Eighth
Summer Workshop on Analysis
of Military Operations and Strategy
(SWAMOS 2004)

Sponsored by Columbia University’s Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, convened at Cornell University

July 11 - 30, 2004

Morning sessions include lectures and plenary discussions, with all participants attending. Afternoon sessions occasionally split into two seminar groups. There are informal discussion sessions with refreshments on several evenings, relevant movie showings, and an evening meeting with people from the international relations section of the Cornell University Government department and the Peace Studies Program. The weekend after the first week is free (after 3:00 p.m. Friday), for those participants with families who need to return home for a couple days. The second weekend will be taken up with the field trip to Fort Lewis, Washington.

In the first section below are background reading assignments for participants to complete before arriving at Cornell. They are listed roughly in order of relation to subjects and sessions during the three weeks. Additional readings to be done each night during the three weeks of the workshop are listed under the schedule following the list. An optional supplementary bibliography for future reference follows.

As many of you doubtless already know, Clausewitz is one work that cannot be read quickly. He is not quite as taxing as Hegel, but more than one reputable scholar has misread Clausewitz – and misrepresented him – as a result of attempting to digest the work as expeditiously as many are accustomed to doing with normal works of social science or history. To say that he must be read slowly and carefully is not meant to endow Clausewitz with mystique or to imply excessive reverence, but only to warn that understanding him is a more than normally demanding intellectual chore.

The curriculum gives more attention to cases and readings in U.S. defense policy than to other countries. This does not represent a supposition about what is worth studying, but reflects the aim that the workshop focus on some questions rather than attempt to survey everything, and is also due to the particular expertise of the faculty and guest lecturers.

Several evening movie showings supplement the curriculum. One (The Battle of Algiers) is as close to realism as movies get. The others, while superior to the majority of war movies, do not fully escape typical Hollywood vices of political caricature, melodrama, and romanticization of combat. They do, however, effectively illustrate some themes about: the sociology of command; influence of doctrine, organization, and training on combat; and difficulties in linking operations and strategy. A list of other available films appears at the end.
Advance Reading Assignments


SWAMOS 2004 Schedule

Week One

Sunday Evening, July 11: Welcoming Reception and Dinner.

Monday, July 12.

Lectures Richard K. Betts, Columbia University, and Eliot A. Cohen, Johns Hopkins University Nitze School of Advanced International Studies:

War and Policy: Grammar and Logic.


5:00-6:30: Inaugural IENBHH (Intellectual Exchange and Network Bonding Happy Hour).

Evening FREE.

Tuesday, July 13.

Lectures: Cohen and Betts:

Elements of Military Operations.


the first six months of the Korean War should consult a brief chronological account such as Marvin Lichterman, “To the Yalu and Back,” Parts IV-VI, in Harold Stein, ed., American Civil-Military Decisions (University of Alabama Press, 1963).

**Evening Film Showing (Required):** *The Battle of Algiers*. 1966. Directed by Gilo Pontecorvo. Screenplay by Franco Solinas.

**Wednesday, July 14.**

**Lecture:** Cohen: *Understanding the Tribes: Military Organizational Cultures.*


**Evening:** FREE.

**Thursday, July 15.**

**Lecture:** Robert A. Pape, University of Chicago: *Uses and Misuses of Air Power.*


**Evening:** FREE.

**Friday, July 16.**

**Lecture:** Tami Davis Biddle, U.S. Army War College: *Strategic Bombing.*


**Evening Film Showing (Recommended but not Required): Twelve O’Clock High.** 1949. Directed by Henry King. Screenplay by Sy Bartlett and Beirne Lay, Jr.

Saturday, July 17: **FREE**

Sunday, July 18: **FREE**

**Week Two**

Monday, July 19.

*Lecture*: Stephen Biddle, U.S. Army War College and University of North Carolina:  
**Tactics and Technology: Land Warfare.**

*Afternoon Lecture*: Michael O’Hanlon, Brookings Institution:  
**Defense Budgeting.**


*Evening*: **FREE**

Tuesday, July 20.

*Lecture*: O’Hanlon:  
**Defense Program Analysis.**


Wednesday, July 21.

*Lecture*: Betts:  
**The Politics of Intelligence Analysis.**
Seminar 9: Betts: **Security Dilemma or Aggression? Issues in Threat Assessment.**

Seminar 10: S. Biddle: **The Revolution in Military Affairs?**

*Evening:* **FREE.**

Thursday, July 22.

