

War and Society
Course Number: PO558
Fall 2016

Professor Rosella Cappella Zielinski
Boston University

Course Time: W 3:00-6:00pm
Course Location: CGS 313

Email: cappella@bu.edu
Office: Political Science 303
Office Hours: Th 2:00-4:00pm

War and Society in the Modern Age

This seminar examines three primary questions regarding warfare: How has war changed? What does warfare today look like? What will warfare look like tomorrow? This course takes a state-oriented approach to understanding war in the modern age. That is, this course emphasizes how states fight wars (versus focusing on segments of the armed forces) and how changes in warfare affect the relationship between state and society. While the stress of this course is wars of the 20th century, in order to understand how war has evolved, this course begins with wars of the middle ages and emphasizes warfare in the west, focusing on Europe and the United States.

Readings:

Required Books: Michael Howard, *War in European History* (any edition is fine), Carl Schmitt, *Theory of the Partisan* (any edition is fine)

The rest of the readings can be accessed through blackboard or via the websites provided on the syllabus.

Course Requirements and Grades:

1. *Response Paper I – Covering Weeks 2-4 (20% of grade for the course)*
2. *Response Paper II – Covering Weeks 5-8 (20% of grade for the course)*
3. *Response Paper II – Covering Weeks 9-13 (20% of grade for the course)*
4. *Final Review Essay ****Due Friday December 16th by 5pm via email**** (40% of grade for the course) See Guidelines Below*
5. *Extra Credit - Movie Review (Or Book) Response Paper (Up to 5 points added to your final review essay grade) See Guidelines Below*

NOTE: There is no final exam for this course. Just a final paper.

Response Paper Guidelines: During the course you are to pick two weeks that interest you and write a 4 page (double spaced) response paper for the week chosen. The response paper may focus on that week's readings alone or focus on that week's readings in conjunction with the previous weeks. These papers are **due at the beginning of class for the week's chosen.**

Movie (Or Book) Review: You are to pick a movie off of the list found at the bottom of this syllabus, watch it, and write a three-page response paper for the day of class you feel it is the best fit. How did the movie chosen reflect the themes of this course?

Review Essay:

No later than October 1st, you will need to come and see me in office hours or after class to discuss your review essay topic.

Each student will be expected to write a review essay on the topic (10 pages, double-spaced). Your essay should

- * indicate the puzzle, problem, or debate that the authors address. **You should read the required reading and some of the supplemental reading for your topic.** If you have a particular interest relevant to the topic that is not reflected on the syllabus, I am open to suggestions for alternatives.
- * identify what you see as the strengths and weaknesses of the authors' arguments (contributions as well as the shortcomings in the work)
- * suggest one or more contemporary empirical problems or policy debates to which the authors' work is relevant and its usefulness.

In sum, you should demonstrate your understanding of the contributions of various works to the study of war, state, and society as well as how they relate to each other and our understanding of the current political events. What are the implications of one work (or school of thought) on the argument(s), assumptions, and/or findings of other works in the field? Breadth of knowledge also includes a solid understanding of the chronology of scholarly development. In what ways does subsequent research build on or problematize the works that preceded it? You should also consider your main criticisms of each work, and any vital questions left unanswered.

****Papers Turned in AFTER Friday, December 16th at 5:00pm will be marked half a grade off. For every 24 hours thereafter papers turned in late will be marked half a grade off. Final Papers will not be accepted after Sunday, December 18th at 5:00pm at 5:00pm.**

The Rise Mass Armies

Week 1 – September 7: Course Introduction

Week 2 – September 14: What is War? What is Peace? And Military Basics (Note: These readings will serve as the basis of the course, well will refer back to them often so read them well!)

