

Course Time: Wednesday 2:30-5:15  
Course Location: TBA  
Office Hours: By Appointment via Zoom

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## **War, State, and Society in the Modern Era**

This seminar examines three primary questions: What is war? How has war changed? What is the relationship between war, and other institutions, namely state formation, democracy, and social relations? This course, emphasizes warfare in the west, focusing on Europe and the United States, specifically how states fight wars (versus 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 20<sup>th</sup> century, to understand how war has evolved, this course begins with wars of the middle ages.

### **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, 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)

The rest of the readings can be accessed through Blackboard, the BU Library, or via the websites provided on the syllabus.

### **Zoom Link and Password: On Blackboard**

### **Course Meeting Location: On Blackboard**

### **Course Requirements and Grades:**

#### **1. Weekly response papers (For weeks 2-12 only) (50%)**

**Response Paper Guidelines:** During the course you write weekly response papers. The response paper may focus on that week's readings alone or focus on that week's readings in conjunction with the previous weeks. Response papers are to be 1-2 pages single spaced and due to Professor Cappella Zielinski via Blackboard the Monday before each class at 5 pm. Suggested response paper prompts are on the syllabus. Each response paper will be graded as pass/fail.

**2. Participation (20%)**

**3. Op-Ed Final (30%)**

**\*Op-ed (complete) rough draft due to Professor Cappella Zielinski via Blackboard by Wednesday November 25<sup>th</sup> by 5pm EST.**

**\*Op-ed final draft to Professor Cappella Zielinski via Blackboard by Monday December 14<sup>th</sup> by 5pm EST**

**Op-Ed Guidelines:** You are to craft a **short but well researched** opinion piece on any topic of your 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**. (published op-eds are typically fewer than 800 words). Hence, the ability to express complex ideas within the confines of brevity is key. It will require clear thinking, concise 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 or policy solution.

The op-ed assignment will have to be supported 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.

In weeks 12 and 13 we will be reading everyone's op-ed and collectively discussing them, including providing peer feedback.

If you would like to run an idea for the op-ed assignment by Professor Cappella Zielinski, please send her 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

**4. Movie Extra Credit (5% added to your Op-Ed Final Grade)**

In weeks 8-10 you are welcome to pick a suggested movie from the syllabus and write a 1-2 pages single spaced response paper. Your movie response paper should address how the movie chosen reflects the theme of that week. **Due to Professor Cappella Zielinski via Blackboard any time prior to the last day of class (Wednesday, December 9<sup>th</sup>)**

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

Op-Ed 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/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/) and [www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/). Also see the 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](https://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/HO_NEW_HOW-TO-WRITE-AN-OPED-OR-COLUMN.pdf) and 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>).

Additionally, there are multiple op-eds on the syllabus in Part II of the course.

### **Part I: War and Statemaking**

#### **Week 1 September 2 – What is War?**

- 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. \*On Blackboard
- Keegan, J. (1993). *A History of Warfare*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, **PP 3-12**
- Crawford, N.C. (2020). *To Make Heaven Weep*, “Preface”. \*On Blackboard
- **Questions to guide your reading: How does each author define warfare? What is war? What are the bounds of war? What are the implications for how states wage war given each author’s conception of warfare?**

#### **Week 2 September 9 – Wars Make States? Europe**

- Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990 to 1992*, Chapter 3, “How War Made States, and Vice Versa.” \*On Blackboard.
- Howard, M. (2009). *War in European History*. New York, NY, Oxford University Press, **PP 1-115**
- **Response Paper Prompts: What does “war makes states” mean? Under what conditions does warfare increase state capacity? How has the way wars are fought changed state capacity?**

#### **Week 3 September 16 – Wars Make States? Early America and Indian Removal**

- Crawford, N.C. (2020). *To Make Heaven Weep*, “Introduction” and “Frontier War During the Civil War” \*On Blackboard
- Block Rubin, Ruth (2020). “State Preventative Medicine: Public Health, Indian Removal, and the Growth of State Capacity, 1800-1840” *Studies in American Political Development* 34: 24-43. \*BU Library

- **Response Paper Prompts: What is the legacy of the “Indian/Frontier Wars”? The study of war is often confined to the battlefield, how are civilians used in war? How did the Frontier War and Indian removal affect US state capacity?**

