

**University of Florida**  
**Center for European Studies**  
**European Wars: Institutions, Culture, and Technology**  
**EUS 3930/POS 4931**  
**Spring 2025**

**COURSE INFORMATION:**

Instructor: Prof. Alexander Panayotov, Ph.D.

Course Location: Turlington Hall 2319

Course Time: Monday, Wednesday, and Friday 1:55-2:45 PM

Office Location: Turlington Hall 3343

Email: [apanayotov@ufl.edu](mailto:apanayotov@ufl.edu)

Office Hours: Friday 10:50-12:50 (in person), Monday 10:45-11:45 AM (Zoom), and by appointment

*War is father of all and king of all."*

*Heraclites*

*"Thoughts without content are empty, intuitions without concepts are blind."*

*Immanuel Kant*

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

War and warfare permeate European states and societies. History of Europe is a period of a great transformation from an endemic warfare to a long peace. But even during the current period of long and unprecedented peace and prosperity, the impact of war upon European institutions, culture, and technology is still with us. In this course, we will study how European societies prepared, fought, and reflected upon war. It will also present a comprehensive discussion of the theoretical debates addressing these developments. This course has three main objectives: 1) to explore the history of European wars and warfare; 2) to highlight the distinctive features of European war making and its influence on the development of European societies; and 3) to use the analytical lessons from these developments to better understand contemporary political developments in Europe.

The teaching in this course is guided by the following principles: First, the study of European war-making is deeply historical. Students need to learn the past to understand the present. Second, the contemporary European war making is unique because of its hybrid nature. It

involves both states and regional organizations such as NATO and the EU. Their histories are intertwined and will be studied in tandem. Finally, the study of European war-making is analytical. Students will learn both the facts and the methods for analyzing military problems.

You will learn different styles of analysis and argumentation. Understanding these styles might prove challenging. Because of this, be prepared to discuss them during the class. The class discussion is a deliberative exercise: you are expected to contribute to it because everyone will benefit from a vigorous exchange of ideas. In order to facilitate this exchange, I will call people in class. Please note that class attendance is mandatory. Please also note that that instructional materials for this course consist of only those materials specifically reviewed, selected, and assigned by the instructor. The instructor is only responsible for these instructional materials.

In addition, please respect your colleagues' views: War is a subject open to multiple interpretations and an arena of contentious debates. Don't forget that collegiality and tolerance are virtues not vices.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES:**

Students in this course will:

- Explore the foundations of European war and warfare.
- Learn the methodological skills to read, analyze, and understand complex political and military problems.
- Refine their writing, editing, and presentation skills.

### **COURSE TEXTS:**

1. Geoffrey Parker (Ed.), "*Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare*", 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2021) [hereinafter *CIHW*]
2. Geoffrey Parker, "*The Military Revolution and the Rise of the West 1500-1800*", 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1996). [ hereinafter *MRRW*]
3. James Sheehan, "*Where Have All the Soldiers Gone? The Transformation of Modern Europe*" (Mariner Books, 2008) [hereinafter *WHSG*]
4. Materials on Canvas.

### **EXAMINATIONS AND ACADEMIC HONESTY:**

- I will not be able to change exams' parameters and presentation dates except in the following cases: a medical emergency, which must be properly documented, and a death in the immediate family.
- Absences from class must be properly documented. An absence without proper documentation will be counted as an unexcused one. Two or more unexcused absences will result in lowering of your attendance and participation grade.
- Depending on our progress, there might be changes in the schedule. You will be notified of all changes in advance.
- No extra credit assignments will be offered.
- Please note that UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following

pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class. Please note that this is a research-intensive course. Because of this, plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Students are required to read, understand, and abide by the University of Florida Academic Honesty policy. The policy can be found here: <https://sccr.dso.ufl.edu/process/student-conduct-code/> . All violations of the said policy will be reported in accordance with the process outlined in it.