- Clausewitz, C. v., M. E. Howard, et al., Eds. (1976). On War. Princeton, Princeton University Press, Book 1, Chapters 1 and 2; Book 2, Chapters 1, 2 and 17; **PP 75-99, 127-147, 220**,
- Keegan, J. (1993). A History of Warfare. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, **PP 3-24**
- Army Field Manual ADP 3-90 Offense and Defense – http://www.benning.army.mil/mssp/PDF/adp3_90.pdf
- Kaplan, Robert (2004) “Why War is Good” – Stratfor Article

Week 3 – September 21: War and Statebuilding: The Rise of Mass Armies and The Creation of the European State System

- Howard, M. (2009). War in European History. New York, NY, Oxford University Press, **PP 1-115**

Week 4 – September 28: War and Statebuilding II: Logistics and Financing War

- Van Creveld, M. (1977). Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton. Cambridge, UK., Cambridge University Press, **PP 1-61, 70-103, 109-113, 142-154**
- Downing, B. M. (1992). The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, **PP 56-83**
- Hamilton, A. (1787). Federalist No. 30: Concerning the General Power of Taxation. The Federalist Papers. New York.
- Hamilton, A. (1904). First Report on the Public Credit (*Communicated to the House of Representatives, January 14, 1790*). The Works of Alexander Hamilton. H. C. Lodge. New York, The Knickerbocker Press. II.

Wars of Mechanization and Total Mobilization

Week 5 – October 5: The Rise of Civil Military Relations

- Huntington, Samuel P. (1957). Soldier and The State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations, **PP 11-26, 30-36, 54-58, 62-70, 80-94, 143-162**
- Desch, Michael C. (1999). Civilian Control of the Military: the Changing Security Environment, **PP 1-19, 97-113**
- Jaskoski, Maiah (2013). Military Politics and Democracy in the Andes, **PP 1-3, 23-57**

Week 6 – October 12: CLASS CANCELED

Week 7 – October 19: Military Effectiveness, Total War, and the Modern System: World War I and II

- Allan Millett and Williamson Murray, eds., *Military Effectiveness* (Allen & Unwin, 1988), Vol I: Chapter 1, **PP 1-27**
- Captain Jonathan M. House, *Toward Combined Arms Warfare: A Survey of Twentieth Century Tactics, Doctrine, and Organization* (Ft. Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Combat Studies Institute, 1984), **PP 1-42**
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton University Press, 2004), Chapters. 3-5, **PP 28-107**
- *Optional*: Keegan, J. (1976). The Face of Battle, “The Somme, 1 July 1916”. New York, Penguin Books, **PP 207-289**
- *Optional*: Captain Jonathan M. House, *Toward Combined Arms Warfare: A Survey of Twentieth Century Tactics, Doctrine, and Organization* (Ft. Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Combat Studies Institute, 1984), **PP 79-140**

The Decline in Conventional Warfare: Limited, Nuclear, and Irregular Wars

Week 8 – October 26: The Rise of Limited War and the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons

- Captain Jonathan M. House, *Toward Combined Arms Warfare: A Survey of Twentieth Century Tactics, Doctrine, and Organization* (Ft. Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Combat Studies Institute, 1984), **PP 141-154**
- Osgood, R. E. (1957). Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, **PP 1-45, 123-140**
- Sparrow, B. H. (2002). Limited Wars and the Attenuation of the State: Soldiers, Money, and Political Communication in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. Shaped by War and Trade. I. Katznelson and M. Shefter. Princeton, Princeton University Press, **PP 267-292**

Week 9 – November 2: Readiness and the Defense Budget

- Betts, Richard, *Military Readiness: Concepts, Choices, Consequences* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1995), **PP 3-84**
- Sapolsky, H., Gholz, E. and C. Talmadge, *US Defense Politics: The Origins of Security Policy, 2nd Edition*. (New York: Routledge, 2014), **Chapter 7**

Week 10 – November 16: Insurgency and Asymmetrical War I

- T. E. Lawrence, “Science of Guerrilla Warfare,” *Encyclopedia Britannica: Fourteenth Edition* (Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1929), vol. 10: *Game to Gun-Metal*, **PP 950-953**
- Schmitt, Carl, *Theory of the Partisan*

