

University of Cambridge
Faculty of Human, Social and Political Sciences
HSPS Tripos, Part IIB, Soc 8

WAR & REVOLUTION

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Aims and objectives:

- To introduce concepts and theories in the study of war and revolution.
- To illustrate through historical cases how these insights apply.
- To cultivate historical understanding and analytical skills.

Course Description:

War and revolution are two of the most extreme forms of social interaction. Violence and wholesale disruption test the bonds of social life to the limit. What drives people down that path? And how do they conduct themselves in these extraordinary circumstances? The paper explores these questions theoretically, then examines two extended historical cases: The United States of America from the revolutionary and civil wars through the two world wars to the Cold War and war on terror; and Iran from the rise and fall of the Pahlavi monarchy to the dilemmas of the revolutionary republic and its military activities in Iraq and Syria.

Teaching & Assessment:

This course is taught in nine two-hour lectures (18 hours) in Michaelmas and Lent, and assessed by a 3-hour exam. Required readings are starred amidst recommended readings. Those eager to expand their knowledge can find further readings at the end of the syllabus.

Lecture (1) – Understanding War and Revolution

This lecture contrasts the dominant theoretical approaches to the causes and outcomes of revolution, before moving on to examine the paradoxical nature of war and whether technology transforms its social essence.

Revolution: Causes and Outcomes

—Arendt, Hannah. [1963] 2006. *On Revolution*. London: Penguin [CH1]

*—Collins, Randal. 2001. “Weber and the Sociology of Revolution.” *Journal of Classical Sociology* 1 (2): 171-194.

—Foran, John (ed.). 1997. *Theorizing Revolutions*. New York: Routledge. [CH1-3, 5, 8]

—Goldstone, Jack A. 2003. *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*. Belmont (CA): Wadsworth-Thompson. [CH1-3]

*—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Introduction]

*—Kimmel, Michael. 1990. *Revolution: A Sociological Interpretation*. Syracuse (NY): Syracuse University Press. [CH1-3, 6]

—Mann, Michael. 2013. *The Sources of Social Power, Volume IV: Globalizations, 1945-2011*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH 9]

- Skocpol, Theda. 1994. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Introduction; CH 4]
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. London: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- *—Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2003. *Democracy in America*. London: Penguin. [Volume Two-Part III: Ch21].
- *—Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2011. *The Ancien Régime and the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Book III: Ch1, 4].
- Walt, Stephen M. 1996. *Revolution and War*. London: Cornell University Press. [Introduction; CH 1]

War: Social Nature and Technological Transformations

- Amenta, Edwin, Kate Nash, and Alan Scott (eds.). 2012. *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*. Hoboken (NJ): John Wiley & Sons. [CH16]
- *— Pommerin, Reiner (ed.). 2011. *Clausewitz Goes Global: Carl von Clausewitz in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Carola Hartmann Miles-Verlag. [CH20]
- <https://www.clausewitzstudies.org/bibl/Bassford-ClausewitzInAmericaToday.pdf>
- *—Clausewitz, Carl von. [1832] 1989. *On War* (Peter Paret and Michael Howard, trans.). Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Book I: CH1-3; Book VIII: CH2, 6]
- Freedman, Lawrence. 2000. *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, and Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaldor, Mary. 2006. *Wars Old and New: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. [Introduction; CH7]
- Kestnbaum, Meyer. 2009. 'The Sociology of War and the Military'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 235-254.
- *—Klinger, Janeen. 2006. "The Social Science of Carl von Clausewitz." *Parameters* Spring 2006: 79-89.
- Münkler, Herfried. 2003. 'The Wars of the 21st Century'. *IRRC* 85 (849): 7-22.
- Nelson, Keith L. and Spencer C. Olin, Jr. 1980. *Why War? Ideology, Theory, and History*. Berkeley: University of California Press [CH 1-3]
- Newman, Edward. 2004. 'The "New Wars" Debate: A Historical Perspective is needed'. *Security Dialogue* 35 (2): 173-189.
- Porch, Douglas. 2013. *Counterinsurgency: Exposing the Myths of the New Way of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roxborough, Ian. 1994. "Clausewitz and the Sociology of War." *British Journal of Sociology* 45(4): 619-636.
- *—Schuurman, Bart. 2010. "Clausewitz and the 'New Wars' Scholars." *Parameters* Spring 2010: 89-100.
- Shaw, Martin. 2005. *The New Western Way of War*. Cambridge: Polity Press [CH1, 4]
- Simpson, Emile. 2013. *War from the Ground Up: Twenty-First-Century Combat as Politics*. London: Hurst & Company. [Introduction; CH3]
- _Strachan, Hew and Andreas Herberg-Rothe (eds.). 2007. *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- *—Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2003. *Democracy in America*. London: Penguin. [Volume Two-Part III: Ch22].
- Van Creveld, Martin. 2008. *The Changing Face of War: Combat from the Marne to Iraq*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Essay Questions:

- (1) Critically discuss causality in revolution?
- (2) Can technology change the nature of war?

