Yale University Department of Political Science

Syllabus MILITARY POWER (Seminar)

Nuno P. Monteiro nuno.monteiro@yale.edu Political Science 140/674 Spring 2011 Class: Tuesdays, 9:25-11:15am, RKZ 202 Office Hours: Tuesdays 1:00-3:00pm, RKZ 226

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 <u>note</u> that in order to receive an overall passing grade, students must receive a passing grade in *all* four components of the final grade.

DESCRIPTION OF ASSIGNMENTS

<u>Seminar Participation</u>: 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.

<u>Response Papers</u>: Each student will post a 2-3 paragraph (max. 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 four 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.

<u>Final Paper</u>: Students will write a substantial (20-25 pages for graduate students; 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 8 (March 1st 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 4th). 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 Monday, May 2nd, 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

<u>Policy on Plagiarism</u>: 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://www.yale.edu/yalecollege/publications/uregs/appendix/cheating.html. It is your responsibility to understand and abide by this policy. If you don't, please ask.

<u>Policy on Electronic Devices</u>: 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 impoverishing the discussions.

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

Books for purchase:

- 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 <u>NOT</u> substitute other translations. Under <u>NO</u> 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);

- John Keegan, The Face of Battle (New York, NY: Penguin, 1978);
- Robert Pape, Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), selections.
- Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), selections;
- Rupert Smith, The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World (London: Penguin, 2005);
- Martin Van Creveld, Technology and War: From 2000 B.C. to the Present (New York: Free Press, 1989), selections.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 (Tuesday, January 11) -- Introductory Remarks

Begin reading.

Week 2 (Tuesday, January 18) -- Power and Force

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- 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*, selections.

Week 3 (Tuesday, January 25) -- Military Power

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Michael Howard, War in European History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976);
- Russell Frank Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), selections.

Week 4 (Tuesday, February 01) -- Military Power and Politics I

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Michel Foucault, 'Society Must Be Defended:' Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976 (New York: Picador, 2003), chapters 3 and 11.

Week 5 (Tuesday, February 08) -- Military Power and Politics II

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

Week 6 (Tuesday, February 15) -- Military Power and Coercion I

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966).

Week 7 (Tuesday, February 22) -- Military Power and Coercion II

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Robert Pape, Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), selections.

Week 8 (Tuesday, March 01) -- Military Power and Technology

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Martin Van Creveld, Technology and War: From 2000 B.C. to the Present (New York: Free Press, 1989), selections;
- Karl Lautenschlager, "Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare," *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (1983), pp. 3-51.

Week 9 (Tuesday, March 22) -- Military Power and Nuclear Weapons

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), selections;
- Campbell Craig, *Glimmer of a new Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), selections.

Week 10 (Tuesday, March 29) -- Military Effectiveness

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Stephen Biddle, Military Power (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), selections.

Week 11 (Tuesday, April 05) -- The Utility of Military Power

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- Rupert Smith, The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World (London: Penguin, 2005), selections;
- Colin Gray, "Clausewitz Rules, OK? The Future is the Past -- with GPS," Review of International Studies, Vol. 25, No. 5 (1999): 161-182.

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

- Carl von Clausewitz, On War, selections;
- John Keegan, The Face of Battle (New York, NY: Penguin, 1978);
- John Keegan, The Mask of Command (New York, NY: Viking, 1987), selections.

Week 13 (Tuesday, April 19) -- The Ethics of Military Power

- Michael Walzer, Just And Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations (New York: Basic Books, 1977), selections;
- Michael Barnett, Eyewitness to Genocide (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002), selections;
- 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.