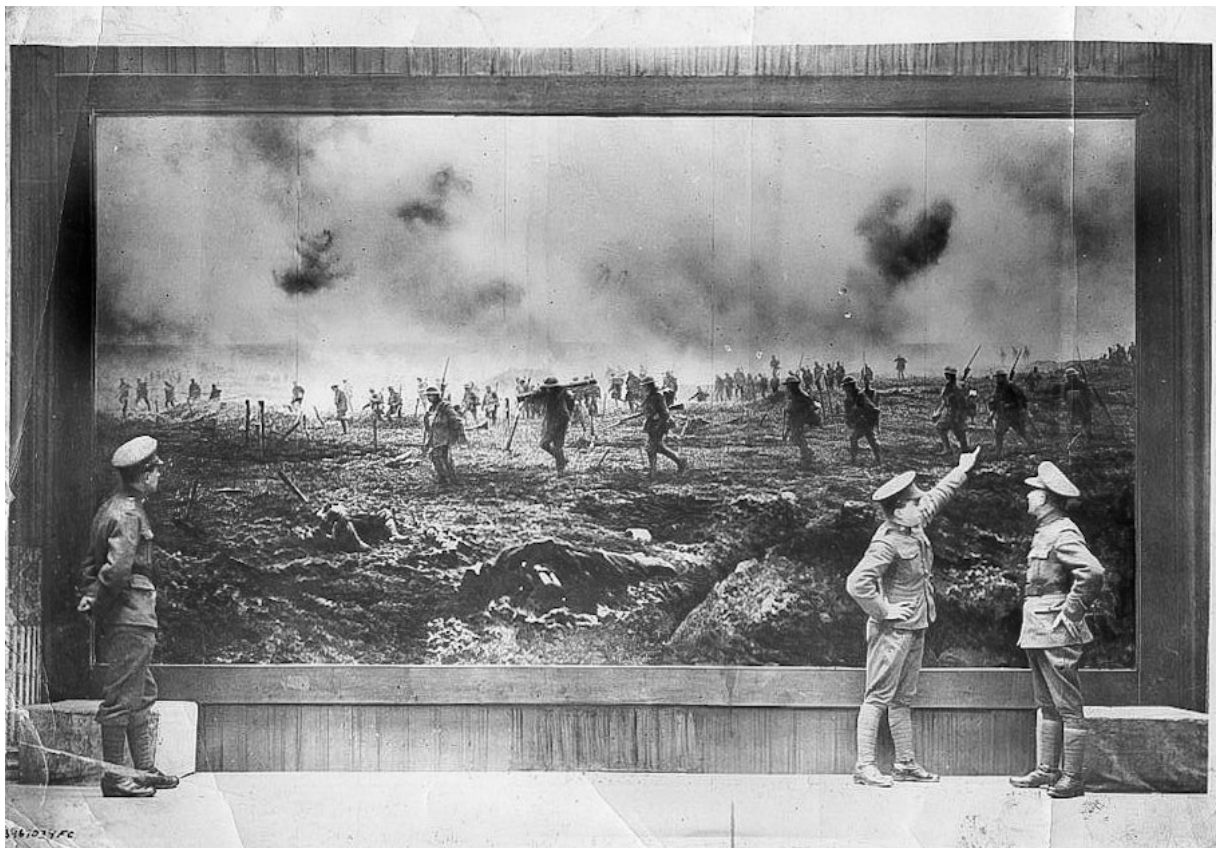


POSTGRADUATE MODULE HANDBOOK

Department of Politics, Birkbeck, University of London

WAR, POLITICS AND SOCIETY



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Introduction

Module Aims and Objectives

War, Politics and Society aims to provide students with an advanced understanding of the role of war in the modern world. Drawing on a wide range of social sciences and historiographical sources, its focus will be on the complex interplay between national, international and global political and social relations and the theories and practices of warfare since the inception of the modern era and the 'military revolution' of the sixteenth century. The module will notably examine the role of war in the emergence and development of the nation-state, the industrialisation and modernisation of societies and their uses of science and technology, changing cultural attitudes to the use of armed force and martial values, and the shaping of historical consciousness and collective memory. Among the contemporary issues addressed are the 'war on terror', weapons of mass destruction, genocide, humanitarian intervention, and war in the global South.

Students completing the module will:

- be able to evaluate and critically apply the central literatures, concepts, theories and methods used in the study of the relations between war, politics and society;
- demonstrate balanced, substantive knowledge of the central debates within war studies;
- be capable of historically informed, critical analysis of current political and strategic debates concerning the use of armed force;
- be able to obtain and analyse relevant information on armed forces and armed conflict from a wide array of governmental, non-governmental, military and media sources;
- have developed transferable skills, including critical evaluation, analytical investigation, written and oral presentation and communication.

Background Reading

There is no textbook for this module and a wide range of texts will be discussed throughout the year. Nevertheless there are several general texts which provide both useful historical background and valuable overviews of many of the themes and issues that will be covered in the module. While not strictly indispensable, students would be well-advised to consult some of them and consider acquiring paperback copies for future reference.

Paul Hirst's *War and Power in the 21st Century* provides an excellent introduction to many of the themes discussed in the module and, as a brief and synthetic work, would be recommended as the first port of call for students. While it very much approaches the subject from a strictly sociological perspective, Sinisa Malesevic's *The Sociology of War and Violence* is nevertheless an excellent textbook that can be called upon for many of the module's sessions. Lawrence Freedman's *War* is an edited volume with contributions covering a variety of relevant topics, from strategy and total war to ethical questions, the experience of war, and conflict in the developing world. John

Keegan's *A History of Warfare* offers a highly readable account of war throughout world history with particular attention paid to its cultural dimension. William McNeill's *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* does pretty much what it says on the tin, differing from Keegan in that the central focus is wider social change and war's role within it. Finally, Michael Howard, *Clausewitz* is a short but insightful introduction to the thought of the most pre-eminent philosopher of war and whose conceptual framework will be a useful point of reference throughout the module.

