

PIA 2348: How to Make War

Fall 2024

Wednesdays, 6:00-8:55pm

Posvar 3431

Professor: Ryan Grauer
Office: 3932 Posvar Hall
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3-5pm, and by appointment
Email: grauer@pitt.edu
Phone: 412-624-7396

Course Description:

When Russia intensified its assault on Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the world was violently reminded that large-scale conventional warfare had not been relegated to the dustbin of history. Such wars litter the historical record but, since the end of the Cold War, most interstate warfare has been relatively limited, and often irregular in nature. While there were clues that states would continue to fight conventional wars on a relatively small scale since the turn of the twenty-first century—including the opening phases of the United States’ wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the 2008 Russo-Georgian War, the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia over the Nagorno-Karabakh territory, and periodic high-altitude literal fist-fights between Indian and Chinese forces—it was not apparent such conflicts could still explode into massive conflagrations that drive world events until Russian forces invaded Ukraine *en masse*. With this reminder, European states have stepped up preparations for potential Russian aggression in the Baltics and elsewhere while practitioners and observers alike have increasingly concentrated on the possibility of a major war between the United States and China.

Despite the powerful—and often catastrophic—effects large-scale conventional warfare has on the course of international relations, the belligerents, and civilians caught up in the storm, the requirements for and mechanics of waging such conflicts are not well-understood outside of ministries of defense and militaries, including by many civilian policymakers and the public. As a result, policy debates over whether to go to war, how wars should be fought, and what kinds of assistance should be provided to allies and partners often become muddled. Making coherent, effective policy on matters related to conventional war requires knowledge of both the tools required and how such implements are used.

This course introduces students to the basic elements of conventional warfighting and how they are used to pursue political objectives in the international arena. First, students will learn about the essential building blocks of war: ideas, information, material, and people. Second, students will learn about the different ways these building blocks are combined to create the tools used to fight on land, at sea, in the air, with weapons of mass destruction, and in newer domains of warfighting. Third, students will think about how these disparate elements of warfighting are used in combination in war as well as what such use implies about the wisdom of initiating war. Finally, students will conclude the semester by considering the essential link between warfighting and humanity. Throughout the semester, through active engagement in a variety of wargames, simulations, and decision exercises, students will develop their capacities to think and communicate about conventional warfighting in an effective, policy-relevant, and professional manner.

Course Expectations:

Of me, you can expect:

1. Punctuality in arriving to, beginning, and ending our meetings.
2. A prepared and thought-out lesson plan that will facilitate (with your cooperation and diligent work) both understanding of the material and success in the course.
3. Reasonably prompt responses to email inquiries (usually within a few hours, excepting the times at which most people are asleep).
4. Accessibility during office hours or in other scheduled meetings.

Of you, I expect:

1. Attendance. More than two absences will, without my prior approval, result in a zero for the class participation portion of your grade. Consistent tardiness will also negatively impact your participation grade.
2. Completion of all readings and arrival in class prepared to discuss the topic assigned for the week. I realize that not everyone is comfortable speaking in front of a group, but keep in mind that I value quality over quantity. That said, failure to participate on a regular basis will have a negative effect on your participation grade.
3. Active Participation. There will be wargames, simulations, and exercises conducted nearly every week during the semester. To maximize learning, all students must actively participate to the best of their abilities.
4. Timely completion of assignments. Without prior explicit permission for a delay, work turned in after the designated time will be docked one full letter grade for each day—or portion thereof—that it is late.
5. Cognitive focus. If you use your laptop to take notes, avoid visiting websites and using apps that are unrelated to classroom activities. Do not use your phone. Concentrate on what your colleagues say and engage with their thoughts.
6. Adherence to the University of Pittsburgh guidelines on academic integrity. Failure to cite external sources of ideas, concepts, and facts in written work will be penalized. Plagiarism will result in automatic failure of the assignment and particularly egregious instances of plagiarism may result in failure of the course. For Pitt's written guidelines on academic integrity, consult [the Provost's handbook on the issue](#). For GSPIA's policies on academic integrity, consult [the School's handbook on policies](#).
7. Respect for your fellow classmates, the ideas and opinions discussed during meetings, and the works we are considering.

