

WAR, PEACE, AND STRATEGY

Class: Mondays & Wednesdays 11:00-12:15.

Professor Richard K. Betts

Betts Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:30-5:00, or by appointment. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies

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Questions animating this course include: Why is force often used in international politics? What causes peace? How do wars, or competitions shaped by the lurking possibility of war, affect international relations and individual societies? How can governments best prepare to prevent wars or to win them if they occur? By what standards should resort to force, or strategic and tactical choices in combat, be judged legitimate or immoral? How are the prevention, outbreaks, processes, and outcomes of mass violence (or crises resolved short of combat) determined by politics, ideology, diplomacy, technology, economics, geography, military plans and tactics, intelligence, or arms control? What are similarities and differences among conflicts between states, within states, and between states and transnational groups (such as terrorists)? How important is terrorism? How do weapons of mass destruction coerce or deter? Is the world safer or more dangerous after the Cold War? Can war be made obsolete? The course emphasizes problems in the relation between political ends and military means. Students must grapple with the terms of reference in both dimensions. The course is organized thematically, not by cases, but illustrative examples are drawn from conflicts in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. The course emphasizes issues in the 20th Century, and in U.S. national security policy.

Requirements: This is a graduate lecture course open to advanced undergraduates. It is designed to be demanding. Anyone who cannot or does not wish to read and ponder a heavy load of material should not take this course. All students must (1) complete assigned readings; (2) attend all lectures, arriving on time (seated NLT 11:00); (3) view two films (see p. 8 below); (4) take the final examination on the scheduled date (*make-up exams will not be allowed except for certified medical excuse or family emergency*). Undergraduates must also (5) take the mid-term examination (optional for graduate students) and (6) attend discussion sections (optional for graduate students). *Students must give full attention to lectures and discussion sections. Multi-tasking is not allowed in class.* Laptops may be used *only* for taking notes; students found to be checking E-Mail, surfing the Internet, or text-messaging will be asked to leave the class. At the final examination, students must leave *all* electronic devices except battery-powered watches (cell phones, laptops, i-pods, blackberries, and so on) at home or outside the examination room.

This is a survey course. To allow maximum time for reading there is no paper writing assignment. Reading averages just under 210 pages per week, but is concentrated in sections IV and VI-VIII. To help you plan reading time the numbers of pages in each item of reading, and for each section of the syllabus, are noted in brackets. The page total of reading required for the course is 2,937. Required readings are on reserve in Lehman Library. Books ordered in the College Bookstore and Book Culture should be purchased so that you can mark them up.

Students may choose instead to do all the reading in the library, but will then have a harder time taking proper notes. Students who do the reading without marking or taking notes are fools, unless they have photographic memories and superhuman capabilities for mentally organizing a complex array of concepts, arguments, and historical examples.

Whatever the education system from which you come, understand that the purpose of this course is not to indoctrinate you with what the instructor believes to be the right answers. The purpose is to highlight crucial questions and ideas and expose you to the main currents of debate about them. Performance on examinations is judged by how well you understand debates and exploit relevant readings and lectures in answers.

I. ***Introduction: Nature and Functions of War***

[123 pp.]

Three Visions of Conflict: Does War Have a Future?
Concepts of National Security and Philosophy of War
Political Ends and Military Means: Rationality
War is Hell: Insanity and Obscenity
The Perspective Between Pacifism and Militarism

Richard K. Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War*, Third Edition (Pearson-Longman, 2008) [44]:

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History"
 John J. Mearsheimer, "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War."
 Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?"

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds. and trans. (Princeton University Press, 1976): Book I, chaps. 1, 2 [24]. (NB: Only an unabridged German language edition is an acceptable alternative to this translation. Do not read a different translation. *Especially do not read the widely available Penguin edition of the Graham translation abridged by Anatol Rapoport.*)

Sun-Tzu, *The Art of Warfare*, Roger T. Ames, trans. (Ballantine, 1993), chaps. 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11 [25]. (The Sawyer, Griffith, or Huang translations are also acceptable.)

Paul Fussell, *Wartime* (Oxford University Press, 1989), chap. 18 [30].

II. ***Causes of War and Peace***

[290 pp.]

Psychology and Anthropology: Instinct, Ritual, or Continuation of Sport by Other Means

Religion: Fighting for God
Main Paradigms: Realism and Liberalism
Autarky or Interdependence
Ideology and Fraternity
Feudalism, Capitalism, Marxism, Militarism

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (Columbia University Press, 1959), chaps. 2-4, 6-8 [184].

