International Conflict
Political Science 378
Winter 2023

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Course Overview

This course addresses what has been the most prominent question in the study of international politics: What are the causes of war? Wars are costly and destructive events, and thus there has been a great effort to understand why they happen. The study of war encompasses many questions beyond how they begin, such as how they are conducted, how they end, what are the domestic consequences of war, when or whether it is ethical to engage in war, and so forth. There are also different types of war, such as civil wars and conflicts between states and non-state actors. In this course, we will almost exclusively limit ourselves to the question of the origins of war between states, which also necessarily involves addressing the question of how such wars are prevented. In class and in your readings, we will mostly approach the topic from a theoretical perspective. That is, we will examine theories that explain why, in general, wars happen or do not. Some of the questions we will investigate include:

- Do the personalities of leaders affect the probability of war?
- Is there a democratic peace? Why?
- Can war and peace be explained by the nature of the economic system?
- What is the balance of power, and does it explain war or peace?
- Do ideological differences between states lead to conflict?
- Can international institutions keep the peace?
- How do technological changes, such as the advent of nuclear weapons, affect the probability of war?
- Why don't states strike deals rather than go to war?
- How can concerns over a state's reputation lead to war?
- Is there a decline in warfare and if so, what accounts for it?

We will assess some specific cases, most extensively the causes of World War I. You will also write a research paper that will examine the causes of a particular conflict.

Course Goals

The purpose of the course is to familiarize the student with different theories of what causes war, as well as the particular process of how war came about in the case you assess for your research paper. More generally, the goal of the class is to improve students' skills in identifying and assessing arguments, and applying theories to evidence.

The course contributes to the Political Science Department's Learning Outcomes by:

- Gaining an understanding of the subfield of international relations by studying the largest question in that field (Learning Outcome #1).
- Thinking critically an analytically about political processes, particularly the theories given for why states go to war (Learning Outcome #2).
- Answering political questions with careful research design and rigorous analysis (Learning Outcome #3). This is accomplished particularly with your research paper about the causes of a particular war.
- Writing and speaking with originality and clarity, providing reasons and evidence to support claims using proper citation of source material (Learning Outcome #4). This is accomplished especially via your class participation, presentation, and research paper.

Assessment

Pop quizzes (10%): To incentivize you to do the reading so that we have informed discussions, there will be in class pop quizzes on the reading. They will be short and consist of a few questions that should be straightforward if you have done the reading.

Midterm (25%): The exam will cover material from the readings and lectures and will be a combination of short answers and essays. It will be in the Testing Center.

Final (28%): The exam will be similar to the midterm in format. It will cover material from the readings and lectures and will be a combination of short answers and essays. It will be comprehensive, but weighted to the latter half of the course. If you cannot take the final exam on the day it is scheduled, please do not enroll in this course. We'll take it in class.

Participation (8%): contribution to class discussion (5%), presentation of paper (3%) This class will be a mixture of discussion and lecture. Your participation will be assessed based on the quantity and quality of class discussions. Often discussions will be based on the assigned readings, so to have something meaningful to say you will have had to do the readings in advance. In addition to the quizzes, I reserve the right to cold call on you to explain the readings to the class. I take attendance and I make notes after each class about who participated. I think you will have a better experience with the course when you come to class and participate, so I am trying to get you to do that. However, please do not come to class if you are sick. If you need to miss class for such a reason, let me or the TA, Hunter Hullett (hhuillet@gmail.com), know, and you can get on Zoom to attend.

Paper (29%): short paper (5%), final paper (24%). These assignments are detailed below.

Class Rules

It is my goal to create a learning friendly environment. If you have a disability that requires accommodation, see me as soon as possible. See also the University's policy towards students with disabilities at the end of this syllabus. We will have discussions that I hope are vigorous and respectful, where everyone participates. Conduct that makes other students unwelcome to

participate will not be tolerated. See in particular the University's policy towards sexual misconduct, including sexual harassment, in the last section of this syllabus. The research shows your efforts to multitask while taking notes does not work. Just focus on the class and don't do anything else on your computer.

