

University of Pennsylvania  
Department of History  
History 160

***Strategy, Policy, and War***

Fall Semester 2015  
Professor Arthur Waldron

***Summary:***

Strategic analysis means making sense of violence, particularly in war—which often seems in essence to be senseless—and particularly as it is used to pursue political goals.

Strategic analysis is very much like economic analysis: it helps you make sense of the world, current events, and history. But unlike economic analysis it is rarely taught. This course is based on the celebrated survey offered at the U.S. Naval War College, Newport, R.I. (a graduate school for military officers of all service, diplomats, intelligence officers and others, both American and from 44 foreign countries) where Professor Waldron taught before coming to Penn in 1997. Only two other Ivy League institutions offer courses taught by professors having this rigorous background.

History 160 introduces the principles of strategic analysis in four ways. First, we consider the nature of human violence by examining the phenomenon of football hooliganism in Britain. Second, we compare and contrast two of the greatest analysts of war and strategists, namely: Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) and Sun Zi 孫子(544-496 B.C.E.) Third, we examine four distinct approaches to the waging of war by analyzing four campaigns: the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.E.); the Second Punic War [the War of Rome and Hannibal] (218-201 B.C.E.); the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) and the Wars of German Unification (1864-1871). Then, fourth, after a brief bridging survey of World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945) we turn to the last sixty years, our purpose being to reach the wars closest to our students, which are narrated and analyzed in considerable detail using the intellectual tools already prepared in the first part of the course. These wars are in Vietnam (1955-1975), in Iraq (2003-2010) and in Afghanistan (2001-present). Stress will be placed on classroom analysis and discussion of the courses of these three major and recent conflicts. We will also host an optional war game (Saturday, November 7).

***Requirements:***

Attendance at lectures, a short response paper (3-5 pages; 20%); a longer (8-12 page course paper due when classes end; 30%); an in-class midterm examination (20%) and standard final examination (December 18; 30%).

*This is an introductory course that assumes no previous knowledge.* Therefore it is suitable for freshmen as well as upperclassmen. So higher level students will also find this course of interest. *Graduate students are welcome (see the Instructor about how to get graduate credit).*

*Meetings:* Tuesday and Thursday 12:00-1:30

*Instructor:*



*Arthur Waldron*  
*Lauder Professor of International Relations*  
*Department of History*  
*University of Pennsylvania*  
*311C College Hall*  
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*Biography:*

Arthur Waldron is the Lauder Professor of International Relations in the Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania.. He works mostly on the history of Asia, China in particular; the problem of nationalism, and the study of war and violence in history.

Educated at Harvard (A.B. '71 *summa cum laude* Valedictorian; PhD '81) and in Asia where he lived for four years before returning to Harvard. He previously taught at Princeton University (as Assistant Professor of History and East Asian Studies), the U.S. Naval War College (as Professor of Strategy and Policy), and Brown University (as Adjunct Professor of East Asian Studies). His publications include *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth* (1989) also in Italian and Chinese; *The Modernization of Inner Asia* (1991); *How the Peace Was Lost: The 1935 Memorandum "Developments Affecting American Policy in the Far East" Prepared for the State Department by John Van Antwerp MacMurray* (1992) also in Japanese; *From War to Nationalism: China's Turning Point, 1924-1925* (1995) being translated into Chinese at Peking University, and (with Daniel Moran) *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution* (2003). His latest book, *The Chinese* should appear in 2016. In addition he has fourteen articles in peer reviewed journals, ten chapters in books, and two edited volumes in Chinese, as well numerous scholarly and popular reviews and journalistic essays. In government, he served as one of twelve members of the highly-classified Tilelli Commission (2000-2001), which evaluated the China operations of the Central Intelligence Agency. He was also an original member of the Congressionally-mandated U.S-China Economic and Security Review Commission (2001-2003). He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Board Member of the Jamestown Foundation (Washington, D.C.) and former Director of Asian Studies at the American Enterprise Institute (Washington, D.C.). A regular traveler, he has visited some fifty countries in Asia and beyond. He has lectured all over the world, including Europe, Russia, Australia and Japan. Born in Boston in 1948 Professor Waldron married the former Xiaowei Yü 余晓薇 (born Beijing) in 1988. With their two sons they live in Gladwyne, Pennsylvania.

