

**POLS 43001 06**  
**War and Diplomacy:**  
**Theory Foundations and Modern Applications**

**Department of Political Science**  
**University of Notre Dame**  
**Fall 2018**

**Instructors: Sid Simpson and Michael Desch**

**Course Information:**

MW 2:00pm - 3:15pm  
Jenkins-Nanovic Halls B032

**Contact Information:**

Email: [ssimpso2@nd.edu](mailto:ssimpso2@nd.edu) and [mdesch@nd.edu](mailto:mdesch@nd.edu)

Office Hours:

Wednesdays, 3:15pm to 5:15pm in the Nanovic Hall Atrium, or by appointment (Simpson) and  
Tuesdays, 2:00pm to 4:00pm in Nanovic Hall 2026, or by appointment (Desch)

**Course Description:**

The most influential and enduring work in contemporary international relations theory has deep roots in the classic texts of political thought. In this course, we will place seminal texts in the history of political thought alongside the most influential modern international relations theory in order to illuminate the enduring centrality of war and diplomacy in politics. We begin by exploring the ancient roots of Realism, which focuses on the anarchical nature of relations among states and the central role of military force, through the works of Thucydides, Machiavelli and Clausewitz. Next, we will consider Realism's most important modern alternative: Liberalism. To understand modern Liberalism's notion of very different international relations based upon a democratic/commercial/institutional peace, we explore thinkers like Kant, Montesquieu and Rawls. Finally, we end with an engagement with Constructivism, the view that anarchy and other aspects of statecraft are not given but socially constructed. We dig down to the roots of this view by reading thinkers such as Hegel, Schmitt and Fukuyama. Taken together, this course will provide students with an understanding of the debt modern international relations theory owes to the history of political thought, and why the questions raised in contemporary war and statecraft are actually part of a larger conversation stretching back to the beginning of human history.

**Course Requirements:**

Students are required to complete all assigned readings, participate actively during class meetings, and write three papers.

**A. Assignment Structure**

Students will be required to write two five-page memos, as well as a ten-page term paper.

**B. Required Texts**

Required readings will be available through the **Hesburgh Library eReserves**:  
<https://reserves.library.nd.edu/courses>

**C. Grading**

Grades will be based on two shorter memos, a longer term paper, and in-class participation.

The grading breakdown is as follows:

Essay I: 20%

Essay II: 20%

Essay III: 30%

Participation: 30%

- Includes: regular seminar discussion, a 10-12 minute presentation of your final paper, and three reading assignment introductions
- Reading assignment introductions should be at least ten minutes. The presenter should identify core questions in the readings, outline the argument, and connect the reading to contemporary issues. Most days will feature two presenters, so coordination before class is well-advised.

Late assignments will be deducted one third of a letter grade (e.g., from a B+ to a B) for every 24 hours that the assignment is late.

The grading scale is standard:

A: 93-100

A-: 90-92

B+: 87-89

B: 83-86

B-: 80-82

C+: 77-79

C: 73-76

C-: 70-72

D: 60-69

F: 59 or below

No incompletes will be given for this class.

Plagiarism is a major violation of the University's honor code and undermines the integrity of scholarship. For more information on what constitutes plagiarism see the Hesburgh Library's guide to plagiarism:

<http://libguides.library.nd.edu/scholarly-publishing/plagiarism>

Students are expected to adhere to the Undergraduate Academic Code of Honor. For more information on the code:

<https://honorcode.nd.edu/>

**Students with Disabilities:** We are strongly committed to working with students who have any disability recognized under the Americans with Disabilities Act to ensure that they are able to fully participate in class activities. If you feel you require a “reasonable accommodation,” please follow the process through <http://www.nd.edu/~osd/>.

**Computer policy:** There is growing concern among our faculty colleagues that some students are using their lap-top computers during class for non-class activities (e.g., email or web-surfing unrelated to the class). This detracts from the class discussion and the students’ learning experience more generally. We are reluctant to ban lap-tops and other personal electronic devices from class entirely as some students find them much easier to use to take notes, store their readings electronically, or use the web to find information that enhances their participation in class. Therefore, if you want to use a laptop or other electronic device in my class, doing so constitutes a formal pledge to do so strictly for class purposes. Violations of this agreement will be treated as violations of the Honor Code.

The basic schedule and outline of the course is as follows:

## Introduction

**August 22:** Waltz, Kenneth. “Introduction.” *The Man, State and War*. pp 1-16

Allen, Danielle. *Aims of Education*. <https://aims.uchicago.edu/page/2001-danielle-s-allen>

**August 27:** Doyle, Michael. “The Politics of Peace and War.” *The Ways of War and Peace*. pp 15-33

## Realism

**August 29:** Parent, Joseph. “Elder Abuse: How the Moderns Mistreat Classical Realism” *International Studies Review*, Vol 13(2), 2011. pp 193-208

Morgenthau, Hans. “Six Principles of Political Realism.” *The Politics of Nations*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2006. pp 4-16

**September 3:** Aeschylus, “The Persians.”  
<http://classics.mit.edu/Aeschylus/persians.html>

**September 5:** Thucydides, “Mytilenean Debate,” *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*. ed. Robert Strassler. New York, The Free Press, 1996. pp 175 (3.36) - 183 (3.49)

Thucydides, “Melian Dialogue,” *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*. ed. Robert Strassler. New York, The Free Press, 1996. pp 350 (5.84) - 357 (5.116)

**September 10:** Thucydides, "Sicilian Expedition," *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*. ed. Robert Strassler. New York, The Free Press, 1996. pp 366 (6.8) - 376 (6.26)

Plutarch, "Alcibiades," *The Lives of Noble Grecians and Romans*," New York, AMS, 1967.

