

17.42 // MIT Political Science Department // Spring 2006 // Version 1.0
T-Th 11:00-12:30 // Building 56-114, MIT
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Writing tutor: Diane Hendrix
17.42 web site: web.mit.edu/17.423/www/
17.42 stellar site: stellar.mit.edu/S/course/17/sp06/17.42/

THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF WAR

Course topic: the causes and prevention of interstate war. Course goal: discovering and assessing means to prevent or control war. Hence we focus on manipulable or controllable causes. Covered topics include the dilemmas, misperceptions, crimes and blunders that caused wars of the past; the origins of these and other war-causes; the possible causes of wars of the future; and possible means to prevent such wars, including short-term policy steps and more utopian schemes.

Covered historical cases include the Peloponnesian and Seven Years wars, World War I, World War II, Korea, the Arab-Israel conflict, and the U.S.-Iraq and U.S.-Al Qaeda wars.

This is an undergraduate course but is open to graduate students.

Format and Requirements. Class format: two 1.5-hour general meetings and one 1-hour discussion section meeting per week. Class starts promptly at 11:05, ends at 12:30. Grades are based on section participation (15 percent), two 8-page papers (35 percent), a final exam (35 percent), and two quizzes (15 percent).

* Discussion sections. Students are required to attend section meetings. Unexcused absence from section will be penalized. We need you to come to section to help make the class work! Help us out!

Two student-led debates on responsibility for World War I and World War II will be organized in section when those wars are covered in April.

* Papers. Students are required to write two short ungraded response papers that reacts to course readings and lectures, and several longer papers on questions arising from the course material. The two response papers each will be two pages long (doublespaced--not 1.5 spaced, please). The longer papers will total 16 pages.

Your 2-page response papers should advance an argument relevant to the course. Specifically, your argument can dispute argument(s) advanced in the reading or lectures; can concur with argument(s) advanced in the reading or lectures; can assess or explain policies or historical events described in the reading and lectures; or can address current events that are relevant to course materials or issues. In other words, your choice of topic is quite open. Evaluation of policies or ideas covered in the reading or lecture is encouraged. Somewhere in your papers--preferably at the beginning--please offer a 1-2 sentence summary of your argument. These papers will not be graded but are mandatory and must be completed to receive full credit for class participation.

The response papers will be due on March 2 and March 14. The longer papers will be due on dates to be announced later.

We require that you submit a finished draft of at least one of your longer papers a week before its due date in order to get comments for rewrite from your TA and/or Diane Hendrix, the 17.42 writing tutor. You are wise to submit all longer papers to your TA early for comments--you'll learn from it! So please leave yourself time to get comments on drafts of your longer papers from your TAs before you submit final drafts.

Before writing your papers, please familiarize yourself with the rules of citing sources and make sure you follow them. Failure to cite sources properly is plagiarism.

* Quizzes. Two short (15 minute) quizzes will be given. They will occur during the weeks of March 13 and May 1. Three short define-and-identify questions will be asked on each quiz.

* Final exam. A 2.5 hour final will be given in May. I will circulate a list of study questions before the final. The final exam questions will be drawn from this list. Students are encouraged to study together to prepare

their answers. The final will also include short-answer questions that will not be distributed in advance.

* Readings. Assigned readings total about 1650 pages, for a 14-week average of 118 pages per week, but they vary markedly in amount, so try to budget your time to be able to cover heavy weeks (e.g. the two World Wars, which together cover 770 pages in 4 weeks--i.e., nearly 200 pages per week.) Students are expected to do the readings before section meeting. This is important! (You may be called on in section from time to time.)

Students should buy these books at the MIT COOP:

Sebastian Haffner, The Meaning of Hitler (Harvard University Press, 1979)

Saburō Ienaga, The Pacific War, 1931-1945 (Pantheon, 1979)

Fred Iklé, Every War Must End, rev. ed (Columbia U. Press, 1991)

Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, trans. Rex Warner (Penguin, 1972)

Steven E. Miller et al., eds., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, rev. ed. (Princeton University Press, 1991)

John Stoessinger, Nations at Dawn, 6th ed. (McGraw-Hill, 1994)

Sean M. Lynn-Jones, ed., The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace, expanded ed. (MIT Press: 1993)

Martin Rees, Our Final Hour: A Scientist's Warning: How Terror, Error, and Environmental Disaster Threaten Humankind's Future in this Century--On Earth and Beyond (NY: Basic Books, 2003)

Most other assigned readings will be will be available online through Stellar. They are denoted with a "S". A few assigned readings will be handed out in class. These are denoted with an "H". Readings in books available in the COOP bookstore are denoted with a "BK".