*Lecture:* S. Biddle: **Operational Art and Theater Strategy.**

Read: Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels* (McKay, 1974). (Also, review Clausewitz, *On War*, Book VI, chaps. 1, 3, 5.)

*Evening:* Reception and Briefing. Drinks and hors d’oeuvres with members of the Cornell Government Department and Peace Studies Program, followed by briefing by Major Ike Wilson (who spent last year in Mosul with the 101st Airborne) on Army “transformation” planning.

Friday, July 23. Travel to Fort Lewis, Washington.

*Evening Lecture:* S. Biddle: **The Recent Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.**

Saturday, July 24. Briefings, demonstrations, and observations at Fort Lewis, Washington.

Sunday, July 25: More briefings, demonstrations, and observations at Fort Lewis.

**Week Three**

Monday, July 26. Return Travel to Ithaca.
Tuesday, July 27.

*Lecture:* Col. Kevin J. Weddle, U.S. Army War College:
**Campaign and Operational Planning.**

*Afternoon Workshop:* Weddle: **Combatant Command Planning Exercise.**

*Evening:* **FREE.**

Wednesday, July 28.

*Lecture:* Audrey Kurth Cronin (Congressional Research Service):
**Terrorism in Historical and Strategic Context.**

*Read:* Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,”


*Evening:* **FREE**

Thursday, July 29.

*Lecture:* S. Biddle:
**Military Modeling.**


*Afternoon Workshop:* **Laboratory Exercise in Modeling.**

*Evening:* Farewell Dinner.

Friday, July 30.

*Concluding Plenary:* **SWAMOS 04 After Action Review.**

*Afternoon:* Travel home.
Recommended Supplementary Readings

The following list is idiosyncratic more than systematic. It includes some items of marginal importance, and may exclude other more important ones that the instructors have overlooked.


Hanson W. Baldwin, Great Mistakes of the War (Harper & Brothers, 1950) (right-wing revisionist view of World War II strategy).


Yoav Ben-Horin and Barry Posen, Israel's Strategic Doctrine, R-2845-NA (RAND Corporation, September 1981).


Richard K. Betts, Surprise Attack (Brookings Institution, 1982).


Tami Davis Biddle, "British and American Approaches to Strategic Bombing," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 18, no. 1 (March 1995), pp. 91-144.


[James Blaker and Andrew Hamilton,] *Assessing the NATO/Warsaw Pact Military Balance* (Congressional Budget Office, December 1977) (example of “static” analysis which figured prominently in the Cold War).


Martin van Creveld, *Fighting Power* (Greenwood, 1982).


Paul Fussell, *Wartime* (Oxford University Press, 1989) (anyone who has never taken pacifism seriously should read this).


Wayne P. Hughes, Jr., *Fleet Tactics* (Naval Institute Press, 1986).


Selected Movies About War
Available During SWAMOS 04

This is not a systematic selection of classic movies about war, but they are films of which SWAMOS happens to have videotape or DVD copies. A few of the films listed below are superb. The others reflect common Hollywood vices but rise at least a bit above the norm of superficial action fantasies or chauvinistic (in the original sense of the term) propaganda tracts that characterize most war movies. Showings can be arranged if several participants wish to see any on evenings when events are not scheduled, or during the first weekend of the workshop. Films are listed in rough chronological order of the events they portray.


All Quiet on the Western Front. 1930. Directed by Lewis Milestone. Adapted by Maxwell Anderson, Screenplay by George Abbott, from the novel by Erich Maria Remarque. 2 hours, 12 minutes (including restored footage). The classic interwar anti-war novel and film. (Star Lew Ayres became a conscientious objector in World War II.)

Grand Illusion. 1938. Directed by Jean Renoir. 1 hour, 15 minutes. Caste, class, identity, loyalty, and mass society -- the confrontation of nationalism and total war with transnational aristocratic sensibilities in a World War I prison camp. (Pay attention to the scene where Pierre Fresnay asks Erich von Stroheim, “How did we get to this?” and von Stroheim intones, “C’est la revolution francaise.”)


They Were Expendable. 1945. Directed by John Ford. Screenplay by Frank Wead, based on the book by William L. White (which was the true story of the experiences portrayed). 2 hours, 15 minutes. The story of the PT boats sacrificed in the doomed defense of the Philippines in 1941-42.

Destination Tokyo. 1944. Directed by Delmer Daves. Screenplay by Daves and Albert Maltz, from a story by Steve Fisher. 2 hours, 16 minutes. A U.S. submarine on a secret mission to the Japanese coast. (Incorporates a true story about an emergency appendectomy performed deep underwater by a pharmacist’s mate.)

Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo. 1944. Directed by Mervyn LeRoy. Screenplay by Dalton Trumbo, from the memoir by Captain Ted Lawson. 2 hours, 19 minutes. True story of the 1942 Doolittle Raid, and one crew’s escape through China.

Wing and a Prayer. 1944. Directed by Henry Hathaway. Screenplay by Jerome Cady. 1 hour, 38 minutes. An American aircraft carrier up to and during the Battle of Midway. Substantial actual combat footage included.

**Das Boot [The Boot].** 1982. Written and directed by Wolfgang Petersen, from the novel by Lothar-Gunther Buchheim. 3 hours, 29 minutes (“the director’s cut,” with restored footage). Life and death aboard a German submarine in World War II.


**A Walk in the Sun.** 1946. Directed by Lewis Milestone. Screenplay by Robert Rossen, based on the novel by Harry Brown. 1 hour, 52 minutes. Infantrymen of a platoon cut off from the rest of their Company, their officer and senior NCO killed in the Salerno landing, adapt to friction and figure out how to execute their assigned mission under pressure of combat.


**Saving Private Ryan.** 1998. Directed by Steven Spielberg. Screenplay by Robert Rodat. 2 hours, 49 minutes. Moral dilemmas in deciding how to spend lives. The first 25 minutes covering the landing on Omaha Beach is the cinematic representation of combat that has probably been least criticized by combat veterans for lack of realism -- Paul Fussell of all people approved of it.


**A Bridge Too Far.** 1977. Directed by Richard Attenborough. Screenplay by William Goldman, from the book by Cornelius Ryan. 2 hours, 58 minutes. Operation MARKET GARDEN, the airborne assault on Arnhem designed to end the war in Europe by the end of 1944.


**The Longest Day.** 1964. Directed by Ken Annakin, Andrew Marton, and Bernhard Wicki (for British, American, and German scenes respectively). Screenplay by Cornelius Ryan, based on his book. 3 hours. The story of D-Day, from several perspectives.


**Die Brucke [The Bridge].** 1954. Directed by Bernhard Wicki. Schoolboys conscripted into the Volksturm to defend a bridge in the last hours of the war in Europe.


The Bridges at Toko-Ri. 1954. Directed by Mark Robson. Screenplay by Valentine Davis, from the novel by James A. Michener. How the burdens of war (the air war in Korea) are not fairly distributed among the population. Michener produced the novel after his non-fiction Saturday Evening Post story of his experience aboard a carrier, which was also turned into a true-story movie, Men of the Fighting Lady, around the same time as the fictionalized Bridges at Toko-Ri.

A Gathering of Eagles. 1963. Directed by Delbert Mann. Screenplay by Robert Pirosch. 1 hour, 56 minutes. Social and organizational issues in elite unit command, personnel management, and operational readiness, and an insight into the most important U.S. military organization of the Cold War -- SAC. (A Cold War echo of themes in Twelve O'Clock High.)

Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb. 1963. Directed by Stanley Kubrick. Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick, Peter George, and Terry Southern, based on the novel Red Alert by Peter George. 1 hour, 31 minutes. Black comedy of accidental apocalypse. Is Peter Sellers’ Strangelove Kissinger or Kahn?


Crimson Tide. 1995. Directed by Tony Scott. Screenplay by Michael Schiffer. 1 hour, 56 minutes. A fictionalized presentation of dilemmas in nuclear strategy. Should a U.S. submarine commander follow orders to launch a nuclear attack on Russian missile silos when communications break down and it is impossible to know whether the order might have been revoked, but when failure to fire might allow the Russian missiles to be launched against the USA? Should the commander’s subordinates mutiny if they believe he is about to start an avoidable nuclear war? (Watch for the scene early in the film when Denzel Washington paraphrases Clausewitz to cigar-chomping Gene Hackman: “The purpose of war is to serve policy, but the nature of war is to serve itself.”)

Platoon. 1986. Written and directed by Oliver Stone. 1 hour, 59 minutes. Cinematic Bildungsroman of Vietnam combat, made before Stone went over the edge with his nutty JFK. The best line is the first-person narrator’s voice-over at the beginning of the film: “I think I made a big mistake in coming here.”

No Man’s Land. 2002. Written and directed by Danis Tanovic. 1 hour, 37 minutes. Personal confrontation between Bosniac and Serb in a pocket of the battlefield, with allegory for Bosnia War -- and UN peacekeeping -- writ large.