

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

REVOLUTION, WAR & MILITARISM

Course organiser: Dr Teije Hidde Donker, td402@cam.ac.uk

Aims and objectives:

- To introduce concepts in the study of revolution, war and militarism.
- To illustrate through historical cases how these theories can be applied.
- To cultivate critical analytical thinking in relation to complex social phenomena.

Course Description:

Revolutions are often accompanied by war, and cast a long shadow over a country's civil-military relations. This paper adopts a holistic approach to these three interrelated phenomena: revolution, war, and militarism. After surveying the relevant literature, three historical cases are examined: (1) America, from the War of Independence and the Civil War through the two world wars and the Cold War, to the current War on Terror; (2) France, from the Great Revolution and Napoleonic wars through the rebellious century to the present day; and (3) Iran, covering the Pahlavi dynasty, the Iranian Revolution, and the Islamic Republic that followed. The objective of these extended histories is to uncover the causes and outcomes of revolution, and the role of collective violence in regime transformation.

Teaching & Assessment:

This course is taught in twelve two-hour lectures (total 24 hours) in Michaelmas and Lent, and assessed by a 3-hour examination. Required readings are starred. Further readings, for those eager to expand their knowledge, are listed at the end of the syllabus.

Lecture (1-3)—REVOLUTION, WAR, MILITARISM

These lectures present main theoretical approaches to the causes and outcomes of revolution, before applying them to Arab revolts (2011-present). The lectures then explore the literature on conventional and revolutionary wars, with the war on ISIL (2014-present) as case study. And finally, we cover militarism in policy-making, focusing on the American case.

Revolution: Causes and Comparability

—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Introduction-‘From Revolution to Regime Change’; Conclusion-‘Revolution, Reform, and Resilience’]

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

- Castells, Manuel. 2012. *Networks of Hope and Rage: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Sanderson, Stephen K. 2010. *Revolutions: A Worldwide Introduction to Social and Political Contention*. London: Paradigm.
- *—Foran, John (ed.). 1997. *Theorizing Revolutions*. New York: Routledge. [CH 1-‘State-Centered Approaches to Social Revolutions: Strengths and Limitations of a Theoretical Tradition’ by Jeff Goodwin; CH 2-‘Structural Theories of Revolution’ by Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley; CH3-‘Agents of Revolution: Elite Conflicts and Mass Mobilization from the Medici to Yeltsin’ by Richard Lachmann; CH 5-‘Revolution in the Real World: Bringing Agency Back In’ by Eric Selbin; CH 8-‘Discourses and Social Forces: The Role of Culture and Cultural Studies in Understanding Revolutions’ by John Foran]
- Skocpol, Theda. 1994. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Introduction; CH 4-‘Explaining Revolutions: In Quest of a Social-Structural Approach’]
- Trimberger, Ellen Kay. 1978. *Revolution from Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt, and Peru*. Transaction Books.

Warfare: Revolutionary and Conventional

- Bacevich, Andrew J. 2016. *America’s War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History*. New York: Random House.
- *—Simpson, Emile. 2013. *War from the Ground Up: Twenty-First-Century Combat as Politics*. London: Hurst & Company. [Introduction; CH3-‘Globalization and Contemporary Conflict’]
- Porch, Douglas. 2013. *Counterinsurgency: Exposing the Myths of the New Way of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- *—Strachan, Hew and Andreas Herberg-Rothe (eds.). 2009. *Clausewitz in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH1-‘Clausewitz and the Dialectics of War’ by Hew Strachan; CH4-‘The Primacy of Policy and the Trinity in Clausewitz’s Mature Thought’ by Christopher Bassford; CH5-‘The Instrument: Clausewitz on Aims and Objectives in War’ by Daniel Moran; CH8-‘Clausewitz Ideas of Strategy and Victory’; CH9-‘On Defence as the Stronger Form of War’ by Jon Sumida]
- Malešević, Siniša. 2010. *The Sociology of War and Violence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Van Creveld, Martin. 2008. *The Changing Face of War: Combat from the Marne to Iraq*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Kaldor, Mary. 2006. *Old and New Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- *—Shaw, Martin. 2005. *The New Western Way of War*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [CH 1-‘The New Western Way of War from Vietnam to Iraq’; CH 4-‘Rules of Risk-Transfer War’]
- Katz, Mark (ed.). 2001. *Revolution: International Dimensions*. [CH2-‘A Theory of Revolution and War’ by Stephen Walt; CH3-‘War and Revolution’ by Fred Halliday; CH5-‘The Role of Military Power’ by Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley]
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. 1997. “Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth America.” *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (6): 1565–1605.