*Office Hours:* College Hall 311C T 4:30-6:00 R: 1:30-3:30

***Teaching Fellows:***

*Graders:*

***Note:***

*Please make an effort to come to office hours. These are the times when we get to know the students better. It is also the time during which we can discuss more broadly and in greater depth issues that arise in lectures. As we have no recitations, this is particularly important. Certainly try to come by to discuss papers and projects with any of us—or just to chat about what is on your mind. We very much like to know our students.*

*Please note also that **we cannot accept** any electronic submissions of papers or the final examination. Please do not email your course submissions to me or my colleagues. We do not have the kind of printing equipment to handle that. So all submissions **must** be typed on paper, with regular fonts, double spacing, and standard margins, and submitted as directed.*

*We are aware that many courses at Penn are less demanding than this one, yet yield high grades. If you do the work conscientiously, you will do just fine.*

**Grading:**

Here are the approximate weights of the class exercises:

One short (3-5 page) paper, to get you thinking about basic issues. 20%

A course paper on a topic of your choice due in the last week of classes (8-10 pages) 30%

Regular mid-term in class, with emphasis on factual knowledge and readings, with very short essay. 20%

Regular final examination, with a greater emphasis on an essay that will test your ability to synthesize and think originally. 30%

**The Class Paper:**

Think carefully about the examples discussed and issues raised in the course. Then ask yourself, “If I could write a paper about any topic I wanted, what would it be?” Then check with me (best is to send an email outlining your idea and *then* come to office hours)—we will discuss practicalities as well as ideas—and write it, eight to twelve typed pages (full credit for that, but write more if you need to)—and submit it at the last meeting of class- 08 December.

*All your written work we will be judged according to quality of argument. That means: your thesis must be clear, you must support it with concrete examples, **you must test it with counter-argument as strong as you can make**, and then explain why your thesis prevails. What the content of your argument is, and whether we agree or disagree with it, is not considered in evaluation. So say what you think.*

**Required Readings:**

Books marked with an asterisk [\*] at the end of the entry are for sale at the Penn Book Center at the corner of 34<sup>th</sup> and Chestnut St. Tel: 215 222-7600

Bill Buford, *Among the Thugs* (New York: Vintage Departures, 1993) ISBN 0-679-74535-1 [\*]

Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* [1832] (indexed edition) tr. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) ISBN 0-691-01854-5 [\*]

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War: Sun Zi's Military Methods*, tr. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) ISBN 978-0-231-13383-8 [\*]

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, tr. Rex Warner, with an Introduction and Notes by M. I. Finley (London: Penguin Books, 1972) ISBN 0-14-044039-9 [\*]

Titus Livius Livy *The War with Hannibal: The History of Rome from Its Foundation, Books XXI-XXX* tr. Aubrey de Selincourt (Penguin Classics ed., 1965) ISBN-13: 978-0140441451[\*]

Gunther Rothenberg, *The Napoleonic Wars* (2000. Smithsonian History of Warfare. Harper Perennial Reprint Edition, 2006) ISBN-13: 978-0060851217 [\*]

Dennis Showalter, *The Wars of German Unification* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2004) ISBN 13: 978-0340580172 [\*]

Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, *Hanoi's War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012). ISBN 10: 080783551X ISBN 13: 9780807835517 [\*]

Daniel P. Bolger, *Why We Lost: A General's Inside Account of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014) ISBN 978-0-544-37048-7 [\*]

### **War Game:**

We have an optional War Game. This is an opportunity to feel firsthand some basic and distinguishing features of wars and the resolution of conflicts. Wars, the military are fond of saying, are “come as you are.” They regularly come unexpectedly with combatants not completely or appropriately equipped or mobilized, not to mention intellectually prepared. Decisions are made under extreme pressure of time; they are based on information, much of it inaccurate, that is usually too voluminous to digest, and changes by the minute. But the stakes are often *the very highest*, up to and including the survival of one’s country.

Before the game you will be given some reading about the area where the war will take place. The class will divide into teams representing the relevant countries. Only when you assemble at the venue (to be announced) will you learn what the war actually is. A “control” group consisting of our teaching staff and some visiting experts will explain the situation at the outset. The teams will separate to decide on their “moves” both open and secret. They may communicate with one another, truthfully or not as they choose. They may also consult control, and if they wish to speak, say, to the Saudi defense minister, “control” will provide someone to play that role. After about fifty minutes the groups reassemble and the open moves will be read out. The players then relax while “control” decides what those moves lead to, and how much time elapses. We then reassemble, “control” describes the new situation, and the teams retire again to provide new moves. Usually the game comprises about three moves. It lasts from about 9:00 AM to early afternoon. At the end “control” explains the final situation, which may or may not be the outcome of the war. This is followed by a “hot wash” which is the military term for an

all-around evaluation of the game and its lessons, if any, by the full group. Refreshments will be provided.