- Hirst, Paul, *War and Power in the 21st Century: The State, Military Conflict and the International System* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001)
- Malesevic, Sinisa, *The Sociology of War and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Freedman, Lawrence (ed.), *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Keegan, John, *A History of Warfare* (London: Hutchinson, 1993)
- McNeill, William H., *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982)
- Howard, Michael, *Clausewitz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) – now part of the “Very Short Introductions” series

Sessions
1. Introduction: Studying War
2. Clausewitz: Philosopher of War
3. War and the Rise of the State
4. War, Modernity and the Meaning of History
5. Citizens in Arms: Civil-Military Relations
6. The Way of the Warrior
7. Mind and Body in War
8. War and Genocide
9. Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Nuclear Age
10. Humanising War
11. Terrorism and the Global War on Terror
12. Rise of the Drones: Targeted Killing and the New Geography of War
13. Globalisation and the “New Wars”
14. Representations of War: Experience, Memory and Media
15. Revision Session

Reading List

NB: Asterisks (*) denote readings of particular interest/relevance

1. Introduction: Studying War

Why study war? What does war tell us about the societies that wage them? How is the history of armed conflict intertwined with wider social and political change?

*Bousquet, Antoine, 'War' in Kate Nash, Alan Scott and Edwin Amenta (eds.), *The New Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011) – available on BLE

Black, Jeremy, *Rethinking Military History* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Coker, Christopher, *Barbarous Philosophers: Reflections on the Nature of War from Heraclitus to Heisenberg* (Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 2010)

*Gelven, Michael, *War and Existence: A Philosophical Enquiry* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994)

Howard, Michael, *War in European History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976)

Keegan, John, *A History of Warfare* (London: Hutchinson, 1993)

2. Clausewitz: Philosopher of War

Almost two hundred years after his death, Carl von Clausewitz continues to enjoy a unique reputation as a theorist of war. But are Clausewitz's writings mainly of historical interest in providing an insight into a bygone era or do they really still tell us something about contemporary forms of war? Are such concepts as the trinity of war, friction and the fog of war still relevant or merely reflective of the particular setting in which they were devised?

Essential Reading

Clausewitz, Carl von, *On War* - trans: Michael Howard & Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976) – Book I (a very cheap abridged version of *On War* is available in a Wordsworth edition)

Howard, Michael, *Clausewitz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) - now part of the "Very Short Introductions" series

Van Creveld, Martin, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991) - esp. chapter 2

Further Reading

Aron, Raymond, *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983)

Beyerchen, Alan, 'Clausewitz, Non-Linearity and the Unpredictability of War', *International Security* 17:3, Winter 1992/3

Bond, Brian, *The Pursuit of Victory: From Napoleon to Saddam Hussein* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) – chapter 3

- Gat, Azar, *A History of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) – esp. Part 2
- Gray, Colin S, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1999)
- *Handel, Michael, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*, 3rd rev. and expanded edition (London: Frank Cass, 2001) – chapter 2 on Clausewitz and Sun Tzu
- *Heuser, Beatrice, *Reading Clausewitz* (Pimlico, 2002)
- *Kaempf, Sebastian, “Lost Through Non-Translation: Bringing Clausewitz's Writings on ‘New Wars’ Back In” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* Vol.22 No.4 (2011)
- Paret, Peter, *Clausewitz and the State*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)
- *Paret, Peter, ‘Clausewitz’ in Paret, Peter, Craig, Gordon. A. & Gilbert, Felix (eds.), *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986)
- Paret, Peter, *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992)
- Rasmussen, Mikel, V., *The Acme of Skill: Clausewitz, Sun Tzu and the Revolutions in Military Affairs*, (Copenhagen: Dupi, 2001)
<http://www.dupi.dk/webtxt/http://www.dupi.dk/webdocs/rp200112ny.pdf>
- Roxborough, Ian, ‘Clausewitz and the Sociology of War’ *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 4. (Dec., 1994)
- Reid, Julian, “Foucault on Clausewitz: Conceptualizing the Relationship between War and Power” *Alternatives* (vol.28, no.1, 2003)
- Schuurman, Bart, “Clausewitz and the ‘New Wars’ Scholars” *Parameters* Vol.40 No.1 (April 2010)
- Shapiro, Michael, *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) – chapter 2
- Strachan, Hew, *Clausewitz’s On War* (Atlantic Books, 2007)
- Strachan, Hew & Herberg-Roche, Andreas, *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (any number of editions)
- *Villacres Edward J. & Christopher Bassford, “Reclaiming the Clausewitzian Trinity” *Parameters*, 25 (Autumn 1995)

3. War and the Rise of the State

What has been the role of war in the ascendancy of the nation-state as the dominant political unit of the modern world? What is the relationship between the domestic monopolisation of violence and the intensification of warfare? What is the place of the emergent capitalist mode of production in the conjoined histories of state and war?

Essential Reading

Any two of these three:

Porter, Bruce, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1994) – esp. Introduction

Gat, Azar, *War in Human Civilization* (Oxford University Press, 2006) – chapter 14
Tilly, Charles, *Coercion, Capital, and European states, AD 990-1992* (Cambridge, MA & London: Blackwell, 1992) – chapter 3

Further Reading

- Bayly, C.A., *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).
- Black, Jeremy, *War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents, 1450-2000* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998) – chapter 8
- Bobbitt, Philip, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History* (London: Penguin, 2003)
- *Dandeker, Christopher, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990) – chapter 3
- Downing, Brian, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992)
- Drake, M. S., *Problematics of Military Power: Government, Discipline, and the Subject of Violence* (London: Frank Cass, 2002)
- Giddens, Anthony, *The Nation-State and Violence - A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism Vol.2* (Cambridge: Polity, 1985) – esp. chapter 1
- Giustozzi, Antonio, *The Art of Coercion: The Primitive Accumulation and Management of Coercive Power* (Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 2011)
- Howard, Michael, *War in European History* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1976)
- Malesevic, Sinisa, *The Sociology of War and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) – chapter 4
- Mann, Michael, *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) – chapters 1 and 2
- *McNeill, William H., *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) – chapters 4, 5, 6
- Parker, Geoffrey, *The Military Revolution – Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Shaw, Martin, “War, Imperialism and the State System” in Shaw, Martin (ed.), *War, State and Society* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984)
- Tilly, Charles, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime” in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- *Thomson, Janice, *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns: State-building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, NJ & Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1996)

4. War, Modernity and the Meaning of History

With the Enlightenment and the achievements of the Scientific Revolution, a powerful belief in progress and historical destiny took hold of the modern mind. What was the role attributed to war and revolution in fulfilling the grand narratives being read into the course of history? How did competing nationalisms and political ideologies clash to assert their respective interpretations or stakes in the meaning of history? Did the unwinding of the Cold War effectively bring 'History' to an end?

