



EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

War and Politics in a Global Age

October-December 2009
Tuesday 8h45-10h45- Room 2

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Seminar Description:

The seminar, intended both for complete novices in security/military affairs and for doctoral researchers with some knowledge in the field, examines the changing character of war these last twenty years. Since the end of the Cold War, wars have not disappeared but they are not exactly what they used to be. Their number, aims, character, conduct, scope and consequences have partially changed in a variety of ways and partially remained constant. What did or did not change and why?

We will examine and assess critically the main alternative explanations for change/continuity in warfare and explore new hypotheses, emphasizing notably the links between the transformations of (domestic, transnational, international) politics – especially citizens' political participation -- and the transformations/continuity of war and warfare. We will further discuss these approaches by looking at the logics and characteristics of specific armed conflicts.

Learning Objectives:

By the end of the seminar, you should be able to:

- Get a better sense of the characteristics of wars and warfare since 1989 in a comparative historical and regional perspective.
- Understand and critique different conceptions of the changing character of war.
- Identify and assess the different links between domestic politics and the changing character of war as well as their evolution over time.
- In addition, this seminar gives you an opportunity to hone your writing and oral skills.

Requirements:

This is a discussion seminar and I encourage class participation. Participants will present and discuss texts from the syllabus. If their research project is related to the seminar's themes, participants are welcome to present their own work.

- Seminar attendance: I expect regular attendance and will circulate a signing sheet at each seminar. I authorize one seriously justified absence (medical reason).

- Doctoral researchers are expected to do all the required reading -- on average: about 60 p./session -- for each session prior to class *and* to write a short summary, or a personal critique, of the session's readings (about 500 words). Note that the readings that should only be "skimmed" do not have to be included in the summary.
- An oral presentation of 10 minutes, followed by questions, and the leading of a seminar discussion. Make sure that the class has a detailed outline of your oral presentation as a handout. I will ask for the written note of the presentation.
- A seminar paper either on a topic – see below: oral presentation topics can be paper topics – or a book review (3000/3500 words, footnotes/endnotes included). **Paper due: January 12th.** Good examples of book reviews are: John Mearsheimer, "Critique of *Politics and Force Levels*", *Survival*, 24 (1), January-February 1982, 94-95; Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Realism and America's Rise: A Review Essay", *International Security*, 23 (2), Fall 1998, 157-182. More information on this assignment and suggestions will be distributed on the first day of class. Note: if you choose the book review, the book has to be single-authored (do not review and edited volume).

SEMINAR OUTLINE

1. The Changing Character of War, 1989-2009: Definitions and Questions
2. The "New Wars" Debate
3. Technology and the Changing Character of War
4. Clausewitz's Trinity: a Theory for Today's Wars?
5. Polity, Political Participation and War: A Clausewitzian Framework
6. Diminished Politics, Weak States and Changing Wars?
7. Trends in the Characteristics of War, 1989-2009
8. Wars in Africa
9. Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq
10. Conclusion

Recommended supplementary readings listed below are designed to provide background and additional information in preparing papers and oral presentations, or suggest further line of inquiry for those who desire it.

1. The Changing Character of War, 1989-2009: Definitions and Questions (Oct. 13)

What is war? Concept, operationalization, methods, comparisons. What is, and should be, the focus of the study of war (including what changes and does not change)? Disentangling the dimensions of war and warfare: number of wars, number of soldiers involved, incidence, ends, means, motivation, organization, weapons and equipment, strategy and tactics, geographical scope, causes, conduct, outcome, etc.

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*. (Edited and Translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, 75-89 (Book 1, Chapter 1).

Uppsala Conflict Data Program – “Frequently Asked Questions”
http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/links_faq/faq.htm
m Retrieved 17 Sept 2009, 3 p.

Michael Brzoska, “Collective violence beyond the standard definition of armed conflict,” in: *SIPRI Yearbook 2007. Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*. Oxford: SIPRI-Oxford University Press, 2007, 94-106.