Lectures (2-5) – AMERICA

These lectures deal with the origins and development of the American War of Independence in the eighteenth century, before turning to the Civil War, a century later. They survey changes in American war doctrine through Vietnam, the so-called Revolution in Military Affairs in the 1990s, the Afghanistan and Iraq campaigns, and the shift to drone warfare. Finally, these lectures examine the lurking militarism in American state and society.

Revolutionary War or War of Independence?

- Bouton, Terry. 2007. *Taming Democracy: The People, the Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH10]
- Conway, Stephen. 2013. *The American Revolutionary War*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- *—Crandall, Russell. 2014. *America's Dirty Wars: Irregular Warfare from 1776 to the War on Terror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH3]
- Ellis, Joseph J. 2000. *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation*. New York: Vintage.
- Goldie, Mark and Robert Wokler (eds.) 2006. *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*. CUP. [CH21]
- *—Kurtz, Stephen and James Hutson. 2011. *Essays on the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill (NC): University of North Carolina Press. [CH1-4, 8]
- Mann, Michael. 1993. *The Sources of Social Power, Volume II: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH 5]
- *—Martin, James Kirby and Mark Edward Lender. 2006. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic*. Wheeling (IL): Harlan Davidson, Inc.
- *—Martin, James Kirby. 2013. *Ordinary Courage: The Revolutionary War Adventures of Joseph Plumb Martin*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.
- Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. 2007. *The Revolutionary War*. Westport (CT): Greenwood Press. [CH1-2, 6-7]
- Palmer, Dave Richard. 1994. *1794: America, Its Army, and the Birth of the Nation*. London: Presidio Press.
- Polk, William R. 2008. *Violent Politics: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism, and Guerilla Warfare from the American Revolution to Iraq*. New York: Harper Perennial. [CH1]
- *—Schlesinger, Arthur. 1919. "The American Revolution Reconsidered." *Political Science Quarterly* 34(1): 61-78.
- Stephenson, Michael. 2007. *Patriot Battles: How the War of Independence Was Fought?* London: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Ward, Christopher. 2011. *The War of the Revolution*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.

Revolution or Civil War?

- *—Anderson, Donald (ed.). 2008. *When War Becomes Personal: Soldier's Accounts from the Civil War to Iraq*. Iowa City (IA): University of Iowa Press. [CH3]
- Catton, Bruce. 1988. *The Civil War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- *—Foner, Eric. 1974. "The Causes of the American Civil War: Recent Interpretations and New Directions." *Civil War History* 20(3): 197-214.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns. 2009. *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. London: Penguin.

- Hacker, Barton (ed.). 2016. *Astride Two Worlds: Technology and the American Civil War*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press. [CH1-4]
- *—Harvey, A. D. 2012. “Was the American Civil War the First Modern War?” *History* 97(2): 272-280.
- Keegan, John. 2010. *The American Civil War: A Military History*. London: Vintage Books.
- *—Kornblith, Gary. 2003. “Rethinking the Coming of the Civil War: A Counterfactual Exercise.” *Journal of American History* 90(1): 76-105.
- McPherson, James. 1988. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Ballantine.
- *—McPherson, James. 2000. “What Caused the Civil War?” *North & South* 4(1): 12-22.
- *—McPherson, James. 2008. *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander-in-Chief*. London: Penguin.
- Moore, Jr., Barrington. 1966. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Landlord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press. [CH 3]
- Runkle, Gerald. 1964. “Karl Marx and the American Civil War.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 6(2): 117-141.
- *—Wood, Michael. 2012. “What Twenty-First-Century Historians said about the Causes of Disunion: A Civil War Sesquicentennial Review of the Recent Literature.” *Journal of American History* 99(2): 415-438.
- *—Wood, Steven and Charles Grear (eds.). 2013. *The Vicksburg Campaign*. Carbondale (IL): Southern Illinois University Press. [CH11]

