Course outline

Week
1 Introductory meeting

Part 1 Concepts and Theories
2 Towards a social theory of war: the significance of Clausewitz
3 Sociology of modern war: from industrial society to total war
4 Social relations of war: combatants and civilians
5 A sociological typology: war, ‘degenerate’ war and genocide
6 Revolution, guerrilla war and terrorism

Part 2 Twenty-First Century Warfare
7 From the Cold War to ‘new wars’?: Bosnia-Herzegovina
8 The new Western way of war: from the Falklands to Kosovo
9 Global terrorism and the Global War on Terror: 9/11, Iraq and Afghanistan
10 Insurgency and counter-insurgency: Israel-Palestine and Sri Lanka

Introductory readings
Michael Howard, Clausewitz (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1983)
Mary Kaldor, New and Old Wars (Cambridge: Polity, 1999)
Martin Shaw, The New Western Way of War (Cambridge: Polity, 2005)
Course information

Course structure
The course is taught by a series of seminars, each lasting 1 hour 50 minutes. Each session will address three questions, and one group member will prepare a short (10 minute) presentation on each of the questions, providing the other members with a 2-side handout outlining a number of key points.

Reading list
Reading is listed below under the seminar topics, with 'required' readings indicated: these are included in the course pack which you are expected to purchase. Suggested further reading is also indicated. You are expected to read a good number of these items, especially in preparing your essay. However none of these lists is exhaustive: you are encouraged to do your own research and locate relevant texts independently.

Web materials
Because this course has a partly topical focus, much useful and especially up to date material is online. Internet materials are indicated in the hard copy by underlining rather than URLs. You will find them by going to the links in the online reading list at http://www.sussex.ac.uk/ir

Assessment
This course is assessed by a 5000-word term paper.

Contact
My Spring term office hours are Mondays 12.00-12.50, during which you can also contact me on (01273) 678032; at other times, please email m.shaw@sussex.ac.uk or in case of urgency phone the School office.

Feedback
I am keen to hear your evaluations of this course and my teaching. Please raise difficulties as they arise. Course evaluation forms will be distributed in the penultimate week of term.
Part 1 Concepts and Theories

Week 2 Towards a social theory of war: the significance of Clausewitz

1. What are Clausewitz’s main ideas about war and how are they related?
2. Discuss Howard’s interpretation of the significance of Clausewitz’s ideas for the nuclear age.
3. Evaluate Mary Kaldor’s use of Clausewitz to explain the ‘mode of warfare’.

Required Readings:


Additional Readings:


Antulio J. Echevarria II, Clausewitz and Contemporary War (Oxford, OUP, 2007)


Mary Kaldor, The Baroque Arsenal, London: Deutsch, 1982


Shaw, M., 'Strategy and slaughter' (comment on C. Gray, Modern Strategy) and Gray's reply, 'In praise of strategy', Review of International Studies, 29, 2, 269-78 and 285-96

3 Sociology of modern war: from industrial society to total war

1 How should we conceptualise the relationships between warfare and capitalism?
2 How did industrial technology and society produce new forms military power and 'militarism'?
3 What are the main features of 'total war'?

Required Readings:


Anthony Giddens, The Nation-State and Violence, Cambridge: Polity, 1985, Ch. 9


Background


WB Gallie, Philosophers of War and Peace, Oxford UP 1978, Chapter on Marx/Engels

Nikolai Bukharin, Imperialism and World Economy, London: Merlin 1972


Martin Shaw, Dialectics of War, London: Pluto, esp. Chapters 2 – 4

Martin Shaw, Post-Military Society, Cambridge: Polity 1991, Chapter 1 (concepts of militarism, militarisation, etc.)
4 Social relations of war: combatants and civilians

1 Outline the development of the combatant-civilian distinction in the law of war.
2 Whom may we bomb? Discuss whether we should blur or complicate the combatant-civilian distinction.
3 What are the relationships between civilians, resistance and armed struggle?