-Century Latin

Militarism: Domestic and Foreign

- *—Tarrow, Sidney. 2015. *War, States, and Contention: A Comparative Historical Study*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press [CH1-‘Studying War, States, and Contention’]
- Dudziak, Mary L. 2012. *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Kestnbaum, Meyer. 2009. ‘The Sociology of War and the Military’. *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 235-254.
- *—Bacevich, Andrew J. 2006. *The New American Militarism: How Americans are seduced by War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- *—Davies, Diane E. and Anthony W. Pereira (eds.). 2003. *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH 2-‘Armed Force, Regimes, and Contention in Europe since 1650’ by Charles Tilly]
- Tilly, Charles. 2006. *Regimes and Repertoires*. University of Chicago Press. [CH6-‘Collective Violence’]
- Poggi, Gianfranco. 2001. *Forms of Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [CH 10-‘Military Power’]
- Paret, Peter. 1992. *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [CH 1-‘Military Power’]

Essay Questions:

- (1) Critically discuss causality in revolution.
- (2) ‘Revolution begets war; war begets revolution’. Comment.
- (3) Explain the social and political aspects of militarism.

Lectures (4-6)—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 then 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.

The War of Independence

- *—Middlekauff, Robert. 2015. *Washington’s Revolution: The Making of America’s First Leader*. New York: Vintage.
- *—Conway, Stephen. 2013. *The American Revolutionary War*. London: I. B. Tauris
- Ward, Christopher. 2011. *The War of the Revolution*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.
- Polk, William R. 2008. *Violent Politics: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism, and Guerilla Warfare from the American Revolution to Iraq*. New York: Harper Perennial. [CH 1-‘The American Insurgency’]
- *—Martin, James Kirby and Mark Edward Lender. 2006. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic*. Wheeling (IL): Harlan Davidson, Inc. [CH 1-‘The American Insurgency’]

—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-‘The American Revolution and the Institutionalization of Confederal Capitalist Liberalism’]

The Civil War

*—Tarrow, Sidney. 2015. *War, States, and Contention: A Comparative Historical Study*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press [CH3-‘A Movement Makes War: Civil War and Reconstruction’]

—McPherson, James M. 2015. *The War that Forged a Nation: Why the Civil War Still Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press.

—Thompson, John. 2015. *A Sense of Power: The Roots of America’s Global Role*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

—Keegan, John. 2010. *The American Civil War: A Military History*. London: Vintage Books.

*—Paret, Peter (ed.). 1996. *Makers of Modern Strategy* [CH 15-‘American Strategy from Its Beginnings through the First World War’ by Russell F. Weigley]

*—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-‘The American Civil War: The Last Capitalist Revolution’]

Contemporary America

*—Scahill, Jeremy. 2016. *The Assassination Complex: Inside the US Government’s Secret Drone Warfare Programme*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

—Bacevich, Andrew J. 2016. *America’s War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History*. New York: Random House.

*—Tarrow, Sidney. 2015. *War, States, and Contention: A Comparative Historical Study*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press [CH7-‘The War at Home, 2001-2013’; CH8-‘American State of Terror’]

—Anderson, Perry. 2015. *American Foreign Policy and Its Thinkers*. London: Verso.

—Kennedy, David (ed.). 2013. *The Modern American Military*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—Mazzetti, Mark. 2013. *The Way of the Knife: The CIA, a Secret Army, and a War at the Ends of the Earth*. London: Penguin.

*—Davies and Pereira. 2008. *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation*. [CH 14-‘The Ghost of Vietnam: American Confronts the New World Disorder’ by Ian Roxborough]

—Porter, Bruce D. 1994. *War and the Rise of the Modern State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics*. New York: Free Press [CH 7-‘War and the American Government’]

Essay Questions:

(1) How revolutionary was the American War of Independence?