Assignments and Grading:

This course features a mixture of activities. During most meetings, we will do three things. The first part of class will often feature a brief lecture framing and outlining key points of the week's focus. The second part of class will be dedicated to a professor-led discussion of the reading material assigned for the week. During this discussion, students will be expected to engage with the general ideas conveyed in the material more than the specifics about, for example, particular military formations or weapons systems. The final portion of class will typically feature a wargame, simulation, or exercise that will provide students with an opportunity to apply the ideas and insights covered in a constructed, or sometimes historical, situation. Several meetings will deviate from this pattern, however, and will flip the lecture and discussion or be given over to an extended wargame. One week, we will have a guest lecture.

Grades in the course will be based on several assignments distributed throughout the semester.

1. **Decision Assessments (20%)** These assessments require students to reflect on classroom activities and write up analyses of their participation in, experience of, and reaction to the exercises in terms of the concepts considered in class and the decisions made as students worked to “make war.” Students must complete *two* of the four options (10% each).
 - a. **Race to the Rhine** A 2-page memo assessing the decision-making dynamics in evidence during the exercise conducted during class on 18 September. Information on specific issues to be addressed will be distributed at the conclusion of the exercise. *Due via email before class on Wednesday, 25 September.*
 - b. **Schlieffen** A 2-page memo assessing the decision-making dynamics in evidence during the exercise conducted during class on 2 October. Information on specific issues to be addressed will be distributed at the conclusion of the exercise. *Due via email before class on Wednesday, 9 October.*
 - c. **TrenchZone** A 2-page memo assessing the decision-making dynamics in evidence during the exercise conducted during class on 30 October. Information on specific issues to be addressed will be distributed at the conclusion of the exercise. *Due via email before class on Wednesday, 6 November.*
 - d. **International Crisis Wargame** Completion of a survey about the decisions made during the exercise conducted during class on 13 November. Access to the survey will be provided at the conclusion of the exercise. *Due via email before class on Wednesday, 20 November.*
2. **The Battle of Montélimar Analysis (15%)** A 3-page analytical assessment of the battle, comparing and contrasting the fighting as it actually occurred and as it was conducted by students. The exercise will be carried out in class on 9 October; information about the specific issues to be addressed will be distributed at the conclusion of the exercise. The analysis is due *via email before class on Wednesday, 16 October*. No research beyond the assigned reading material is required.

3. **The War Over Taiwan (15%)** A 3-page analytical assessment of the choices made by the students during the exercise about how China and the US could, should, and/or might make war over Taiwan. The exercise will be carried out in class on 4 December; information on specific issues to be addressed will be distributed at the conclusion of the simulation. The analysis is due *via email before class on Wednesday, 11 December*. No research beyond the assigned reading material is required.
4. **Final (30%)** Students will write an essay of no more than seven double-spaced pages, due *via email no later than 6pm on 15 December*. The essay will focus on how war was made in Naomi Novik's *His Majesty's Dragon*. More details about this assignment, including the specific issues to be addressed in the essay, will be discussed in class no later than Wednesday, 30 October. Students are, however, encouraged to begin reading the novel earlier in the semester.
5. **Class Participation (20%)** All students are expected to do the assigned reading and come to class prepared to engage with the ideas and arguments in multiple ways. Each class meeting will provide students with ample opportunity to do so. Active participation in the professor-led discussion of the readings and active engagement in classroom wargames, simulations, and exercises will not only facilitate group learning, but also raise issues and points of view that can help uncover important lessons about the nature, mechanics, and utility of conventional warfighting in the international arena.

Your final grade will be assigned on the following scale:

A	=	93-100	B+	=	87-89	C+	=	77-79	D+	=	67-69
A-	=	90-92	B	=	83-86	C	=	73-76	D	=	65-66
			B-	=	80-82	C-	=	70-72	F	=	Below 65

Required Reading:

Many of the assigned reading materials are available online and accessible through the Canvas course website. There are some books that are either unavailable in e-book form that must be purchased or that I strongly recommend students procure for themselves:

- Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001)
 - Note: Any edition is fine; Hillman Library has two hard copies and access to an e-version of the book, but it can only be accessed by one user at a time.
- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023)
 - Note: This book is available in e-book form from Hillman Library but, as we will be reading the entire text, students may want to purchase their own copy
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War*, 4th edition (New York: Quill, 2003)
 - Note: If you buy a used copy, be sure to get the 4th edition
- Naomi Novik, *His Majesty's Dragon: Temeraire, Book 1* (New York: Del Ray, 2021)
 - Note: Any edition is fine; Hillman Library has access to an e-version of the book, but it cannot be downloaded and must be read online.