World Wars: Hot and Cold

- *—Dodge, Robert. 2012. *Schelling's Game Theory: How to Make Decisions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH21]
- *—Herzog, Tobey. 2008. *Writing Vietnam, Writing Life: Caputo, Heinemann, O'Brien, Butler*. Iowa City (IA): Iowa University Press. [CH1, 3-4; Appendices A, C-D]
- *—Howard, Michael. 1981. “On Fighting a Nuclear War.” *International Security* 5(4): 3-17.
- Carroll, James. 2006. *House of War: The Pentagon and the Disastrous Rise of American Power*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Coffman, Edward. 2004. *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898-1941*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- *—Crandall, Russell. 2014. *America's Dirty Wars: Irregular Warfare from 1776 to the War on Terror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH19]
- *—Martins, Dan. 2018. “The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Joint Chiefs: Military Operations to Meet Political Ends.” *Naval War College Review* 71(4): 91-116.
- Moyar, Mark. 2006. *Triumph Forsaken: The Vietnam War, 1954-1965*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- *—Porter, Bruce D. 1994. *War and the Rise of the Modern State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics*. New York: Free Press [CH 7]
- *—Ricks, Thomas. 1997. “The Widening Gap between Military and Society.” *The Atlantic*. July 1997.
- Ward, Geoffrey and Ken Burns. 2018. *The Vietnam War: An Intimate History*. London: Ebury Digital.
- Zegart, Amy B. 1999. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JSC, and NSC*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

War on Terror?

- Bergen, Peter. 2019. *Trump and His Generals: The Cost of Chaos*. New York: Random House.

- Biddle, Stephen. 2006. “Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon.” *Foreign Affairs* 85(2): 2-14.
- *—Byman, Daniel. 2013. “Why Drones Work.” *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2013: 32-43.
- Cockburn, Patrick. 2020. *War in the Age of Trump: The Defeat of ISIS, Fall of the Kurds, Conflict with Iran*. London: Verso.
- *—Crandall, Russell. 2014. *America’s Dirty Wars: Irregular Warfare from 1776 to the War on Terror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH 28, 34]
- Dombrowski, Peter and Simon Reich. 2018. “Beyond the Tweets: President’s Trump’s Continuity in Military Operations.” *Strategic Studies Quarterly*. Summer 2018: 56-81.
- *—Niva, Steve. 2013. “Disappearing Violence: JSOC and the Pentagon’s New Cartography of Networked Warfare.” *Security Dialogue* 44(3): 185-202.
- Packer, George. 2006. “The Lesson of Tal Afar.” *The New Yorker* (10 April 2006).
- Porter, Patrick. 2009. “Long Wars and Long Telegrams: Containing Al-Qaeda.” *International Affairs* 85(2): 285-305.
- Robinson, Linda. 2008. *Tell Me How This Ends: General David Petraeus and the Search for a Way Out of Iraq*. New York: Public Affairs. [CH8-9]
- *—Rosen, Gary (ed.) 2005. *The Right War?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH2-3, 10, 12-16]
- Sloan, Elinor. 2002. *Revolution in Military Affairs*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- Scahill, Jeremy et al. 2016. *The Assassination Complex: Inside the Government’s Secret Drone Warfare Program*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Walsh, James Igoe and Marcus Schulzke. 2018. *Drones and Support for the Use of Force*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [CH1: pp. 1-22]
- *—Stone, J. 2007. “Technology and War: A Trinitarian Analysis.” *Defense & Security Analysis* 23(1): 27-40.
- *—Williams, Brian Glyn. 2016. *Counter Jihad: America’s Military Experience in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria*. Philadelphia (PN): University of Pennsylvania Press. [CH 4, 6]
- Kaplan, Fred. 2013. *The Insurgents: David Petraeus and the Plot to Change the American Way of War*. New York: Simon & Schuster. [CH8, 16-17, 20, 22]

Essay Questions:

- (1) How revolutionary was the American War of Independence?
- (2) Why was the Civil War necessary?
- (3) Discuss the logic guiding the evolution of the American war doctrine?
- (4) To what extent is America succeeding in reducing the violence of war?

Lectures (6-9) – IRAN

These lectures examine the role of the military in establishing and preserving the Pahlavi dynasty. They then explore the preconditions and consequences of Khomeini’s Islamist revolution, and how the revolutionary guards were essential to consolidating power, fighting the long war against Iraq, and exporting revolution to Arab countries. They finally consider challenges to the regime, from America to the Green Movement.

Revolution from Above between World Wars

- Abrahamian, Ervand. 2012. *History of Modern Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [CH3-4]
- Ansari, Ali. 2019. *Modern Iran Since 1797: Reform and Revolution (3rd edition)*. London: Routledge [CH7-9]

- Cronin, Stephanie. 1997. *The Army and the Creation of the Pahlavi State, 1910-1926*. New York: Tauris Academic Studies.
- *—Cronin, Stephanie. 2003. *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shab*. London: Routledge. [CH3]
- *—Cronin, Stephanie. 2010. *Soldiers, Shabs, and Subalterns in Iran: Opposition, Protest, and Revolt*. London: Routledge. New York: Palgrave Macmillan [CH2-4, 7]
- Foran, John. 1994. *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. [CH5]
- Ghani, Sirius. 1998. *Iran and the Rise of Reza Shab: From Qajar Collapse to Pahlavi Rule*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- *—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH 1]
- Keddie, Nikki. 2006. *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution (2nd edition)*. New Haven (CT): Yale University Press. [CH5-6]
- Touraj, Atabaki, and Erik Jan Zürcher. 2004. *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Ataturk and Reza Shab*. London: I. B. Tauris. [CH1-2, 6]