(2) Was the Civil War inevitable? Why (not)?

(3) Discuss the development of the American war doctrine.

Lectures (7-9)—FRANCE

These lectures trace France’s turbulent revolutionary century (1789-1871), highlighting its groundbreaking developments in the field of war (especially under Napoleon), and the

downturn it experienced (under his nephew, and during the opening stages of the two world wars). They then consider how the French were among the first to deal with insurgencies, during their occupation of Spain, and later in Algeria and Vietnam. It ends with a survey of France's contemporary situation, politically and militarily.

The Great Revolution

- Davidson, Ian. 2016. *The French Revolution: From Enlightenment to Tyranny*. London: Profile.
- McPhee, Peter. 2016. *Liberty or Death: The French Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Israel, Jonathan. 2015. *Revolutionary Ideas: An Intellectual History of the French Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- *—Tarrow, Sidney. 2015. *War, States, and Contention: A Comparative Historical Study*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press [CH2-‘A Movement-State Goes to War: France, 1789-1799’]
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. [1856] 2010. *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Burke, Edmund. 2008. *The Evils of Revolution*. London: Penguin.
- *—Cobban, Alfred. 1999. *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution (2nd edition)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH 6-‘Who Were the Revolutionary Bourgeois’; CH 8-‘A Bourgeoisie of Landowners’; CH 11-‘The Sans-Culottes’; CH 12-‘A Revolution of the Propertied Classes’]
- *—Mann, Michael. 1993. *The Sources of Social Power, Volume II*. [CH 6-‘The French Revolution and the Bourgeois Nation’]

Napoleonic Wars and the Rebellious Century

- Roberts, Andrew. 2015. *Napoleon the Great*. London: Penguin.
- *—Jordan, David P. 2012. *Napoleon and the Revolution*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- *—Howard, Michael. 2009. *War in European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH 5-‘The Wars of the Revolution’]
- *—Gildea, Robert. 2009. *Children of the Revolution: The French 1799-1914*. London: Penguin.
- Bell, David A. 2007. *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It*. New York: Mariner Books.
- Esdaile, Charles. 2007. *Napoleon's Wars: An International History*. London: Penguin Books.
- Tilly, Charles. 1989. *The Contentious French: Four Centuries of Popular Struggle*. Cambridge (MA): Belknap Press.

Contemporary France

- *—Fenby, Jonathan. 2016. *The History of Modern France: From the Revolution to the War with Terror*. New York: Simon & Schuster. [Part5-‘The Fifth Republic, 1958-2015.’]
- Farrell, Theo et al. 2013. *Transforming Military Power since the Cold War: Britain, France, and the United States*. [CH 3-‘Transformation as Modernization: the French Army, 1992-2012’]
- Hazareesingh, Sudhir. 2012. *In the Shadow of the General: Modern France and the Myth of De Gaulle*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Perry. 2011. *The Old New World*. London: Verso [CH 4-‘France’]
- Fenby, Jonathan. 2011. *The General: Charles De Gaulle and the France He Saved*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- *—Gildea, Robert. 2002. *France Since 1945*. Oxford: Oxford University 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 [CH 2-‘The Spanish Guerilla Against the French’; CH 8-‘The Algerian War of National Independence’; CH 9-‘The Vietnamese Struggle Against the French’]
- Berstein, Serge. 1993. *The Republic of de Gaulle 1958-1969*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rioux, Jean-Pierre. 1989. *The Fourth Republic, 1944-1958*. Cambridge University Press.
- Horne, Alistair. 1984. *The French Army and Politics, 1870-1970*. London: Peter Bedrick.

Essay Questions:

- (1) Was violence essential to the success of the French revolution?
- (2) Was Napoleon the ‘Revolution on horseback’?
- (3) Why did France lose its position as a global military power?

Lectures (10-12)—IRAN

These lectures examine the preconditions and consequences of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, considering particularly how the Islamist militias and revolutionary guards were central to consolidating power, and how war with Iraq shaped the new regime. It ends with a discussion of Iran’s current situation, also in reference to its involvement in the Syrian civil war.