I also recommend--but don't require--that students buy a copy of the following book that will improve your papers:

Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 6th ed., rev. by John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Turabian has the basic rules for formatting footnotes and other style rules. You will want to follow these rules so your writing looks spiffy and professional.

Your papers and public speaking may also be improved by seeking help from MIT's writing and Communications Center (14N-317, 253-3090, <http://web.mit.edu/writing>). They give good writing advice and have useful practice facilities for public speaking.

* Films: the 17.42 film society. A couple of optional evening film-showings will be organized during the term on topics to be chosen by acclamation of the class. Topics could include the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, or other subjects. Dates and places TBA.

17.42 is a HASS Communications Intensive course, and so helps fulfill the HASS CI requirement. Communications intensive subjects in the humanities, arts, and social sciences require at least 20 pages of writing divided among 3-5 assignments. Of these 3-5 assignments, at least one should be revised and resubmitted. HASS CI subjects further offer students substantial opportunity for oral expression, through presentations, student-led discussions, or class participation. In order to guarantee sufficient attention to student writing and substantial opportunity for oral expression, the maximum number of students per section in a HASS CI subject is 18.

17.42 requires 20 pages of writing, requires early submission of at least one paper, and includes two public speaking exercises in section. Sections will include fewer than 10 students. Thus 17.42 meets all HASS-D communication-intensive course requirements.

On another subject... For information on depression and suicide see the useful MIT medical website: <http://web.mit.edu/medical>, click on the "Sadness, Loss and Depression--Important Information" link, then the "Depression" and "Suicidal Thoughts" links, which take you to NIHM, U Lifeline and other informative sites.

CLASS SCHEDULE

I. INTRODUCTION

Feb. 6: The causes of war in perspective. Does international politics follow regular laws of motion? If so, how can we discover them? Can we use methods like those of the physical sciences?

II. 33 HYPOTHESES ON THE CAUSES OF WAR

Feb. 9, 14: 8 Hypotheses on Military Factors as Causes of War.

- S 1. David Ziegler, War, Peace and International Politics, 2nd ed., (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), chapter 15 ("Disarmament"), pp. 249-267. A basic discussion of a modest proposal: tossing the weapons in the ocean. A good idea?
- S 2. Thomas C. Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven: Yale, 1966), pp. 221-251 ("The Dynamics of Mutual Alarm.") The classic statement of "stability theory," which frames the dangers that arise with a first-strike advantage.
- S 3. Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War, 3rd ed. (NY: Free Press, 1988), chapter 3 ("Dreams and Delusions of a Coming War"), pp. 35-56. False optimism as a cause of war.
- BK 4. Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War," in Lynn Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 193-203. Note: these pages are 20% of the article; much of the rest (pp. 204-236) is assigned over the next two weeks. But please focus for now on pages 193-203, which discuss the crucial matter of offense, defense, and war.

I include this article partly to clue you to my reflexes on the causes of war. Your skepticism is allowed.

For your optional delectation see also John Mueller's collection of predictions about war, "Various Shapes of Things to Come," appended to the course syllabus. Has our understanding of war made progress since the days of Henry Buckle, Randolph Bourne, and David Starr Jordan? And see also, for background, the appended data on war deaths from Ruth Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures 1987-88: 28-31.

Feb. 16, 23, 28, March 2: Misperception and War; Religion and War. Discussed here: 10 Hypotheses on Misperception and the Causes of War. Hypotheses from Psychology; Militarism; Nationalism; Spirals and Deterrence; Religion and war; Defects in Academe and the Press.

- S 1. Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, ed., International Politics: Anarchy, Force, Political Economy, and Decision Making, 2nd ed. (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1985), pp. 510-526. A classic discussion of the delusions to which states are prone. Is Jervis' list of myopias a good one? Do they arise from the psychological sources he stresses, or are other causes at work?
- S 2. Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Some say conflict is best resolved by the carrot, while using the stick merely provokes; others would use the stick, warning that using the carrot ("appeasement") emboldens others to make more demands. Who's right? Probably both--but under what circumstances? and how can you tell which circumstances you are in?
- BK 3. Van Evera, "Primed for Peace," pp. 204-211.

