



COMPARATIVE STRATEGIC CULTURES SYLLABUS

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OVERVIEW AND OBJECTIVES

This syllabus is intended to introduce the concept of strategic culture to upper division undergraduates seeking to deepen their understanding of international relations and security studies, and broaden their theoretical and methodological tool sets. Our objective is to provide the instructor with theoretical background on the concept of strategic culture as well as a framework for comparing case studies in this field. We do this through the use of comparative cases that examine a common international security phenomenon: a state's (and one non-state actor) decisions to acquire, proliferate, or use a weapon of mass destruction.

Our purpose is to advance strategic culture analysis as a tool for understanding (and even forecasting) the foreign policy of other actors and of constructing successful foreign policy of our own. Practical applications of strategic culture include:

- better understanding of the foreign lenses through which our policy moves will be viewed
- more effective deterrence, because we understand what the other culture values and can better leverage their cost/benefit ratio
- stronger cooperative relationships with allies
- increased accuracy in the interpretation of intelligence collected abroad
- insight that will allow for the creation of counter-narrative strategies aimed at weakening an adversary's propaganda campaign
- more successful assimilation of immigrants
- a stronger understanding of the repercussions of our foreign policy moves
- illumination of our own cultural values
- enhancement of predictive/forecasting capability

I. DEFINING STRATEGIC CULTURE

Lesson 1

Objectives: Defining the boundaries of Strategic Culture as a distinct concept

- from political culture
- from popular culture
- from political psychology

Definition: Strategic Culture is that set of shared beliefs, assumptions, and modes of behavior, derived from common experiences and accepted narratives (both oral and written), that shape collective identity and relationships to other groups, and which determine appropriate ends and means for achieving security objectives.

Required Readings:

Elizabeth Stone, "Comparative Strategic Culture: A Literature Review," unpublished paper (2005)

Jeffrey Lantis, "Strategic Culture: From Clausewitz to Constructivism," unpublished paper (2006)

Colin S. Gray, "Out of the Wilderness: Prime Time for Strategic Culture," unpublished paper (2006)

Darryl Howlett, "Strategic Culture: Reviewing Recent Literature" *Strategic Insights*, Volume IV, Issue 10 (October 2005), available at www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/Oct/howlettOct05.asp

Additional Reading:

Colin S. Gray, "Comparative Strategic Culture," *Parameters*, (Winter 1984)

Adda Bozeman, *Politics and Culture in International History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960)

Jack L. Snyder, "The Concept of Strategic Culture: Caveat Emptor" in Carl G. Jacobsen, ed., *Strategic Power: The United States of America and the USSR* (London: Macmillan Press, 1990)

Ken Booth, "The Concept of Strategic Culture Affirmed" in Carl G. Jacobsen, ed., *Strategic Power: The United States of America and the USSR* (London: Macmillan Press, 1990)

Colin S. Gray, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994), chapters 1, 5, 6

Peter J. Katzenstein, "Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity and Culture in National Security," *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

Michael J. Mazarr, "Culture in International Relations," *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 1996, available at www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/cultural/cultur2.htm.

II. STRATEGIC CULTURE AND IR THEORY

Lesson 2

Objective: To examine the relationship between assumptions underpinning the Strategic Culture concept and other major theoretical constructs. Strategic Culture aims to supplement, rather than displace major theoretical constructs such as Realism, Neo-Realism and Constructivism.

Required Readings:

John Glenn, Darryl Howlett, and Stuart Poore, ed. *Neorealism Versus Strategic Culture*, chapters 1, 2, and 3. (London: Ashgate, 2004)

John S. Duffield; Theo Farrell; Richard Price; Michael C. Desch, "Isms and Schisms: Culturalism versus Realism in Security Studies" *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999) pp. 156-180

Additional Reading:

Stephen Peter Rosen, "Military Effectiveness: Why Society Matters," *International Security*, vol. 19 (Spring 1995)

Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and French Military Doctrine Before World War II", in Peter J. Katzenstein ed. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (1996)

Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro, "Norms, Identity and Their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise", in Peter J. Katzenstein ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (1996)

John Duffield, "Germany Confounds Neorealism," *International Organization* v. 53 (1999)

Michael Desch, "Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies", *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Summer 1998) 141-70

Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

Theo Farrell, "Strategic Culture and American Empire," *SAIS Review*, Summer-Fall 2005, pp. 3-18.