Essential Reading

Fukuyama, Francis, "The End of History" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989)

Ceaser, James, "The Idol of History" *Social Philosophy and Policy* Vol. 20 No. 1 (January 2003)

Further Reading

Bousquet, Antoine, "Time Zero: Hiroshima, September 11 and Apocalyptic Revelations in Historical Consciousness" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol. 34, No. 3 (2006)

Coker, Christopher, "Post-Modernity and the End of the Cold War: Has War Been Disinvented?" *Review of International Studies* Vol.18 No.3 (1992)

*Coker, Christopher, *War and the 20th Century: The Impact of War on the Modern Consciousness* (London: Brassey's, 1994) – chapters 2, 4, 5

Drury, Shadia, "The End of History and the New World Order" *International Journal* Vol.48, No.1 (1992/1993)

Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin, 1992)

Fukuyama, Francis, "Second Thoughts: The Last Man in a Bottle" (*The National Interest*, Summer 1999)

Fukuyama, Francis, "Has History Started Again?" *Policy* (Winter 2002)

Fukuyama, Francis, "After the 'End of History'" *Open Democracy* (2006)

*Gray, John, *Al Qaeda and what it means to be Modern* (London: Faber, 2003)

Gray, John, *Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia* (London: Penguin, 2008)

*Joas, Hans, "The Modernity of War: Modernization Theory and the Problem of Violence" *International Sociology* Vol. 14, No. 4 (1999)

Tiryakian, Edward, "War: The Covered Side of Modernity" *International Sociology* Vol. 14, No. 4 (1999)

Howard, Michael, *The Invention of Peace: Reflections on War and International Order* (London: Profile, 2000)

Koselleck, Reinhart, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York & Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2004)

Lawrence, Philip, "Enlightenment, Modernity and War" *History of the Human Sciences* Vol.12 No.1 (1999)

Lawrence, Philip K, *Modernity and War: The Creed of Absolute Violence* (London: Macmillan, 1997)

- Pick, Daniel, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 1996)
- Roth, Michael S., "A Problem of Recognition: Alexandre Kojève and the End of History" *History and Theory* Vol. 24, No. 3 (1985)

5. Citizens in Arms: Civil-Military Relations

What is the historical relation between citizenship and military service? Why and to what effect did Western societies adopt universal conscription before abandoning it in the last few decades? Do we now live in post-military societies in which the military's influence on the rest of society is waning? Or do the increasingly blurred boundaries between military and civilian spheres mask a new militarisation of society?

Essential Reading

- Shaw, Martin, *Post-Military Society: Militarism, De-militarisation and War at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991) – esp. chapter 1
- Moskos, Charles C., Williams, John Allen & Segal, David R (eds.), *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces after the Cold War* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) – chapter 1 & 2

Further Reading

- *Bacevich, Andrew J., *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Booth, Bradford, Kestnbaum, Meyer & Segal, David R., "Are Post-Cold War Militaries Postmodern?" *Armed Forces & Society* Vol. 27, No. 3 (2001)
- *Cohen, Eliot, *Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985) – chapter 1, 5, 6
- Dandeker, Christopher; "New Times for the Military: Some Sociological Remarks on the Changing Role and Structure of the Armed Forces of the Advanced Societies" *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 45, No. 4 (1994)
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke, *Women and War*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995
- Forster, Anthony, *Armed Forces and Society in Europe* (Basingstoke and New York, NY: Palgrave, 2006)
- Fogarty, Brian E., *War, Peace, and the Social Order* (Boulder, CO & Oxford: Westview Press, 2000) – chapter 4 & 5
- Gillis, John R., *The Militarization of the Western World* (New Brunswick, NJ & London: Rutgers University, 1989)
- Hanson, Victor Davis, *Why the West Has Won: Carnage and Culture from Salamis to Vietnam* (Faber & Faber, 2002)
- Huntington, Samuel, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA & London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957)
- Janowitz, Morris, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960)

- Kümmel, Gerhard, "The Military and its Civilian Environment: Reflections on a Theory of Civil-Military Relations" *Connections* Vol.1 No.4 (2002)
- Lorentzen, Lois Ann & Turpin, Jennifer (eds.), *The Women and War Reader* (New York London: New York University Press, 1998)
- Mereshon, Sherie & Schlossman, Steve, *Foxholes & Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces* (Baltimore, MD & London: Johns Hopkins University, 1998)
- Morgan, Matthew J., "The Reconstruction of Culture, Citizenship, and Military Service" *Armed Forces & Society* Vol. 29, No. 3 (2003)
- Strachan, Hew (ed.), *The British Army, Manpower, and Society into the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000)
- Turse, Nick, *The Complex: How the Military Invades Our Everyday Lives* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008)
- Van Creveld, Martin, "The Great Illusion: Women in the Military"; Elshtain, Jean Bethke, "'Shooting' at the Wrong Target: A Response to Van Creveld"; Coker, Christopher "Humanising Warfare, or Why Van Creveld May Be Missing the 'Big Picture'" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol. 29, No. 2 (June 2000)

6. The Way of the Warrior

An archetypal figure throughout the ages, what does the warrior tell us about the experience of battle? Why does the warrior fight? Can one speak of an existential commitment to combat as a trans-historical feature of war in excess of the political uses to which armed conflict is put? Who are the warriors in contemporary military organisations and are they still needed?

