

Strategic Studies
PS 9550
T 3:00-5:30
Fall 2017
University of Missouri

Syllabus

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Course Description and Objectives:

The purpose of this graduate seminar is to analyze important theories regarding strategic studies. Although these topics are related, this course is distinct from PS 9450, International Conflict. In particular, we will not examine the causes of international conflict and war. This course explores what makes the militaries of some states highly proficient fighting machines, whereas others seemingly cannot execute the simplest tasks. Although some attention is given to navies and air forces, the focus of this class (following the bulk of the literature) is on ground forces.

Examining war outcomes, military effectiveness, and other strategic studies topics requires a firm grounding in military history. We therefore begin with an overview of military history to provide important background. Section II focuses on explaining war outcomes, examining factors such as military strategy and regime type. The third section turns attention to explanations of military effectiveness, particularly related to non-material factors such as strategy/force employment, regime type, and civil-military relations. Finally, section IV briefly considers additional topics of military innovation, counterinsurgency, and air warfare.

This course is not primarily about military technology, weapons systems, or the interaction of particular weapons systems on the battlefield. Many of the variables we examine – such as regime type, institutional configurations, and organizational culture – are not particularly military. Rather, we will examine explanations for relatively broad military outcomes and patterns. This is not to say we will ignore military technology, merely to state that it is not the central focus of the course. This course will: (a) introduce students to a wide range of research on strategic studies and (b) develop students' ability to critically evaluate research, and consequently how to design and execute their own research projects.

Books (available at University Bookstore):

Required:

Biddle, Stephen. 2004. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Black, Jeremy. 2015. *A Century of Conflict: War, 1914-2014*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Grauer, Ryan. 2016. *Commanding Military Power: Organizing for Victory and Defeat on the*

Battlefield. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

House, Jonathan M. 2001. *Combined Arms Warfare in the Twentieth Century*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Stam III, Allan C. 1996. *Win, Lose, or Draw: Domestic Politics and the Crucible of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Talmadge, Caitlin. 2015. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Recommended:

Paret, Peter, ed. 1986. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Coursework and Grading:

Participation: The quality of a graduate level seminar depends to a large extent on the efforts of the students. Students are expected to complete the assigned reading each week and come to class each week prepared to discuss them. While you are reading the assigned course material, you should consider the following questions:

- a) What is the research question?
- b) What is the researcher's theoretical argument?
- c) What methods/approach does the author use to try to answer the question?
- d) Is this approach suitable for the question or theory?
- e) If the author provides empirical tests, are the operational measures of the concepts appropriate?
- f) What are the most significant research findings, and how do these relate to other readings?
- g) To what degree do you think the researcher has answered his/her research questions?

Each student should email two discussion questions to me each week by 9 am on Tuesday; these will form the basis for leading our class discussion. Class participation will count for 30% of the final grade.

Two Page Critiques: Beyond regular attendance and active participation in class discussion, each student is expected to write **six two-page critique papers. These should be emailed by Tuesday at noon.** These papers should highlight the principal points of one or more of the week's readings, critically evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the readings, and provide some guidance for future research in this area (such as identifying a related question that has been left unanswered or answered incompletely by the readings, or by proposing an extension of the week's reading to a new question or area). They should not be summaries of the readings. Instead, the primary focus should be on evaluating how the research was designed and conducted, with suggestions for improvements, further refinements, and logical next research steps. I will evaluate your critiques for critical content, clarity of writing, and style. I may have you give a short (10 – 15 minute) presentation regarding your short paper to lead class discussion. Each critique will count for 5% of the overall course grade, for a total of 30%.

Research Paper/Design: The final assignment will be a paper. Two options are available: 1) an original research paper (this is expected of students with IR as their primary field in their second year or later; others may propose a topic subject to my approval) and 2) a research design (this is available to first-year students or those with IR as their second field).

Research papers should focus on some aspect of war outcomes, military power, military effectiveness, civil-military relations, or other topic related to security studies. Students should meet with the professor early in the semester to discuss their interests and potential topics. This paper must be analytical and theoretical in nature rather than descriptive. The paper should be approximately 20-30 pages in length (roughly the standard for conference papers and journal articles in international relations). Students should observe some general guidelines in selecting their questions and in writing their papers. First, the paper must represent original research. General literature reviews or summaries of other works are not acceptable. Second, the papers must have a theoretical focus. Papers should not address purely policy questions (e.g., should the US develop a new weapons technology), but rather policy implications should be derived from the theoretical concerns and empirical findings of the paper.

Research designs should follow the same guidelines as research papers. However, the paper only sets up the research design (i.e., introductions, literature review, theory, and research design sections), but does not have to execute the empirical analysis. In other words, there is no discussion of results section.

The paper will be completed in sections according to the schedule below. The final paper should be suitable for presentation at a professional conference and hopefully for subsequent publication. The course paper will account for 40% of the course grade.