Reading

The reading material for the course will be posted on the course website. The reading for this course is demanding. Keep up to date with the assigned reading. And read *actively*. As soon as you read the title of an article, try to assess its main argument. Then read the introduction, subheadings, and conclusion so that you have a sense of what the article is about before you dive into it. Rephrase in your own words the central argument of the work. Write this down somewhere. As you are reading, ask yourself whether the argument is valid, that is, internally consistent. If the article has empirical evidence, consider whether the evidence actually supports the author's point. Whether it has evidence or not, think about what evidence you would expect to see if the argument was correct. Also consider how the argument relates to other things you've read. Consider the reading in light of the questions I have written for that section in the schedule below. **I will also email you specific questions pertaining to the readings throughout the course.**

(Note: a few articles include game theory, which is a branch of mathematics that models strategic interaction, and a few include statistical analyses. It is not necessary to understand the math in order to understand the argument, which will be our focus.)

Course Outline

Introduction – January 9

Questions: What is war? What are the trends in interstate warfare? What are the levels of analysis?

Reading:

- This syllabus – all of it!

War Rooted in Individuals – January 11, 13

Questions: Is war the result of human nature? Do particular leaders matter as causes of war and how would we know? Under what conditions would leaders matter more? What is it about particular leaders that would make them more or less war prone? Are there generational experiences that set attitudes and thus create patterns of foreign policy?

Readings:

- Robert Jervis, "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies* 22:2 (2013): 153-179.

- Elizabeth N. Saunders, "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* 34:2 (2009): 119-161.

- Michael Roskin, "From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Generational Paradigms," *Political Science Quarterly* 89:3 (1974): 563-588.

Domestic Polities – January 18, 20, 23

Regime Types
Questions:
Are particular regime types more susceptible to conflict or cooperation? What are the various arguments for and against the democratic peace? Why might an emerging democracy be more likely to go to war and a military dictatorship more likely to be peaceful?

Readings:

- John M. Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19:2 (1994): 87-125

- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *The American Political Science Review* 97:4 (2003): 585-602.

- Stanislav Andreski, "On the Peaceful Disposition of Military Dictatorships," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 3:3 (1980): 3-10.

Domestic Instability
Questions: Why might domestic instability be a cause of peace and why might it be a cause of conflict? Under what conditions might we expect states to launch a diversionary war?

Readings:

- Amy Oakes, "Diversionary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands," *Security Studies* 15:3 (2006): 431-463.

- Arno J. Mayer, "Domestic Causes of the First World War" in *The Responsibility of Power: Historical Essays in Honor of Hajo Holborn*, ed. Leonard Krieger and Fritz Stern (Garden City, NY: Double Day, 1967), 286-300.
  (The Mayer chapter is one of several articles we will read and discussions we will have on the causes of World War I. For background, I have posted Annika Mombauer, "The Coming of War, 1914" in *A Companion to Europe 1900-1945*, ed. Gordon Martel (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 180-194.)

Economic Systems as Generators of Conflict or Cooperation – January 25, 27

Questions:
Is economic interdependence a force for peace? If so, why? Is World War I evidence against such a thesis? How can mercantilism or capitalism or the military industrial complex be causes of conflict?

Readings:

- Erik Gartzke, "The Capitalist Peace," *American Journal of Political Science*, 51:1 (2007): 166-191.

- Patrick J. McDonald and Kevin Sweeney, "The Achilles' Heel of Liberal IR Theory? Globalization and Conflict in the Pre-World War I Era," *World Politics*, 59:3 (2007): 370-403.

World War I as an Inadvertent War – January 30

Questions:
How is World War I considered an inadvertent war? How does Trachtenberg go about testing this argument?

Reading:

- Marc Trachtenberg, "The Meaning of Mobilization in 1914," *International Security* 15:3 (1991): 120-150.

Power Theories – February 1, 3, 6, 8

Questions:
What is the balance of power? Is it a cause of war or peace? What distribution of power in the international system is most likely to produce great power war? What is the difference between balance of power and power transition theories?

Readings:

- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001), 29-48, 334-359.

- Jack S. Levy, "Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China" in *China's Assent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics*, ed. Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 11-33.

Ideas and Culture – February 8, 10, 13

International Culture
Questions:
Does anarchy necessarily lead to conflict? How do international cultures develop and how do they shape state behavior?

Reading:

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," *International Organization*, 46:2 (1992): 391-418.