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [106]:

Thucydides, "The Melian Dialogue"
 E. H. Carr, "Realism and Idealism"
 Geoffrey Blainey, "Power, Culprits, and Arms"
 Margaret Mead, "War is Only an Invention -- Not a Biological Necessity"
 Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace"
 John Mueller, "The Obsolescence of Major War"
 Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion"
 Geoffrey Blainey, "Paradise is a Bazaar"
 V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism"

Joseph Schumpeter, "Imperialism and Capitalism"
Kenneth N. Waltz, "Structural Causes and Economic Effects"
Richard Rosecrance, "Trade and Power"
Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics."

III. **Securing Peace: Balance of Power and Institutions**

[178 pp.]

What is Stability? Equilibrium or Peace

Meanings of Balance of Power

Effects of Unipolarity, Bipolarity, Multipolarity

International Organization, "Regimes," and Collective Security

Inis L. Claude, *Power and International Relations* (Random House, 1962), chaps. 2-3 [82].

G. F. Hudson, "Collective Security and Military Alliances," in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., *Diplomatic Investigations* (Harvard University Press, 1968) [5].

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [19]:

Robert Gilpin, "Hegemonic War and International Change"

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, "Power and Interdependence."

Adam Roberts and Dominik Zaum, *Selective Security: War and the United Nations Security Council Since 1945*, Adelphi Paper 395 (London: Routledge/International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008), chaps. 2-4 [27].

Kimberly Zisk Marten, *Enforcing the Peace* (Columbia University Press, 2004), chap. 3 [35].

Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention" (Revised Version), in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds., *Turbulent Peace* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2001) [10].

IV. **Choosing War or Peace: Conquest, Coercion, Crisis Management**

[416 pp.]

The Spectrum of Choice: Concession, Compromise, Combat

Setting the Price of Peace: Political Stakes vs. Military Costs

Setting the Price of War: Blood, Treasure, and Risk

Deterrence, Reassurance, Crisis Management, and "Accidental" War

Cases: 1914, 1938, 1962

Theory and Practice of Coercive Force: Bombing and "Compellence"

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale University Press, 1966), chaps. 2-4 [154].

Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win* (Cornell University Press, 1996),¹ chaps. 2, 3, 7, 9 [134].

Gen. Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War* (PublicAffairs, 2001), chaps. 8-12 [128].

V. **Modern War: Constraints, Conditions, Conduct**

[140 pp.]

Geography: Natural Security and Vulnerability

Economy: Resources, Power, and Strategy

Combined Arms: Armies, Navies, Air Forces

Campaigns and Logistics

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [14]:

Niccolò Machiavelli, "Money is Not the Sinews of War, Although It Is Generally So Considered"

Alan S. Milward, "War as Policy."

¹ Ph. D. students: For criticism see Barry D. Watts, "Ignoring Reality," and Pape's rebuttal, "The Air Force Strikes Back: A Reply to Barry Watts and John Warden," in *Security Studies* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1997/98).

Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford University Press, 1974), chaps. 4-6 [62].

John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (Viking, 1976), chap. 4, pp. 210-237 (pp. 213-240 in Penguin paperback edition) and 242-279 (246-284 in Penguin) [64].

VI. ***Policy, Strategy, and Operations: Integrating Political Ends and Military Means***

[448 pp.]

Three Levels of Analysis

Technology: Innovations and Interactions

Plans: Organization, Doctrine, Tactics, Obstacles

Military Effectiveness: What Produces Success in Combat?

Attack and Defense: Aggressive, Preventive, Preemptive, and Defensive War

How Ends Determine Means, How Means Determine Ends

Clausewitz, *On War*, Book I, chap. 7; Book II, chap. 3; Book III, chap. 1; Book VI, chaps. 1, 3, 5; Book VII, chaps. 1-5 [31].

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power* (Princeton University Press, 2004),² chaps. 2, 3 [37].

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [25]:

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma"

Jack S. Levy, "The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology."

Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels* (Ballantine, 1975) [355].

VII. ***Ends and Means in Total War and Limited War***

[351 pp.]

Estimating Costs, Benefits, and Feasibility

Estimating the Culminating Point of Victory

Total War: World Wars I and II

Limited War: Korea and Kuwait

Total or Limited? Iraq II

Clausewitz, *On War*, Book VII, chap. 22; Book VIII, chaps. 1-3, 6 [32].

