IR 2048/POL 1111-1

**War and Strategy**

Nayan Chanda

**Course Description**

Ever since the dawn of history people have fought wars. Why do countries go to war? In this course, we seek to offer a global perspective on the evolution of modern warfare and strategy within a critical context. We will examine how the nature of war defined as ‘extension of politics by other means’ has changed with the rise of nationalism and ideological contest. Along with it, strategy and tactics to achieve the objectives have undergone change. An examination of strategy employed in the past - from Kautilya to Sun Tzu and from Napoleon to Mao - will help to historically situate the development of war. More recent development of nationalism and ideology as driving force and terrorism as tools of war will be examined through case studies. We will also examine the transformation of war and strategy following the introduction of nuclear and high-tech weapons, autonomous weapons and Cyber Warfare. The course will look at the emergence of broader philosophical and moral issues that confront modern day strategists.

**Course Assessment and Evaluation**

***A) Attendance and Class participation (10%)***

You can avail three excused and two unexcused absences throughout the course (total of five absences).

Attendance in this class is compulsory and will be monitored. After these five absences, the student’s final grade will be reduced by one point (from an A- to a B+), and by a further point for every additional absence.

The course requires the students to come prepared, having read the readings in advance for the class. Since the purpose of the class is to stimulate collective reflection and debate, students will be required to actively participate in class discussion during lecture sessions. Contribution grades are based on the **quality of participation** –and not on loquaciousness.

***b) Book Review (25%)***

You will submit a 4-page (1500 words) book review. The book title will be announced at the beginning of the semester

***C) In-Class assignment on March 7, 2024 (15%)***

You will write in-class reflection (maximum 500 words) responding to prompts.

***D) Quizzes. (10%)***

Throughout the semester you will take five quizzes.

***E) End of semester essay (40%)***

 You will write the end of semester essay (3000 words) to be submitted on **May 6, 2024**

**Academic honesty**

Ashoka University is dedicated to the highest ideals of integrity in academia. Therefore, any instance of academic dishonesty, attempted or actual, will result in severe action, including (but not limited to) an automatic failure in the course. Please refer to the plagiarism policy provided in your handbooks for a detailed definition of what counts as academic dishonesty, and the procedure triggered by any attempt at such.