The Shah Dynasty and the 1953 Coup

- *—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. New York: Oxford University Press [CH1-‘A One-Man Coup’; CH2-‘A Coup de Theatre’]
- *—Abrahamian, Ervand. 2013. *The Coup: 1953, The CIA, and The Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations*. New York: New Press.
- Bayandor, Darioush. 2010. *Iran and the CIA: The Fall of Mosaddeq Revisited*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cronin, Stephanie. 2010. *Soldiers, Shabs, and Subalterns in Iran: Opposition, Protest, and Revolt, 1921-1941*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne (eds.). 2004. *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*. Syracuse (NY): Syracuse University Press.
- Abrahamian, Ervand. 1982. *Iran Between Two Revolutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Keddie, Nikki R. 1981. *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

The Islamic Revolution

- *—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. New York: Oxford University Press [CH3-‘The Road to Persepolis and Back’; CH4-‘The Coup that Never Was’]
- *—Axworthy, Michael. 2013. *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic*. London: Penguin. [Prologue; CH 3-‘Islamic Republic, 1979-80’]
- Kurzman, Charles. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

—Walt, Stephen M. 1996. *Revolution and War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [CH 5-‘The Iranian Revolution’]
*—Skocpol, Theda. 1994. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [CH 10-‘Rentier State and Shi’a Islam in the Iranian Revolution’]
—Parsa, Misagh. 1989. *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution*. New Brunswick (NJ): Rutgers University Press.

Contemporary Iran

*—Kandil, Hazem. 2016. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change*. New York: Oxford University Press [CH5-‘Checks and Balances: The Realist Version’]
—Murray, Williamson and Kevin Woods. 2014. *The Iran-Iraq War: A Military and Strategic History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
*—Axworthy, Michael. 2013. *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic*. London: Penguin. [CH 4-‘The Imposed War, 1980-88’; CH 5-‘Khamenei and Rafsanjani, 1988-97’; CH 6-‘Khatami and Reform, 1997-2005’; CH 7-‘Ahmadinejad and Khamenei, 2005-12’; Epilogue]
—Heydemann, Steven, and Reinoud Leenders. 2013. *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran*. Stanford University Press.
—Buchan, James. 2012. *Days of God: The Revolution in Iran and Its Consequences*. London: John Murray Publishers.
*—Ward, Steven R. 2009. *Immortal: A Military History of Iran and Its Armed Forces*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. [CH 8-‘Old Guard, New Guard: Iran’s Armed Forces in the Islamic Revolution’; CH 9-‘Horrible Sacrifice: The Iran-Iraq War’; CH 10-‘Despise Not Your Enemy: Iran’s Armed Forces in the Twenty-First Century’]
—Martin, Vanessa. 2007. *Creating the Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*. New York: I. B. Tauris.
—Zabih, Sepehr. 1988. *The Iranian Military in Revolution and War*. New York: Routledge.

Essay Questions:

- (1) Why was the old regime in Iran weak?
- (2) Was the Iranian revolution peaceful?
- (3) Discuss civil-military relations in Islamist Iran.

Further Readings

REVOLUTION

—Badiou, Alain. 2012. *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings*. London: Verso.
—Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr and Farrokh Moshiri (eds.). 1991. *Revolutions of the Late Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Westview Press.
—Kimmel, Michael. 1990. *Revolution: A Sociological Interpretation*. Syracuse (NY): Syracuse University Press.
—Adelman, Jonathan. 1985. *Revolution, Armies, and War: A Political History*. Boulder (CO): Lynne Rienner Publishers.

—Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. London: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

—Dunn, John. 1972. *Modern Revolutions: An Introduction to the Analysis of a Political Phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WARFARE

—Newman, Edward. 2004. ‘The “New Wars” Debate: A Historical Perspective is needed’. *Security Dialogue* 35 (2): 173-189.

—Sloan, Elinor C. 2002. *The Revolution in Military Affairs*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

—Münkler, Herfried. 2003. ‘The Wars of the 21st Century’. *IRRC* 85 (849): 7-22.