Hew Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (1st ed. 1983). London: Routledge, 2006, 1-7.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

Christon I. Archer, John R. Ferris, Holger H. Herwig, Timothy H. E. Travers, *World History of Warfare*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution. War, Peace and the Global System*. London: Sage, 2007.

<http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/index.htm> Since the 1970s, the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) collects information on a large number of aspects of armed violence since 1946.

Azar Gat, *War in Human Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Colin S. Gray, *Another Bloody Century. Future Warfare* (1st ed. 2005). London: Phoenix, 2006.

Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

2. The “New Wars” Debate (Oct. 20)

What is new? What does “new” mean? State? Identity? Motives? Actors? Victims? The different versions of the “new war” argument.

Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War*. New York: The Free Press, 1991, ix-x, skim 33-49, 49-62.

Mary Kaldor, *New & Old Wars* (1st ed. 1999). London: Polity, 2006, vii-xi, 1-14, skim 150-177.

Herfried Münkler, *The New Wars* (1st ed. 2002). London: Polity, 2005, 1-4, 5-31, skim 32-50.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

Stathis N. Kalyvas, ““New” and “Old” Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?”
World Politics 54 (1) (Oct. 2001), 99-118.

Edward Newman, “The “New Wars” Debate: A Historical Perspective is Needed,” *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, N^o. 2, (2004), 173-189.

Martin Shaw, *The New Western Way of War*. London: Polity Press, 2005.

Andrew Latham, « Warfare Transformed: A Braudelian Perspective on the
« Revolution in Military Affairs » », *European Journal of
International Relations*, 8 (2) (2002), 231-266.

Gert de Nooy, ed., *The Clausewitzian Dictum and the Future of Western
Military Strategy*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1997.
Further discussion of van Creveld’s ideas.

3. Technology and the Changing Character of War (Oct 27)

Please note: at 19h we will watch we will watch Danis Tanovic’s award
winning movie “No Man’s Land” (2001).

After various skirmishes, two wounded soldiers, one Bosnian and one Serb,
confront each other in a trench in the no man's land between their lines. They
wait for dark, trading insults and even finding some common ground;
sometimes one has the gun, sometimes the other, sometimes both. Things get
complicated when another wounded Bosnian comes to, but cannot move
because a bouncing mine is beneath him. The two men cooperate to wave
white flags, their lines call the UN (whose high command tries not to help),
an English reporter shows up, a French sergeant shows courage, and the three
men in no man's land may or may not find a way to all get along. We will
discuss this movie during next week’s seminar.

The changing character of war is fundamentally shaped by changes in the
kinds of equipment warriors use. War is “(...) completely permeated by
technology and governed by it” (Van Creveld, 1). High tech/low tech.

Martin Van Creveld, *Technology and War, from 2000 B.C. to the Present*.
New York: The Free Press, skim 1-6, read 311-320.

Max Boot, *War Made New. Technology, Warfare, and the Course of History,
1500 to Today*. New York: Gotham Books, 2006, skim 307-317, read
352-384.

Nicholas Marsh, “Conflict Specific Capital: The Role of Weapons
Acquisition in Civil War,” *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 8,
N^o. 1 (February 2007), 54-72.

Stephen Biddle, *Military Power. Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004, ix-x, 1-5, 52-77. The argument for relative continuity.

Stephen Biddle, "Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare," *Foreign Affairs* 82 (2) (March/April 2003), skim 31-46.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power. Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A. D. 1000*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Clifford J. Rogers, ed., *The Military Revolution Debate. Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995.

Admiral Bill Owens, *Lifting the Fog of War* (1st ed. 2000). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

P. W. Singer, *Wired For War. The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2009.

Donald H. Rumsfeld, "Transforming the Military," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, N^o. 3 (May-June 2002), pp. 20-32.

Stephen D. Biddle, "Speed Kills? Reassessing the Role of Speed, Precision, and Situation Awareness in the Fall of Saddam," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 30 (1) (February 2007), 3-46.

