

Political Science 79
Seminar on War and Peace
Amherst College
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War is the ultimate means of achieving political goals, the conduct of foreign policy by military force rather than diplomacy and negotiation. Historically, wars were typically international conflicts, fought by states, empires or alliances of states. The decision for war or peace was the defining aspect of state sovereignty, the “royal prerogative” of the sovereign political authority.

Remarkably, in our time wars between States are almost nonexistent, and those that are fought are usually small conflicts about borders. Wars today are either civil wars within countries or across borders, or else wars between a government and insurgent groups of one sort or another. A few conflicts involve genocides and the question of whether genocide is a kind of war is an important issue. Finally, global terrorist networks—Al Qaeda—represent a new kind of international conflict, an innovation in both the theory and practice of war. The question of whether global terrorist attacks are a kind of war and whether global counter-terrorism is war is also an important one. Finally, cyber-war is also an unprecedented phenomenon in the theory and practice of war. How it relates to classical war is another new theoretical and conceptual issue.

What about peace? War, despite its complexities, is easier to define and carry out than peace. Peace is, logically, the opposite of war. But even in this simple definition peace can mean several things: the conclusion of a single war, the maximum feasible limitation of war in general or even the total abolition of war if that is possible. Furthermore, it is possible to speak of negative peace as opposed to positive peace. Finally, the very distinction between war and peace is not always clear. In certain ways war and peace can be said to coexist.

The seminar is an inquiry. The goal is not some single set of conclusions and recommendations. It is a conceptual, theoretical and moral discussion, not a history of war or a policy discussion of wars today.

WORKLOAD: This workload for the course is participation in seminar discussions and a 20-25 page research paper. A five-page plan for the research project is due at mid-semester. Political science majors, seniors and juniors have preference in enrolment. This course fulfills the requirement for an advanced seminar in the political science major.
BOOKS TO PURCHASE (Amherst Books): Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*. Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (4th ed.). Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*. A course packet available in the Political Science office, 103 Clark House.
Films and Youtubes are on E-reserves.

SYLLABUS

PART ONE: REALITIES OF WAR

1. Introduction

2. The pity of war

Film: Euripides, "The Trojan Women" (Cacoyannis, 1971)
Simone Weil, "The Illiad, A Poem of Force" (M)(E)
Euripides, "The Trojan Women" (text) (M)(E)
(Those who need background should read "The Trojan War" (Wikipedia))

3. The mentality of the conqueror

film: "Alexander," (2005)
Quintus Curtius Rufus, The History of Alexander, excerpt (M)(E)
John Keegan, The Mask of Command, ch. 1, "Alexander the Great" (M)(E)

4. The life of the common soldier

J. Glenn Gray, The Warriors, chs. 2,4,6 (M)(E)
Film: "A Very Long Engagement"

5. Causes of War (1)

Margaret Mead, "War is only an invention..." (M)(E)
Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War, chs. 2, 4 (P)

6. Causes of war (2)

Waltz, ch. 6; and pp. 187-88, 198-223; and ch. 8 (Conclusion)

7. The Art and Science of War

Karl von Clausewitz, On War, Book One, 101-168 (M)

8. Nuclear weapons (1): ownership and control

Lawrence Freedom, The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy, (Hand-out)
Charles de Gaulle, Memoirs of Hope, "The World" pp. 198-217 (M)

9. Nuclear weapons (2): Cold War deterrence in Europe

Josef Joffe, "Nato and Nuclear Weapons: No End of a Lesson" (M)

Ronald Tiersky, Francois Mitterrand, pp. 169-179. (M)

10. Nuclear weapons (3) – proliferation, non-proliferation, the threat of nuclear terrorism

Joseph Cirincione, Bomb Scare, chs. 5, 7, 8, Glossary (M)

Nuclear Threat Initiative, (Hand-Out)

Rec.: "Nuclear Proliferation" and "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty" articles (Wikipedia)
(M)

Part Two: The Possibilities of Peace

11. Peace as absolute non-violence (1)

Film: "Gandhi"

12. Non-violence (2)

The Writings of Gandhi, Part III, 65-99 (M)

Ralph Waldo Emerson, "War" (M)

Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars, pp. 329-335 (P)

13. Kant and the possibility of permanent peace

Immanuel Kant, Perpetual Peace and Other Essays, chs. 2 and 6, (M)
(Hackett ed.)

14. The "democratic peace" theory

Woodrow Wilson, two speeches, (M)

George W. Bush, "State of the Union Address, 2002" (M)

Michael E. Brown et al., Debating the Democratic Peace, part I: (except the first Russett chapter), and part III: "Point and Counterpoint" (M)

15. Just War thinking (1)

Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "Just War" (M)

Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars, 4th ed., two Prefaces and chs. 1-6, 8-9 (P)

16. Just war principles (2)

Walzer, chs. 14-17

Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory," in *Arguing About War*, ch. 1 (M)

Part Three: problems of war in the contemporary world

17. Legacy of the Holocaust: issues of guilt and responsibility

Documentary: "The Trial of Adolf Eichmann," watch about ½ hour

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, pp. 21-35, 50-55, 68-9, 74-77, 83-111, 135-50, 244-52 (M)

"The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings...", excerpts (M)

18. The persistence of genocide in our time

Documentary: "Genocide: The Horror Continues" (M)

Wikipedia, "Rwanda Genocide" and "Srebrenica Massacre" (M)

Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell*, preface, chs 10-13, conclusion (M)

19. Issues of outside intervention: controversy over the Responsibility to Protect and humanitarian intervention

"The Responsibility to Protect" (Wikipedia) (M)

Evan Gerth, "The Responsibility to Protect," Introduction, chapters 1,2,3,8 (M)

Alex Bellamy, "Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse?" (M)

UN General Assembly, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," Preamble and Articles 1-3 (2 pp). (M)

Recall: "United Nations Charter, Chapters 6 and 7 (M)

20. The International Criminal Court: jurisdiction, effectiveness, controversies

"War Crimes" and "Crimes Against Humanity" (Wikipedia) (M)

"Mass Rape Ruled a War Crime" (M)

"International Criminal Court," (Wikipedia) (M)

"Slobodan Milosevic" (Wikipedia) (M)

21. War, warlords and gangster regimes

Documentary: "Blood Diamonds" (History Channel, 1 hr. 20)

Film: "Blood Diamond"

Read: "Sierra Leone Civil War" (Wikipedia) (M)

"Military Use of Children" (Wikipedia) (M)

22. A government's war against its own people: the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia

Documentary: "The Killing Fields"

23. Terrorism (1): The Mumbai attack

Documentary: "Terror in Mumbai," (1:05)

Bruce Hoffmann, "Suicide Terrorism," ch. 4 in Inside Terrorism, (P)

24. Terrorism (2): Al Qaeda as a new conceptual problem in war

Bruce Hofmann, Inside Terrorism (P)

Bruce Hofmann, "Al Qaeda has a new strategy; Obama needs one, too" (M)

25. Cyber-war

Richard C. Clarke, Cyber-war, (Hand-Out)

26. Conclusions and further questions

Michael Howard, "Temperamenta Belli: Can War Be Controlled?" (M)