These books are available at The Book Center if you prefer to get course materials there. Additionally, the Dunnigan book is being held on Reserve at Hillman Library. Alternatively, you can

acquire them through any online book seller. If you are interested in supporting a local bookstore, I would recommend White Whale Bookstore in Bloomfield (<https://whitewhalebookstore.com>) or The Tiny Bookstore, a Black- and woman-owned bookstore in Ross Township (<https://tinybookspgh.com>).

Many of the assigned materials cover more technical or historical information than is typical in many courses in GSPIA. Crucially, I *do not* expect you to be expert on every single detail in the readings when you come to class (indeed, in the case of the Dunnigan book, some of the more technical details are now out of date!). Rather, I expect that you read with sufficient attention that you can come to class prepared to discuss the material with a particular focus on the basic nature of the subject we will be considering that week. The goal of the course is not to become expert in the granular details of making of war, but rather to begin to understand the scope, breadth, and complexity of the task while gaining a clearer view into the myriad factors civilian policy makers must consider when thinking about the use of force as a tool for securing political ends.

Finally, because a large-scale conventional war is currently being waged in Ukraine, and will undoubtedly inform our discussions throughout the semester, you should keep up with current events. For this purpose, you should peruse a daily newspaper like *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, or the *Financial Times*. The weekly magazine *The Economist* is also an excellent source of news and analysis. Additionally, there are a number of excellent podcasts that cover conventional war and other defense/national security topics. Especially useful podcasts in this area include: *War on the Rocks*, *Horns of a Dilemma*, and *Net Assessment*. For treatments of such conflicts throughout history, *Hardcore History* is the best podcast.

Disability Services:

If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both the professor and Disability Resources and Services (140 William Pitt Union, 412-648-7890, drsrecep@pitt.edu) as early as possible in the term. Upon confirmation of the need for accommodation, we will collectively work to plan an appropriate course of action.

Classroom Recording:

To ensure the free and open discussion of ideas, students may not record classroom lectures, discussion, and/or activities without the advance written permission of the instructor, and any such recording properly approved in advance can be used solely for the student's own private use.

COVID and Other Health Considerations:

Happily, we seem to be on the other side of the global coronavirus pandemic that began in late-2019/early-2020. However, the virus is still in circulation and infection will prevent class attendance for at least a week. To that end, if you are not feeling well, please stay home. Contact me via email before class to alert me to the situation and get class notes from a colleague. It is better to be safe than sorry.

On AI and Plagiarism:

Artificial intelligence tools are rapidly improving and becoming more ubiquitous throughout society. The rate of change is such that any specific recommendations and/or prohibitions on use laid out here would likely be out of date before the end of the semester. The assignments for this course have been designed to minimize the utility of such software, but ultimately the choice to rely on artificial intelligence rests with the student. One factor students should consider when contemplating whether and how to use artificial intelligence software when composing essays is that, in this course, turning in AI-generated material as original work product will be treated as plagiarism; it is not work that is original to the student. While there are some helpful uses of large-language models, especially with respect to summarizing bodies of literature (though not always accurately), the use of such software to craft significant portions of or entire essays is antithetical to core educational objectives. The ultimate goal of this course is to help students learn a) how to think about the challenges of using force in the international arena, and b) what they think about the merits of making war in different circumstances. Reliance on AI software, by providing algorithm-driven predictive language on topics, undermines both goals and, in that regard, performs a disservice for students. It is disrespectful to both others in the course and the professor, who invest their time and energy into their work as part of the collaborative learning effort. Also, in many instances, the software simply [makes things up](#).

Course Schedule

Week 1 (August 28): Initial Thoughts on War

- American Battlefield Trust, “Gettysburg Animated Map,” Video. Available: <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/maps/gettysburg-animated-map>
- Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels*, any edition.