**Class calendar and reading**

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| CLASS | DATE | THEME | CLASS SPECIFIC READINGS  |
| 1 | 23-01-2024 | Introduction | Lawrence Freedman. 2013. “Strategy: A History”, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. ix-xiii. |
| 2 | 25-01-2024 | Why do humans fight? |  Jack Levy. 1998. “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace,” Annual Review of Political Science; Paul F. Diehl. 1993.“What Are They Fighting For? The Importance of Issues in International Conflict Research”, Journal of Peace Research 29: 333-344 |
| 3 | 30-01-2024 | What is strategy? | Beatrice Heuser, The Evolution of Strategy: Thinking War from Antiquity to the Present. Cambridge University Press, 2010.Pp 3-28; Thean Potgieter, Reflections on War, Chapter 1. Considering theory, strategy and objectives in war: https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1nzg0p0.4 |
| 4 | 01-02-2024 | Kautilya's Arthshastra | Timothy and Krishna Dhir, Strategic Planning 2300 Years Ago: The Strategy of Kautilya, Management International Review , 4th Quarter, 1986, Vol. 26, No. 4 (4thQuarter, 1986), pp. 70-77;https://www.jstor.org/stable/40227819; Aabid Majeed Sheikh, Saima Rashid, Kautilya, the Indian Machiavelli;Journal of Humanities and Education Development. Vol-2, Issue-1, Jan – Feb 2020;https://dx.doi.org/10.22161/jhed.2.1.5 |
| 5 | 06-02-2024 | Sun Tzu's Art of War | Thomas Cleary (translator), The Art of War, Shambhala,(2011), Translators introduction; General Tao Hanzhang, Sun Tzu’s Art of War: The Modern Chinese interpretation, The Hanzhang interpretation, Part 1, Chapter 1 |
| 6 | 08-02-2024 | Carl Von Clausewitz's On War | Lawrence Freedman, Strategy: A History, Oxford University Press, 2013, Chapter 7, Clausewitz; James King, (1977) On Clausezitz, master theorist of war, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26746704.; Jasmin Cajic, relevance of Clausewitz: https://connections-qj.org/article/relevance-clausewitzs-theory-war-contemporary-conflict-resolution |
| 7 | 13-02-2024 | Evolution of Warfare | Beatrice Heuser, The Evolution of Strategy: Thinking War from Antiquity to the Present. Cambridge University Press, 2010.Pp 3-28 |
| 8 | 15-02-2024 | War for imperial expansion | Genghis Khan's strategy:https://militaryspouseafcpe.org/military-history/military-leaders/genghis-khan/; Graham Allison. 2015. “The Thucydides Trap,” The Atlantic, https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-warthucydidestrap/406756/; Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth. 2016. “The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twentyfirst Century: China’s Rise and the Fate of America’s Global Position”, International Security, 40(3): 7-53 |
| 9 | 20-02-2024 | War for national liberation | Mao Tse-tung on Guerilla Warfare, US Marine Corps, pp 41-50; Jacqueline L. Hazelton. 2017. “The “Hearts and Minds” Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare”, International Security, 42 (1): 80–113. |
| 10 | 22-02-2024 | Total War | Gregory Fremont-Barnes, Napoleon Bonaparte, Leadership, Strategy Conflict. Osprey, (2010), PP 4-16; Michail Ploumis, Strategy and grand tactics of Napoleon the Great for the 21st century, Comparative Strategy2023, VOL. 42, NO. 2, 227–241 |
| 11 | 27-02-2024 |  Guest lecture : TBA |  |
| 12 | 29-02-2024 | Cold War | John Lewis Gaddis, The Cold War: A New History, Penguin (2006), Chapter 1. The return of fear. PP. 6-47 |
| 13 | 05-03-2024 | Revision |  |
| 14 | 07-03-3024 | Mid-term In-class Assignment |  |
| SPRING BREAK |   |   |
| 15 | 19-03-2024 | Iraq War | Jeffrey Record and W. Andrew Terrill, Iraq and Vietnam: Differences, Similarities and Insights, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2004);http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep11461 |
|  |  | Vietam War | Harry G. Summers, American Strategy in Vietnam: A critical analysis,Dover (2912) epilogue, pp ;https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-239; Louis Menand, What went wrong in Vietnam,New Yorker, (2018): https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/02/26/what-went-wrong-in-vietnam |
| 16 | 19-03-2024 | The Global War on Terror | Andrew Kydd and Walter Barbara. 2006. “The Strategies of Terrorism”, International Security, 31 (1):49–74; Talal Asad. 2010. “Thinking about Terrorism and Just War”, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 23(1):3-24; Vladimir Rauta. 2020. “Towards a Typology of non-state actors in ‘hybrid warfare’: proxy, auxiliary, surrogate and affiliated forces”, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 33(6): 868-88. |
| 17 | 21-03-2024 | Biological warfare | Gregory D. Koblentz and Stevie Kiesel. 2021. “The COVID-19 Pandemic: Catalyst or Complication for Bioterrorism?” Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, advance article, 1-20. |
| 18 | 26-03-2024 | Nuclear War | Lawrence Freedman, Strategy: A History, Oxford University Press, 2013, Chapter 12, Nuclear Games; |
| 19 | 28-03-2024 | Technology Warfare | I.G. Shaw. 2017. “Robot Wars: US Empire and Geopolitics in the Robotic Age”, Security Dialogue, 48(5): 451–470.; Lawrence Freedman, The Future of War: A History, Public Affair,(2017), Chapter 22 'Robots and Drones'  |
| 20 | 02-04-2024 | Privatization of war | E.Cusumano. 2021. “Private military and security companies’ logos: Between camouflaging andcorporate socialization”, Security Dialogue, 52(2): 135–155. |
| 21 | 04-04-2024 | Espionage and War | John Keegan, Intelligence in War: Knowledge of the enemy from Napoleon to Al Qaeda, Alfred k. Knof (2003), chapter 1; Col John Huges-Wilson, The Secret State, a history of intelligence and Espionage, chapter 1 and 2 |
| 22 | 09-04-2024 | Cyber warfare | Lawrence Freedman, The Future of War: A History, Public Affair,(2017), Chapter 24,"Cybe war'; N.S. Grove. 2019. “Weapons of Mass Participation: Social Media, Violence Entrepreneurs, and the Politics of Crowdfunding for War”, European Journal of International Relations, 25(1): 86–107. |
| 23 | 11-04-2024 | Chip War | Chris Miller, Chip War, the fight for the world's most critical technology, Simon & Schuster (2022), chapter 1, 49-51; Alex Capri, Semiconductor at the heart of US-China Tech War, Hinrich Foundation, (2020) : https://shorturl.at/ioBLN |
| 24 | 16-04-2024 | Ethics and law of war | Saba Bazargan-Forward and Samuel C. Rickless (ed), Ethics of War: Essays (Oxford) Introduction, pp XI-XXIII |
| 25 | 18-04-2024 | Just War | Jeff Macmahan, Morality of war, Rutgers https://www.philosophy.rutgers.edu/joomlatools-files/docman-files/moralitywar.pdf; N.C. Renic. 2019. “Justified killing in an age of radically asymmetric warfare”, European Journal ofInternational Relations, 25(2), 408–430. |
| 26 | 23-04-2024 | How does war end? | Seth Lazar, 'War's ending and the structure of Just War Theory' Ch 11 in Saba Bazargan-Forward and Samuel C. Rickless, Ethics of War,(Oxford) pp.227-242 |
| 27 | 25-04-2024 | Future of War | Lawrence Freedman, The Future of War: A History, Public Affair,(2017), Chapter 24 'Coming Wars; Nicholas Romanov, DOES THE “GOOD FIGHT” EXIST? ETHICS AND THE FUTURE OF WAR , Modern War Institute, (2022) https://mwi.westpoint.edu/does-the-good-fight-exist-ethics-and-the-future-of-war/ |