James Rosenau, "Security in a Turbulent World," *Current History*, Vol. 94 (May 1995), pp. 193-200.

David Elkins and Richard Simeon, "A Cause in Search of Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics*, January 1979, pp. 127-145.

III. FRAMEWORK AND METHODS

Lesson 3

The following essays introduce a conceptual framework useful for researching and organizing ideas using a strategic culture perspective and provides a range of research methods employed by experts in the field. The Additional Readings offer an array of methodological practices from anthropology, social science, and other related fields.

Required Readings:

Jeannie Johnson, "Strategic Culture: Refining the Theoretical Construct" (2006)

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Thinking About Strategic Culture" *International Security*, vol. 19 (Spring 1995)

Theo Farrell, "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program" *International Studies Review* (2002)

Additional Reading:

Andrew P. Cortell and James W. Davis, Jr, "Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Norms: A Research Agenda" *International Studies Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2000) pp. 65-87

Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002)

Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Philip E. Lilienthal Books, 2004)

Stephanie Kelley, "Rumors in Iraq: A Guide to Winning Hearts and Minds," *Strategic Insights*, Vol IV, Issue 2, (Feb. 2005)

"Islamic Imagery Project: Visual Motifs in Jihadi Internet Propaganda", US Military Academy, Combating Terrorism Center, (March 2006)

Alex Davis and Dan Fu, "Culture Matters: Better Decision Making Through Increased Awareness", Stottler Henke Associates, Interservice/Industry Training, Simulation, and Education Conference (I/ITSEC) (2004)

Christoph O. Meyer and Adrian Zdrada, "Unpacking the Coalition of the Willing: A Comparative Analysis of Norms in British and Polish Press Debates on the Iraq Invasion", *European Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March 2006), pp. 23-45,

Theo Farrell, *The Norms of War: Cultural Beliefs and Modern Conflict* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005)

Daniel Miller and Heather Horst, *The Cell-Phone: An Anthropology of Communication*, (Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 2006)

George Marcus, "Ethnography In/Of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 (1995), pp. 95-117, available at http://cio.ceu.hu/extreading/CIO/Marcus_on_multi_locale-fieldwork.html.

Joy Hendry, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology: Other Peoples' Worlds* (New York: Macmillan, 1999)

Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Pluto Press, 2001)

Roger M. Keesing and Andrew Strathern, *Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective* (Wadsworth, 1997)

IV. APPLYING STRATEGIC CULTURE

Lessons 4-11

The case studies selected revolve around a similar theme -- security decisions concerning weapons of mass destruction (WMD). We have selected case studies which examine decision processes involved in acquiring, using, and/or proliferating WMD, as well as decisions to adhere to, or ignore international norms.

A primer to familiarize students with basic concepts concerning weapons of mass destruction is provided here, followed by an essay examining the utility of strategic culture when examining WMD security issues. We recommend spending one lesson on an introduction to weapons of mass destruction before turning to the case studies.

Required Readings:

Paul Bernstein, "Weapons of Mass Destruction Primer," unpublished paper (2006)

Kerry Kartchner, "Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Crucible of Strategic Culture," unpublished paper(2006)

Keith Payne, "The Nuclear Posture Review: Setting the Record Straight," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2005, pp. 1235-151

Additional Reading:

Peter Lavoy, Scott D. Sagan, and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000)

John Simpson and Ian Kenyon, *Deterrence and the New Global Security Environment* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006)

Jacques E.C. Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Joseph Cirincione, Jon B. Wolfstahl, and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002)

George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999)

Scott D.Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002)

Jonathan B. Tucker, *Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (2000)

Anthony C. Cain, "Iran's Strategic Culture and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Implications of US Policy", *The Maxwell Papers*, Maxwell Paper No. 26, Air War College (April 2002).

