

War, State, and Society in the Modern Era

This seminar examines three primary questions regarding warfare: How has war changed? How has the changing nature of war effect the relationship between state and society? 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 or non-state actors) 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.

Hub Learning Outcomes:

- **Historical Consciousness**: Students will explore how war has changed over two centuries including various forms of armed forces and how they fight (ranging from knights to Artificial Intelligence), and how the state and society has adapted to confront the changing demands of war. This class presents a combination of source material ranging from texts of military planners of the era, policy makers advocating for a particular position, army manuals, films, and literature. By drawing on analytical tools from historical, literary, and film studies, students will learn to analyze an array of sources in conjunction with each other.

Readings:

Required Books: Sir 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 (20%)**
- 2. Response Paper II (20%)**
- 3. Participation (30%)**
- 4. Op-Ed Final (30%)**
- 5. Extra Credit Movie Response Paper (up to 5% added to op-ed assignment grade)**

(NOTE: There is no final exam for this course)

Response Paper Guidelines: During the course you are to choose two weeks that interest you and write a 3-4 page 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. The response paper is **due at the beginning of class for the week chosen.**

Movie Review: You are to pick a movie off of this list, watch it, and write a 2-3 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?

Op-Ed: Guidelines for the Op-Ed Assignment: You are to craft a **short but well researched** opinion piece on any topic of their choice relevant to how warfare is conducted today. Students can examine a contemporary case, a policy debate, or any other issue relevant to the course.

The length of the op-ed must be between **1,500 and 2,000 words**. Hence, the ability to express complex ideas within the confines of brevity is key. It will require clear thinking, conspicuous writing, and the use of appropriate language. The op-ed must have at least one key argument (no more than two arguments for brevity's sake), and preferably (but not necessarily) a call to action.

The op-ed assignment will have to be backed up with studies in political science and/or history relevant to the course. In other words, while you do not need a literature review as you might in a term paper, you do need to **extensively reference academic studies** in relation to the topic you are writing an op-ed on.

If you would like to run an idea for the op-ed assignment by me, please get in touch with me with a one-page document with the following items:

- Your argument in 2-3 sentences addressing the 'what' and 'why'
- The academic studies which you will refer to
- Course relevance

Resources:

If you want to follow closely the styles of academics and analysts who frequently publish op-eds, you may want to take a look at the pieces published in the Monkey Cage blog (political scientists) and Made By History (historians), both hosted by the *Washington Post*:

www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/ and www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/

Harvard Kennedy School, Shorenstein Center (this has further resources):

https://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/HO_NEW_HOW-TO-WRITE-AN-OPED-OR-COLUMN.pdf

The Op-Ed Project:

<https://www.theopedproject.org>

Examples of defense and military oriented op-eds can be found at War on the Rocks Commentary Section (<https://warontherocks.com/category/commentary/>) and Defense One Ideas Section (<https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/?oref=d-nav>).

The Rise Mass Armies

Week 1 September 4 – Course Introduction

Week 2 September 11 – What is War? And Military Basics

- 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**
- Keegan, J. (1976). The Face of Battle, “Chapter 1”. New York, Penguin Books, **PP 13-34**

Week 3 September 18 – 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 25 – The Profession of Warfare and Professional Military Education (PME)

- 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**
- Today - What do Good Military Leader’s Need to Know?
 - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/are-you-enough-our-speech-to-the-pme-class-of-2019/>
- PME Today and What it Should be for Tomorrow?
 - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/07/to-produce-strategists-focus-on-staffing-senior-leaders/>
 - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/07/approaching-a-fork-in-the-road-professional-education-and-military-learning/>
 - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/what-military-education-forgets-strategy-is-performance/>

Wars of Mechanization and Total Mobilization

Week 5 October 2 – Military Effectiveness, Total War, and the Modern System: World War I and II – What did war look like? Technological changes and the battlefield . . .

- 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** <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/combat-studies-institute/csi-books/house.pdf>

- Keegan, J. (1976). The Face of Battle, “The Somme, 1 July 1916”. New York, Penguin Books, **PP 207-289**

Week 6 October 9 – Military Effectiveness, Total War, and the Modern System: World War I and II Cont. – What made some more belligerents more effective than others on the battlefield?

- Allan Millett and Williamson Murray, eds., *Military Effectiveness* (Allen & Unwin, 1988), Vol I: Chapter 1, **PP 1-27**
- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton University Press, 2004), Chapters. 3-4, **PP 28-77**

Week 7 October 16 – Military Effectiveness, Total War, and the Modern System: World War I and II Cont. – What did war feel like? Officers, enlisted, and effectiveness at the unit level?

- Band of Brothers – Watch Episode 1 as your assignment prior to coming to class.
- Band of Brothers: We will watch Episodes 2 and 3 in class

Week 8 October 23 – Class Canceled

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

Week 9 October 30 – The Rise of Limited War and the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons

- 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**
- Aaron L. Friedberg (1992). Why Didn't the United States become a Garrison State? *International Security* Vol. 16. No 4, **PP 109-142**

Week 10 November 6 – 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*
- We will watch this in class:
http://www.ted.com/talks/malcolm_gladwell_the_unheard_story_of_david_and_goliath?language=en

Week 11 November 13 – Insurgency and Asymmetrical War II

- Galula, David, *Counter Insurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* **PP. TBA**
- O'Brian, Tim, The Things they Carried, **PP. TBA**
- Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2015/12/myth-busting-french-counterinsurgency/>
- Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/02/coming-to-terms-with-americas-undeniable-failure-in-afghanistan/>
- Movie: We will watch Restrepo - <http://restreptomovie.com/story/> in class

Future Wars

Week 12 November 20 – Privatization and War

- Singer, Peter. 2001. Corporate Warriors: The Rise of Privatized Military Industry for International Security. *International Security* 26(3): **PP. 186-220.**
- Deborah Avant and Lee Sigelman. 2010. "Private Security and Democracy: Lessons from the US in Iraq." *Security Studies* 19(2): **PP. 230-265.**
- Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/02/australia-learns-the-risks-of-contracting-with-private-security-companies/>
- Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2016/04/well-behaved-defense-contractors-seldom-make-history/>

Week 13 November 27 – THANKSGIVING

Week 14 December 4 – Cyber and Weaponization of Social Media

- Farwell, James & Rohozinski, Rafal, 2011. "Stuxnet and the Future of Cyberwarfare," *Survival*. **PP 23-40.**
- Kostyuk, Nadiya, and Zhukov, Yuri M. 2019. "Invisible Digital Front: Can Cyber Attacks Shape Battlefield Events?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(2) **PP. 317-347.**
- Singer, P.W. and Emerson T. Brooking. 2018. *Like War: The Weaponization of Social Media*, **PP. TBA**
- Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/beyond-the-cyber-leviathan-white-hats-and-u-s-cyber-defense/>

Week 15 December 11 – Artificial Intelligence

- Horwitz, Michael. 2018. Artificial Intelligence International Competition, and Balance of Power - <https://tnsr.org/2018/05/artificial-intelligence-international-competition-and-the-balance-of-power/>

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.