#### **Week 4 September 23 – Wars Make States? Early America Continued**

- Katznelson, I. (2002). “Flexible Capacity: The Military and Early American Statebuilding.” Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development. I. Katznelson and M. Shefter. Princeton, Princeton University Press, PP 82-111. \*On Blackboard

Recommended: Bensel, R. F. (1990). Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877. New York, Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3, PP 94-182

- **Response Paper Prompts: How early American war making shape federal state capacity?**

#### **Week 5 September 30 – Wars Make States? Asia and Africa**

- Kang, David C. (2010) *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*, Chapter 1 “The Puzzle: War and Peace in East Asian History” and Chapter 5 “War: The Longer Peace) \*On Blackboard
- Herbst, Jeffrey (1990) “War and the State in Africa.” *International Security* 14(4): 117-139.

- **Response Paper Prompts: Does the Tilly “wars make states” argument hold beyond the Western European and American experience? Why or why not?**

#### **Week 6 October 7 – Garrison States?**

- Harold Lasswell, “The Garrison State,” *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 46, no. 4, (January 1941) pp. 455-468.
- Aaron Friedberg, “Why Didn’t the United States Become a Garrison State?” *International Security*, vol. 16 (April 1992) pp. 109-142.
- Recommended: Harold Lasswell, “Does the Garrison State Threaten Civil Liberties,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 275, no. 1 (May 1951) pp. 111 -116.
- **Response Paper Prompts: Optional Response Paper Prompts: What is a Garrison State? How does Lasswell’s conception of a Garrison State differ from Friedberg’s? Why is Lasswell concerned about a Garrison State?**

## **Part II: War and Society in the Contemporary Era**

### **Week 7 October 14 – Characteristics of Military Profession**

- 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.
- Jeffrey Wilson, “An Ethics Curriculum for an Evolving Army” in Paul Robinson, Nigel De Lee and Don Carrick, eds., *Ethics Education in the Military* (2008) pp. 31-41. \*BU Library
- Peter Olsthoorn, “The Ethics Curriculum at the Netherlands Defence Academy, and Some Problems with its Theoretical Underpinnings, in Paul Robinson, Nigel De Lee and Don Carrick, eds., *Ethics Education in the Military* (2008) pp. 119-131. \*BU Library
- George R. Lucas, Jr., “Forward: ‘This is Not Your Father’s War,’” in Don Carric, James Connelly and Paul Robinson, eds. *Ethics Education for Irregular Warfare* (Burlington: Ashghate, 2009) pp. ix-xviii. \*BU Library
- H.R. McMaster, “Preserving Soldier’s Moral Character in Counter-insurgency Operations,” in in Don Carric, James Connelly and Paul Robinson, eds. *Ethics Education for Irregular Warfare*, pp. 15-26. \*BU Library
- Recommended Examples of Op-eds: 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/>
  - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2020/05/finally-getting-serious-about-professional-military-education/>
  - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/are-you-enough-our-speech-to-the-pme-class-of-2019/>
  - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/11/rethinking-enlisted-education-expanding-the-professional-military-education-debate/>
- **Response Paper Prompts: What are the characteristics of Professional Military Education (PME) and military training? Why is PME important? What should PME teach officers?**

### **Week 8 October 21 – Civil-Military Relations in Democracies**

- Feaver, Peter D. 2003. *Armed Servants*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: pp. 1-14. \*On Blackboard
- Brooks, Risa (2020). “Paradoxes of Professionalism: Civil-Military Relations in the United States.” *International Security* 44(4): 7-44. \*BU Library

- Listen to *Thank You For Your Service* Podcast Episodes: “Under Control” 23 July 2020 and “War by Other Means” 7 August 2020 - <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/thank-you-your-service>
- Concerns and the Future of Civil-Military Relations in the United States?
  - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2020/06/beyond-the-beltway-whats-the-civil-military-crisis/>
  - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/11/technology-and-future-war-will-test-u-s-civil-military-relations/>
  - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2020/06/military-prestige-during-a-political-crisis-use-it-and-youll-lose-it/>
- **Optional Response Paper Prompts: What is civil-military relations? Why is civilian control of the military considered important? Why do some consider “civil-military relations” in the United States today in danger?**