Ideology
Questions:
How do ideological differences between states affect the probability of conflict? What does this bode for the future of international politics?

Readings:

- Mark Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 4-18.

- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989).

Civilizations
Questions:
Is there a "clash of civilizations," and if so, can it provoke interstate war? How and why?

Reading:

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

International Institutions – February 15, 17

Questions:
Can international institutions keep the peace by restraining states? If so, what are the mechanisms by which states are constrained?

Readings:

- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19:3 (1994): 5-49.

- Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," *International Organization* 53:2 (1999), 379-408.

Midterm Exam – February 17-18

Geography and Technology – February 21, 22, 24, 27

Geography, the Ease of Conquest
Questions:
How does geography affect the probability of peace and war? How has this factor changed over time? Is conflict more likely when conquest is easy? How do we know when conquest is easy?

Reading:

- Stephen van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security* 22:4 (1998): 5-43.

Nuclear Weapons
Questions:
How has the advent of nuclear weapons transformed international politics? Is there a taboo against the use of nuclear weapons? Is the spread of nuclear weapons conducive to international stability or not, and why?

Readings:

- Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 1-45.

- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed." Watch here: http://www.uctv.tv/shows/Scott-Sagan-and-Kenneth-Waltz-The-Spread-of-Nuclear-Weapons-A-Debate-Renewed-9491.

- Thomas C. Schelling, "An Astonishing 60 Years: The Legacy of Hiroshima." *American Economic Review* 96:4 (2006): 929-937.

Diplomacy and War – March 1, 3, 6, 8

Bargaining
Questions:
How can war be thought of as a failure to bargain? Why are there bargaining failures? What are the limitations of this perspective?

Reading:

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

Making Threats and Signaling Intent
Questions:
How do states get others to believe their intentions and threats? Do signals have to be costly to be believable? How are costly signals created?

Reading:

- James D. Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *American Political Science Review* 88:3 (1994): 577-592.

Reputation
Questions:
Do leaders/states work to acquire reputations for resolve in international politics, amd do they assess others' resolve based on their reputation? Are reputations or "current calculus" a better means of how leaders assess the intentions of other states?

Readings:

- Anne Sartori, "The Might of the Pen: A Reputational Theory of Communication in International Disputes," *International Organization* 56:1 (2002): 121-149.

- Daryl Press, "The Credibility of Power: Assessing Threats during the Appeasement Crises of the 1930s," *International Security* 29:3 (2004): 136-169.

Honor – March 10

Questions:
How can concerns of honor and status lead to conflict? Is this a factor that was once important in international politics, or does it still have relevance?

Reading:

- Joslyn Barnhart, "Status Competition and Territorial Aggression: Evidence from the Scramble for Africa," *Security Studies* 25:3 (2016): 385-419.

Humanitarian Intervention – March 13

Questions:
How have armed humanitarian interventions changed over time? What does this tell us about the future of war and the nature of the international system?

Reading:

- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 52-84.

March 15 – NO CLASS. Professor at a conference (Work on papers)

Ethics of War – March 20

Questions:
Is war morally defensible? Under what conditions? Or is it indefensible? What does the LDS tradition have to say about these questions?

Readings:

- Joshua Madson, "A Non-Violent Reading of the Book of Mormon" and Morgan Deane, "Offensive Warfare in the Book of Mormon and a Defense of the Bush Doctrine" in *War & Peace in Our Times: Mormon Perspectives*, ed. Patrick Q. Mason, J. David Pulsipher, Richard L. Bushman (Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, Inc., 2012), 13-40.

Revolution and War – March 22

Questions:
How can a revolution lead to inter-state conflict? How do the different processes reflect different perspectives we have seen thus far in the course?

Reading:

- Stephen Walt, *Revolution and War* (Cornell University Press, 1996), 18-45, 238-241.

America's Entry into World War II – March 24

Questions:
Why did Hitler declare war on the United States? Why did war break out between Japan and the United States in 1941? How does Trachtenberg go about testing the arguments?

Reading:
Marc Trachtenberg, *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 79-139.

Student Presentations – March 27, 29, 31; April 3, 5, 7, 10

Nationalism and War – April 12

Questions:
How can nationalism not only lead to ethnic conflict within states, but war between states? Why might this factor be more or less salient in particular times and places?

