

Yale University
Department of Political Science

Syllabus

MILITARY POWER

Political Science 140/674

Global Affairs 381

(Seminar)

Spring 2012

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Class: Tuesdays, 3:30-5:20, Rosenkranz 202
Office Hours: Tue. 1:00-3:00, Rosenkranz 226 (book through my website)

COURSE OBJECTIVES AND OUTLINE

This seminar explores the foundations, application, evolution, and limits of military power. We will read the main foundational text on the topic -- Clausewitz's *On War* -- and pair it with contemporary readings that complement it on the several aspects referred above. We will cover topics such as the relation between military power and politics, technology, coercion, and ethics, as well as the sources of military effectiveness, the problems of civil-military relations, and contemporary topics such as the revolution in military affairs and the problems with military occupations. By the end of the course, students should be able to have a general grasp of the main questions pertaining to the use of military power and its relation to (international and domestic) politics.

REQUIREMENTS, GRADING, AND DEADLINES

Basic knowledge of IR theory is a plus, but not required.

The course will consist in a series of seminar sessions with pre-assigned readings. Students are expected to do all the readings prior to each session, as well as attend and participate in all sessions. The weekly sessions will focus on (i) laying out the main arguments of the assigned readings and (ii) critically discussing them. I will open up the session with a short (20-minute) lecture on the topic, laying out the main arguments in the readings, to be followed by a general examination and discussion of the week's topic.

Final grades will be assigned as follows:

- Seminar participation: 25%;
- Response papers: 25%;
- Final paper: 50%.

Please note that in order to receive an overall passing grade, students must receive a passing grade in *all* three components of the final grade.

DESCRIPTION OF ASSIGNMENTS

Seminar Participation: Since the course will be conducted in a seminar format, students will take responsibility for leading much of the discussion. All students should be prepared to contribute to class discussion by doing all the readings in advance and bringing to class questions that stem from the readings. In order to encourage completion of the readings prior to each session, I reserve the right to call on students during the class and ask them to lay out the basic argument of any piece assigned for that session. Attendance does not in and of itself guarantee a good participation grade.

Response Papers: Each student will post a 1-page reaction to the weekly readings for five different weeks. Your response papers should be posted on the Classes*V2 by 8:00pm the day before the class meeting in which we will discuss these readings. Short papers received after the deadline but before the relevant seminar session begins will be dropped one full letter grade. Short papers will not be accepted after the relevant seminar session starts. Each of the five short papers will be worth 5% of the final course grade.

These short statements should include an analysis of strengths or weaknesses of arguments made by the authors for the relevant week; questions with which you were left by the readings; or points of confusion that should be clarified. (You should *not* summarize the readings; assume that everybody else has done the reading as well and understands the basic arguments.) You do not have to discuss all of the readings assigned for the week; you can discuss just one or two, or you can pick a broader range and compare them to each other (or to readings for earlier weeks). You are welcome to choose any four weeks in which to write reaction papers, though spacing things out over the semester might be best.

Final Paper: Students will write a substantial (20-25 pages for graduate students; 12-15 pages for undergraduate students) research paper. This paper may either be a critical review essay, a "long prospectus" for a (perhaps hypothetical) research project, or a research paper on a topic relevant to the course. Papers should not require much additional reading beyond the assignments. I will distribute a list of potential paper topics by week 7 (February 21th session). If you would prefer to write on a topic not included in the list, you must discuss it with me. To do so, please schedule an individual meeting with me by the end of week 8 (March 2nd). I encourage you to do it earlier.

Final papers should be printed in letter-sized paper, double-spaced, with 1-inch margins all around, using a size 12 standard font such as Arial, Calibri, or Times New Roman. You can use any citation style you fancy, as long as you stick to it throughout the paper.

The final paper should be emailed to me by Friday, April 27th, at 5:00pm. This deadline is strict. Papers received late will be dropped one full letter grade for each 24 hours past the deadline.