Michael Geyer, "German Strategy in the Age of Machine Warfare, 1914-1945," in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton University Press, 1986) [70].

Samuel Eliot Morison, *Strategy and Compromise* (Atlantic/Little, Brown, 1958), Part I, chaps. 1-4, 6-7 [44].

Michael Gordon and Gen. Bernard Trainor, *The Generals' War* (Little, Brown, 1995), chaps. 18-20 [86].

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (Penguin, 2006), chaps. 4-5, 7-8, 10 [119].

² Ph. D. Students: See criticisms by five scholars and Biddle's response in "Military Power: A Roundtable Review," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 3 (June 2005).

Monday, October 20: Mid-Term Examination

VIII. *Unconventional Warfare and Terrorism*

[344 pp.]

People's War, Counterinsurgency, and Incentives for "Asymmetric" Strategies
Linkages Between Conventional and Unconventional War
Stealth, Strength, and Advantages of Attack Over Defense
Secular and Sacred Motivations

Clausewitz, *On War*: Book VI, chap. 26; Book VIII, chap. 5 [12].

Col. C. E. Callwell, *Small Wars*, Third Edition (London: HMSO, 1906), chaps. 3, 7 [19].

Harry G. Summers, *On Strategy* (Presidio Press, 1982), chaps. 1, 7-11, 15 [93].

Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., *The Army and Vietnam* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1986), chaps. 1, 6-8, 10 [109].

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [92]:

T. E. Lawrence, "Science of Guerrilla Warfare"

Mao Tse-tung, "On Guerrilla Warfare"

Samuel P. Huntington, "Patterns of Violence in World Politics"

Martha Crenshaw, "The Strategic Logic of Terrorism"

Mark Juergensmeyer, "Religious Radicalism and Political Violence."

Marc Sageman, "Jihadi Networks of Terror"

Osama bin Ladin, "Speech to the American People."

Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003) [19].³

Required Film: See *The Battle of Algiers* before the end of Section VIII. Refer to questions on p. 8.

IX. *Society, Polity, Culture, and Capability*

[223 pp.]

Nationalism, State Expansion, and Social Mobilization

Civil-Military Relations

Recruitment, Conscription, Organization

Culture and Combat Effectiveness

Combat Motivation: When Fighting Can Get One Killed, what Makes One Fight?

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [38]:

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War"

Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars"

Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition."

Edward Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1948) [35].

Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army* (Oxford University Press, 1991), chaps. 3-4 [119].

³ Ph.D. students: See James D. Kiras, "Dying to Prove a Point" and David Cook, "A Critique of Robert Pape's *Dying to Win*," both in *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30, no. 2 (April 2007).

Kenneth Pollack, *Arabs at War* (University of Nebraska Press, 2002),⁴ “Conclusions and Lessons” [31].

⁴ Ph.D. students: See Risa A. Brooks, “Making Military Might: Why Do States Fail and Succeed? A Review Essay,” *International Security* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003).

X. ***When Is War Murder? The Moral Calculus of Killing***

[84 pp.]

Absolute vs. Utilitarian Criteria

Atrocities: Cold Blood and Passion

Are Some Lives Worth More Than Others?

Is Terrorism Ever Legitimate?

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, Third Edition (Basic Books, 2000), chaps. 4, 6, 9, 16, 19 [84].

Required Film: See *Saving Private Ryan* **before** lectures for Section X. Refer to questions on p. 8.

XI. ***The Nuclear Revolution: Theory and Practice***

[167 pp.]

Nuclear Weapon Effects

Deterrence and Compellence

Rationality, Uncertainty, and Credibility

Limited War and Escalation

Nuclear War Plans and Operational Doctrine

Cold War Crises

Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, Third Edition (Palgrave, 2003), chaps. 6-9, 12, 14-16, 26 [145].

Paul Fussell, "Thank God for the Atom Bomb" in Fussell, *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays* (Summit Books, 1988) [22].

XII. ***Threat Assessment and Defense Planning***

[92 pp.]

Aggression or Security Dilemma?