Essential Reading

- Gray, J. Glenn, *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (Lincoln, Nebraska & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) – chapter 2: The Enduring Appeals of Battle
- Coker, Christopher, "The Unhappy Warrior" *RUSI Journal* (2005)
- French, Shannon, *Code of the Warrior: Exploring Warrior Values Past and Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) – chapter 1

Further Reading

- Bowden, Mark, *Black Hawk Down* (London: Corgi, 2000)
- Brooks, Geoffrey, *Sniper on the Eastern Front* (Leo Cooper, 2005)
- Clastres, Pierre, *Archeology of Violence* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2010) – chapter 12
- *Coker, Christopher, *Waging War without Warriors* (Lynne Rienner, 2002) – chapter 1, 2, 3 & 4
- *Coker, Christopher, *The Warrior Ethos: Military Culture and the War on Terror* (London: Routledge, 2007) – chapter 2, 5 & 6

- Couch, Dick, *The Warrior Elite: The Forging of Seal Class 228* (New York, N.Y: The Crown Publishing Group, 2001)
- Gelven, Michael, *War and Existence: A Philosophical Enquiry* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994)
- Haney, Eric, *Inside Delta Force: The Story of America's Elite Counterterrorist Unit* (Delacorte Press, 2002)
- *Henriksen, Rune, "Warriors in Combat" *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 30 No. 2 (April 2007)
- Jünger, Ernst, *Storm of Steel: From the Diary of a German Storm-Troop Officer on the Western Front* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1996)
- Junger, Sebastian, *War* (London: Fourth Estate, 2010)
- Sebastian Kaempf, "Violence and Victory: Guerrilla Warfare, 'Authentic Self-Affirmation' and the Overthrow of the Colonial State" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2009)
- Keegan, John, *The Face of Battle* (London: Cape, 1976)
- Leebaert, Derek, *To Dare and to Conquer: Special Operations and the Destiny of Nations, from Achilles to Al-Qaeda* (New York, NY & Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 2006)
- Miller, Franklin, *Reflections of a Warrior* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1991)
- Mishima, Yukio, *Mishima On Hagakure: The Samurai Ethic and Modern Japan* (Penguin Books, 1979)
- Murphy, Audie, *To Hell and Back* (Saint Martin's Press, 2002)
- Olsthoorn, Peter, "Honor as a Motive for Making Sacrifices" *Journal of Military Ethics* Vol. 4, No. 3 (2005)
- Plaster, John *SOG: The Secret Wars of America's Commandos in Vietnam* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997)
- Ricks, Thomas E., *Making the Corps* (New York; Scribner, 1997)
- Watson, Bradley, "The Western Ethical Tradition and the Morality of the Warrior" *Armed Forces & Society* (Vol.26, no.1, 1999)
- Wright, Evan, *Generation Kill* (Putnam, 2004)

Novels:

- Webb, James, *Fields of Fire* (Bantam, 2001)
- Swofford, Anthony, *Jarhead: A Marine's Chronicle of the Gulf War* (London: Scribner, 2003)

Films:

- Restrepo*, Tim Hetherington & Sebastian Junger (2010)
- Armadillo*, Janus Metz Pedersen (2010)
- Black Hawk Down*, Ridley Scott (2001)
- Apocalypse Now*, Francis Ford Coppola (1979)
- The Hurt Locker*, Kathryn Bigelow (2009)
- Jarhead*, Sam Mendes (2005)
- Patton*, Franklin J. Schaffner (1970)

A TV series:

- Generation Kill* (2008)

7. Mind and Body in War

War is a social activity in which minds and bodies are produced as much as they are destroyed. What are the roles of discipline, combat motivation, and group solidarity in maintaining military organisation under the stress of battle? Is the military a laboratory for the emergence of a wider disciplinary power in modern societies? In what ways are the histories of medicine and psychiatry intertwined with that of war?

Essential Reading

Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991) – Part III, chapter 1: Docile Bodies

Smith, Philip, “Meaning and Military Power: Moving on from Foucault” *Journal of Power* Vol.1, Issue 3 (2008)

Further Reading

Bourke, Joanna, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare* (London: Granta, 2000) – chapter 3

Blackmore, Tim, *War X: Human Extensions in Battlespace* (University of Toronto Press, 2005)

*Cooter, Roger, Mark Harrison and Steve Sturdy (eds.), *War, Medicine and Modernity* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998) – Introduction

Cooter, Roger, Mark Harrison and Steve Sturdy (eds.), *Medicine and Modern Warfare* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999)

Dandeker, Christopher, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990) – chapter 3

*Gray, Chris Hables, *Postmodern War: The New Politics of Conflict* (London: Routledge, 1997) – chapter 10: The Cyborg Soldier

Gross, Michael L., “Medicalized Weapons & Modern War” *Hastings Center Report* Vol. 40, No. 1 (January-February 2010)

*Grossman, Dave, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* (New York: Little, Brown, 1996)

Hanson, Victor Davis, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1998) – chapter 6, 8, 10, 11

*Holmes, Richard, *Acts of War: The Behaviour of Men in Battle* (London: Cassell, 2004)

Katz, Pearl, “Emotional Metaphors, Socialization, and Roles of Drill Sergeants” *Ethos* Vol.18, No. 4 (1990)

*King, Anthony, “The Word of Command: Communication and Cohesion in the Military” *Armed Forces & Society* 32 (2006)

Kleinschmidt, Harald, ‘Using the Gun: Manual Drill and the Proliferation of Portable Firearms’ *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 63, No. 3 (1999)

Jones, Edgar & Simon Wessely, *Shell Shock to PTSD: Military Psychiatry from 1900 to the Gulf War* (Hove: Psychology Press, 2005)

*McNeill, William H., *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1995) – chapter 5

- O'Malley, Pat, "Resilient Subjects: Uncertainty, Warfare and Liberalism" *Economy and Society* Vol.39 No.4 (2010)
- O'Neill, John, "The Disciplinary Society: From Weber to Foucault" *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 37, No. 1 (1986)
- Radine, Lawrence B., *The Taming of the Troops: Social Control in the United States Army* (Greenwood Press, 1977)
- Ricks, Thomas E., *Making the Corps* (New York: Scribner, 1997)
- Rostker, Bernard, *Providing for the Casualties of War* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2013)
- Shay, Jonathan, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York: Atheneum, 1994)
- Shephard, Ben, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists, 1914-1994* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000)
- Shils, Edward and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12 (1948)
- Wessely, Simon, "Twentieth-century Theories on Combat Motivation and Breakdown" *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol.41 (2) (2006)
- War and Medicine* (Black Dog Publishing, 2008)

An extended bibliography on war and medicine:

http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/hsmt/courses_reading/advanced_papers/biblios/medicine_warfare_bib.htm

VACATION

8. War and Genocide

What is the relationship between war and genocide? Is genocide an irrational throwback to pre-modern times or is there something specifically modern about the organised killing of the Holocaust?