Post, Jerrold, et al, *Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism, in Avoiding the Abyss: Progress, Shortfalls, and the Way Ahead in Combating the WMD Threat*. Jim A.

- Davis and Barry Schneider, eds. (USAF Counterproliferation Center, Air University, July 2005)
- Nasir Bin Hamd Al-Fahd, *A Treatise on the Legal Status of Using Weapons of Mass Destruction Against Infidels*, May 2003, at www.carnegieendowment.org/static/npp/fatwa.pdf
- Medalia, Jonathan, *Nuclear Terrorism: A Brief Review of Threat and Responses*. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 10 February 2005, at www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL32595.pdf
- Allison, Graham, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004)
- Roberts, Brad, *Nonproliferation Challenges Old and New*. Counterproliferation Papers, Future Warfare Series No. 24, USAF Counterproliferation Center, Air University, Maxwell AFB, AL, at www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cpc-pubs/roberts.pdf
- Giles, Gregory, *The Islamic Republic of Iran and Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons*, in Peter Lavoy, Scott Sagan, and James Wirtz, eds., *Planning The Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000)
- Kan, Shirley, *China and the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles*. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 22 February 2005, at www.ndu.edu/library/docs/crs/crs_rl31555_22feb05.pdf
- Croddy, Eric A., James J. Wirtz, and Jeffrey A. Larsen, eds., *Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Encyclopedia of Worldwide Policy, Technology, and History* (2 vols.) (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2005)
- Davis, Jim A. and Barry R. Schneider, eds., *The Gathering Biological Warfare Storm* (USAF Counterproliferation Center, Air War College, Air University, Maxwell AFB, AL, April 2002), available at www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cpc-pubs/biostorm/index.htm.
- Gary T. Gardner, *Nuclear Nonproliferation: A Primer* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994)
- Larsen, Jeffrey A., ed., *Arms Control: Cooperative Security in a New Environment* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002)
- Wirtz, James J. and Jeffrey A. Larsen, eds., *Nuclear Transformation: The New U.S. Nuclear Doctrine* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
- Russell, James A., ed., *The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

Class Discussion: Questions Raised by Strategic Culture

Ten case studies were commissioned for this project, each dealing with a regime that has sought to acquire, has acquired, and/or has proliferated weapons of mass destruction. Authors were asked to compile a strategic culture profile of each of these countries (and al Qaeda), and determine the utility of strategic culture analysis in understanding their decisions. The full title and commissioned author of each of those case studies is:

Joseph S. Bermudez, Jr., “North Korea’s Strategic Culture” (2006)

Fritz Ermarth, “Russian Strategic Culture: Past, Present and...in Transition?” (2006)

Gregory F. Giles, “Continuity and Change in Israel’s Strategic Culture” (2006)

Rodney W. Jones, “India’s Strategic Culture” (2006)

Murhaf Jouejati, “The Strategic Culture of Irredentist Small States: The Case of Syria” (2006)

Peter R. Lavoy, “Pakistan’s Strategic Culture” (2006)

Thomas G. Mahnken, “United States Strategic Culture” (2006)

Jerry Mark Long, “Strategic Culture, Al Qaida, and Weapons of Mass Destruction” (2006)

Willis Stanley, “The Strategic Culture of the Islamic Republic of Iran” (2006)

Christopher P. Twomey, “Chinese Strategic Cultures: Survey and Critique” (2006)

We propose a study of these cases using the following discussion questions. The questions are designed to facilitate an examination of strategic culture as a field of study through the detailed profiles and interesting analyses presented by the authors. The instructor is offered a discussion topic and one or more corresponding case studies. Note that several of the case studies are listed under multiple questions. Select the case studies per question as best suits the needs of your course. Additional reading material and media references for each country may be found in the following section.