Richard Andres, et. al., "Winning with Allies. The Strategic Values of the Afghan Model", *International Security*, 30 (3) (Winter 2005-06), 124-160.

Stephen D. Biddle, "Allies, Airpower, and Modern Warfare. The Afghan Model in Afghanistan and Iraq", *International Security*, 30 (3) (Winter 2005-06), 161-176.

J. Sisslin, F. S. Pearson, *Arms and Ethnic Conflict*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Bourne, M., *Arming Conflict: The Proliferation of Small Arms*. New York: Palgrave, 2007.

Boutwell, Klare, *Light Weapons and Civil Conflict: Controlling the Tools of Violence*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

4. Clausewitz's Trinity: a Theory for Today's Wars? (Nov 3)

Special session: guest speaker Dr. Colin Fleming, Max Weber Fellow

Christopher Bassford, 'Tip-Toe Through the Trinity, or The strange persistence of trinitarian warfare, www.Clausewitz.com/CWZHOME/TRINITY/TRINITY8.htm, (2007) Or Christopher Bassford, 'The Primacy of Policy and the 'Trinity' in Clausewitz's Mature Thought', in Hew Strachan & Andreas Herberg-Rothe (ed), *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) , 74-90

Echevarria, Antulio, J, *Clausewitz and Contemporary War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 61-83.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, transl by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), Chapter 1, book 1.

Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 49-62.

Christopher Bassford & Edward J, Villacres, 'Reclaiming The Clausewitzian Trinity', *Parameters* (Autumn, 1995), 9-20. (available in the 'readings' section of the Clausewitz website – www.Clausewitz.com)

Alan Beyerchen, D, 'Clausewitz, 'Nonlinearity and the Unpredictability of War'', *International Security*, 17: 3 (1992), 59-90.

Colin M. Fleming, 'Old or New Wars? Debating a Clausewitzian Future', *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol 32, No. 2 (April, 2009), 213-241.

Andreas Herberg-Rothe, *Clausewitz's Puzzle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 91-102.

Raymond Aron, *Penser la guerre, Clausewitz. I. L'âge européen, II. L'âge planétaire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1976.

Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State. The Man, his Theories, and his Times* (1st. ed. 1976). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Gian Enrico Rusconi, *Clausewitz, il prussiano. La politica della guerra nell'equilibrio europeo*. Torino: Biblioteca Einaudi-67, 1999.

Michael I. Handel, ed., *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy*. London: Frank Cass, 1986 (reprint 2004).

5. Polity, Political Participation and War: A Clausewitzian Framework (Nov 10)

Changes in politics – but which aspects of politics exactly? - shape warfare. Politics, polities, popular (de)mobilization and the character of war. Relevant mechanisms connecting changes in politics and warfare. Intensity/content of

the popular mobilization. Contrast with broader arguments about culture and warfare or war and society.

"As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizen, and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the State is not far from its fall. When it is necessary to march out to war, they pay troops and stay at home. When it is necessary to meet in council, they name deputies and stay at home. By reason of idleness and money, they end by having soldiers to enslave their country and representative to sell it."

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (1762). London: Everyman's Library, 1968, p. 77.

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*. (Edited and Translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, 577-594 (Book 8, chap. 1-3), 603-610 esp. 610-611 (Book 8, chap 6). Note the characteristics of Clausewitz's argument about politics, especially civic participation, and the changing character of war.

John A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic. Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-94*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984, xi-xii, 177-182, 278-285. Was Clausewitz right?

Gerhard Ritter, *Frederick the Great* (1st. ed. 1936). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, 129-148. Empirical illustration of Clausewitz's argument: contrast warfare in the Frederician and Napoleonic era. Note Ritter's argument on the ways in which political factors linked to political participation shape warfare.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

Peter Paret, *Understanding War. Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992, 167-177.

Hew Strachan, *Clausewitz's On War. A biography*. New York: Grove Press, 2007, 160-190.