**Essential Readings**

Beatrice Heuser, The Evolution of Strategy: Thinking War from Antiquity to the Present. Cambridge University Press, (2010)

Chris Miller, Chip War, the fight for the world's most critical technology, Simon & Schuster (2022)

Harry G. Summers, American Strategy in Vietnam: A critical analysis. Dover (2012)

John Lewis Gaddis, The Cold War: A New History, Penguin (2006)

John Keegan, Intelligence in War: Knowledge of the enemy from Napoleon to Al Qaeda, Alfred k. Knopf (2003),

Col John Huges-Wilson, The Secret State, a history of intelligence and Espionage, Pegasus, (2017).

 Kaldor, M. New Wars and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era (Polity, 2006).

Lawrence Freedman, Strategy: A History, Oxford University Press, (2013)

Lawrence Freedman, The Future of War: A History, Public Affair, (2017),

Martin van Creveld A History of Strategy: From Sun Tzu to William S. Lind Catalia House, (2000)

Michael I. Handel, Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought, Routledge, (2001)

Thomas Schelling.. Arms and Influence, New Haven: Yale University Press, (1966)

**Further Reading**

•Barkawi, T. Globalization and War (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006).

• Beckett, I. Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerrillas and their Opponents since 1750 (Routledge, 2001).

• Buzan, B, Waever, O & de Wilde, J, Security: A New Framework for Analysis (Lynne Rienner, 1998).

• Caforio, G. Handbook of the Sociology of the Military (Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2006).

• Cordell, K. & Wolff, S. Ethnic conflict: causes, consequences, and responses (Cambridge: Polity, 2009/2010).

• Farrell, T. The Norms of War: Cultural Beliefs and Modern Conflict (Lynne Rienner, 2005).

• Farrell, T. and Terriff, T. The Sources of Military Change: Culture, Politics, Technology (Lynne Rienner, 2002).

• Gray, C.S. Modern strategy (Oxford University Press, 1999).

• Porter, P. Military Orientalism: Eastern War through Western Eyes (Hurst, 2009).

• Rabi, U. International intervention in local conflicts: crisis management and conflict resolution since the Cold War (London: Tauris, 2010.)

• Shaw, M. The New Western Way of War: Risk-Transfer War and its Crisis in Iraq (Polity, 2005).

• Smith, R. The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World (Allen Lane, 2005).

• Strachan, H. and Schiepers, S. (eds.), The Changing Character of War (Oxford University Press, 2011).

• Townshend, C. (ed.), The Oxford History of Modern War (Oxford University Press, 2005).

• Von Clausewitz, C. On War. Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. (Princeton University Press, 1976).

• Whittaker, D. J. (ed.), The Terrorism Reader 3rd edition (London: Routledge 2007).

Joseph Nye. 2016. “Deterrence and Dissuasion in the Cyberspace”, International Security, 41(3): 44-71

Tanisha M. Fazal. 2022. “The Return of Conquest? Why the Future of Global Order Hinges on Ukraine”, Foreign Affairs, 101(3): 20-27.