Thucydides, "Pericles," *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*. ed. Robert Strassler. New York, The Free Press, 1996. pp 127-128 (2.65)

**September 12:** Sun-Tzu, *The Art of War*. trans. John Minford, Penguin Classics, 2009.

**September 17:** Machiavelli, Niccolò. "Dedicatory letter, Chapter 15, Chapter 17." *The Prince*. Bedford, 2005. pp 39-40, 87-88, 90-93 and Machiavelli, Niccolò. "Dedicatory letter, I 9, I 18, III 21-22, III 24, III 40-42." *Discourses*, Penguin, 1970. Pp. 93-6, 131-34, 160-64, 462-71, 473-475 and 513-517.

**September 19:** Clausewitz, Carl. Book I, *On War*. trans. J. Graham. Penguin Classics, 1982. pp 101-58 and 164-68.

**September 24:** Lebow, Richard. "Thucydides the Constructivist," *American Political Science Review*, Vol 95(3), pp 547-560

### **September 26: First Paper Prompts Distributed**

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Great Books of the Western World, Vol. 23. Robert Maynard Hutchins ed. (Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., Chicago: 1952), pp 84-86, 101-109, 148-153 (Chaps. XIII, XVIII, XIX, and XXIX)

## **Liberalism**

### **October 1: First Paper Due**

Doyle, Michael. "The Varieties of Liberalism." *The Ways of War and Peace*. pp 205-212.

Kagan, Robert. "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, June-July 2002. pp 3-28

**October 3:** Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. "The State of War" in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp 416-425. (more on next page)

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. "Abstract and Judgement of Saint-Pierre's Project for Perpetual Peace" in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp 425-27.

**October 8:** Montesquieu. "The Spirit of the Laws," in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp 399-406

Smith, Adam. "The Wealth of Nations," in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp 410-415 and pp 532-534

**October 10: Speak with the instructors about your final paper thesis by this date**

Kant, Immanuel. *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. Trans. David L. Colclasure. Yale University Press, 2006. pp 67-109

**October 15: No Class Meeting - Fall Break**

**October 17: No Class Meeting - Fall Break**

**October 22:** Grotius, Hugo. "The Law of War and Peace," in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp 325-334

De Vattel, Emmerich. "The Law of Nations or Principles of Natural Law," in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp 370-378

**October 24:** Rawls, John. "The Law of Peoples," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 20,(1) pp 36-68

**October 29:** Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist Papers*. Great Books of the Western World, Vol. 43. Robert Maynard Hutchins ed. (Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., Chicago: 1952), pp. 31-49, 80-85, 87-91, 98-101, 195-198, 222-225. (Nos 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 22, 24, 25, 29, 64, and 75)

**October 31: Second Paper Prompts Distributed**

Desch, Michael. "America's Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 32(3) pp 7-43

**Constructivism****November 5: Second Paper Due**

Deudney, Daniel. "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, circa 1787–1861," *International Organization*, Vol. 49(2) pp 191-228

**November 7:** Ruggie, John Gerard. "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization*, Vol. 52 (4) pp 855-885

**November 12:** Hegel, G. W. F. "*Elements of the Philosophy of Right*," in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, and Nicholas Rengger, eds., *International Relations in Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp 470-475

Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, Vol. 16, pp 3-18

**November 14:** Nietzsche, Friedrich. *On the Genealogy of Morals/Ecce Homo*, trans., Walter Kaufman. Vintage, 1969. Essay I, Section 11

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Gay Science*, trans., Walter Kaufman. Vintage, 1974. Aphorisms 357, 362 & 377

**November 19:** Schmitt, Carl. "Section 6," *The Concept of the Political*, University of Chicago Press, 2007. pp 53-58

Heidegger, Martin. "Only a God Can Save Us," *Der Spiegel*, 1966.  
<http://www.ditext.com/heidegger/interview.html>

**November 21: No Class Meeting - Thanksgiving**

**November 26:** Fisher, Markus. "Feudal Europe, 800–1300: Communal Discourse and Conflictual Practices," *International Organization*, Vol. 46(2) pp 427-466

**November 28:** In-Class Presentations of Final Papers

**December 3:** In-Class Presentations of Final Papers

**December 5:** In-Class Presentations of Final Papers

**December 10: Final Paper Due by email to [ssimpso2@nd.edu](mailto:ssimpso2@nd.edu) AND [mdech@nd.edu](mailto:mdech@nd.edu)**