Essential Reading

Shaw, Martin, *War and Genocide: Organised Killing in Modern Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003) – esp. chapter 2

Weitz, Eric, "The Modernity of Genocide: War, Race, and Revolution in the Twentieth Century" in Robert Gellately & Ben Kiernan (eds.), *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Further Reading

- Appadurai, Arjun "Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization" *Public Culture* Vol. 10, No. 2 (1998)
- Arendt, Hannah, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York London: Penguin Books, 1994)
- *Bartov, Omer, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust" *American Historical Review* Vol. 103, No. 3 (June 1998)
- Bartov, Omer, *Murder in our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- *Bartov, Omer, *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) – esp. chapter 4
- Bartov, Omer, *Germany's War and the Holocaust: Disputed Histories* (Ithaca, NY: London, Cornell University Press, 2003)
- *Bartrop, Paul, "The Relationship between War and Genocide in the Twentieth Century: A Consideration" *Journal of Genocide Research* 4: 4 (2002)
- *Bauman, Zygmunt, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989) – esp. chapter 1
- Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew, *Ethnic Cleansing* (New York: St Martins Press, 1996)
- Bowen, John, "The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict" *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 7, No. 4 (1996)
- Browning, Christopher R., *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993)
- Chalk, Frank & Johanson, Kurt, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1990)
- Gagnon, V.P., *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Cornell University Press, 2004)
- Goldhagen, Daniel, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (London: Abacus, 1997)
- Horowitz, Irving, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power* (New York: Transaction Books, 1980)
- *Hinton, Alexander L. (ed.), *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader* (Malden, MA, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002)
- Ignatieff, Michael, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (London: Vintage, 1999)
- Kaye, James & Strath, Bo, *Enlightenment and Genocide: Contradictions of Modernity* (Brussels: P.I.E., 2000)
- Kuper, Leo, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT London: Yale University Press, 1981)
- Levene, Mark, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State: Meaning of Genocide - Vol. 1: The Meaning of Genocide* (I.B.Tauris, 2005)
- *Markusen, Eric & David Kopf, *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995)
- *Moses, A.D., "Genocide and Modernity" in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of Genocide* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
- *Mueller, John, "The Banality of "Ethnic War"" *International Security* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2000)

Riggs, Fred W., "The Modernity of Ethnic Identity and Conflict" *International Political Science Review* Vol. 19, No. 3 (1998)

*Shaw, Martin, *What is Genocide?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007)- esp. chapter 2

Valentino, Benjamin "Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killing and Genocide" *Security Studies* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Spring 2000)

Valentino, Benjamin, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Cornell University Press, 2004)

A film:

Night and Fog, Alain Resnais (1955)

9. Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Nuclear Age

What has been the significance of the introduction of nuclear weapons for the conduct of war? Have they made armed conflict more or less likely? Are we entering a new age of nuclear proliferation in which the Cold War strategy of deterrence no longer holds?

Essential Reading

Gray, Colin S, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1999) – Chap. 12

Waltz, Kenneth N., "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better" in R. Betts (ed), *Conflict after the Cold War* (Oxford: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994) - also available as an Adelphi paper (January 1981)

Further Reading

Blight, James & Lang, Janet, *The Fog of War* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2005) – chapter 2

Boyer, Paul, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985)

Brodie, Bernard, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1959)

*Freedman, Lawrence, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (London: Macmillan, 1981)

Ghamari-Tabrizi, Sharon, *The Worlds of Herman Kahn: The Intuitive Science of Thermonuclear War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005)

Gusterson, Hugh, *People of the Bomb: Portraits of America's Nuclear Complex* (Minneapolis, MN & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004)

Laqueur, Walter, "Postmodern Terrorism: New Rules for an Old Game" *Foreign Affairs* Vol.75 No.5 (September/October 1996)

Levi, Michael, "Deterring Nuclear Terrorism" *Issues in Science and Technology* (Spring 2004)

Kaplan, Fred, *The Wizards of Armageddon* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984)

Koblentz, Gregory, "Pathogens as Weapons: The International Security Implications of Biological Warfare" *International Security* 28: 3 (2003)

*Morgenthau, Hans, "The Four Paradoxes of Nuclear Strategy" *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 58, No. 1 (1964)

- Rosenbaum, Ron, "The Return of the Domsday Machine?" *Slate.com* (2007)
- *Sagan, Scott D. & Waltz, Kenneth N., *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995)
- Sagan, Scott D., "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons" *International Security* 18:4 (1994)
- Sagan, Scott D., "Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb" *International Security* 21:3 (1996/7)
- Schelling, Thomas, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008)
- Smith, P.D., *Domsday Men: The Real Dr Strangelove and the Dream of the Superweapon* (Allen Lane, 2007)
- Sprinzak, Ehud, "The Great Superterrorism Scare" *Foreign Policy* No.112 (Fall 1998)
- Thompson, Nicholas, "Inside the Apocalyptic Soviet Domsday Machine" *Wired* 17.10 (2009)
- *Trachtenberg, Marc, "Strategic Thought in America, 1952-1966" *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 104 No. 2 (1989)
- Van De Velde, James R., "The Impossible Challenge of Deterring 'Nuclear Terrorism' by Al Qaeda" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* Vol. 33, Issue 8 (2010)
- *Windsor, Philip (edited by Berdal, Mats & Economides, Spyros), *Strategic Thinking: An Introduction and Farewell* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002)
- Wohlstetter, Albert, "The Delicate Balance of Terror" (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1958)
- Whiteneck, Daniel, "Deterring Terrorists: Thoughts on a Framework" *The Washington Quarterly* 28.3 (2005)

Two films:

- Atomic Café*, Jayne Loader, Kevin Rafferty (1982)
- Dr Strangelove or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, Stanley Kubrick (1964)

10. Humanising War

Can war be made more humane for both combatants and civilians? Is the drive for riskless war inherently oxymoronic and self-defeating? Do military interventions in the name of universal human rights mask profound asymmetries in the valuations of life? What are the effects of treating such interventions as forms of international policing?