Reading:

- Jamie Gruffydd-Jones, "Dangerous Dyads: The Impact of Nationalism on Interstate Conflict," *Security Studies* 26:4 (2017): 698-728.

The War in Ukraine – April 14

Question:
Why did Russia decide to invade Ukraine?

Readings:
TBD

World War I – April 17

Questions:
What is/are the reason(s) for the outbreak of war in August of 1914? How do the causes of this war relate to the theories we have encountered in this course?

Reading:

- Élie Halévy, *The Era of Tyrannies: Essays on Socialism and War* (New York: New York University Press, 1966 [1938]), 223-234.

- Dale C. Copeland, "International Relations Theory and the Three Great Puzzles of the First World War" in *The Outbreak of the First World War: Structure, Politics and Decision-Making*, ed. Jack S. Levy and John A. Vasquez (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 167-198.

The Future of War – April 19

Questions:
Does war have a future? What explains the relative peace in international politics? Will it continue?

Readings:

- Robert Jervis, "Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace," *American Political Science Review* 96:1 (2002): 1-14.

- Steven Pinker, Bradley A. Thayer, Jack S. Levy, William R. Thompson, "The Forum: The Decline of War," *International Studies Review* 15:3 (2013): 396-419.

FINAL EXAM – April 24, 11-2, In Class.

Paper

The paper is an opportunity to get down off of our theoretical cloud and assess the causes of a particular war. You will choose to examine the origins of one of the following wars, which span quite a bit of time and space:

- French Revolutionary War, 1792
- Utah War, 1857
- Franco-Prussian War, 1870
- American Intervention in World War I, 1917
- Korean War, 1950
- American Involvement in Vietnam War, 1965
- Six Day (Arab-Israeli) War, 1967
- Persian Gulf War, 1990/91
- US-Iraq War, 2003

Your first task is to pick one of these conflicts by **January 30th**. I will provide you with a list of sources on each conflict to get you started on your research and help you narrow down which conflict you are interested in. There must be a relatively even distribution of students on each conflict, which means you may not get your first choice. Because several of your classmates are writing on the same topic, you will have to share limited resources, i.e., books on the subject from the library.

The aim of the project is an analytical assessment of the origins of the war. We are not interested in a mere narrative of events. An analytical assessment is not just a list of possible causes. You want to be as precise as possible. Some causes logically exclude other causes. From an argument about a particular cause you can deduce what you would expect to observe if that argument is correct and then assess the evidence. You get a sense of this when you read scholars debating the causes of a conflict and you see on what evidence their arguments turn. Rather than a list of causes, we want to understand what was most important in causing the war, what was secondary, and what was peripheral or irrelevant. We will discuss in class how you go about doing this, especially when we discuss the Trachtenberg reading, where he assesses particular arguments for the origins of World War I, and the discussion on how revolutions lead to war. We are also not interested in how the war plays out. For the purposes of this course, when the fighting starts, you can stop reading, unless it has relevance to the question of the origin of the war, which is our focus.

There are three steps to this project once you have picked your topic: a short paper identifying the causes of war in the literature, a presentation, and a final paper.

Short Paper: Identifying the Causes of your War in the Literature

In this roughly five-page paper, due **March 6th**, you lay out what main arguments scholars have asserted are the causes of your conflict. This is not a narrative of how the war happened. You are laying out the different possible causes for your war that you have found in the literature in about five pages double-spaced. Include a bibliography. You can use whatever citation style you like, but the citations should be complete, not just a name and a title. This is not an annotated bibliography where you simply describe each work you have read. It is organized

based on the arguments. So to take an example of a case we are not doing, the War of 1812, you would discuss how there are two main arguments for why the United States initiated a war with Britain. One is that the impressment of American sailors was pivotal. The argument usually is that American honor was at stake – it had to stand up for its rights. Another is that the Americans wanted to expand in the then northwest, particularly given the British support of Native American tribes, and war was a means to do this. So you explain the logics of the arguments and cite scholars who are making these arguments. Sometimes of course scholars make multiple arguments. There is not a thesis to this paper. It is simply a sizing up of what scholars have argued are the main causes of a particular war. I have provided you with some of the key sources below.