- *Optional:* O'Brian, Tim, The Things they Carried, "On the Rainy River," "How to Tell a True War Story," "Sweetheart of the Song Tra Bong," "The Man I Killed," "Speaking of Courage," and "The Ghost Soldiers" (Along this vein, I also highly recommend the movie *Full Metal Jacket*)
- *Optional:* David Galula, *Counter Insurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*
- We will watch this in class:
http://www.ted.com/talks/malcolm_gladwell_the_unheard_story_of_david_and_goliath?language=en

Week 11: THANKSGIVING

Future Wars

Week 12 – November 30: The Revolution in Military Affairs and Drones (and Lasers?) and AUMF

- Cohen, Eliot A. "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 2 (March/April 1996), **PP 37-54**
- Krepinevich, Andrew. "Get Ready for the Democratization of Destruction," *Foreign Policy*, no. 188 (2011), **PP 1-4**
- Singer, Peter W. "Statement of Peter Warren Singer." Paper presented at the Hearing on Rise of the Drones: Unmanned Systems and the Future of War, "Rise of the Drones: Unmanned Systems and the Future of War", The United States House of Representatives, Committee on Oversight And Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, March 23 2010.
- Sluka, Jeffrey A. "Death from Above: UAVs and Losing Hearts and Minds," *Military Review*, vol. 91, no. 3 (May-June 2011), **PP 70-76**
- "US Navy Lasers Offer a Glimpse of the Future." Stratfor Analysis.
- Read brief article and watch laser video - <http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2014/11/04/361362382/china-says-its-developed-a-laser-to-bring-down-drones>
- Watch (to be treated as a reading assignment)
http://www.ted.com/talks/pw_singer_on_robots_of_war?language=en
- We will listen to this in class: <http://www.radiolab.org/story/60-words/>

Week 13 – December 7: Cyber Warfare

- Clarke, Richard. "War from Cyberspace," *The National Interest*, no. 104 (November/December 2009), PP 31-36.
- Farwell, James & Rohozinski, Rafal, "Stuxnet and the Future of Cyberwarfare," *Survival*
- CRS Report 2010 – The Stuxnet Computer Worm
- Listen to (to be treated as a reading assignment):
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=126097038>

Movie List

Most war movies are superficial action fantasies, wartime propaganda, or pacifist tracts, and they reflect typical Hollywood vices of melodrama, sensationalism, jingoism, romanticization of combat, and either antiseptic unrealism about carnage or grotesque surrealism. In short, there are few war movies that qualify as artistic or instructive masterpieces. Among those with typical Hollywood limitations, however, are many that effectively illustrate important aspects of military sociology, moral dilemmas encountered in combat or preparing for combat, leadership, tactics, and other subjects.

Experience has indicated that many people born since 1970 are resistant to older movies, especially ones filmed in black and white, or treatments that reflect mid-20th century sensibilities, or ones made before the era of lavish special effects and astronomical budgets for filmmaking. Those who can get over the generational difference and the Hollywood limitations are encouraged to see and think about some of the older films.

The list below is in rough chronological order of the wars or events that are the subjects of the films. Asterisked items are significantly better (or at least more historically notable for sociological reasons) than the norm.

Breaker Morant. 1979. Directed by Bruce Beresford. Adapted from the play by Kenneth G. Ross. 1 hour, 47 minutes. An Australian atrocity and prosecution in the Boer War. Is murder in a combat environment murder? Is military justice justice?

* ***All Quiet on the Western Front.*** 1930. Directed by Lewis Milestone. Adapted by Maxwell Anderson, screenplay by George Abbott, from the novel by Erich Maria Remarque. *The classic anti-war novel and film of the interwar period.*

* ***Grand Illusion.*** 1938. Directed by Jean Renoir. 1 hour, 15 minutes. Caste, class, identity, loyalty, and mass society -- the confrontation of nationalism and total war with transnational aristocratic sensibilities in a World War I prison camp. (Pay attention to the scene where Pierre Fresnay asks Erich von Stroheim, "How did we get to this?" and von Stroheim intones, "*C'est la révolution française.*")

* ***Paths of Glory*** 1959. Directed by Stanley Kubrick,. Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick, Calder Willingham, and Jim Thompson, from the novel by Humphrey Cobb. 1 hour, 27 minutes. The vast distance between high command and battlefield, and the contrasts between collective and individual interests, and mission and justice.