Essential Reading

- Shaw, Martin, "Risk-Transfer Militarism, Small Massacres and the Historic Legitimacy of War" *International Relations* Vol. 16, No. 3 (2002)
- Khan, Paul, "War and Sacrifice in Kosovo" *Philosophy and Public Policy* (Spring/Summer 1999)

Further Reading

- Roberts, Adam, "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo" *Survival* (Autumn 1999) – an overview of the Kosovo War
- *Caygill, Howard, "Perpetual Police? Kosovo and the Elision of Police and Military Violence" *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol. 4 No.1 (February 2001)
- Chandler, David, *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* (London: Pluto, 2002)
- Charney, Jonathan., "Anticipatory Humanitarian Action in Kosovo" *American Journal of International Law* Vol. 93 No.3 (October 1999)
- Coker, Christopher, "On Humanising War" *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* Vol. 1, Issue 2 (2000)
- *Coker, Christopher, *Humane Warfare: The New Ethics of Postmodern War* (London: Routledge, 2001)
- Cushman, Thomas, *A Matter of Principle: Humanitarian Arguments for War in Iraq* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005)
- Daalder, Ivo & O'Hanlon, Michael, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (Brookings, 2000)
- Davison, Neil "The Contemporary Development of 'Non-Lethal' Weapons" (Bradford Non-Lethal Weapons Research Project, May 2007)
- *Dean, Mitchell, "Military Intervention as 'Police' Action" in Markus D. Dubber and Mariana Valverde (eds.), *The New Police Science: The Police Power in Domestic and International Governance* (Stanford Law Books, 2006)
- Douzinas, Costas, "Postmodern Just Wars and the New World Order" *Journal of Human Rights* 5:3 (2006)
- Dunlap, Charles, *Technology and the 21st Century Battlefield: Recomplcating Moral Life for the Statesman and the Soldier* (Strategic Studies Institute, 1999)
- *Enemark, Christian, "'Non-lethal' Weapons and the Occupation of Iraq: Technology, Ethics and Law" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* Vol. 21, No. 2 (2008)
- Holzgrefe, J.L. & Keohane Robert O., *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003)
- *Ignatieff, Michael, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond* (London: Vintage, 2001)
- Kaempf, Sebastian, "US Warfare in Somalia and the Trade-Off between Casualty-Aversion and Civilian Protection" *Small Wars & Insurgencies* Vol.23 No.3 (2012)
- Kahn, Paul W., "The Paradox of Riskless Warfare" *Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly* Volume 22, Number 3 (Summer 2002)
- *Krauthammer, "The Short, Unhappy Life of Humanitarian War" *National Interest* (Fall 1999)
- Luttwak, Edward, "Towards a Post Heroic Warfare", *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1995) and "Post Heroic Military Policy" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1996)
- McInnes, Colin, *Spectator-Sport War: the West and Contemporary Conflict* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002)

- Owens, Patricia, "Accidents Don't Just Happen: The Liberal Politics of High-Tech Humanitarian War" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol.32, no.3 (2003)
- *Rappert, Brian, *Non-Lethal Weapons as Legitimizing Forces? Technology, Politics and the Management of Conflict* (London: Frank Cass, 2003)
- Ryan, Barry, "Reasonable Force: The Emergence of Global Policing Power" *Review of International Studies* Vol.39 (2013)
- Schmitt, Carl, *The Concept of the Political* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1976)
- Shaw, Martin, *The New Western Way of War: Risk-Transfer War and its Crisis in Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005)
- Wheeler, Nicholas J. & Bellamy, Alex J., "Humanitarian Intervention and World Politics" in John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, 3rd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Wheeler, Nicholas J., *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) – chapter 1
- *Zehfuss, Maja, "Targeting: Precision and the Production of Ethics" *European Journal of International Relations* Vol. 17 No. 3 (2011)
- *Zolo, Danilo, *Invoking Humanity: War, Law, and Global Order* (London: Continuum, 2002) – esp. chapter 3

11. Terrorism and the Global War on Terror

What is the purpose and logic of terrorism as a tactic? Are al-Qaeda and the wider jihadist movement best understood as the manifestation of a reactionary backlash to the modern world? Is the "War on Terror" the expression of an epochal clash of civilisations?

Essential Reading

- Gearson, John, "The Nature of Modern Terrorism" *Political Quarterly* vol. 73 (August 2002)
- Asad, Talal, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) – chapter 1

Further Reading

- Ali, Tariq, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (London: Verso, 2003)
- Arquilla, John & Ronfeldt, David (eds.), *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand, 2001)
- Barkawi, Tarak, *Globalization and War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006) – chapter 5
- Booth, Ken & Dunne, Tim (eds.), *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002)

- Bousquet, Antoine, "Complexity Theory and the War on Terror: Understanding the Self-Organising Dynamics of Leaderless Jihad" *Journal of International Relations and Development* (forthcoming 2011 – available on BLE)
- Burke, Jason, *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam* (London: Penguin, 2004)
- Chaliand, Gérard & Arnaud Blin (eds.), *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to al Qaeda* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007)
- Crenshaw, Martha, "The Causes of Terrorism" *Comparative Politics* Vol.13, No.4. (1981)
- Crenshaw, Martha, "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay" *Security Studies* Vol.16, No.1 (2007)
- *Devji, Faisal, *Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity* (London: Hurst, 2005) - esp. preface and chapter 1
- Devji, Faisal, *The Terrorist in Search of Humanity: Militant Islam and Global Politics* (London: Hurst, 2008)
- *Duyvesteyn, Isabelle, "How New Is the New Terrorism?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27 (2004)
- *Field, Antony, "The 'New Terrorism': Revolution or Evolution?" *Political Studies Review* Vol.27 (2009)
- Garrison, Arthur H., "Defining Terrorism: Philosophy of the Bomb, Propaganda by Deed and Change through Fear and Violence" *Criminal Justice Studies* (Vol.17, No.3, 2004)
- *Gray, John, *Al Qaeda and what it means to be Modern* (London: Faber, 2003)
- Halliday, F. *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East* - rev. ed. (London: I. B. Tauris 2003)
- Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006)
- Huntington, Samuel P., "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993)
- Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996)
- Jensen, Richard (2004) "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe", *Terrorism and Political Violence* Vol.16 No.1 (2004)
- Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003)
- Kahn, Paul W., *Sacred Violence: Torture, Terror, and Sovereignty* (The University of Michigan Press, 2008)
- Kepel, Gilles, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002)
- Lincoln, Bruce, *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11* (Chicago, IL & London: University of Chicago Press, 2003) – esp. Chap 2
- *Mamdani, Mahmood, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* (New York: Pantheon, 2004) – esp. Chap 1
- *Neumann, Peter, *Old and New Terrorism: Late Modernity, Globalization and the Transformation of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009)
- Novak, D. "Anarchism and Individual Terrorism", *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* Vol.20, No.2 (1954)
- Pape, Robert, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism" *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97, No. 3 (2003)