- S 4. Chris Hedges, "In Bosnia's Schools, 3 Ways Never to Learn From History," New York Times, November 25, 1997, p. A1. It was once said that "war begins in the classroom." Is that such a silly notion? Do the Balkans' separate realities, and the Balkan wars of the 1990s, stem from separate and divergent teaching of the past?
- S 5. Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror (NY: Simon and Schuster, 2002): 38-55, 61-68, 91-94, 419-446.
 Pages 38-55, 62-68, 91-94 describe the Islamist currents of thinking that spawned Osama Bin Laden's Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda's violence stems from a stream of Islamist thought going back to ibn Taymiyya, a bellicose Islamic thinker from the 13th century; to Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792), the harsh and rigid shaper of modern Saudi Arabian Islam; to Rashid Rida (1866-1935) and Hassan al-Banna (?-1949); and above all to Sayyid Qutb (?-1966), the shaper of modern Islamism. Taymiyya, al-Wahhab and Qutb are covered here. Covered also (pp. 91-94) is the frightening rise of apocalyptic thinking in the Islamic world. What causes the murderous thinking described here?
 Pages 419-446 cover the phenomenon of millenarianism (apocalyptic thinking) in other religions--Judaism, Buddhism, and Christianity. This violent, even genocidal (globacidal?) form of religious thought has appeared widely in the last two decades. Why? How can it be tamed before it is used to justify great horrors?
- S 6. Irshad Manji, "Is Islam to Blame? Despite Claims of Moderate Muslims, a Literal Reading of the Koran Offers Cover for Acts of Terrorism," Los Angeles Times, July 22, 2005. The Koran contains hateful passages and passages that incite to violence. What to do about them? Does it cut it for Muslims to continue to declare that the entire Koran is the sacred word of God? What about Manji's suggestion that Muslims confess some "sins of Scripture"?
- S 7. Pankaj Mishra, "The Other Face of Fanaticism," New York Times Magazine, February 2, 2003. The Hindu extremist movement of India is painted here, lest anyone think the Muslim world has a corner on murderous religious fanaticism.
- S 8. Jane Lampman, "Mixing Prophecy and Politics," Christian Science Monitor, July 7, 2004. Christians of the premillennial dispensationalist perspective oppose an Israel-Palestinian peace settlement. Their larger objective: destroying the world.
- S 9. Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Purpose of Political Science," in James C. Charlesworth, ed., A Design for Political Science: Scope, Objectives, and Methods (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1966), pp. 69-74. Are scholars part of the solution or part of the problem? An eminent professor of international relations says his colleagues are gutless wonders who won't tell the state or society when they are wrong.
- S 10. David Pearson, "The Media and Government Deception," Propaganda Review, Spring 1989, pp. 6-11. Pearson thinks the American press is obedient to official views, and afraid to criticize. Anti-establishment paranoia or the real picture?

March 7, 9: 14 More Causes of War and Peace: Culture, Gender, Language, Democracy, Social equality & social justice, Minority rights & human rights, Prosperity, Economic interdependence, Revolution, Capitalism, Imperial decline and collapse, Cultural learning, Emotional factors (revenge, contempt, honor), Polarity of the international system; Causes of civil war.

- S 1. Leopold Bellak, "Why I Fear the Germans" (op-ed), New York Times, April 4, 1990, p. A29; and responses, NYT, May 10, 1990, p. A30. Germany has a flawed national character. Fair? If not, what explains past German conduct? If true, is this satisfying?
- S 2. Louis Harris, "The Gender Gulf," New York Times, December 7, 1990, p. A35. The problem is: men? (Women are more dovish.)
- S 3. Joshua S. Goldstein, International Relations (NY: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 282-295 ("Feminism"). A good basic summary of feminist arguments on the causes of war.
- BK 4. John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 147-155, 165-167, 176-187; five theories of war-causation are discussed there. Note: you might skim the rest of the Mearsheimer article as well, to get his whole drift.
- BK 5. Van Evera, "Primed for Peace," pp. 211-236. On the democracy and polarity questions, who is more persuasive, Mearsheimer or this guy?
- S 6. Mikael Eriksson and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflict 1989-2003," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 41, No. 5 (September 2004), pp. 625-631. Nearly all wars today are civil wars. The number of wars has declined sharply since 1990--back down to the number observed in the mid-1970s, but still more than the number observed during 1946-76. Will these trends continue?
- S 7. Michael E. Brown, "Introduction," in Michael E. Brown, ed., The International Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-31. A survey of hypotheses on the causes of ethnic conflict.

