war was largely an accident: European statesmen stumbled into it. Tuchman's book is a classic, even though her argument is not widely accepted.

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London, UK: Routledge, 2003).

A well-written and intelligent survey of what caused the First World War, it offers a compelling theory of concentric causes. This book is a terrific example of a historian thinking systematically about the causes of a complex conflict.

Hein E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

This book terrifically marries theory and evidence to examine an under-explored puzzle about the First World War. It is unable to account for the 1918 Spring Offensive and overstates British rationality, but this book is a must-read for students of war.

Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London, UK: Penguin, 2012).

An excellent statement on the origins of the First World War, it is more forthright on assigning culpability for the war. That said, it spreads blame almost a little too evenly—barring the discussion on Serbia—so as to make the war seem accidental.

Margaret MacMillan, *The War that Ended Peace: How Europe Abandoned Peace for the First World War* (London, UK: Profile, 2014).

Evocatively written, this book captures at once the zeitgeist of the pre-war years while describing the fateful political decisions and military plans that put Europe on the road to war. For MacMillan, a Canadian historian who is now Warden at St. Anthony's at Oxford, the war was neither an accident nor the result of German expansionism.

Laura Engelstein, *Russia in Flames* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Contrary to popular belief in the West, war in Europe did not end on 11 November. Indeed, for many countries, November 1918 was a month that saw national independence and when the real fight was just getting started. Engelstein's book surveys the eastern front, the two Russian revolutions, and the wars that ensued in the former Russian imperial space thereafter. A very good book.

### **War in the Arts**

I have never seen war, but I have close friends who have been deployed and family members who lived through wartime in Poland. I hope none of us will ever have to endure such things. If war sometimes feels like an abstraction in this course, then the arts can offer far more vivid insights than what any journal article or piece of nonfiction can provide.

Here are some exemplary literary works that you should endeavour to read:

*Johnny Got His Gun* by Dalton Trumbo

Austere, unsentimental, and gut-wrenching, this story about a blind and limbless ex-soldier is the purest war novel ever written. You will not find any romanticism about war in this novel.

*Catch-22* by Joseph Heller

A colleague of mine who once served in the Israeli Defence Forces described this book to me as the best depiction of the absurdity that characterises military life and war-fighting. A bit long-winded and repetitive (but such is military life in peacetime and even in wartime), the travails of Captain John Yossarian in trying to get out of yet another bombing sortie will leave a deep impression.

*War and Peace* by Leon Tolstoy

Rightly considered one of the greatest novels ever written, *War and Peace* tells the story of two Russian families as their fates intertwine. It provides a panoramic account of how Russia endured the Napoleonic wars, depicting major battles like Austerlitz and Borodino with much realism.

*Slaughterhouse-Five* by Kurt Vonnegut

Containing aliens, time-travel, and the Dresden bombing, this book is Vonnegut's must-read masterpiece. It is narratively tighter than *Catch-22* but it is arguably less effective in its portrayal of absurdity. Still, with good reason, this book is a favourite for many readers.

*A Farewell to Arms* by Ernest Hemingway

Not even half as good as *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which concerns the Spanish Civil War, or a quarter as good as *The Sun Also Rises*, which concerns American expatriates and veterans in post-World War One Europe, *A Farewell to Arms* established Hemingway's reputation as a great American writer. Unintentionally funny.

*Mrs. Dalloway* by Virginia Woolf

The majority of classic novels that concern *interstate* war have been written by men. Still, to get a feel of how trauma can affect post-war society, read this breakout novel by Virginia Woolf. The veteran Septimus Warren Smith's post-traumatic stress disorder is *itself* a character in this short novel, one that permeates the crisp London air.

Here are some exemplary films that touch on war:

*Saving Private Ryan*, dir. Stephen Spielberg

The first and last five minutes of this film almost ruin it because of their insincere sentimentality, but that's Spielberg for you. Otherwise, this film is excellent and provides the standard against which we judge most films in the genre.

*Hiroshima Mon Amour*, dir. Alain Resnais

Based on a screenplay by Marguerite Duras, this film juxtaposes the traumatic experiences of a Hiroshima survivor and a woman punished for her behaviour in occupied France.

*Dunkirk*, dir. Christopher Nolan

Set across the three media of war, this film misrepresents the Dunkirk embarkments (see *Atonement* for a more accurate depiction) but is arguably comparable to *Saving Private Ryan* in its quantity. It bears excellent use of character anonymity and sound.

*Das Boot (The Boat)*, dir. Wolfgang Peterson

Undoubtedly the best submarine film of all time, it depicts the hazards and existential fear that accompanies life on a U-boat in the Second World War.

*Black Hawk Down*, dir. Ridley Scott

This film offers a bracing portrayal of the Battle of Mogadishu, an event that shaped how the United States went about humanitarian intervention in the decade leading up to 9/11. The Spear has recently done a two-part podcast episode that covers this event from the perspective of those who participated in the battle.



*Apocalypse Now*, dir. Francis Ford Coppola

It is hard to overestimate how traumatic the Vietnam War was for the American body politic. This complex film is an adaptation of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and explores how different individuals react to their role in combat.

*The Hurt Locker*, dir. Kathryn Bigelow

This film tells the story of an Explosive Ordnance Disposal team in Iraq and shows how war can for some be addictive.

*La Règle du Jeu (The Rules of the Game)*, dir. Jean Renoir

“You see, in this world, there is one awful thing, and that is that everyone has his reasons,” is one of the most important quotes in cinema. It hints at the complexity of human motives in war. Not quite a war film, this scathing film—released in 1939—satirically depicts upper class French society on the eve of world war.