- *Rapoport, David C., "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism" in Cronin, A. and Ludes, J. M., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2004)
- Roy, Olivier, *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004)
- Sageman, Marc, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)
- *Sageman, Marc, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007)
- Scruton, Roger, *The West and the Rest: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat* (London: Continuum, 2002)
- *Tilly, Charles, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists" *Sociological Theory* Vol. 22, No. 1 (2004)
- Zarakol, Ayse, "What Makes Terrorism Modern? Terrorism, Legitimacy, and the International System" *Review of International Studies* Vol. 37 No. 5 (2011)

12. Rise of the Drones: Targeted Killing and the New Geography of War

The last decade has seen the rapid emergence of a new weapon system, the unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) most commonly referred to as the drone. Among its most controversial uses has been the increasingly normalised practice of targeted killings. What are the implications of drones for established spatial, legal and ethical understandings of armed conflict?

Essential Reading

- Gregory, Derek, "From a View to a Kill: Drones and Late Modern War" *Theory, Culture & Society* Vol. 28 (2011)
- Anderson, Kenneth, "Targeted Killing and Drone Warfare: How We Came To Debate whether there is a 'Legal Geography of War'" *Washington College of Law Research Paper* No. 2011-16 (2011)

Further Reading

- Asaro, Peter, "The Labor of Surveillance and Bureaucratized Killing: New Subjectivities of Military Drone Operators" *Social Semiotics* (2013)
- Benjamin, Medea, *Drone Warfare: Killing by Remote Control* (New York: OR Books, 2012)
- Blank, Laurie, "Defining the Battlefield in Contemporary Conflict and Counterterrorism: Understanding the Parameters of the Zone of Combat" *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* Vol. 39 No.1 (2010)
- Bousquet, Antoine, *The Scientific Way of Warfare: Order and Chaos on the Battlefields of Modernity* (London: Hurst Publishers, 2009)
- Coker, Christopher, *Warrior Geeks: How 21st Century Technology is Changing the Way We Fight and Think About War* (London: Hurst & Company, 2013) – chapter 5

- Daskal, Jennifer, "The Geography of the Battlefield: A Framework for Detention and Targeting Outside the 'Hot' Conflict Zone" *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 1165 (2013)
- DeLanda, Manuel, *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines* (Zone Books, 1991)
- Grayson, Kyle, "Six Theses on Targeted Killing" *Politics* Vol. 32 No. 2 (2012)
- Gregory, Derek, "The Everywhere War" *The Geographical Journal* Vol. 177 No. 3 (2011)
- Holmqvist, Caroline, "Undoing War: War Ontologies and the Materiality of Drone Warfare" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol. 41 No. 3 (2013)
- *Issacharoff, Samuel & Richard H. Pildes, "Drones and the Dilemma of Modern Warfare" Public Law & Legal Theory Research Paper Series Working Paper No. 13-34 (2013)
- *Kahn, Paul, "Imagining Warfare" *European Journal of International Law* Vol. 24, No. 1 (2013)
- Kaplan, Fred, "The World as Free-Fire Zone" MIT Technology Review (2013)
<http://www.technologyreview.com/featuredstory/515806/the-world-as-free-fire-zone/>
- *Kreps, Sarah & John Kaag, "The Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Contemporary Conflict: A Legal and Ethical Analysis" *Polity* Vol.44 No.2 (2012)
- *Lubell, Noam & Nathan Derejko, "A Global Battlefield? Drones and the Geographical Scope of Armed Conflict" *Journal of International Criminal Justice* Vol. 11 No.1 (2013)
- Mégret, Frédéric, "War and the Vanishing Battlefield" *Loyola University Chicago International Law Review* (2011)
- Niva, Steve, "Disappearing Violence: JSOC and the Pentagon's New Cartography of Networked Violence" *Security Dialogue* Vol. 44 (2013)
- Sharkey, Noel, "The Automation and Proliferation of Military Drones and the Protection of Civilians" *Law, Innovation and Technology* Vol. 3, No. 2 (2011)
- *Singer, P.W., *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century* (New York, NY: Penguin, 2009)
- Strawser, Bradley Jay, "Moral Predators: The Duty to Employ Uninhabited Aerial Vehicles" *Journal of Military Ethics* Vol.9 No.4 (2010)
- Strawser, Bradley Jay (ed.), *Killing by Remote Control: The Ethics of an Unmanned Military* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Weizman, Eyal, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso, 2007) – chapter 9
- Williams, Alison, "Enabling Persistent Presence? Performing the Embodied Geopolitics of the Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Assemblage" *Political Geography* Vol. 30, No.7 (2011)

Other resources:

Dronestagram - <http://dronestagram.tumblr.com/>

Drone Wars UK - <http://dronewars.net/>

13. Globalisation and the “New Wars”

Does the era of globalisation herald the advent of “new wars” dominated by warlords, mercenaries and other non-state actors? What is the political economy of war in the developing world? Does the privatisation of military force signal a terminal weakening of the state’s monopoly on violence?