III. CASES: WARS AND CRISES

March 14: The Seven Years War

- S 1. R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World 7th ed. (NY: Knopf, 1991), 273-285, ("The Great War of the Mid-Eighteenth Century.") This is a standard textbook summary of events. Please focus on pp. 278-281, dealing with the outbreak of the Franco-British war.
- S 2. Richard Smoke, War: Controlling Escalation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) pp. 195-236 ("The Seven Years War"). Smoke's chapter is a good historical synopsis of this war. What general theories of war causes does his account support? How might this war have been prevented? By whom?

March 16: The Wars of German Unification: 1864, 1866, and 1870; and segue to World War I

- S 1. Ziegler, War, Peace & IR, Chapter 1, "The Wars for German Unification," (pp. 7-20), a (very) basic history.

March 21, 23, April 4: World War I

- S 1. Palmer & Colton, History of the Modern World, 7th ed., pp. 695-718 ("The First World War"). This is assigned to provide basic background for non-aficionados of WWI.

- S 2. Imanuel Geiss, German Foreign Policy, 1871-1914 (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. vii-ix, 75-83, 106-181, 206-207; the key pages are pp. 121-127, 142-150, 206-207--focus on these pages and read the rest more lightly. (Make sure not to miss the tale of the War Council of 8 December 1912, including Admiral Müller's notes on the Council). This book summarizes the views of the "Fischer School," which argues that German aggression was a prime cause of World War I. Others believe Fisher and Geiss blame Germany unduly. Who's right?
- S 3. Hew Strachan, The First World War, Vol. 1: To Arms (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 51 (bottom)-55 (bottom). Strachan, an anti-Fischerite, thinks that the December 8 1912 War Council was no war council at all, but rather an indecisive bull session of sorts. Are his reasons persuasive?
- BK 4. Miller, ed., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, pp. xi-xix, 20-108. A Europe-wide "Cult of the Offensive" caused the war; the militaries of Europe were responsible.
- S 5. Martin Kitchen, The German Officer Corps, 1890-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), Chapters 5 and 6, pp. 96-142 ("The Army and the Idea of Preventive War," and "The Army and the Civilians.") In Germany the army also purveyed the concept of preventive war, the notion that war was healthy and beneficial, and other exotic ideas; and within Germany it became a law unto itself--a "state within the state," in Gordon Craig's phrase.
- S 6. Walter Consuelo Langsam, "Nationalism and History in the Prussian Elementary Schools Under William II," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., Nationalism and Internationalism (NY: Columbia U. Press 1950), pp. 241-260. German elementary and high schools were channels of nationalist propaganda.
- S 7. James Joll, Origins of the First World War (NY: Longman, 1984), chapter 2, pp. 9-34. A summary of the events of the strange and amazing July crisis.

For more on World War I origins see the documents collection at www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1914.html. And for more on the role of German public opinion in causing the war see specifically Wolfgang J. Mommsen, "Nationalism, Imperialism and Official Press Policy in Wilhelmine Germany 1850-1914," in *Collection de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome*, Opinion Publique et Politique Exterieur I 1870-1915 (Milano: Universita de Milano/Ecole Francaise de Rome, 1981), pp. 367-383.

Note: there is no class March 28, 30 (Spring break).

April 6: Interlude: Hypotheses on Escalation & Limitation of War; and Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Strategy, other Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Causes of War.

- BK 1. Fred Iklé, Every War Must End, pp. 1-105. Can war be rationally conducted and controlled? This superb book makes you wonder.
- S 2. Ziegler, War, Peace and IR, pp. 221-234 ("The Balance of Terror"). A basic rundown of the issues.
- BK 3. Martin Rees, Our Final Hour: A Scientist's Warning: How Terror, Error, and Environmental Disaster Threaten Humankind's Future in this Century--On Earth and Beyond (NY: Basic Books, 2003): 1-24, 41-60, 73-88. The advance of science has a fearsome byproduct: we are discovering ever more powerful means of destruction. These destructive powers are being democratized: the mayhem that only

major states can do today may lie within the capacity of millions of individuals in the future unless we somehow change course. Deterrence works against states but will fail against crazed non-state organizations or individuals. How can the spread of destructive powers be controlled?