OTHER POLICIES

Policy on Plagiarism: All assignments are non-collaborative and should be entirely your own work. Plagiarism is unacceptable and will result in

penalties up to and including a failing grade for the assignment (and therefore the course) and referral to the university for disciplinary action. If you haven't done so yet, please familiarize yourself with the University's policy on academic honesty, including cheating, plagiarism, and document citation, at the following web location: <http://yalecollege.yale.edu/content/cheating-plagiarism-and-documentation>. It is your responsibility to understand and abide by this policy. If you don't, please ask.

Policy on Electronic Devices: I reserve the right to ban the use of electronic devices (other than pacemakers and ankle-bracelet monitors for those on parole) in the classroom if it appears that they are serving purposes other than taking class notes. All cell phones must be turned off during class.

While all these policies will be strictly enforced, I know that emergencies and illnesses might arise during the term. If that happens to be the case, please let me know as soon as possible so that we can work out alternative arrangements for you to complete your work within a reasonable period of time. In emergency cases, you will need to present a "dean's excuse" in order to be excused from late work or a series of absences from class sessions.

READINGS

The following books are required for purchase, have been ordered through the Yale bookstore, and have been placed on reserve in the library:

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004);
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. [Do NOT substitute other translations. Under NO circumstances read the widely available Penguin edition of the Graham translation, abridged by Anatol Rapoport.];
- Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976);
- Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966);
- Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2005).

All other readings are available in PDF format on the Classes*v2 server. The readings below for each session are listed in the order you should do them.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 (Tuesday, January 10) -- Introductory Remarks

---Begin reading.---

Week 2 (Tuesday, January 17) -- Power and Force

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Introductory essays;

- David Baldwin, "Power and International Relations," in *The Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Press, 2002), pp. 177-191;
- Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2005), pp. 39-75;
- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chapters 3-4.

Week 3 (Tuesday, January 24) -- Military Power

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book I;
- Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), read entire book.

Week 4 (Tuesday, February 31) -- Military Power and Politics

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book II;
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), chapters 1-3;
- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984): 108-146;
- 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.

Week 5 (Tuesday, February 07) -- Military Power and Coercion

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book III;
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), chapters 1-3.

Week 6 (Tuesday, February 14) -- Military Power and Technology

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book IV;
- Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), chapters 1-4, 6-7, and 9.
- Eliot A. Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (1996): 37-54.

Week 7 (Tuesday, February 21) -- Military Effectiveness

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book VI, chapters 1-8 and 26;
 - Stephen Biddle, *Military Power* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), chapters 1-7.
- Paper topics distributed.---

Week 8 (Tuesday, February 28) -- The Utility of Military Power

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book VII, chapters 1-5, 15-16 and 22;
- Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2005), read entire book.

Week 9 (Tuesday, March 20) -- Military Power and Small Wars

- Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1975): 175-200;
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2001): 93-128;
- Patricia L. Sullivan, "War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (2007): 496-524;
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson III, "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* Vol. 63, No. 1 (2009): 67-106;
- Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (2011): 201-218.

Week 10 (Tuesday, March 27) -- Military Power and Nuclear Weapons

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book VIII;
- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), chapters 1-2, 6-7;
- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), chapters 1-2.

Week 11 (Tuesday, April 03) -- NO SESSION: REPLACEMENT SESSION ON APRIL 5

Week 11 (Thursday, April 05) -- The Ethics of Military Power

- Michael Walzer, *Just And Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), selections TBA;
- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic*, April 2001;
- Slavoj Zizek, "Are We in a War? Do We Have an Enemy?" *London Review of Books* (24: 10) May 23, 2002;
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Interests vs. Values? Misunderstanding Obama's Libya Strategy," *New York Review of Books* blog, March 30, 2011.

Week 12 (Tuesday, April 10) -- Military Power Up Close

- John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York, NY: Penguin, 1978), chapter 4;
- Martin Middlebrook, *The Kaiser's Battle* (Penguin: London, 1978), selections TBA.

Week 13 (Tuesday, April 17) -- Clausewitz Today

- Julian Reid, "Foucault on Clausewitz: Conceptualizing the Relationship between War and Power," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003);
- Colin Gray, "Clausewitz Rules, OK? The Future is the Past -- with GPS," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 5 (1999): 161-182.