***Lecture Schedule:***

We meet Tuesday and Thursday from 12:00 to 1:30

***The Nature of Violence:***

Week One:

Lecture 1: August 27                      Introduction: Violence, War, and Strategy

Week Two:

Lecture 2: September 01                  Origins of Violence: Biological or Cultural?  
Lecture 3: September 03                  Football Hooliganism as a Model

*Reading:* Bill Buford, *Among the Thugs* (entire)

**Short Paper due in Class:**

*Among the Thugs* describes first hand the activities of soccer hooligans in England, which is to say individual and small group violence short of war. In a typed, double spaced paper of 3-5 pages, and drawing your evidence chiefly from the book, consider in particular how violence originates (is it innate, or spontaneous, or hard-wired?), how it is organized, how it develops—and how, sometimes, it ends. To what extent is it inherent in the individual human being? To what extent is it organized and even imposed by society and government?

***Strategic Analysis:***

Week Three:

Lecture 4: September 08                  Strategy According to Clausewitz: The Essence of War  
Lecture 5: September 10                  Strategy According to Clausewitz: Operational  
Implications

*Reading:* Clausewitz, *On War*, tr. Howard and Paret, Author's Preface and Notes, Books 1, 2, 8.

Week Four:

Lecture 6: September 15                  War According to Sun Zi: Basic Principles  
Lecture 7: September 17                  War According to Sun Zi: Special Points

*Reading: Sun Tzu: The Art of War* Tr. Victor Mair (entire)

***Types of Strategy:***

***Pure Defense:***

Week Five:

Lecture 8: September 22      The Peloponnesian War: Prewar Plans  
Lecture 9: September 24      The Peloponnesian War: Wartime Realities

*Reading: Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War* (pp.72-339.  
Emphasize 72-87; 118-123; 143-173; 265-290; 310-339)

***Pure Offense:***

Week Six:

Lecture 10: September 29      The Second Punic War: The Campaigns of Hannibal  
Lecture 11: October 01      The Second Punic War: Rome's Counter Strategy

*Reading: Livy, The War with Hannibal* (entire)

***Unlimited War:***

Week Seven:

Lecture 12: :October 06      Conquering Yourself to Death  
October 08      Fall Break

Week Eight:

Lecture 13: October 13      Napoleon: The Campaigns  
Lecture 14: October 15      Napoleon: The Issues

*Reading: Gunther Rothenberg, The Napoleonic Wars*  
(entire)

***Limited War:***

Week Nine:

Lecture 15: October 20      The Wars of German Unification: Denmark and Austria  
Lecture 16: October 22      The Wars of German Unification: France and War  
Termination

*Reading: Showalter, The Wars of German Unification  
(entire)*

***The Dawn of World Conflict:***

Week Ten:

Lecture 17: October 27      World War I  
Lecture 18: October 2      World War II

Week Eleven:

Lecture 19: November 03      War Termination and the Cold War  
November 05      Midterm examination in class:

*This will have three parts: identifications (very specific, choice of five out of six), short responses (choice of two out of three), and a short essay based on the readings (choice of two). You will be responsible for everything up to the examination.*

War Game: *Saturday November 07.*  
Details to be Announced (Optional)

***The Last Sixty Years of American Warfare:***

***Vietnam:***

Week Twelve:

Lecture 20: November 10      From Commandos to Counter-Insurgency  
Lecture 21: November 12      The Vietnam War: Strategic Choices

*Reading: Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, Hanoi's War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam  
(entire)*

Week Thirteen:

Lecture 22: November 17      The Vietnam War: The Fighting  
Lecture 23: November 19      The Loss of Vietnam: Strategic, Tactical, or Political?

***Afghanistan and Iraq:***



Week Fourteen:

Lecture 24: November 24      The Great War on Terrorism  
    November 26      Thanksgiving Break

Week Fifteen:

Lecture 25: December 01      Iraq  
 Lecture 26: December 03      Afghanistan

*Reading: Daniel P. Bolger, Why We Lost: A General's Inside Account of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars (entire)*

***Conclusions:***

Week Sixteen:

Lecture 27: December 08      Challenges for American Policy and Strategy

*Papers due in class*

*Final Examination: Two hours; Friday December 18, 12:00-2:00 PM. Identifications and sight passages will be taken from material since the midterm only, but primary emphasis will be placed on an essay (you will have choices of topic) that could well encompass the entire course.*

Good Luck!