

PSCI 4243: Modern Warfare. Terrorism, Ideology, Identity

Fall 2017
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appointment

Professor Kaufman
Office Hours: after class or

I. Objectives and requirements.

This course explores the continuities and discontinuities in the nature of warfare, focusing on the past century but also drawing on the lessons of more distant path. Part I defines what we mean by war; then it examines contending theories of why wars occur, using historical case studies to test their explanatory power. Part II will analyze the strategy, tactics, and outcomes of several major made during several major conflicts. This segment of the course will also consider and which form of just war theory constitutes the best practicable framework for mitigating the tragedy of war consistent with achieving a decisive outcome ---- the prerequisites for a rightly order peace. The preponderance of the course --- divided into three parts --- will examine a plethora of major case studies, including Word War I, World War II, various aspects of the Cold War, the Wars in Iraq, the War with Isis, and the possibility of War with China. Throughout the course, students will think hard about the use of military force as a political instrument, along with how changes in international, technological, and domestic environments affect these calculations. Several major themes will receive prominent attention in each of the case studies:

- 1. Strategy/Policy Match.** To what extent were the military means chosen by Soldiers and statesmen appropriate to the political ends they had in view? What were the political objectives? Where they achievable by force? Were the costs of war accurately anticipated?
- 2. The Adequacy of Strategy.** To what extent did strategy successfully integrate different forms of warfare, especially land and naval warfare. What differences did that make in the conduct and outcome of the war? Was the strategy sound or flawed? Did it take into account the constraints that tactical, technological, logistical, and political circumstances imposed?
- 3. Coalition Warfare and the International Environment.** How well or poorly did the alliances involved function and why? To what extent did the interests of allied states coincide? What where the consequences when they diverged? What determined the distribution of influence within each coalition? What accounted for the dissolution or maintenance of the wartime coalition?

4. Domestic Politics. How did domestic politics affect the course and outcome of the war? How well did statesmen manage the domestic context of the conflict?

5. Postwar Settlement. Did the postwar settlement meet the stated objectives of the winning state or states? Was it a better outcome for either side? Did the postwar order prove enduring or stable? Did the stability or instability arise from the settlement itself?

6. Domestic Institutions and Strategic Culture. Is the way a regime makes strategy and wages war shaped by the nature of domestic institutions and social order? Is there, for example, a fundamentally different democratic way of war, or even more specifically, an American way of war? If so, what are the characteristics of it?

7. Civil/Military Relations. What is the necessary and proper relationship between civilian and military leaders in war? When and in what circumstances should statesmen defer to soldiers, and soldiers to statesmen? Is war too important to be left up to generals?

8. Morals and Ethics. Did the aims of the war and the means by which it was fought conform with or contravene Judeo-Christian notions of justice and responsibility.

Students will have two writing assignments --- a take home midterm and a book review essay for the final. Class attendance and participation also are mandatory. So is handing your work in on time; those who do not will suffer severe consequences. You are not thinking clearly if you are not writing clearly. For any questions about appropriate style and punctuation, consult any edition of Strunk's and White's Element of Style.

II. Books.

Please purchase all of the following at your bookstore:

Graham Allison. *Destined for War: Can The United States and China Escape Thucydides Trap?*

Nadia Schadlow . *War and and the Art of Governance: Consolidating Combat Success into Political Victory*

Eliot Cohen. *The Limits of Soft Power: The Big Stick and the Necessity of Military Force.*

Terence T. Finn. *America At War: Concise Histories of U.S. Military Conflicts from Lexington to Afghanistan.*

Laurence Freedman. *Strategy: A History.*

Donald Kagan. *On the Origins of War.*

Williamson Murray. *America and the Future of War: The Past as Prologue.*

III. Readings.

Part I: Why Do States go to War?

Readings: Kenneth Waltz, "The Levels of Analysis Problem," (handout); Williamson Murray, *America and the Future of War*, Chapters 1 and 2. Donald Kagan, Introduction and Chapters 1, 2, and 4 assessing the causes of the Peloponnesian War, World War I, and World War II.

Part II. Strategy and Ethics of War

Readings: Thomas Aquinas *On War* and Aquinas *On Prudence* (Online); Weinberger Powell Guidelines (handout); Laurence Freedman, *Strategy*, Parts I and II, focusing on Sun Tzu and Clausewitz.

Part III. Case Studies.

A. American Wars of the 18th and 19th century.

Readings: Terence Finn, Chapters 1-5; Nadia Schadlow, *War and the Art of Governance*, 1-65.

B. World Wars of the Twentieth Century --- World War I, World War II, the Cold War.

Readings: Finn, Chapters 6-7; Schadlow, 65-172, Kagan, Chapter 5.

Limited Wars Since World War II --- Korea, Vietnam, and the First Iraq War, Finn, Chapters 8-9;

C. Post 9-11.

1. The Revolution in Military Affairs?

Readings: Murray, *America and the Future of War*; Elliot Cohen, Chapters 1, 2.

2. The Second Iraq War, Afghanistan, and Jihadists.

Readings: Cohen, *The Big Stick*, Chapters 3, 5-6; Shadlow, 220-84

3. The Coming War with China?

Readings: Graham Allison: *Destined for War*; Cohen, Chapter 4

IV. Conclusion and Final Thoughts ---- the Future of War and the conditions of peace.

Readings: Cohen, *The Big Stick*, Chapters 6-8.

Assignments

I. Midterm.

Question I. Explain cogently and thoroughly why the North Won the Civil War, but the British lost the War of the American Revolution ---- The North and The British enjoyed a substantial advantage in resources; so what accounts for the different outcomes. What does this suggest about the importance and limits of military preponderance when engaging in war or thinking about intervening in one?

Identify each sides center of gravity (as Clausewitz defines the term). Does all this suggest that resources are an important thing, but not the only thing? Analyze using the themes of the course listed in your syllabus to structure your inquiry.

Question II. Why did the Allies Win World War II ---- Could the German's have won the war? Did the allies win because of superior resources, strategy, German mistakes, or a combination thereof. Why did World War II and the Civil War produce peace, while World War I served merely as the prelude to an infinitely more costly war. What does your answer suggest about the perennial problem of translating victory on the battlefield into political success..

II. Final.

You are the national security advisor briefing President Trump (or if you cannot bear that Hillary Clinton hypothetically) on the possibility of War with China and what we should do to minimize the risk of it. He has asked you to analyze and assess the argument of Graham Allison's New Book that warns of the danger of the United States and China possibly descending into war based on the same dynamic Thucydides identified as the cause of the war between Athens and Sparta. Your essay should explain Allison's argument, assess its historical merit, comment on his policy prescriptions, and recommend the most prudent policy towards China to follow to vindicate the American National interest at the lowest possible cost and risk. Is China surpassing the U.S. inevitable? Or has Allison assumed too much by extrapolating China becoming number one based on the fallacy of assuming past trends will continue? Is the problem with China less its rise than the nature of its regime? What would a policy of robust deterrence of China look like ---- or do you recommend based on reading Allison and the lessons you derived from this course that the United States must resign itself to a dominant China, propitiating the Chinese regime accordingly. There is no right answer. I want you to consider arguments fairly, including those with which you disagree. You also may wish to consult Eliot Cohen's chapter on China, as well as Michael Pillsbury's book Marathon, which identifies the wellspring of Chinese aggression as its regime, consequently taking a sterner line towards China than Allison does. Or are Great power wars obsolete in the 21st century. (See Cohen and Williamson Murray on that).