Week 2 (September 4): No Meeting

- Dr. Grauer attending the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, PA

Week 3 (September 11): Politics and Strategizing

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, ed. and trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): Book I, Chapters 1, 2, 6, 7; Book III, Chapters 1-5; Book VII, Chapters 1-5, 15, 16, 22; Book VIII, Chapters 1-8 (pp. 75-99, 117-121, 177-189, 523-528, 545-550, 566-573, 577-616)
- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Introduction, Chapter 1 (pp. 1-9, 13-33)

In-Class Exercise: *Britain’s Darkest Hour*

Week 4 (September 18): Materiel

- Mark R. Wilson, “The Extensive Side of Nineteenth-Century Military Economy: The Tent Industry in the Northern United States during the Civil War,” *Enterprise & Society* 2, no. 2 (June, 2001): pp. 297-337
- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapter 2 (pp. 35-59)
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War* (New York: Quill, 2003): Chapters 23, 26, 27 (pp. 499-516, 581-601; SKIM pp. 511-516, 598-601)
- Christopher Carey, “The Red Ball Express: Past Lessons for Future Wars,” *Military Review* 101, no. 2 (March-April, 2021): pp. 52-64
- *Race to the Rhine* Rulebook
 - Note: We will not be playing with Rules 11, 12, 13, and 15; do not worry about them
- YouTube Video: “Race to the Rhine Video Review” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJNAKqQRDPg>)
 - Note: Feel free to skip the last ~2:30 of the video
- Optional Video: “France ’44: The Red Ball Express” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6WCFwUrKrA>)

In-Class Exercise: *Race to the Rhine*

Week 5 (September 25): People

- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapters 3, 4 (pp. 61-92)
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War* (New York: Quill, 2003): Chapter 12, selection from Chapter 13, 17, selection from Chapter 24 (pp. 287-302, 350-359, 517-526)
- M.M. Manning, et al, "Treatment of War Wounds: A Historical Review," *Clinical Orthopaedics and Related Research* 467, no. 8 (August, 2009): pp. 2168-2191

In-Class Exercise: *To Draft, or Not to Draft*

Week 6 (October 2): Fighting on Land

- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapter 5 (pp. 95-115)
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War* (New York: Quill, 2003): Chapters 2-5 (pp. 15-132; SKIM pp. 33-37, 47-62, 82-100, 116-122)
- C.E. Wood, *Mud: A Military History* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006): Chapters 1, 8 (pp. 1-18, 113-127)
- *Schlieffen* Rules

In-Class Exercise: *Schlieffen*

Week 7 (October 9): The Battle of Montélimar

- Cameron Zinsou, "Forgotten Fights: Operation Dragoon and the Decline of the Anglo-American Alliance" (New Orleans, LA: The National WWII Museum, 17 August 2020).
- Jeffrey J. Clarke and Robert Ross Smith, *Riviera to the Rhine*, United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993): Chapter 9 (pp. 144-170)
- *Memoir '44* Rulebook and Battle Scenario
- YouTube Video: "How to Play Memoir '44"
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Cil0XBhYPY>)

In-Class Exercise: *The Battle of Montélimar*

Week 8 (October 16): Fighting at Sea

- Michael I. Handel, "Corbett, Clausewitz, and Sun Tzu," *Naval War College Review* 53, no. 4 (Autumn, 2000): pp. 2-19
- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapter 6, Introduction and Maritime Power sections (pp. 117-127)
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War* (New York: Quill, 2003): Chapters 9-11 (pp. 219-284; SKIM pp. 239-254, 278-284)

In-Class Exercise: *Midway*

Week 9 (October 23): Fighting in the Air

- Tami Davis Biddle, *Air Power and Warfare: A Century of Theory and History* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute and US Army War College Press, 2019)
- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapter 6, Air Power section (pp. 127-134)
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War* (New York: Quill, 2003): Chapters 7, 8 (pp. 143-215; SKIM pp. 172-193, 196-197, 209-215)

In-Class Exercise: *Bomber Offensive*

Week 10 (October 30): Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Weapons

- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapter 8 (pp. 159-176)
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War* (New York: Quill, 2003): Chapter 20 (pp. 412-457; SKIM pp. 437-457)
- Gary D. Solis, *The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022): Chapter 20 (pp. 611-639; skim pp. 633-639)
- *TrenchZone* Rulebook
- YouTube Video: “TrenchZone Review”
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MFkHBUsmwWI>)