Tora! Tora! Tora! 1970. Directed by Richard Fleischer. Screenplays by Larry Forrester (American sequence) and Hideo Oguni and Ryuzo Kikushima (Japanese sequence). 2 hours, 25 minutes. Docu-drama of planning and execution of the Pearl Harbor attack, and the failure of U.S. intelligence to detect and warn in time.

They Were Expendable. 1945. Directed by John Ford. Screenplay by Frank Wead, based on the book by William L. White (which was the true story of the experiences portrayed). 2 hours, 15 minutes. The story of the PT boats sacrificed in the doomed defense of the Philippines in 1941-42.

Destination Tokyo. 1944. Directed by Delmer Daves. Screenplay by Delmer Daves and Albert Maltz, from a story by Steve Fisher. 2 hours, 16 minutes. A U.S. submarine on a secret mission to the Japanese coast. (Incorporates a true story about an emergency appendectomy performed deep underwater by a pharmacist's mate.)

Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo. 1944. Directed by Mervyn LeRoy. Screenplay by Dalton Trumbo, from the memoir by Captain Ted Lawson. 2 hours, 19 minutes. True story of the 1942 Doolittle Raid, and one crew's escape through China.

Wing and a Prayer. 1944. Directed by Henry Hathaway. Screenplay by Jerome Cady. 1 hour, 38 minutes. An American aircraft carrier up to and during the Battle of Midway. Substantial actual combat footage included.

Guadalcanal Diary. 1943. Directed by Lewis Seiler. Screenplay by Lamar Trotti, adaptation by Jerry Cady, from the book by Richard Tregaskis. 1 hour, 33 minutes. Journalist's account of the U.S. Marines in the first battle of the island hopping campaign.

Das Boot [The Boat]. 1982. Written and directed by Wolfgang Petersen, from the novel by Lothar-Gunther Buchheim. 3 hours, 29 minutes ("the director's cut," with restored footage). Life and death on a German submarine in World War II.

Objective Burma. 1945. Directed by Raoul Walsh. Screenplay by Randal MacDougall and Lester Cole, from a story by Alvah Bessie. 2 hours, 22 minutes. A grim modern version of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, with a U.S. airborne special operation unit stranded behind Japanese lines.

A Walk in the Sun. 1946. Directed by Lewis Milestone. Screenplay by Robert Rossen, based on the novel by Harry Brown. 1 hour, 52 minutes. Infantrymen of a platoon cut off from the rest of their company, their officer and senior NCO killed in the Salerno landing, adapt to friction and figure out how to execute their assigned mission under pressure of combat.

13 Rue Madeleine. 1947. Directed by Henry Hathaway. Screenplay by John Monks, Jr. and Sy Bartlett. 1 hour, 35 minutes. An OSS mission into occupied France.

* ***The Longest Day.*** 1964. Directed by Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton, and Bernhard Wicki (for British, American, and German scenes respectively). Screenplay by Cornelius Ryan, based on his book. 3 hours. The story of D-Day, from several perspectives.

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

Battleground. 1949. Directed by William Wellman. Screenplay by Robert Pirosh. 1 hour, 58 minutes. The 101st Airborne in the Battle of Bastogne.

* ***A Bridge Too Far***. 1977. Directed by Richard Attenborough. Screenplay by William Goldman, from the book by Cornelius Ryan. 2 hours, 58 minutes. Operation MARKET GARDEN, the airborne assault on Arnhem designed to end the war in Europe by the end of 1944.

Attack. 1956. Directed by Robert Aldrich. Screenplay by James Poe from play by Norman Brooks. 1 hour, 47 minutes. National Guard politics, cowardice, and indecision get men killed in the crossing of the Siegfried Line.

* ***Open City***. 1945. Directed by Roberto Rossellini. Screenplay by Sergio Amidei, Federico Fellini, and Rossellini. Vignettes of the end of the war in Italy, focusing on trials of the civilian population. Filmed in Rome just after liberation, winner of the best picture award at Cannes in 1946.