1. *How is state identity formed? Which factors are primary influences? How does this affect security policy?*

Recommended Case Studies:	China – Christopher Twomey
	Syria – Murhaf Jouejati
	Israel – Gregory Giles
	United States – Thomas Mahnken

Readings addressing this topic:

Ken Booth, *Strategy and Ethnocentrism* (Holmes & Meier, 1979)

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond Identity,” *Theory and Society* 29:1 (February 2000), pp. 1-47

Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott, “Identity as a Variable” (forthcoming in *Perspectives on Politics*, 2006)

Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of NATO,” in Katzenstein *The Culture of National Security* (1996)

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

- Mark Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005)
- Paul Kowert, "Agent versus Structure in the Construction of National Identity", found in Vendulka Kubalkova, et al, *International Relations in a Constructed World* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998)
- Jacques E. C. Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions and Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

2. How do values become policy? Can significant gaps exist between policy that is aspired to, and policy that is actuated?

- Recommended Case Studies:
- China – Christopher Twomey
 - United States – Thomas Mahnken
 - Russia – Fritz Ermarth
 - Israel – Gregory Giles

Readings addressing this topic:

- Andrew Kuchins, "From Values to True Dialogue" *The Moscow Times*, 22 June 2005
- Francis Fukuyama, "The Imperative of State Building" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 2, April 2004, pp. 17-31.
- Jeffrey Legro, *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995)
- William Kincade, "American National Style and Strategic Culture" found in Carl G. Jacobsen et al, *Strategic Power: USA/USSR* (London: Macmillan, 1990)
- Paul Cornish, *Cry "Havoc!" and let slip the Managers of War: The Strategic, Military and Moral Hazards of Micro-Managed Warfare*, Strategic and Combat Studies Institute Occasional Paper No. 51 (Shrivenham SCSI 2006)
- Patrick Mileham, *Ethos: British Army Officership 1962-1992*, Strategic and Combat Studies Institute Occasional Paper No. 19 (Camberley SCSI 1996)
- _____, ed. *War and Morality*, RUSI Whitehall Paper No. 61, (London: RUSI 2004)

3. To what extent do global norms impact domestic strategic culture?

- Recommended Case Studies:
- Iran – Willis Stanley
 - India – Rodney Jones
 - Pakistan – Peter Lavoy

Readings addressing this topic:

- T.V. Paul, "Nuclear Taboo and War Initiation in Regional Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39, no.4 (December 1995)

Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *International Security*, 29, no.4 (Spring 2005): 5-49;

Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization*, 53, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 83-114;

Andrew P. Cortell and James W. Davis, Jr, "Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Norms: A Research Agenda" *International Studies Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2000) pp. 65-87

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*, (2004)

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force*, (2003)

Theo Farrell, "Transnational Norms and Military Development", *European Journal of International Relations*, (2002)

Theo Farrell, "World Culture and Military Power", *Security Studies* (2005)

4. How static/dynamic is strategic culture? What causes change? How quickly can strategic culture shift in a crisis?

Recommended Case Studies: China – Christopher Twomey
 Russia – Fritz Ermarth
 United States – Thomas Mahnken
 Israel – Gregory Giles

Readings addressing this topic:

Christoph O. Meyer, "Convergence Towards a European Strategic Culture? A Constructivist Framework for Explaining Changing Norms," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11 (2005)

Angel M. Rabasa et. al, *The Muslim World After 9/11* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2004)

Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (London: Pimlico, 1995)

5. To what extent can leaders leverage and/or manipulate strategic culture for their own ends?

Recommended Case Studies: North Korea – Joseph Bermudez
 Pakistan – Peter Lavoy

Readings addressing this topic:

Jerrold M. Post, *Leaders and Their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of Political Behavior* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004)

Barry R. Schneider and Jerrold M. Post eds., *Know Thy Enemy: Profiles of Adversary Leaders and Their Strategic Cultures*, (Montgomery, AL: USAF Counterproliferation Center, July 2003) 2nd Edition.

Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review*, 51 (April 1986):273-86

Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994)

6. *Can the strategic culture analytical framework be applied to non-state actors?*

Recommended Case Study: Al Qaeda – Mark Long

Readings addressing this topic:

Sebestyén L. v. Gorka, "Al Qaeda and Von Clausewitz: Rediscovering the Art of War", paper delivered to the US Joint Special Operations University (JSOU) Symposium: Countering Global Insurgency (May 2006)

Colonel CE Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Theory and Practice* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996 – reprint of 1905 work.)