Jean-Paul Bertaud, *The Army of the French Revolution: From Citizen Soldiers to Instrument of Power*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Comte de Guibert, *Stratégiques*. Paris: L'Herne-Classiques de la stratégie, 1977; Lucien Poirier, *Les voix de la stratégie. Généalogie de la stratégie militaire. Guibert, Jomini*. Paris: Fayard, 1985, 277-280, 285-302.

Hans Delbrück, *The Dawn of Modern Warfare. History of the Art of War. Volume IV* (1st. ed. 1920). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

Hoffman Nickerson, *The Armed Horde, 1793-1939. A Study of the Rise, Survival and Decline of the Mass Army* (1st ed. 1940). New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942.

Michael Howard, *War in European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Piero Del Negro, *Guerra ed eserciti da Macchiavelli a Napoleone*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 2001, 139-145. Excellent short historiographic presentation of the different intellectual traditions in the study of the history of warfare.

Thomas Hippler, *Citizens, soldiers and national armies: military service in France and Germany, 1789-1830*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Stanislav Andreski, *Military Organization and Society* (1st ed. 1954). London: Routledge, 1968.

Geoffrey Best, *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870* (1st ed. 1982). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.

Barry Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," *International Security*, 18 (2) (Fall 1993), 80-124.

6. Diminished Politics, Weak States and Changing Wars? (Nov 17)

Please note: at 19h we will watch Ken Burns and Lynn Novick's, "The War" – Episode Two "When Things Get Tough" (January 1943-December 1943) (2006). Americans mobilize for total war at home and overseas. Factories hum around the clock, while in North Africa and then Italy, inexperienced GIs learn how to fight. Meanwhile in the skies over Europe, thousands of American airmen gamble their lives against preposterous odds on daylight bombing missions.

Following Clausewitz's suggestion, if we want to understand changes in warfare these last 20 years, we should examine politics – especially citizens' political participation -- carefully. Civic participation and mobilization these last 20-30 years: characteristics and changes. Democracies and non-democracies. Implications for warfare? Is this the "democratic peace" argument?

Amitai Etzioni, *The Active Society. A Theory of Societal and Political Processes*. New York: The Free Press, 1968, 387-427. From active to inactive societies?

Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. Rothbaum Lecture Series. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003, 3-12, 246-253.

Ann Hironaka, *Neverending Wars: The International Community, Weak States, and the Perpetuation of Civil War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005, 69-80, 94-103.

Michael O'Hanlon, "What the DRC Most Needs – A Surge of its Own," *The RUSI Journal*, 153 (6) (2008), skim 50-54. The need for soldiers.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

James J. Sheehan, *Where Have the Soldiers Gone? The Transformation of Modern Europe*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008.

S. J. Pharr, Robert D. Putnam, eds., *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Colin Crouch, *Post-Democracy*. London: Polity, 2004.

Pierre Rosanvallon, *Counter-Democracy: Politics in An Age of Distrust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Pierre Rosanvallon, *La légitimité démocratique. Impartialité, réflexivité, proximité*. Paris : Seuil, 2008.

Guy Hermet, « Un régime à pluralisme limité? A propos de la gouvernance démocratique, » *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 54, N°. 1, 2004, 159-178.

John R. Hibbing, Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, *Stealth Democracy. American's Belief About How Government Should Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 129-159.

Philippe C. Schmitter, "The Changing Politics of Organised Interests," *West European Politics*, 31 (1) (2008), 195-210.

Michael Desch, « War and Strong States, Peace and Weak States? » *International Organization* 50 (2) (1996), 237-268.

Miguel Angel Centeno, "Limited War and Limited States," in: Diane E. Davis, Anthony W. Pereira, eds., *Irregular Armed Forces and their Role in Politics and State Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 82-95.

Mohammed Ayoob, "The Security Problematic of the Third World," *World Politics*, 43 (2) (Jan. 1991), 261-265.

Kevin Woods, James Lacey, Williamson Murray, "Saddam's Delusions: the View From the Inside," *Foreign Affairs* (May-June 2006), 1-12.