- The requirements in the syllabus are consistent with the UF grading policy. The policy can be found here: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/UGRD/academic-regulations/grades-grading-policies/>

### **GRADE CONCERNS:**

If a student disagrees with her grade, she must outline her concerns in writing within 48 hours of receiving the grade. I will not accept grade concern statements after the expiration of the 48-hour period. The statement must contain a reasoned claim backed by textual evidence. After evaluating the merit of the claim, I will do one of the following: 1) increase the grade; 2) lower the grade; or, 3) leave the grade unchanged. The student will be notified about my decision within a reasonable time frame and the grade will be adjusted accordingly. Please note that this policy will not be applicable to the final paper and the overall final grade.

### **ATTENDANCE:**

- Please be advised that class attendance is mandatory. I reserve the right to revise your grade one grade step down (e.g. B+ to B) for systemic unexcused absences from class (two or more absences).
- Arrive on time. I reserve the right to lower your attention and participation grade in cases of systematic tardiness. I define systematic tardiness as “two or more late arrivals to class.”
- Do not leave early. If you leave early two or more times, I reserve the right to lower your attention and participation grade.
- Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found at: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>

### **INCOMPLETES:**

Incompletes will be granted under exceptional circumstances. A student who wants to receive an incomplete must: (1) inform the professor 10 (ten) days prior to the last day of class and (2) provide a written explanation about the reasons necessitating the incomplete. These reasons must be properly documented. In addition, the student must provide a written plan for finishing the missing work. The student must complete the work during the following semester. Failure to complete the work will result in an E.

**COURSE EVALUATIONS:**

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/> . Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/> . Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

**ACCOMMODATIONS:**

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center by visiting [disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started](http://disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started). It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester

Faculty can expect to receive a student's accommodation letter within the first 3 weeks of classes; however, if a student registers with the DRC later in the semester faculty are still obligated to facilitate accommodations. Neither faculty nor administrators may independently deny a request for accommodation that is approved by the Disability Resource Center.

Students are also advised to explore the opportunities offered by the UF Disability Resource Center. The Center is located at 001 Reid Hall, web page: <https://disability.ufl.edu/#> .

**COUNSELING AND WELLNESS CENTER:**

Contact information for the Counseling and Wellness Center: <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx>, 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

**RECORDINGS:**

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

A "class lecture" is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To "publish" means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or

medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

**RESPONSIBILITIES:**

- Ensure that you have a reliable access to Canvas because it will be used extensively throughout the semester. Note that you will be responsible for printing or viewing the assigned material.
- Read the materials in advance and in the order indicated in the syllabus.
- Turn off your cell phones **before** coming to class.
- Restrict the use of electronic devices to class-related activities, e.g., note-taking or article reading.
- Please do not eat in class. Drinks in closed containers are permitted.
- Please note that I will call people in class. This means that it's your responsibility to be prepared at all times. I reserve the right to lower your participation grade if you are unprepared.

**GRADE SCALE:**

A	94-100
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	84-86
B-	80-83
C+	77-79
C	74-76
C-	70-73
D+	67-69
D	64-66
D-	60-63
E	0-59