Required Readings:

Additional Readings:
5  A sociological typology: war, ‘degenerate’ war and genocide

1  Explain the military dynamics and social consequences of total war.
2  Did the area and atomic bombing of Germany and Japan constitute ‘just’ war, ‘degenerate war’ or ‘genocide’?
3  How does ‘genocide’ differ from and relate to war?

Required Readings:


Additional Readings:


6 Revolution, Guerrilla War and Terrorism

1 Evaluate guerrilla war as a form of war.
2 Discuss the transformation of revolution during the C20 due to the widespread adoption of guerrilla warfare.
3 Is terrorism a distinct form of political violence: how is it related to war?

Required readings


Additional readings (for terrorism, see also week 9):


Benard, C. (1994) Rape as terror: the case of Bosnia (library as paper; from Terrorism and political violence, 6, 1)


Skocpol, T. (1979) States and Social Revolutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1 plus Ch. on Russia


Part 2 21st Century Warfare

7 From the Cold War to ‘new wars’: Bosnia-Herzegovina and 'ethnic cleansing'

1 How did militarism change in the West during the Cold War?
2 How new were the ‘new wars’, such as the Bosnian War, of which Mary Kaldor wrote?
3 Evaluate the emergence of ‘ethnic cleansing’ as a concept describing the Yugoslav and other recent wars.

Required readings:

Additional Reading:
Mary Kaldor and Basker Vashee, eds., New Wars, Pinter 1998.


Paul Rich (ed.) Warlords in International Relations, London: Macmillan 1999, esp. chapters by Rich (1), Segell (3), McNulty (5) and Mackinda (7)


The new Western way of war: from the Falklands to Kosovo

1. How has media surveillance helped reshape Western warmaking since the Vietnam War?
2. Has a technologically driven ‘revolution in military affairs’ created a new Western way of war?
3. Are ‘virtual’ wars ‘virtuous’? Evaluate relations of risk in recent Western wars.

**Required readings:**

Michael Ignatieff, Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond (London, Chatto & Windus, 2000), pp. 161-218


**Additional readings:**

John Arquila and David Ronfeldt (eds.) In Athena’s Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica, RAND, 1997).


Vice-admiral Cebrowski and John J. Gartska, *Network-Centric Warfare: Its Origins and Futures*


Michael Doyle, Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism (New York, Norton, 1997), Part 2.


Danilo Zolo, Invoking Humanity (London, Continuum, 2002).
Global terrorism and the Global War on Terror: 9/11, Iraq and Afghanistan

1. How distinctive is global Islamist terrorism compared to other contemporary armed struggles by non-state actors?
2. Evaluate President Bush’s Global War on Terror.
3. What is happening to US strategy under Obama? Will there still be a ‘Long War’?

Required readings:


David Kilcullen, The accidental guerrilla: fighting small wars in the midst of a big one (London: Hurst, 2009)


Additional Readings:

Louise Amoore and Marieke Goede, eds, Risk and the War on Terror (London: Routledge, 2008), Introduction: Governing by Risk in the War on Terror


Tom Farer, Confronting global terrorism and American neo-conservatism: the framework of a liberal grand strategy (Oxford: OUP, 2008)


10 21st century insurgency and counter-insurgency: Gaza and Sri Lanka

1 Evaluate the relationships between politics and armed force in the strategies of Hamas and/or Hezbollah, and compare them to al-Qaida's.
2 How do you evaluate Israel's military-political response to Hamas' and/or Hezbollah's armed campaigns, as manifested in the recent wars in Lebanon and/or Gaza, in the light of conceptual frameworks explored earlier in the course?
3 What are the lessons of the recent failure of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam's decades-long armed struggle against the Sri Lankan state?

Core readings

A. Tamimi, Hamas: a history from within, especially 'Jihad and Martyrdom' (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2007) 171-86


Additional readings

Hamas, Hezbollah and Israel


A. Tamimi, Hamas: a history from within, especially 'Jihad and Martrydom' (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2007) 171-86

Sri Lanka


C. Foley, The thin blue line: how humanitarianism went to war (London: Verso, 2008), 120-44.