Colonel Thomas X Hammes USMC, *The Sling and the Stone: On War in the 21st Century* (St Paul, MN: Zenith Press 2006)

Robert G. Harkavy and Stephanie G. Neuman, *Warfare and the Third World*, (New Your: Palgrave 2001)

Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honour: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (London: Vintage, 1998)

T.E. Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (Paris: 1926)

Marc Sagemen, *Understanding Terror Networks* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)

Phillip Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002)

Samuel Huntingdon, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1997)

Elijah Poole, *Tactics of the Crescent Moon*

Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Virtual State: Wealth and Power in the Coming Century* (New York: Basic Books, 1999)

Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991)

Additional Discussion Questions:

Does each culture develop its own way of war?

How does one discern the "keepers" or "stewards" of a particular strategic culture? Are they persons? Or institutions? How is the socialization process perpetuated?

To what extent does geography determine strategic culture?

How do the market forces of globalization affect strategic culture? Are there emerging non-Western perspectives that might counter the power of globalization?

Is the strategic culture in question relatively homogenous, or factionalized? If disparate groups are competing for the ability to direct security policy, how might one determine which viewpoint will be most relevant?

Can significant portions of strategic culture be innovated? Taught from the top levels of government down, and internalized?

How might intelligence and diplomatic processes be improved to unearth accurate data on strategic culture?

If we assume that there are three levels of analysis in studying a country's strategic culture—our own, our adversaries, and our allies—do we tend to overlook our allies?

V. THE FUTURE OF STRATEGIC CULTURE

Lesson 11

After an examination of strategic culture analysis in action, students may be engaged in a discussion concerning the future of strategic culture as a field of study, its strengths, its methodological challenges, and potential utility in both academia and policy. Darryl Howlett starts this discussion with the following essay:

Required Reading:

Darryl Howlett, "The Future of Strategic Culture," unpublished essay (2006)

VI. COURSE WRAP-UP AND CRITIQUE

Lesson 12

ADDITIONAL READING/MEDIA REFERENCES
Organized by Country

THE UNITED STATES

- Boot, Max, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
- Builder, Carl H., *The Masks of War: American Military Styles in Strategy and Analysis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989)
- Gormley, Dennis M. and Thomas G. Mahnken, "Facing Nuclear and Conventional Reality," *Orbis* 44, no. 1 (Winter 2000).
- Gray, Colin S., "National Style in Strategy: The American Example," *International Security* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1981).
- _____, "Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945-1991" in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 579-613.
- Linn, Brian M., "The American Way of War Revisited," *Journal of Military History*, 66 no. 2 (April 2002), 501-533.
- Mahnken, Thomas G. "The American Way of War in the Twenty-first Century" in Efraim Inbar, ed., *Democracies and Small Wars* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).
- Mahnken, Thomas G. and James R. FitzSimonds, *The Limits of Transformation: Officer Attitudes Toward the Revolution in Military Affairs* (Newport: Naval War College Press, 2003).
- _____, "Revolutionary Ambivalence: Understanding Officer Attitudes toward Transformation," *International Security*, 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003).
- _____, "Tread-Heads or Technophiles? Army Officer Attitudes Toward Transformation," *Parameters*, Summer 2004.
- Weigley, Russell F., *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973)

ISRAEL

- "An Interview with Brig. Gen. Nehemia Dagan, Chief Education Officer, IDF," *IDF Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, Fall 1986, 51-52.
- Bar-Or, Amir, "The Link Between the Government and IDF During Israel's First 50 Years: The Shifting Role of the Defense Minister," in Maman, Daniel, Eyal Ben Ari, and Zeev Rosenhek, eds., *Military, State, and Society in Israel* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2001), 321-341.
- Ben-Eliezer, Uri, "From Military Role Expansion to Difficulties in Peace-Making: The Israel Defense Forces 50 Years On," in Maman, et al, op cit., 137-172.
- Ben-Dor, Charles, "War & Peace: Jewish Tradition and the Conduct of War," *Israeli Defense*