**ASSIGNMENTS AND DEADLINES:**

<b>DUE DATE</b>	<b>ASSIGNMENT</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>WEIGHT</b>
	Attendance and participation	Please note that attendance is mandatory. Participation is an essential ingredient for your success in the course. I will consider revising your grade one grade step up (e.g. A- to A) to reward your meaningful class participation. I will revise your grade one grade step down (e.g., A- to B+) for inadequate class preparation. I will revise your grade one grade step down (e.g. B+ to B) for systemic unexcused absences from class (two or more absences). I reserve the right to revise your grade one grade step down (e.g. B+ to B) for systemic tardiness (two or more late arrivals). I will not revise grades upwards to reward regular attendance. Do not leave early. If you leave early two or more times, I reserve the right to lower your attention and participation grade by one grade step down.	10%
15-Feb-2025	Precis	The précis is a one-page summary of an important military concept. I will post three concepts on Canvas and you will have to select one of them.  The additional requirements for the précis: 1” margin all around, Times New Roman font, size 12. All sources must be properly cited in a bibliography, which will not be counted toward the page requirement. I will deduct 15 points for assignments submitted after the deadline and before 11:59 PM on February 17 <sup>th</sup> . I will not accept submissions after that and no points will be awarded for this assignment.	20%
07-Mar-2025 – 14-Mar-2025	Mid-term Exam (take-home exam)	The mid-term will consist of writing an analytical memorandum. The analytical memo is an impartial analysis of a military problem. You are not required to take sides or offer policy recommendations. You will have to 1) frame the problem; 2) explain its importance; 3) outline participants’ goals; 4) assess their strengths and weaknesses; 5) outline the strategies for achieving their goals; and, 6) analyze the outcome in terms these participants’ initial objectives. I will post the topic on Canvas on March 7 <sup>th</sup> .  The memo should not exceed four double-spaced pages. The additional requirements for the analytical memo are: 1” margin all around, Times New Roman font, size 12. All sources must be properly cited in a bibliography, which will not be counted toward the page requirement. I will deduct 15 points for	30%

		assignments submitted after the deadline and before 11:59 PM on March 16 <sup>th</sup> . I will not accept submissions after that and no points will be awarded for this assignment.	
18-Apr-2025 – 25-Apr-2025	Policy Memo to the President (King, Tsar, Great Leader, or Prime-Minister) (take-home assignment)	<p>Assume that you are an advisor to the highest authority in a specific country. You will write a short memorandum that will assess the position of your country with respect to a contemporary security problem related to Europe, e.g., the war in Ukraine, the security situation in Kosovo, etc. I will post a list of acceptable topics and you will select one of them. In this memo, you will have to 1) frame the problem; 2) assess your country’s goals and 3) lay out the strategies for achieving them. Pay particular attention to the security situation of “your country” and its historical experience with war. Feel free to use historical analogies, but justify their use.</p> <p>The length of the memo should not exceed 4 double-spaced pages. The additional requirements for the policy memo are: 1” margin all around, Times New Roman font, size 12. You may use external sources. All sources must be properly cited in a bibliography, which will not be counted toward the page requirement. I will deduct 15 points for an answer submitted after the deadline and prior to 11:59 PM on April 27<sup>th</sup>. I will not accept submissions after that and no points will be awarded for this assignment.</p>	40%

**SUBMISSIONS:**

All assignments should be submitted via the Canvas course page. Please note that each student is responsible for the timely submission of her assignments. I will not send reminders for overdue assignments.

**IMPORTANT DATES:**

- **February 15<sup>th</sup>:** Precis due
- **March 14<sup>th</sup>:** Midterm due
- **April 25<sup>th</sup>:** Policy memo due

## TOPICS AND READINGS:

### INTRODUCTION: WHY DO PEOPLE FIGHT?

*"History is a guide to navigation in perilous times. History is who we are and why we are the way we are."*

*David McCullough*

Date	Subject	Readings
13-Jan-2025	What is War?	1. CIHW 1-9
15-Jan-2025	War: Biological and Social Roots I	1. Azar Gat, "So Why Do People Fight? Evolutionary Theory and the Causes of War", 571-599 (Canvas)
17-Jan-2025	War: Biological and Social Roots II	1. Ian Morris, "The Evolution of War", 1-30 (Canvas)

### THE WESTERN WAY OF WAR

*"Right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."*

*Thucydides "History of the Peloponnesian War"*

Date	Subject	Readings
22-Jan-2025	Social Organization of War in Antiquity I	1. CIHW 12-31
24-Jan-2025	Social Organization of War in Antiquity II	1. CIHW 32-49
27-Jan-2025	The Roman Way of War	1. CIHW 50-91