In-Class Exercise: *TrenchZone*

Week 11 (November 6): Cyber, Space, and Information

- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapter 6, Space Power section, and Chapter 7 (pp. 134-157)
- James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War* (New York: Quill, 2003): selections from Chapter 18 (pp. 363-370, 380-393)
- James Clay Moltz, *Crowded Orbits* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2024): Chapters 1, 5 (pp. 13-36, 137-166)
- Michael Warner, “A Brief History of Cyber Conflict,” in *Ten Years In: Implementing Strategic Approaches to Cyberspace* eds., Jacquelyn G. Schneider, Emily O. Goldman, and Michael Warner (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 2020): pp. 13-29
- Joshua Rovner, “Strategy and Grand Strategy in New Domains,” in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy: From the Ancient World to the Digital Age*, ed. Hal Brands (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023): pp. 1067-1091

Guest Lecture: Colonel Raymond Ruscoe, Liaison Officer and Director, Joint Integrated Space Team to US Cyber Command/National Security Agency and European Command (US Space Force)

Week 12 (November 13): Drawing the Threads Together

- Martin van Creveld, *Command in War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985): Introduction (Selections), Conclusion (pp. 1-11, 261-275)
- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Chapter 9 (pp. 179-226)
- Gary D. Solis, *The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022): Chapters 7, 8 (pp. 209-281; skim pp. 240-247, 276-281)

In-Class Exercise: *International Crisis Wargame*

Week 13 (November 20): Fighting with Friends

- Kori Schake, “Strategic Excellence: Tecumseh and the Shawnee Confederacy,” in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy: From the Ancient World to the Digital Age*, ed. Hal Brands (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023): pp. 369-390
- Tami Davis Biddle, “Democratic Leaders and Strategies of Coalition Warfare,” in *The New Makers of Modern Strategy: From the Ancient World to the Digital Age*, ed. Hal Brands (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023): pp. 569-592
- Nora Bensahel, “International Alliances and Military Effectiveness: Fighting Alongside Allies and Partners,” in *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness* eds., Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007): pp. 186-206
- Review: *Memoir '44* Rulebook
- *Memoir '44 Overlord* Rulebook and Battle Scenario

In-Class Exercise: *Operation Overlord*

No Meeting November 28: Happy Thanksgiving!

Week 14 (December 4): Simulation Exercise: The War Over Taiwan

Skim the following to familiarize yourself with essential relevant features of China, the US, and other potential actors—DO NOT try to read all of this, word-for-word!

- Scott L. Kastner, *War and Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022): Chapter 2 (pp. 48-63)
- Toshi Yoshinara and Jack Bianchi, *Seizing on Weakness: Allied Strategy for Competing with China's Globalizing Military* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2021): Chapters 4-6 (pp. 31-87)
- Alison A. Kaufman and Brian Waidelich, “PRC Writings on Strategic Deterrence: Technological Disruption and the Search for Strategic Stability,” CNA Occasional Paper (Arlington, VA: CNA Corporation, February 2023)
- Michael Casey, “Firepower Strike, Blockade, Landing: PLA Campaigns for a Cross-Strait Conflict,” in *Crossing the Strait: China's Military Prepares for War with Taiwan* eds., Joel Wuthnow, Derek Grossman, Phillip C. Saunders, Andrew Scobell, and Andrew N.D. Yang (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2022): pp. 113-137

- Special Report: China's Armed Forces, "Unknown Soldiers," *The Economist*, 11 November 2023
- U.S. Department of Defense, *Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China, 2023*, Annual Report to Congress
 - If the 2024 edition is released before the exercise, it will be substituted
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 2024*

Week 15 (December 11): The Human Experience of War

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, ed. and trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): Book I, Chapter 3 (pp. 113-114)
- S.L.A. Marshall, *Men Against Fire: The Problem of Battle Command in Future War* (Washington, DC: The Infantry Journal, 1947): Chapter 4 (pp. 44-49)
- Joanna Bourke, "The Experience of Killing," in *The Great World War 1914-45* vol. 1, eds., Peter Liddle, John Bourne, and Ian Whitehead (London: HarperCollins, 2000): pp. 293-309.
- Mike Martin, *How to Fight a War* (London: Hurst, 2023): Epilogue (pp. 229-232)
- Paul Lushenko, "AI & the Future of Warfare," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 29 November 2023.

In-Class Film: *Twelve O'clock High*

Sunday, December 15: Final Due by 3:00pm!