For more on controlling the longterm bioweapons danger see www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/pathogensmonograph.pdf

- S 4. Henry C. Kelly, "Terrorism and the Biology Lab," New York Times, July 2, 2003. The biology profession must realize that its research, if left unregulated, could produce discoveries that gravely threaten our safety. Biologists must develop a strategy to keep biology from being used for destructive ends.

For more on controlling the longterm bioweapons danger see www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/pathogensmonograph.pdf (a monograph by John Steinbruner and Elisa Harris).

April 11, 13, 20, 25: World War II

- S 1. R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World 7th ed. (NY: Knopf, 1991), pp. 798-799, 822-849. This is a basic standard history of the events leading up to the war.
- BK 2. Sebastian Haffner, The Meaning of Hitler, pp. 3-165.
- BK 3. Holger Herwig, "Clio Deceived: Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany After the Great War," in Miller, ed., Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, pp. 262-301. How Germans mis-remembered the origins and aftermath of the First World War.
- S 4. Wolfram Wette, "From Kellogg to Hitler (1928-1933). German Public Opinion Concerning the Rejection or Glorification of War," in Wilhelm Deist, ed., The German Military in the Age of Total War (Dover: Berg, 1985), pp. 71-99. How Germans came to love war again so soon after the Marne and Verdun. What explains the bizarre developments Wette describes?
- S 5. Scott Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, ed., The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 323-352.
- BK 6. Ienaga, The Pacific War 1931-1945, pp. vii-152, 247-256. Was the Japanese decision for war a rational response to circumstances, or in some sense "irrational"? Ienaga and Sagan disagree--who's right?
- S 7. Jonathan G. Utley, Going to War With Japan 1937-1941 (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 151-156.
- S 8. Waldo Heinrichs, The Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 141-142, 177, 246-247 (note 68). Was the crucial American decision to cut off oil exports to Japan taken by a bureaucracy out of control? Utley and Heinrichs disagree. How can this mystery be unravelled?
- S 9. Letter to the editor by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, New York Review of Books, February 6, 1997, p. 40. A summary of Goldhagen's famous argument that Germany committed the holocaust because most Germans embraced an eliminationist anti-semitism. How could we test Goldhagen's argument?

- S 10. Nicholas Kristoff, "A Tojo Battles History, for Grandpa and for Japan," New York Times, April 22, 1999. Mythmaking about Japan's role in World War II continues, stirring suspicion and anger elsewhere in Asia.

April 27, May 2: The Cold War, Korea and Indochina.

- S 1. Thomas G. Paterson, J. Gary Clifford, and Kenneth Hagan, American Foreign Policy: A History Since 1900 (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1983), pp. 471-480, 519-539, 546-563.
- BK 2. John Stoessinger, Nations at Dawn, pp. xi-119. Paterson et al. is a standard history; Stoessinger is interpretive.

May 4, 9: The Israel-Arab Conflict; the 2003 US-Iraq War.

- S 1. Stephen Van Evera, "The Israeli-Palestinian Flashpoint," in Derek S. Reveron and Jeffrey Stevenson Murer, eds., Flashpoints in the War on Terrorism: Understanding the Hot Spots that Stoke the Fire (Palgrave, 2006), pp. 1-10, 15-21. The history, causes, consequences, and solution for the Israeli-Arab conflict in a nutshell.
- S 2. R. Stephen Humphreys, Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 46-59 ("The Arab Israeli Conflict). Arabs and Israelis both see themselves as victims, with tragic results.
- S 3. Avi Shlaim, "The Middle East: Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars," in Ngaire Woods, ed., Explaining International Relations Since 1945 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 219-236 (skim 219-221, read 221-236). Highlights of the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967, 1969-70, 1973, and 1982 and the Persian Gulf War of 1991 are outlined here.
- S 4. Ari Shavit, "Survival of the Fittest," Ha'aretz, January 14, 2004. Shavit interviews Benny Morris, one of Israel's leading historians, on the realities and ethics of Israel's expulsion of 700,000-750,000 Palestinians during the 1948 war. In the past Morris led in exposing the expulsion; now he is a prominent defender of it, arguing that sometimes ethnic cleansing is necessary.
- S 5. Elisabeth Bumiller, "Was a Tyrant Prefigured by Baby Saddam?" New York Times, May 15, 2004). Saddam Hussein was severely abused as a child and as a result suffered narcissism and other personality disorders. Does this help explain the 1991 and 2003 Iraq wars? Can the U.S. deter or coerce such people if it better understands their personal demons?
- S 6. John G. Stoessinger, Why Nations Go To War, 9th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thompson Wadsworth, 2005): 273-308. An account of the 2003 US-Iraq war.