In addition to an incentive to not put off your research, this assignment helps you to organize the material you are encountering so that you can more systematically think about how you would adjudicate between the arguments. You also want to think about how these arguments relate to theories we have encountered in the course. Furthermore, the paper serves to make sure you have not excluded important possible causes or sources. Again, please include a bibliography. If I mention a source or possible cause that you have not considered it would be wise to follow up on that.

Presentation

On one of the class days from **March 27th to April 10th** you will present your preliminary argument. We will determine the exact schedule in class about a month before the presentations begin. By the time you give your presentation, much of your research should be completed. You should have a good sense of what you regard as the most important cause or causes of the conflict since that is what you are presenting. It is a good idea to have a written a rough draft of your paper by then.

I will provide you with more instructions about how to ensure your presentations are effective in class, but let me give you some details here. You will present the causes of the war as a group. You have about **25 minutes**. Divvy up the presentation how you best see fit. Obviously you will have to meet beforehand to discuss and *practice* your presentation. What you are trying to accomplish in your presentation is not an introduction to the conflict, or a narrative of its outbreak. You are telling us why that war occurred. Get right to the analytics of the debate over why the war happened. Perhaps some of you will focus on different aspects of the origins of the war. Most illuminating, and part of the reason for doing this, is when you and your peers disagree on the causes of the war. If this is the case, you want to highlight this in your presentation. In the interaction between you, your fellow presenters, and the class, you may find that your views have modified. After the class discussion you should write up the insights you have gained and incorporate them as you revise your rough draft into a final paper.

Final Paper

The final paper will be due at the last day of the semester, **April 19th**. You will submit an electronic copy to turnitin via Learning Suite. As a reminder, plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Plagiarism, and other forms of academic dishonesty, is grounds for failing the class. See an elaboration of the University's policy, and citations of additional resources, in the last section of this syllabus. I will provide more detailed instructions

about the structure of the paper and other matters when we discuss it in class. Below are some guidelines:

Length:
The paper should be about 13-15 pages. Sheer length does not indicate quality of research, but shortness often indicates the lack of quality – the student has run out of things to say given the cursory nature of the research. The paper should be formatted in the normal way – times new roman font, 12 point, double spaced, one-inch margins. Include the page numbers.

Citations/Research quality:
I will be looking to see whether you have a command of the literature on your given topic and if you are effectively using the sources to prove your point. This is a research paper that you are expected to be working on throughout the semester. I am expecting a serious engagement with the scholarship, including the sources listed below. This takes time. It is painfully obvious when students attempt to write a research paper at the last minute.

There are three main ways of citation: parenthetical, footnote, and endnote. I prefer footnotes. Given the footnote method there are many different styles of citation. You may use Turabian style as you did in PS 200, but you do not have to. Just pick a style and be consistent. With any given style, of course, all the relevant information should be there so I can tell what type of publication it is and easily locate it. Make the citations as specific as possible. For example, if you are quoting an article, cite the page of the article rather than just the article as a whole. Believe it or not, I have been known to look up specific citations to ensure accuracy. Include a bibliography of works you have cited at the end of the paper.

Do not overuse quotes. You could use quotations when you are examining a particular text – for example, a document in which a leader makes a claim for why he/she did something that you are interested in. Often, however, points can be paraphrased and then cited. You do not want your paper to be a string of quotations. On the other hand, be careful not to plagiarize. Plagiarizing includes quoting texts without quotations and citation, but also a slight rearrangement of the author's sentence without quotation. See the university policies below.

Spelling/Grammar:
There should not be misspellings and grammatical errors, such as verb tense agreement. These errors are distracting and indicate an unfinished product.

Organization:
Your paper should be clear, crisp, and tightly argued. There should be no fluff. Your thesis should be clear, and everything in the paper should be directly related to testing that thesis. Subheadings are an essential part of coherent organization. I should be able to outline your paper with relative ease. There should be a clear flow to the paper: sections and paragraphs should logically flow from one to the next.

Argument:
Your paper should be making an argument, and your paper will be graded based on how well you make that argument. Is the argument logically consistent? Is there evidence that backs up

the claims made? Does the paper anticipate and address counterarguments? Are rival hypotheses presented fairly? Is the conclusion backed by what was presented in the paper?