7. Trends in the Characteristics of War, 1989-2009 (Nov 24)

Nils Petter Gleditsch, et al., "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset," *Journal of Peace Research*, 39 (5) (2002), 615-637.

Bethany Lacina, Nils Petter Gleditsch, « Monitoring Trends in Global Combat: A New Dataset of Battle Deaths, » *European Journal of Population* (2005) 21, 145-166.

Andrew Mack, "Global Political Violence: Explaining the Post-Cold War Decline," New York: International Peace Academy, Coping with Crisis Working Paper Series (March 2007), 26 p.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:
Human Security Report 2005.

Geneva Declaration, *Global Burden of Armed Violence*. Geneva: Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2008.

Lotta Harbom, Peter Wallensteen, « Armed Conflict, 1989-2006, » *The Journal of Peace Research*, 44 (5) (2007), 623-634.

Pierre Hassner, Roland Marchal, eds., *Guerres et sociétés. Etat et violence après la Guerre Froide*. Paris: Karthala-Recherches internationales, 2003.

Colin McInnes, « Spectator sport warfare, » *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20 (3) (1999), 142-165.

Colin McInnes, *Spectator-sport war: the West and contemporary conflict*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.

Jeremy Black, *War Since 1990*. London: The Social Affairs Unit, 2009.

8. Wars in Africa (this session will be postponed)

Thandika Mkandawire, "The terrible toll of post-colonial "rebel movements" in Africa: towards an explanation of the violence against the peasantry," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40 (2) (2002), [read 181-183](#), [skim 183-191](#), [read 191-208](#). Killing the people instead of mobilizing the people: why?

William Reno, "Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups," *Civil Wars*, 9 (4) (2007), 324-342.

René Lemarchand, *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, 30-45.

Isabelle Duyvesteyn, *Clausewitz and African War. Politics and Strategy in Liberia and Somalia*. London: Frank Cass, 2005, 53-74.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

William Reno, "The Changing Nature of Warfare and the Absence of State-Building in West Africa," in: Diane E. Davis, Anthony W. Pereira, eds., *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 322-345.

Gérard Prunier, *Africa's World War. Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of A Continental Catastrophe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 181-226.

P. W. Singer, *Children at War*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, 37-93.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Jeremy M. Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion. The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

9. Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan (Dec 8)

Please note: at 19h we will watch Gillo Pontecorvo's *La Battaglia di Algiers* (*The Battle of Algiers*) (1966).

Ahmed S. Hashim, *Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, skim 125-170, 188-213.

David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla. Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, read 1-38, skim 39-114.

Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force. The Art of War in the Modern World* (1st ed. 2005). New York: Knopf, 2007, 269-307, skim 335-373.

Recommended Supplementary Readings:

John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife. Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (1st ed. 2002). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005, read 3-11, skim 59-68, read 68-77, skim 77-81, skim 87-91, read 91-101, skim 101-107.

Carter Malkasian, "Counterinsurgency in Iraq: May 2003-January 2007," in: Daniel Marston, Carter Malkasian, eds., *Counterinsurgency in Modern Warfare*. New York: Osprey, 2008, 241-259.

Mark Kramer, "The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya", *International Security*, 29 (3) Winter 2004-2005, 5-63.

Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, Dylan Balch-Lindsay, "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization*, 58 (2) (2004), 375-407. Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco. The American*

Military Adventure in Iraq. New York: The Penguin Press, 2006, skim 149-188, read 189-202.

Thomas E. Ricks, *The Gamble. General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2009.

John A. Nagl, “Foreword to the University of Chicago Press Edition. The Evolution and Importance of Army / Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency”; Sarah Sewall, “Introduction to the University of Chicago Press Edition. A Radical Field Manual”; General David H. Petraeus, General James F. Amos, “Introduction”, in: *The U.S. Army – Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual. U.S. Army Field Manual N°. 3-24, Marine Corps Warfighting Publication N°. 3-33.5* (first issued 15 December 2006). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007, xiii-xlvi.

10. Conclusions (Dec 15)