#### Week 9 October 28 – Race, Gender, and the United States Military

- Listen to *Horns of a Dilemma* Podcast, “Race and National Security,” - <https://warontherocks.com/2020/07/race-and-national-security/>
- CFR Demographics of the US Military - <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/demographics-us-military>
- CRS Report (2019), “Diversity, Inclusion, and Equal Opportunity in the Armed Services: Background and Issues for Congress.” - <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R44321.pdf>
- Lyall, Jason (2020), “The Strongest Military is an Inclusive One: Why Equality Wins Wars.” *Foreign Affairs*. \*On Blackboard
- Hunter, Kyleanne (2020) “Beyond ‘Add Women and Stir’: Variation in Women’s Integration into Western Militaries.” \*On Blackboard
- Racism in the US Military
  - Op-Ed: <https://warontherocks.com/2020/06/reflections-on-the-curse-of-racism-in-the-u-s-military/>
- **Optional Response Paper Prompts: How has racism in the United States shaped the military? How does the US Department of Defense manage diversity? Why is diversity important? Why is there little diversity at the highest levels of leadership?**
- **Movie Extra Credit:** *Glory*; *Men of Honor*; *The Tuskegee Airman*; *Meghan Leavey*; *Zero Dark Thirty*; *The Invisible War*; *Lioness*; *In their Own Words: Tuskegee Airman*.

#### Week 10 November 4 – White Power Movement and Paramilitary America and Police Militarization

- Belew, Kathleen (2018) *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*, Chapters: Introduction, Chapters 1-2, 4-6. \*On Blackboard
- Listen to <https://www.npr.org/2018/04/25/605661710/how-americas-white-power-movement-coalesced-after-the-vietnam-war>

- Listen to <https://www.npr.org/2020/07/01/885942130/militarization-of-police-means-u-s-protesters-face-weapons-designed-for-war>
- Police Militarization
  - Monkey Cage Blog Militarization of the Police (Also on Blackboard)
    - <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/05/28/explaining-militarized-police-response-protesters-after-killing-george-floyd/>
    - <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/20/where-do-police-departments-get-their-military-style-gear-heres-what-we-dont-know/>
    - <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/02/26/trump-administration-says-that-militarizing-police-reduces-crime-is-that-true/>
    - <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/30/does-military-equipment-lead-police-officers-to-be-more-violent-we-did-the-research/>
- **Optional Response Paper Prompts: How did the Vietnam War shape the White Power movement in the United States? What are the some of the consequences of ‘bringing war home’?**
- **Movie Extra Credit:** *Platoon*; *Apocalypse Now*; *Full Metal Jacket*; *The Deer Hunter*; *Born on the Fourth of July*; *The Best Years of Our Lives*; *Dead Presidents*.

#### **Week 11 November 11 – Casualties, Military Medicine and Veterans**

- Fazal, Tanisha (2014) “Dead Wrong? Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War’s Demise.” *International Security* 39(1): 95-125.
- Congressional Research Service, “American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics, Updated 29 July 2020.” <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RL/RL32492>.
- Mazzarino, Andrea, Marcia Inhorn and Catherine Lutz (2019) “Introduction” In *War and Health* by Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino.
- MacLeish, Ken (2019) “Imagining Military Suicide” In *War and Health* by Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino.
- Wool, Zoe H. (2019) “Afterwar Work for Life” In *War and Health* by Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino.
- Scandlyn, Jean and Sara Hautzinger (2019) “‘It’s Not Okay’: War’s Toll on Health Brought Home to Communities and Environments.” In *War and Health* by Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino.
- **Optional Response Paper Prompts: How has military medicine changed? What unique challenges do veteran’s face? How does ‘bringing the war home’ affect military families and communities?**
- **Movie Extra Credit:** *Restrepo*; *Johnny Got His Gun*; *Thank you for your Service*.

**Week 12 November 25 – THANKSGIVING Break**

**Week 13 December 2 – Op-Ed Roundtable Discussion I**

**\*\*No Response Paper for This Week**

**Week 14 December 9 – Op-Ed Roundtable Discussion II**

**\*\*No Response Paper for This Week**