—Walt, Stephen M. 1996. *Revolution and War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [Introduction; CH 1-‘A Theory of Revolution and War’]

—Von Clausewitz, Carl. [1832] 1989. *On War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Book I, CH 1-3, 7; Book VIII, CH 2, 6]

—Paret, Peter (ed.). 1986. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [CH 1-‘Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War’ by Felix Gilbert; CH 7-‘Clausewitz’ by Peter Paret; CH 9-‘Engels and Marx on Revolution, War, and the Army in Society’ by Sigmund Neumann and Mark von Hagen; CH 27-‘Revolutionary War’ by John Shy]

—Nelson, Keith L. and Spencer C. Olin, Jr. 1980. *Why War? Ideology, Theory, and History*. Berkeley: University of California Press [CH 1-‘Conservative Ideology and Theory about the Causes of War’; CH 2-‘Liberal Ideology and Theory about the Causes of War’; CH 3-‘Radical Ideology and the Theory about the Causes of War’]

—Chorley, Katharine. 1973. *Armies and the Art of Revolution*. Boston: Beacon Press [CH 11-12-‘Making an Army to Consolidate Revolution’]

MILITARISM

—Bruneau, Thomas C. and Florina Christiana Matei. 2013. *The Routledge Handbook of Civil-Military Relations*. London: Routledge.

—Howard, Michael. 2009. *War in European History* (2nd edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—Rootes, Chris and Howard Davis (eds.). 1994. *Social Change and Political Transformation*. London: UCL Press. [CH 4-‘Theses on Post-Military Europe: Conscriptio, Citizenship and Militarism after the Cold War’ by Martin Shaw]

—Bond, Brian. 1986. *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—Chorley, Katharine. 1973. *Armies and the Art of Revolution*. Boston: Beacon Press. [CH 1-‘Armed Forces and the Body Politic’]

—Vagts, Alfred. 1959. *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military*. New York: Meridian Books, Inc.

AMERICA

War of Independence

- Stephenson, Michael. 2007. *Patriot Battles: How the War of Independence Was Fought?* London: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Ellis, Joseph J. 2000. *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation*. New York: Vintage.
- Draper, Theodore. 1997. *A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ellis, John. 1974. *Armies in Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH 3-‘The American War of Independence 1775-83’]
- Greene, Jack P. (ed.). 1969. *The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution, 1763-1789*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Billias, George (ed.). 1965. *The American Revolution: How Revolutionary Was It?* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.
- Wright, Esmond. 1961. *Fabric of Freedom, 1763-1800*. New York: Hill and Wang. [CH 5-‘Revolution: Winning the War, 1776-1783’]

Civil War

- Goodwin, Doris Kearns. 2009. *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. London: Penguin.
- McPherson, James M. 2008. *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander-in-Chief*. London: Penguin.
- McPherson, James M. 2003. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Ballantine.
- Catton, Bruce. 1988. *The Civil War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Paxman, Fredric L. 1912. *The American Civil War*. London: Williams and Norgate.

Contemporary America

- Benjamin, Medea. 2013. *Drone Warfare: Killing by Remote Control*. London: Verso.
- Kaplan, Fred. 2013. *The Insurgents: David Petraeus and the Plot to Change the American Way of War*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Scahill, Jeremy. 2013. *Dirty Wars: The World as A Battlefield*. New York: Nation Books.
- Glain, Stephen. 2011. *State vs. Defense: The Battle to Defend America’s Empire*. New York: Broadway.
- Woodward, Bob. 2010. *Obama’s Wars*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Jarecki, Eugene. 2008. *The American Way of War: Guided Missiles, Misguided Men, and a Republic in Peril*.
- Polk, William R. 2008. *Violent Politics: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism, and Guerilla Warfare from the American Revolution to Iraq*. New York: Harper Perennial. [CH 10-‘America takes over from France in Vietnam?’; Conclusion]
- Rose, Michael. 2007. *Washington’s War: Insurgency Warfare from the American Revolution to Iraq*. London: Pegasus.
- Gordon, Michael and (General) Bernard E. Trainor. 2007. *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Carroll, James. 2006. *House of War: The Pentagon and the Disastrous Rise of American Power*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Stevenson, Charles A. 2006. *Warriors and Politicians: US Civil-Military under Stress*. London: Routledge.