Grade:
The following is the grading criteria, in order of increasing importance, and an "A" example:

1. Nuts and bolts: The paper is properly formatted. There are no spelling or grammatical errors. Sentences are clearly written, and sources are properly cited.
2. Organization: There is a clear and logical flow to the paper.
3. Tie:
    a. Research quality: It is evident this person has mastered the evidence surrounding her or his topic.
    b. Argument: The paper deftly uses evidence to argue a particular point and handles rival hypotheses skillfully.

FHSS Writing Lab: Because you are taking a course in the College of Family, Home and Social Sciences, you can use the FHSS Lab resources for free. Do so! They have people there that can help you proofread/organize your paper. See: https://fhsswriting.byu.edu/. It also helps to set up an appointment to give yourself an external deadline to have a rough draft. Even if you do not use this service, it is always helpful to have someone else read your paper. Get a family member, roommate, or friend to give it a read.

Sources for your paper
I have included some of the main works on each conflict below. This is not an exhaustive survey, and you are certainly not limited to what I have listed below. That said, these works should be the basis of your paper. I have posted short overviews of most wars to the course website, and placed the books that are available at the library, as noted below, on 48-hour reserve at the HBLL. I have also posted many of the articles and book selections on Learning Suite. Some of these works are narratives with no clear argument but can be used as background and sources of evidence. Others make explicit arguments. For those students that have foreign language abilities, particularly French, German, Korean, and Arabic, I encourage you to utilize sources in your language when relevant. Come by my office if you have any questions.

French Revolutionary War, 1792

- For an overview, see Scott, Hamish. *The Birth of a Great Power System, 1740-1815*, chapter 9 (posted on Learning Suite).
- Blanning, T.C.W. *The Origins of the French Revolutionary Wars* (on reserve).
- Clapham, J.H. *The Causes of the War of 1792* (online).
- Schroeder, Paul W. *The Transformation of European Politics*, 67-99 (on reserve).
- Kaiser, Thomas. "Reversing the reversal of alliances: France, Austria, and the declaration of war of April 20, 1792" (Article in French – I have an English copy on Learning Suite).
- Walt, Stephen. *Revolution and War*, 46-74 (on reserve).
- Kidner, Frank L. *The Girondists and the 'Propaganda War' of 1792* (Dissertation posted on Learning Suite).

- Roider, Karl A. *Baron Thugut and Austria's Response to the French Revolution* (on reserve).
- Kim, Kyung-Won. *Revolution and the International System: A Study in the Breakdown of International Stability* (on reserve).

Utah War, 1857

- Poll, Richard and William Mackinnon. "Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered." (posted on Learning Suite)
- Oakes, Amy. *Diversionary War: Domestic Unrest and International Conflict*. pp. 100-129. (posted on Learning Suite)
- Mackinnon, William. *At Sword's Point: A Documentary History of the Utah War*, 99-137. (posted on Learning Suite)
- Mackinnon, William. "Loose in the Stacks: A Half Century with the Utah War and Its Legacy." (posted on Learning Suite)
- Mackinnon, William. "And the War Came: James Buchanan, The Utah Expedition, and the Decision to Intervene." (posted on Learning Suite)
- Bigler, David L. "'A Lion in the Path': Genesis of the Utah War, 1857-1858." (posted on Learning Suite)
- Stampp, Kenneth M. *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink*, 196-208. (posted on Learning Suite)
- Furniss, Norman F. *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859*, 62-94. (posted on Learning Suite)
- Poll, Richard, and Ralph Hansen, "'Buchanan's Blunder' The Utah War, 1857-1858." (posted on Learning Suite)
- Rodger, Brent. *Unpopular Sovereignty: Mormons and the Federal Management of Early Utah Territory*, chapt. 4. (e-book available)
- Cooley, Everett. *The Utah War*. (This is in the special collections.)