Essential Reading

Kaldor, Mary, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Oxford: Polity, 1999) – esp. chapter 5

Malesevic, Sinisa, *The Sociology of War and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) – chapter 10

Required Reading:

Avant, Deborah, *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Bauman, Zygmunt. “Wars of the Globalization Era” *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol.4 No.1 (2001)

*Berdal, Mats (ed.), *Greed & Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000) – esp. chapters 1 & 2

Berdal, Mats, “Beyond Greed and Grievance - And Not Too Soon... A Review Essay” *Review of International Studies* Vol.31 No.4 (2005)

*Cerny, Philip, “Neomedievalism, Civil War and the New Security Dilemma: Globalisation as Durable Disorder” *Civil Wars* Vol.1 No.1 (1998)

*Cramer, Christopher, *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries* (London: Hurst & Co, 2006)

Devetak, Richard & Hughes, Christopher W. (Editor), *The Globalization of Political Violence: Globalization's Shadow* (London: Routledge, 2007)

Dietrich, Jung, *Shadow Globalization: Ethnic Conflict and New Wars* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Duffield, Mark, “Post-Modern Conflict: Warlords, Post-Adjustment States and Private Protection” *Civil Wars* Vol.1, No. 1 (1998)

*Duffield, Mark, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (London: Zed, 2001)

Duffield, Mark, “War as Network Enterprise: The New Security Terrain and its Implications” *Cultural Values* Vol.6 No.1 & 2 (2002)

Enzensberger, Hans M., *Civil War: From L.A. to Bosnia* (Granta, 1994)

Heupela, Monika & Bernhard Zanglb, “On the Transformation of Warfare: A Plausibility Probe of the New War Thesis” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 13 (2010)

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

*Kaempff, Sebastian, “Lost Through Non-Translation: Bringing Clausewitz's Writings on ‘New Wars’ Back In” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* Vol.22 No.4 (2011)

Kaplan, Robert, “The Coming Anarchy” *The Atlantic* (February 1994)

- Kaplan, Robert, *The Ends of the Earth: From Togo to Turkmenistan, from Iran to Cambodia, a Journey to the Frontiers of Anarchy* (Vintage, 1997)
- *Kalyvas, Stathis N., "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54.1 (2001)
- *Keen, David, *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1998)
- *Leander, Anna, "The Market for Force and Public Security: The Destabilizing Consequences of Private Military Companies" *Journal of Peace Research* Vol.42 No.5 (2005)
- Leander, Anna, "The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies" *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* Vol.33 No.3 (2005)
- Münkler, Herfried, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005)
- Reno, William, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder, CO & London: Lynne Rienner, 1998) – chapters 3, 4 and 7
- Rich, Paul, *Warlords in International Relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999)
- Shaw, Martin, "The Contemporary Mode of Warfare? Mary Kaldor's Theory of New Wars" *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2000)
- *Shearer, David. "Outsourcing War" *Foreign Policy* No.112 (Fall 1999)
- Shearer, David, *Private Armies and Military Intervention*, Adelphi Paper no. 316 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Singer, P.W., "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security" *International Security* 26:3 (Winter 2001-2)
- *Singer, P.W., *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003)
- Van Creveld, Martin, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991)

14. Representations of War: Experience, Memory and Media

Wars occupy a special place in national narratives and are powerful constituents of collective identity. But is there an inevitable tension between private memory and collective remembrance? Is there a politics of memory, and if so, what is at stake? What do the representations of war in popular culture tell us about the societies from which they are issued?

Essential Reading

- Ashplant, Timothy G., Dawson Graham, & Roper Michael (eds.), *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory* (New Brunswick, N.J. & London: Transaction Publishers, 2004) – esp. chapter 1
- Hutchinson, John, "Warfare and the Sacralisation of Nations: The Meanings, Rituals and Politics of National Remembrance" *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* Vol.38 No.2 (2009)

Further Reading

- *Bell, Duncan, "Introduction: Violence and Memory" *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* Vol.38 No.2 (2009)
- Booth, W. James, "Kashmir Road: Some Reflections on Memory and Violence" *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* Vol.38 No.2 (2009)
- Carruthers, Susan, *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)
- Der Derian, James, *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network* (Boulder, CO, Oxford: Westview, 2001)
- *Evans, Martin & Lunn, Ken (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1997) – chapter 8 & 11
- *Evans Martin, "Memories, Monuments, Histories: The Re-thinking of the Second World War since 1989" *National Identities* Vol. 8, No. 4 (2006)
- *Ferguson, Harvie, "The Sublime and the Subliminal: Modern Identities and the Aesthetics of Combat" *Theory, Culture & Society* 21: 1 (2004)
- *Freedman, Lawrence (ed.), *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) – section A: "The Experience of War"
- Fussell, Paul, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Fussell, Paul, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)
- Gibson, James, *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994)
- Irwin-Zareck, Iwona, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (Transaction Publishers, 1994)
- Keren, Michael & Holger H. Herwig (eds.), *War Memory and Popular Culture: Essays on Modes of Remembrance and Commemoration* (McFarland & Co, 2009)
- King, Alex, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford: Berg, 1998)
- Koselleck, Reinhart, "War Memorials: Identity Formations of the Survivors" in Koselleck, Reinhart, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford University Press, 2002)
- Jünger, Ernst, *The Storm of Steel: From the Diary of a German Storm-Troop Officer on the Western Front* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1996)
- Hodgkin, Katharine & Radstone, Susannah (eds.), *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts* (Transaction Publishers, 2005)
- Hynes, Samuel, *The Soldier's Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (Pimlico, 1988)
- *Mosse, George, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York Oxford: Oxford University, 1990)
- Niven, Bill, "War Memorials at the Intersection of Politics, Culture and Memory" *Journal of War and Culture Studies* Vol.1 No.1 (2008)
- Weber, Cynthia, *Imagining America at War: Morality, Politics and Film* (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Winter, Jay, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) – esp. chapter 4

- Winter, Jay & Sivan, Emmanuel, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) – esp. chapter 1
- Winter, Jay, *Remembering War: The Great War and Historical Memory in the 20th Century* (Yale University Press, 2006)
- *Young, Marilyn B., “In the Combat Zone” [review of *Saving Private Ryan*, *Pearl Harbor*, *Black Hawk Down*, and *We Were Soldiers*] *Radical History Review* Issue 85 (Winter 2003)

Novels and Poetry:

- Parsons, Ian M. (ed.), *Men Who March Away: Poems of the First World War* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1965)
- Brian Turner, *Here, Bullet* (Bloodaxe Books, 2007)
- Joseph Heller, *Catch 22* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962)
- Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse Five* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970)
- James Blinn, *The Aardvark is Ready for War* (Anchor Books, 1997)
- Anthony Swofford, *Jarhead: A Marine's Chronicle of the Gulf War* (London: Scribner, 2003)
- Joe Halderman, *The Forever War* (Futura Publications, 1977)

Films:

- On the Desperate Edge of Now*, Adam Curtis (1995)
- Waltz with Bashir*, Ari Folman (2008)
- The Act of Killing*, Joshua Oppenheimer (2012)