- Clarke, Wesley K. 2004. *Winning Modern Wars: Iraq, Terrorism, and the American Empire*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Coffman, Edward M. 2004. *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898-1941*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Johnson, Chalmers. 2004. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. New York: Owl Books.
- Keegan, John. 2004. *The Iraq War*. London: Random House.
- Singer, P. W. 2003. *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*. Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press.
- Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow. 1999. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, Inc.
- Zegart, Amy B. 1999. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JSC, and NSC*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Avant, Deborah. 1998. 'Conflicting Indicators of "Crisis" in American Civil-Military Relations'. *Armed Forces & Society* 24 (3): 375-388.

FRANCE

The Great Revolution

- Brown, Howard G. 2004. *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State: Politics and Army Administration in France, 1791-1799*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lefebvre, George. 2001. *The French Revolution*. New York: Routledge.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1996. *Revolution and War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [CH 3-‘The French Revolution’]
- Schama, Simon. 1990. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. London: Vintage.
- Taaffe, Peter. 1989. *The Masses Arise: The Great French Revolution*. London: Fortress Books.
- Hibbert, Christopher. 1980. *The French Revolution*. London: Penguin.
- Ellis, John. 1974. *Armies in Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [CH 4-‘The French Revolution 1789-94’]
- Chorley, Katharine. 1973. *Armies and the Art of Revolution*. Boston: Beacon Press [CH 8-‘The French Revolution’]
- Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. [CH 2-‘Evolution and Revolution in France’]
- Soboul, Albert. 1965. *A Short History of the French Revolution, 1789-1799*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Napoleonic Wars and the Rebellious Century

- Lefebvre, George. [1969] 2011. *Napoleon*. New York: Routledge.
- Cobb, Richard. 1999. *The French and Their Revolution: Selected Writings*. New York: New Press.
- Jones, Peter. 1995. *The 1848 Revolutions*. London: Longman Group.
- Chandler, David. 1994. *On the Napoleonic Wars: Collected Essays*. London: Greenhill Books.
- Hart, B. H. Liddell. 1991. *Strategy*. London: Penguin Books. [CH 8-‘The French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte’]
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. 1987. *Recollections: The French Revolution of 1848*. New York: Transaction Publishers.

- Paret, Peter (ed.). 1986. *Makers of Modern Strategy* [CH 5-‘Napoleon and the Revolution in War’ by Peter Paret]
- Bergeron, Louis. 1981. *France under Napoleon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stearns, Peter N. 1974. *1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Duveau, Georges. 1967. *1848: The Making of a Revolution*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Namier, Lewis. 1964. *1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Marx, Karl. 1963. *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. New York: International Publishers.

Contemporary France

- Horne, Alistair. 2006. *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*. New York: New York Review Book.
- Werth, Alexander. 1967. *De Gaulle*. London: Penguin Books.
- Ambler, John Steward. 1966. *The French Army in Politics, 1945-1962*. Ohio: Ohio State University Press.
- Howard, Michael (ed.). 1957. *Soldiers and Governments*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. [CH 3-‘The French Army and Politics’ by Guy Chapman]

IRAN

The Shah Dynasty and 1953 Coup

- Milani, Abass. 2011. *The Shah*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kinzer, Stephen. 2003. *All the Shah’s Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror*. Hoboken (NJ): John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Katouzian, Homa. 1999. *Musaddiq And the Struggle For Power in Iran*. New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Cronin, Stephanie. 1997. *The Army and the Creation of the Pahlavi State, 1910-1926*. New York: Tauris Academic Studies.
- Pahlavi, Mohamed Reza. 1980. *My Answer to History*. New York: Stein and Day Publishers.
- Roosevelt, Kermit. 1979. *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Musaddiq, Mohamed. 1988. *Musaddiq’s Memoirs: The End of the British Empire in Iran*. London: JEBHE, National Movement of Iran.
- Pahlavi, Mohamed Reza. 1967. *The White Revolution of Iran*. Tehran: Imperial Pahlavi Library.

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