### KING, PEOPLE, AND MILITARY REVOLUTION(S)

*"The origins of Europe were hammered out on the anvil of war."*

*R.A. Brown*

Date	Subject	Readings
29-Jan-2025	Medieval Warfare	1. CIHW 92-117
31-Jan-2025	What is the Military Revolution?	1. Clifford J. Rogers, "The Military Revolution in History and Historiography", 1-10(Canvas) 2. MRRW 155-176

03-Feb-2025	Europe's Seaborne Empires: Did Maritime Competition Create Capitalism?	1. <i>CIHW</i> 120-145
05-Feb-2025	Dynastic Wars and Their Institutions	1. <i>CIHW</i> 146-163
07-Feb-2025	States in Conflict	1. <i>CIHW</i> 164-185
10-Feb-2025	The Military Revolution Revisited	1. <i>MRRW</i> 6-41
12-Feb-2025	Supplying War	1. <i>MRRW</i> 45-81
14-Feb-2025	The Naval Military Revolution The Export of the Military Revolution	1. <i>MRRW</i> 82-114 2. <i>MRRW</i> 115-145
17-Feb-2025	Political Development and the Military Revolution I	1. Brian M.Dowding, "Constitutionalism, Warfare, and Political Change in Early Modern Europe", 7-39 (Canvas)
19-Feb-2025	Political Development and the Military Revolution II	1. Brian M.Dowding, "Constitutionalism, Warfare, and Political Change in Early Modern Europe", 39-56 (Canvas)
21-Feb-2025	State Building and War I	1. Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime", 169-181 (Canvas)
24-Feb-2025	State Building and War II	1. Hendryk Spruyt, "War and State Formation: Amending the Bellicist Theory of State Making," 73-97 (Canvas)
26-Feb-2025	State Building and War III	1. Phillip Gorski and Vivek Swaroop Sharma, "Beyond the Tilly Thesis: "Family Values" and State Formation in Latin Christendom," 98-123 (Canvas)
28-Feb-2025	Nations in Arms	1. <i>CIHW</i> 186-213

#### PEOPLE, NATIONS, AND TECHNOLOGY AT WAR

*"Every war is ironic because every war is worse than expected."*

*Paul Fussell*

Date	Subject	Readings
03-Mar-2025	The Industrialization of War	1. <i>CIHW</i> 216-220, 220-231 (skim), 233-241

05-Mar-2025	Beyond the Military Revolution	1. <i>MRRW</i> 146-176
07-Mar-2025	REVIEW SESSION	There are no readings for this class.
10-Mar-2025	Towards World War I	1. <i>CIHW</i> 242-265
12-Mar-2025	No War, No State? Europe: 1900-1914	1. <i>WHSG</i> 3-42
14-Mar-2025	Europeans in a Violent World	1. <i>WHSG</i> 42-65

### HARD LESSONS: WAR AND PEACE IN EUROPE

*"You can't say civilization don't advance . . . , for in in every new war they kill you in a new way."*  
*Will Rogers*

Date	Subject	Readings
24-Mar-2025	The Social Theory of War: Clausewitz, War and Warfare	1. Vivek Swaroop Sharma, "A <i>Social Theory of War: Clausewitz and War Reconsidered</i> " (Canvas)
26-Mar-2025	The West at War I	1. <i>CIHW</i> 266-297
28-Mar-2025	The West at War II	1. <i>WHSG</i> 65-91
31-Mar-2025	The Twenty-Year Truce	1. <i>WHSG</i> 92-118 2. <i>CIHW</i> 298-304
02-Apr-2025	The World in Conflict I	1. <i>CIHW</i> 305-319
04-Apr-2025	The World in Conflict II	1. <i>CIHW</i> 320-332 2. <i>CIHW</i> 332-339 (skim)
07-Apr-2025	War and the Foundations of the Postwar World	1. <i>WHSG</i> 147-171 2. Morris Janowitz, " <i>Military Institutions in Western Societies</i> ", 185-204 (Canvas)
09-Apr-2025	The Rise of the Civilian State	1. <i>WHSG</i> 172-197
11-Apr-2025	Cold and Hot Wars	1. <i>CIHW</i> 340-350, 350-367 (skim), 367-374, 374-388 (skim)
14-Apr-2025	The Rise and Fall of War	1. Peter H. Wilson, " <i>European Warfare: 1815-2000</i> ", 192-216 (Canvas)