May 11: The Peloponnesian War.

- BK 1. Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, pp. 35-108, 118-164, 212-223, 400-429, 483-488, 516-538. A famous history by a great strategist that many later readers, across many centuries, felt evoked their own times and tragedies.

IV: THE FUTURE OF WAR

May 16, 18: Testing & Applying Theories of War Causation; the Future of War, Solutions to War.

- BK 1. Carl Kaysen, "Is War Obsolete?" in Lynn-Jones, Cold War and After, pp. 81-103. Kaysen says past causes of war are already gone. But if he's right, why does war continue?
- S 2. Ziegler, War, Peace and IR, chapters 8, 11 ("World Government," "Collective Security,") pp. 127-45, 179-203. Many people have offered these answers. Do you think they would work? (Why haven't they been implemented yet?)
- S 3. Paul Nitze, "A Threat Mostly to Ourselves," New York Times, October 28, 1999, p. A25. A call for nuclear disarmament from a prominent Cold War hawk. (In 1950 Nitze wrote NSC-68, the guiding plan for America's great Cold War military buildup.)
- S 4. Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1996): 209-218 and 254-266 ("Islam and the West," and "Islam's Bloody Borders.")
- S 4. Review again Benjamin and Simon, Age of Sacred Terror: 38-55, 62-68, 91-94, 419-446.
- B 5. Review again Rees, Our Final Hour, pp. 41-60, 73-88 (assigned above.)
- S 6. President George W. Bush 2nd inaugural address, January 20, 2005. President Bush announces a U.S. policy of promoting freedom and liberty, on grounds that "as long as whole regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny ... violence will gather and multiply in destructive power, and cross the most defended borders, and raise a mortal threat. ... The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom."

FURTHER READING

I: THE CAUSES OF WAR

The causes of war, general and theoretical works:

- Jack Levy, "The Causes of War: A Review of Theories," in Philip E. Tetlock, Jo L. Husbands, Robert Jervis, Paul C. Stern, and Charles Tilly, eds., Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War, Vol. 1 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 209-333.
- Jack S. Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," Annual Review of Political Science, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 139-165.
- Greg Cashman, What Causes War? An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict (NY: Lexington Books, 1999)
- Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Kenneth N. Waltz, Man, the State, and War (NY: Columbia University Press, 1954)
- Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War (NY: Free Press, 1973)
- Richard A. Falk and Samuel S. Kim, The War System: An Interdisciplinary Approach (Boulder: Westview, 1980)
- Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., Handbook of War Studies (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989)
- Leon Bramson and George W. Goethals, eds., War: Studies from Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1968)
- Bernard Brodie, War and Politics (NY: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 276-340 ("Some Theories on the Causes of War")
- Donald Kagan, On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace (NY: Doubleday, 1994)
- James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey, 3rd ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), parts.
- Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999)

Arms and war:

- Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1966), parts.
- Thomas Schelling and Morton Halperin, Strategy and Arms Control NY: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961), parts.
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," World Politics, January, 1978, pp. 167-214.
- Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Offense-Defense Theory and its Critics," Security Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer 1995), pp. 660-694.
- Marlies Ter Borg, "Reducing Offensive Capabilities--the Attempt of 1932," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1992), pp. 145-160.
- Jack S. Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," World Politics, Vol. 40, No. 1 (October 1987), pp. 82-107.

Misperception:

- Robert Jervis, "War and Misperception," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 101-126
- Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," World Politics Vol. 20, No. 3 (April, 1968), pp. 454-479, also reprinted in George H. Quester, ed., Power, Action and Interaction (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), pp. 104-132.
- Irving L. Janis, Victims of Groupthink (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972)
- Ernest R. May, "Lessons" of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy (NY: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Aaron Wildavsky, "The Self-Evaluating Organization," Public Administration Review, Sept./Oct. 1972, pp. 509-520.

Gender and War:

- Joshua S. Goldstein, War and Gender (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Linda Rennie Forcey, "Feminist and Peace Perspectives on Women," in Lester Kurtz, ed., Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, 3 vols. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), 2:13-20.
- Jennifer Turpin, "Women and War," in *ibid.*, 3:801-813.
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