Die Brücke [The Bridge]. 1954. Directed by Bernhard Wicki. Schoolboys conscripted into the *Volksturm* to defend a bridge in the last hours of the war in Europe.

* ***The Best Years of Our Lives***. 1946. Directed by William Wyler. Screenplay by Robert E. Sherwood. 2 hours, 50 minutes. Academy Award winner, best picture, about trials of returning veterans.

The Bridges at Toko-Ri. 1954. Directed by Mark Robson. Screenplay by Valentine Davies, from the novel by James A. Michener. How the burdens of war (the air war in Korea) are not fairly distributed among the population. Michener produced the novel after his non-fiction *Saturday Evening Post* story of his experience aboard a carrier, which was also turned into a true-story movie, *Men of the Fighting Lady*, around the same time as the fictionalized *Bridges at Toko-Ri*.

Pork Chop Hill. 1959. Directed by Lewis Milestone. Screenplay by James R. Webb, from the book by S.L.A. Marshall. True story of near-hopeless U.S. infantry attack on a Chinese position, mandated by negotiating strategy at Panmunjon at the tail-end of the Korean War. The vast distance between strategy and tactics.

A Gathering of Eagles 1963. Directed by Delbert Mann. Screenplay by Robert Pirosh. 1 hour, 56 minutes. Before watching, get over the fact that this has more standard Hollywood saccharine aspects than the other films mentioned here. In its glitzy way it presents social and organizational issues in elite unit command, personnel management, and operational combat

readiness, and provides insight into the most important U.S. military organization of the Cold War era: SAC. The film is a nuclear-age echo of *Twelve O'Clock High*.

Thirteen Days. 2000. Directed by Roger Donaldson. Screenplay by David Self. 2 hours, 27 minutes. Highly fictionalized version of decision-making in the Cuban missile crisis. The title is from Robert Kennedy's memoir, but the film portrays several dramatic events that never occurred, and makes someone who was barely involved (Kenneth O'Donnell) a central character. Nevertheless, it conveys reasonably the flavor of policymakers' concerns and civil-military tension during the crisis.

Platoon. 1986. Written and directed by Oliver Stone. 1 hour, 59 minutes. Cinematic *Bildungsroman* of Vietnam combat, made before Stone went over the edge with his nutty *JFK*. The best line is the first-person narrator's voice-over at the beginning of the film: "I think I made a big mistake in coming here."

* ***Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb***. 1963. Directed by Stanley Kubrick. Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick, Peter George, and Terry Southern, based on the novel *Red Alert* by Peter George. 1 hour, 31 minutes. Black comedy of accidental apocalypse. Is Peter Sellers' Strangelove Kissinger or Kahn?

* ***Fail Safe***. 1964. Directed by Sidney Lumet. Screenplay by Eugene Burdick and Harvey Wheeler. The non-comedy counterpart to *Dr. Strangelove*. Is the President's decision at the end plausible? If not, what should he have done? Is the Walter Matthau character Kissinger, Kahn, Wohlstetter, or Schelling? Does the scenario seem implausible after the Cold War? If so, see *Crimson Tide*.

* ***Crimson Tide***. 1995. Directed by Tony Scott. Screenplay by Michael Schiffer. 1 hour, 56 minutes. Fictional presentation of dilemmas in nuclear strategy. Should a U.S. submarine commander follow orders to launch a nuclear attack on Russian missile silos when communications break down and it is impossible to know whether the order might have been revoked, but when failure to fire might allow the Russian missiles to be launched against the USA? Should the commander's subordinates mutiny if they believe he is about to start an avoidable nuclear war? (Watch for the scene early in the film when Denzel Washington paraphrases Clausewitz to cigar-chomping Gene Hackman: "The purpose of war is to serve policy, but the nature of war is to serve itself.")

* ***No Man's Land***. 2002. Written and directed by Danis Tanovic. 1 hour, 37 minutes. Personal confrontation between Bosniac and Serb in a pocket of the battlefield; allegory for the Bosnia War --- and UN peacekeeping --- writ large.