- Forces Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, Fall 1986, 47-50.
- Brom, Shlomo, "Is the Begin Doctrine Still A Viable Option for Israel?," in Henry Sokolski and Patrick Clawson, eds., *Getting Ready for A Nuclear-Ready Iran*, US Army Strategic Studies Institute, October 2005, 133-158.
<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/files/pub629.pdf>
- Burk, James, "From Wars of Independence to Democratic Peace, Comparing the Cases of Israel and the United States," in Maman, et al, op cit., 81-104.
- "Code of Conduct Against Terrorists," Wikipedia,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel_Defense_Forces
- Cohen, Avner, *Israel and the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
- Cohen, Stuart, "The Scroll or the Sword? Tensions between Judaism and Military Service in Israel," in Cohen, Stuart, *Democratic Societies and Their Armed Forces: Israel in Comparative Context* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
- Cordesman, Anthony H. and Abraham R. Wager, *The Lessons of Modern War, Volume I: The Arab-Israeli Conflicts, 1973-1989* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990).
- "Former Iranian President Rafsanjani on Using a Nuclear Bomb Against Israel," Middle East Media Research Institute, *Special Dispatch*, no. 325, January 3, 2002,
<http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=iran&ID=SP32502>
- Gal, Rueven, "The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF): A Conservative or Adaptive Organization?," in Maman, et al, op cit., 361-370..
- "Government Signs Treaty Banning 'Inhumane' Arms," Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS-NES-95-106, 2 June 1995.
- Hersh, Seymour, *The Samson Option* (New York: Random House, 1991).
- Ibrahim, Youssef, "Egypt Says Israeli's Killed P.O.W.'s in '67 War," *New York Times*, September 21, 1995, A1.
- Inbar, Efraim, "The 'No Choice War' Debate in Israel," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, March 1989, 22-37.
- Israeli Defense Forces website: <http://www1.idf.il/DOVER/site/mainpage.asp?sl=EN&id=32>
- Kimmerling, Baruch, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- _____, "The Social Construction of Israel's 'National Security,'" in Stuart Cohen, op cit., 215-253.
- "Munich Massacre," Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Munich_Massacre
- Peri, Yoram, "Civil-Military Relations in Israel in Crisis," in Maman, et al, op cit., 107-136.
- Pike, John, "Nuclear Threats During the Gulf War," Federation of American Scientists website, 19 February 1998, <http://www.fas.org/irp/eprint/ds-threats.htm>
- "Rabin: POW Question Could Open 'Pandora's Box,'" Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS-NES-95-165, 22 August 1995, 47-48.
- Raviv, Dan, and Yossi Melman, *Every Spy a Prince* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990).
- Roniger, Luis, "Organizational Complexity, Trust, and Deceit in the Israeli Air Force," in Daniel Maman, et al, op cit., 371-393.

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- Clawson, Patrick and Michael Rubin, *Eternal Iran: Continuity and Chaos*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
- Ferdowsi, Abolqasem, *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*. (New York: Viking Press, 2006).
- Halm, Heinz, *Shia Islam: From Religion to Revolution*. (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997).
- Khomeini, Ruhollah, *Islamic Government*, (Arlington, VA: Joint Publications Research Service, 1979).
- Mackey, Sandra, *The Iranians: Persia, Islam and the Soul of a Nation*. (New York: Plume, 1996).
- Sachedina, Abdulaziz Abdulhussein, *The Just Ruler in Shi'ite Islam*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

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AL QAIDA

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The best site for reading (in English) statements of radical organizations, to include those of al-Qaida is <http://www.memri.org/index.html> See especially "jihad and terrorism studies project" under "Subjects."

Another excellent resource is the Combating Terrorism Center at the United States Military Academy. Their site is <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/> They have recently declassified documents that have been captured by U.S. forces, as well as major studies available on-line.

Lawrence, Bruce, editor. *Messages to the World. The Statements of Osama bin Ladin*. 2005. A very useful, chronological selection that offers informed commentary.

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Gallup <http://www.gallupworldpoll.com/>
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