Revolution from Above during the Cold War

- *—Abrahamian, Ervand. 2015. *The Coup: 1953, The CIA, and The Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations*. New York: New Press.
- Algar, Hamid. 2001. *Roots of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New York: Islamic Publication International.
- Bayandor, Darioush. 2010. *Iran and the CIA: The Fall of Mosaddeq Revisited*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dabashi, Hamid. 1993. *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution*. New York: New York University Press.
- *—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH2]
- Katouzian, Homa. 1999. *Musaddiq And the Struggle for Power in Iran*. New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Kinzer, Stephen. 2003. *All the Shab's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror*. Hoboken (NJ): John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Musaddiq, Mohamed. 1988. *Musaddiq's Memoirs: The End of the British Empire in Iran*. London: JEBHE, National Movement of Iran.
- *—Rahnema, Ali. 2014. *Behind the 1953 Coup in Iran: Thugs, Turncoats, Soldiers, and Spooks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roosevelt, Kermit. 1979. *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Revolutionary Republicanism

- *—Abrahamian, Ervand. 2009. "The Crowd in the Iranian Revolution." *Radical History Review* 105: 13-38.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. 1988. *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Axworthy, Michael. 2013. *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic*. London: Penguin. [Prologue; CH 3-7; Epilogue]
- Burns, Gene. 1996. "Ideology, Culture, and Ambiguity: The Revolutionary Process in Iran." *Theory and Society* 25 (3): 349-388.

- Foran, John. 1994. *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. [CH7]
- *—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH3-4]
- Khomeini, Ruhollah. 1981. *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini (1941-1980)*. North Haledon (NJ): Mizan Press.
- Kurzman, Charles. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Kurzman, Charles. 2004. “Can Understanding Undermine Explanation? The Confused Experience of Revolution” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 34(3): 328-351.
- *—Moaddel, Mansoor. 1992. “Ideology as Episodic Discourse: The Case of the Iranian Revolution.” *American Sociological Review* 57 (3): 353-379.
- *—Parsa, Misagh. 2009. “State, Class, and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 29(1): 3-17.
- Selbin, Eric. 2009. “What was Revolutionary about the Iranian Revolution? The Power of Possibility.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 29(1): 33-46.
- *—Skocpol, Theda. 1994. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH 10]

The Republic at War

- *—Abrahamian, Ervand. 2012. *History of Modern Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [CH6]
- *—Bayat, Asef. 2013. *Post-Islamism: The Changing Faces of Political Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH2]
- Brumberg, Daniel and Farideh Farhi. 2012. *Power and Change in Iran: Politics of Contention and Conciliation*. Bloomington (IN): Indiana University Press. [CH7]
- Dabashi, Hamid. 2013. *Iran, the Green Movement, and the USA: The Fox and the Paradox*. New York: Zed Books.
- Forozan, Hesam, and Afshin Shahi. 2017. “The Military and the State in Iran: Economic Rise of the Revolutionary Guards.” *Middle East Journal* 71(1): 67-86.
- Filkins, Dexter. 2013. “The Shadow Commander.” *The New Yorker* (30 September 2013).
- *—Harris, Kevan. 2012. “The Brokered Exuberance of the Middle Class: An Ethnographic Analysis of Iran’s 2009 Green Movement.” *Mobilization* 17(4): 435-455.
- *—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH5]
- Maloney, Suzanne. 2020. *The Iranian Revolution at Forty*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. [Part III]
- Ward, Steven R. 2009. *Immortal: A Military History of Iran and Its Armed Forces*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. [CH 8-10]
- *—Zabih, Sepehr. 2011. *The Iranian Military in Revolution and War*. New York: Routledge. [CH4, 6, 8]
- Martin, Vanessa. 2007. *Creating the Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*. New York: I. B. Tauris. [CH7]
- Talmadge, Caitlin. 2015. *The Dictator’s Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [CH4-5]
- *—Ostovar, Afshon. 2016. *Vanguard of the Imam: Religion, Politics, and Iran’s Revolutionary Guards*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH3-6, 8-11]

Essay Questions:

- (1) Explain the weakness of Pahlavi regime?
- (2) How peaceful was the Iranian revolution?
- (3) Discuss civil-military relations in Islamist Iran?
- (4) How are the Revolutionary Guards changing Iranian politics?