**THE RETURN OF WAR: DOES EUROPE LOOK AT ITS PAST TO SEE ITS FUTURE?**

*“History does not repeat itself, but it rhymes. “*

*Attributed to Mark Twain*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Readings</b>
16-Apr-2025	War, State-Building, and the European Union: Did the War in Ukraine Change the Course of European Integration? I	1. R. Daniel Kelemen <sup>1</sup> and Kathleen R. McNamara, <i>"State-building and the European Union: Markets, War, and Europe's Uneven Political Development"</i> , 963-991 (Canvas)
18-Apr-2025	War, State-Building, and the European Union: Did the War in Ukraine Change the Course of European Integration? II	1. Philipp Genschel, <i>"Bellicist integration? The War in Ukraine, the European Union and Core State Powers"</i> , 1-15 (Canvas) 2. Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse, <i>"The War in Ukraine as Statebuilding Factor in European Integration"</i> , 27-43 (Canvas) 3. Daniel Fiott, <i>"The Fog of War: Russia's War on Ukraine, European Defence and Spending and Military Capabilities"</i> (Canvas)
21-Apr-2025	The Future of Warfare	1. <i>CIHW</i> 454-470
23-Apr-2025	REVIEW SESSION	There are no readings for this class.

**BOOK LIST (OPTIONAL):**

WRITING	Joseph Williams, <i>“Style: Toward Clarity and Grace (Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing)”</i> , The University of Chicago Press, 1995
EUROPE 1648-1815	Tim Blanning, <i>“The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648-1815”</i> , Viking Penguin, 2007
EUROPE 1815-1914	Richard J. Evans, <i>“The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815-1914”</i> , Viking 2016
EUROPE 1848-1918	Alan J.P.Taylor, <i>“The Struggle for Mastery in Europe: 1848-1918”</i> , Oxford University Press, 1980
EUROPE 1914-1949	Ian Kershaw, <i>“To Hell and Back: Europe 1914-1949”</i> , Viking, 2015
EUROPE 1950-2017	Ian Kershaw, <i>“The Global Age: Europe 1950-2017”</i> , Viking, 2018
WAR AND SOCIETY	Azar Gat, <i>“War in Human Civilization”</i> , Oxford University Press, 2008
WAR AND CULTURE	John A. Lynn, <i>“Battle: A History of Combat and Culture”</i> , Basic Books, 2004
HISTORY OF WARFARE	John Keegan, <i>“A History of Warfare”</i> , Vintage Books, 1994
HISTORY OF EUROPEAN WARS	Michael Howard, <i>“War in European History”</i> , Oxford University Press, 1976 [2001].
POWER AND TECHNOLOGY	William McNeil, <i>“The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Forces and Society Since A.D. 1000”</i> , University of Chicago Press, 1982
MILITARY REVOLUTIONS	Williamson Murray, <i>“The Dark Path: The Structure of War and the Rise of the West”</i> , Yale University Press, 2024
FIRST WORLD WAR	Hew Strachan, <i>“The First World War”</i> , Penguin Books, 2005
SECOND WORLD WAR	Antony Beevor, <i>“The Second World War”</i> , Bay Back Books, 2013
ORIGINS OF WARS	Donald Kagan, <i>“On The Origins of Wars and the Preservation of Peace”</i> , Anchor Books, 1995
ECONOMIC CHANGE AND MILITARY CONFLICT	Paul Kennedy, <i>“The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000”</i> , Vintage Books, 1987
STRATEGY	Lawrence Freedman, <i>“Strategy: A History”</i> , Oxford University Press, 2015
GRAND STRATEGY	John Lewis Gaddis, <i>“On Grand Strategy”</i> , Penguin Press, 2018