Franco-Prussian War, 1870

- For an overview, see Rich, *Great Power Diplomacy 1814-1914*, chapter 11 (posted on Learning Suite).
- Gordon Craig, *Germany, 1866-1945*, pp. 11-27 (posted on Learning Suite).
- Wetzel, David. *A Duel of Giants: Bismarck, Napoleon III, and the Origins of the Franco-Prussian War* (on reserve).
- Wawro, Geoffrey. *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-1871*, chapter 1 (e-book).
- Exchange on Bismarck and the Franco-Prussian War in *Central European History*, Vol. 41 Issue 1 (2008).
- Halperin, William. "Origins of the Franco-Prussian War Revisited: Bismarck and the Hohenzollern Candidature for the Spanish Throne."
- Steefel, Lawrence. *Bismarck, the Hohenzollern Candidacy, and the Origins of the Franco-German War of 1870* (on reserve).
- Wetzel, David. "Bismarck, South Germany, and the Problem of 1870," in *From the Berlin Museum to the Berlin Wall: Essays on the Cultural and Political History of Modern Germany* (on reserve).

- Hall, Todd. H. "On Provocation: Outrage, International Relations, and the Franco-Prussian War."

American Intervention in WWI, 1917

- For an overview, see Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy From 1895*, 80-96 (posted on Learning Suite).
- Ross Kennedy, *The Will to Believe: Woodrow Wilson, World War I, and America's Strategy got Peace and Security* (on reserve and available as ebook through library).
- Daniel Smith, "National Interest and American Intervention, 1917: A Historiographical Appraisal"
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American Involvement in Vietnam War, 1965

- For an overview, see Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy From 1895*, chapter 12 (posted on Learning Suite).

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Six Day (Arab-Israeli) War, 1967

- For an overview, see Bickerton and Klausner, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (posted on Learning Suite), chapter 6; Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict*, chapter 7; Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, chapter 6.
- Popp, Roland. "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six Day War."
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- Laron, Guy. *The Six-Day War: The Breaking of the Middle East* (on reserve). See also his "Playing with fire: The Soviet-Syrian-Israeli triangle, 1965-1967."
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- For an overview, see Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, chapter 4 or
- Freedman, Lawrence and Efraim Karsh. *The Gulf Conflict, 1990-1991* (selection).

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- Palkki, David. "Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait," in *Deterring Saddam Hussein's Iraq: Domestic Audience Costs and Credibility Assessments in Theory and Practice*.
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- Duelfer, Charles and Stephen Dyson. "Chronic Misperception and International Conflict: The US-Iraqi Experience" (examines 2003 as well).
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- Engel, Jeffery A. *When the World Seemed New: George Bush and the End of the Cold War* (selection).
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- Meierdring, Emily. *Oil Wars Myth* (selection) – also covers 2003.
- There is a *New York Times* retrospective that has a timeline and interesting documents: http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/01/20/world/middleeast/20110120-archive.html?ref=middleeast.
- This is a collection of a few valuable documents: https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2020-09-09/inside-gorbachev-bush-partnership-first-gulf-war-1990?eType=EmailBlastContent&eId=8ccba405-17d0-46a2-b351-efa0a22304ec
- *PBS Frontline* has interviews with some of the key participants, called The Gulf War: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/. The actual video has been takin down, so try the BBC version: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8zQT5WB_nHE&t=1225s.

US-Iraq War, 2003

- For an overview, see Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, 148-155, chapter 6.
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- Feith, Douglas. *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism* (selection). See Jervis's review: "War, Intelligence, and Honesty."
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- Yetiv, Steven A. *The Absence of Grand Strategy: The United States in the Persian Gulf, 1972-2005*, Chapter 8.
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- Lake, David. "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War." See also the rebuttals posted.
- Ricks, Thomas. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (selection).
- Monten, Jonathan. "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy."

- John Prados and Christopher Ames, "The Iraq War – Part II: Was There Even a Decision?", National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 328, posted 1 October 2010, at http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB328/. See in general for other documents and discussion: https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/project/iraq-project
- Miller, Benjamin. "Explaining Changes in US Grand Strategy: 9/11, the Rise of Offensive Liberalism, and the War in Iraq."
- *PBS Frontline* has a good documentary with a timeline: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/bushswar/view/, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eqV85YcGPkQ
- A bibliography that might be useful: http://www.web.pdx.edu/~gilleyb/IraqWarBibliography.pdf.