Intentions and Capabilities

Deterrence and Provocation

Intelligence and Uncertainty

Strategic Assumptions and U.S. Force Planning

Eyre Crowe, "Memorandum on the Present State of British Relations with France and Germany," January 1, 1907, and Thomas Sanderson, "Observations on Printed Memorandum on Relations with France and Germany, January 1907," in G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley, eds., *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, vol. III: *The Testing of the Entente, 1904-6* (London: HMSO, 1928) (NB: Read pp. 399-405, 414-419 carefully; skim the rest.) [11].

Documents 551, 553, and 650 on the Munich crisis in E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler, eds., assisted by Margaret Lambert, *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, Third Series, vol. II: 1938 (London: HMSO, 1949) [7].

G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West," *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 1 (January/February 2008) [14].

Richard K. Betts and Thomas J. Christensen, "China: Can the Next Superpower Rise Without War?" in Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [12].

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/97) [48].

XIII. **Arms Control**

[21 pp.]

Political, Economic, and Military Rationales for Arms Regulation
Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD): Cold War Negotiations
Conventional Forces: "Defense Dominance"?
Arms Trade
Costs and Benefits of Regulation
Regional Conflicts and Incentives for Proliferation
WMD After the Cold War: Biological, Chemical, Nuclear

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [21]:

Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr. and Abram N. Shulsky, "Arms Control: The Historical Experience"

Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better."⁵

XIV. **Conclusion: Evolving Bases of Conflict and Cooperation**

[60 pp.]

Religion
Power Without Force?
Information Warfare
Non-Lethal Weaponry
Theories, Experience, and Prediction
A "Revolution in Military Affairs"?
Environmental Sources of Conflict
Culture and Conflict

Eliot A. Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 2 (March/April 1996) [17].

Biddle, *Military Power*, chap. 10 [18].

Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War* [25]:

Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict"

Samuel P. Huntington, "Peace Among Civilizations?"

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http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources_services/student_affairs/academic_policies/deans_discipline_policy.html

⁵ For elaboration of this argument and rebuttals by Scott Sagan see Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (W.W. Norton, 2003).

and

http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources/student_affairs/academic_policies/code_of_conduct.html.

Violations of the Code of Academic and Professional Conduct should be reported to the professor and, for SIPA, to the Associate Dean for Student Affairs.

Required Film Viewings

Times and places of showings to be announced.

1. ***The Battle of Algiers*** (1967), directed by Gillo Pontecorvo, screenplay by Franco Solinas (2 hours, 5 minutes). For section VIII of the course. To understand the film you must know the essential story of the Algerian war of independence. Remember that the French did not consider Algeria a colony, but a part of metropolitan France (it had about a million European settlers). Although fiction, several characters are composites of real historical figures (one of the FLN leaders plays himself in the movie). The realism of this film is demonstrated by the fact that after early showings the producers had to insert a notice at the beginning that it was not a documentary. While obviously pro-FLN, the film is also unusual in the extent to which it does not demonize the French, but empathizes with them. (Interestingly, the actor who played Colonel Mathieu was a French Communist!)

- Were the tactics used on either or both sides illegitimate? Does the legitimacy or illegitimacy of terror or torture depend on the nature of the tactics or the justice of the cause they serve?
- By what criteria were tactics employed effective or counterproductive?
- Could either side have hoped to win without using those tactics? How are the issues of legitimacy and efficacy related?
- How are terrorism and guerrilla warfare related?
- In what respects are the issues posed by Al Qaeda today similar and different from those in this case?
- Is Colonel Mathieu's character evil, admirable, tragic, or something else?
- How do the French and FLN strategies reflect Huntington's points about the "tripartite" nature of revolutionary war or Mao's points about guerrillas and population being "fish" and "sea"?
- Have U.S. intelligence services learned the wrong lessons from this film?

2. ***Saving Private Ryan*** (1998), directed by Stephen Spielberg, screenplay by Robert Rodat (2 hours, 49 minutes). For section X. Look at the first 25-minutes (the assault on Omaha Beach) as one of the least unrealistic of Hollywood portrayals of combat. (Paul Fussell, of all people, approved heartily of this sequence.) Look at the rest of the film as an evocation of dilemmas about risking, deliberately spending, or wrongfully taking lives in wartime.

- How should decisions to spend lives be made? By what criteria?
- Whose decisions to spend lives in this venture were right or wrong?

- Did the Americans who shot surrendering Germans in the overrunning of the bunkers on Omaha Beach commit a war crime that should have been prosecuted?
- Was Upham right or wrong about whether to kill the prisoner the first time the question arose? The second time?