University/Class Policies

Academic Dishonesty, including Plagiarism
Details about the "Academic Honesty Policy," which is part of the honor code that you have agreed to uphold, can be found here: https://policy.byu.edu/view/index.php?p=10. If you have not read this policy before, read it. You will be held accountable to these standards. Academic dishonesty includes plagiarism, fabrication or falsification, cheating, and other academic misconduct, such as "submitting the same work for more than one class without disclosure and approval." Note that my standard response towards instances of academic dishonesty is to fail students from the class. Honesty is not only central to BYU, where the mission of the University is to inculcate certain moral values in the student body. Intellectual honesty is vital to the mission of universities more broadly.

Writing submitted for credit at BYU must consist of the student's own ideas presented in sentences and paragraphs of his or her own construction. The work of other writers or speakers may be included when appropriate (as in a research paper or book review), but such material must support the student's own work (not substitute for it) and must be clearly identified by appropriate introduction and punctuation and by footnoting or other standard referencing.

The substitution of another person's work for the student's own or the inclusion of another person's work without adequate acknowledgment (whether done intentionally or not) is known as plagiarism. It is a violation of academic, ethical, and legal standards and can result in a failing grade not only for the paper but also for the course in which the paper is written. In extreme cases, it can justify expulsion from the University. Because of the seriousness of the possible consequences, students who wonder if their papers are within these guidelines should visit the Writing Lab or consult a faculty member who specializes in the teaching of writing or who specializes in the subject discussed in the paper. Useful books to consult on the topic include the current *Harbrace College Handbook*, the MLA Handbook, and James D. Lester's *Writing Research Papers*. Or talk with me!

As you are probably aware, artificial intelligence programs such as ChatGPT are enabling students to have these programs do the writing for them. There may come a day when these tools are treated like allowing a calculator in a math class, but just as there can be good reasons to disallow calculators in a math class, I do not want you to use these tools for your papers in this class. I want you to practice writing on your own.

Preventing & Responding to Sexual Misconduct
Brigham Young University prohibits all forms of sexual harassment—including sexual assault, dating violence, domestic violence, and stalking on the basis of sex—by its personnel and students and in all its education programs or activities. University policy requires all faculty members to promptly report incidents of sexual harassment that come to their attention in any way and encourages reports by students who experience or become aware of sexual harassment. Incidents should be reported to the Title IX Coordinator at t9coordinator@byu.edu or (801) 422-8692 or 1085 WSC. Reports may also be submitted online at https://titleix.byu.edu/report or 1-888-238-1062 (24-hours a day). BYU offers a number of resources and services for those affected by sexual harassment, including the university's confidential Sexual Assault Survivor

Advocate. Additional information about sexual harassment, the university's Sexual Harassment Policy, reporting requirements, and resources can be found in the University Catalog, by visiting http://titleix.byu.edu, or by contacting the university's Title IX Coordinator.

Students with Disabilities
Brigham Young University is committed to providing a working and learning atmosphere that reasonably accommodates qualified persons with disabilities. A disability is a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities. Whether an impairment is substantially limiting depends on its nature and severity, its duration or expected duration, and its permanent or expected permanent or long-term impact. Examples include vision or hearing impairments, physical disabilities, chronic illnesses, emotional disorders (e.g., depression, anxiety), learning disorders, and attention disorders (e.g., ADHD). If you have a disability which impairs your ability to complete this course successfully, please contact the University Accessibility Center (UAC), 2170 WSC or 801-422-2767 to request a reasonable accommodation. The UAC can also assess students for learning, attention, and emotional concerns. If you feel you have been unlawfully discriminated against on the basis of disability, please contact the Equal Opportunity Office at 801-422-5895, eo_manager@byu.edu, or visit https://hrs.byu.edu/equal-opportunity for help.

I encourage anyone with a disability to see the University Accessibility Center as soon as possible. They will send me an email about you, and I will email you to set up a time we can meet to figure out how to enable you to succeed in this class.

Counseling and Psychological Services
Many students at BYU struggle with stress, depression, and other emotional challenges. BYU's office of Counseling and Psychological Services offers a variety of helpful services to deal with these very common issues. Counseling is available and free of cost for full-time students with concerns such as anxiety, depression, eating disorders, interpersonal conflict, marital problems, self-esteem, social relationships, and stress management. All of these services, consistent with the highest standards of professional psychology, are provided in a confidential manner. Counseling and Psychological Services is located at 1500 WSC and by phone at 801-422-3035. Visit their website at https://caps.byu.edu/ for more information or to make an appointment.