Section	Due Date
Topic	28 September
Research Design	27 October
Final Paper due	12 December

Course Schedule and Readings:

STRATEGIC STUDIES AND MILITARY HISTORY

Strategic Studies (22 August)

- Biddle, Stephen. 2007. "Strategy in War." *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 40(3): 461-66.
- Luttwak, Edward N. 1980. "The Operational Level of War." *International Security* 5(3): 61-79.
- Murray, Williamson, and Allan R. Millett. 2000. *A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War*. Cambridge: Belknap. Appendices 1-3.
- Lieber, Keir A. 2007. "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory." *International Security* 32(2): 155-191.
- Reiter, Dan, Allan C. Stam, and Michael C. Horowitz. 2016. "A Revised Look at Interstate Wars, 1816-2007." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(5): 956-976.

Supplemental

- Gray, Colin S. 1999. *Modern Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Trachtenberg, Marc. 2006. *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dan Reiter, Allan C. Stam, and Michael C. Horowitz, “A Deeper Look at Interstate War Data: Interstate War Data version 1.1,” *Research and Politics* (forthcoming).

Military and Strategic History (29 August)

- Black, Jeremy. 2015. *A Century of Conflict: War, 1914-2014*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Supplemental

- Gray, Colin S. 2012. *War, Peace and International Relations: An Introduction to Strategic History*. Second edition. London: Routledge. Chapters 1-17.
- Paret, Peter, ed. 1986. *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sarkees, Meredith Reid, and Frank Whelon Wayman. 2010. *Resort to War: A Data Guide to Inter-state, Extra-state, Intra-state, and Non-state Wars, 1816–2007*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Howard, Michael. 2009. *War in European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Murray, Williamson, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, ed. 1994. *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Combined Arms Warfare (5 September)

- House, Jonathan M. 2001. *Combined Arms Warfare in the Twentieth Century*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Supplemental

- Olsen, John Andreas, and Martin van Creveld, ed. 2011. *The Evolution of Operational Art: From Napoleon to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leonhard, Robert R. 1991. *The Art of Maneuver: Maneuver-Warfare Theory and AirLand Battle*. Novato, CA: Presidio.
- Wawro, Geoffrey. 2000. *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1914*. London: Routledge.

WAR OUTCOMES

War Outcomes (12 September)

- Stam III, Allan C. 1996. *Win, Lose, or Draw: Domestic Politics and the Crucible of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Supplemental

- Sullivan, Patricia L. 2012. *Who Wins? Predicting Success and Failure in Armed Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reiter, Dan, and Curtis Meek. 1999. “Determinants of Military Strategy, 1903–1994: A Quantitative Empirical Test.” *International Studies Quarterly* 43(2): 363–87.
- Overy, Richard. 1995. *Why the Allies Won*. New York: Norton.

- Arreguín-Toft, Ivan. 2006. *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Democracy and War Outcomes (19 September)

- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam III. 1998. "Democracy, War Initiation, and Victory." *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 377-389.
- Bennett, D. Scott, and Allan Stam. 1998. "The Declining Advantages of Democracy: A Combined Model of War Outcomes and Duration." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(3): 344-366.
- Reed, William, and David H. Clark. 2000. "War Initiators and War Winners: The Consequences of Linking Theories of Democratic War Success." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(3): 378-395.
- Choi, Ajin. 2004. "Democratic Synergy and Victory in War, 1816-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(3): 663-682.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2009. "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory." *International Security* 33(4): 7-51.

Supplemental

- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam. 2002. *Democracies at War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lake, David A. 1992. "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War." *American Political Science Review* 86(1): 24-37.
- Desch, Michael C. 2002. "Democracy and Victory: Why Regime Hardly Matters." *International Security* 27(2): 5-47.

Additional Analyses of War Outcomes (26 September)

- Arreguin-Toft, Ivan. 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict" *International Security* 26(1): 93-128.
- Sullivan, Patricia L. 2007. "War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(3): 496-524.
- Henderson, Errol A., and Resat Bayer. 2013. "Wallets, Ballots, or Bullets: Does Wealth, Democracy, or Military Capabilities Determine War Outcomes?" *International Studies Quarterly* 57(2): 303-317.
- Quackenbush, Stephen L. 2016. "Centers of Gravity and War Outcomes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 33(4): 361-380.
- Narang, Vipin, and Caitlin Talmadge. 2017. "Civil-Military Pathologies and Defeat in War: Tests Using New Data." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Online first.

Supplemental

- Reed, William, and David H. Clark. 2000. "War Initiators and War Winners: The Consequences of Linking Theories of Democratic War Success." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(3): 378-395.
- Brooks, Risa A. 2003. "Making Military Might: Why do States Fail and Succeed?" *International Security* 28: 149-91.
- Overy, Richard. 1995. *Why the Allies Won*. New York: Norton.
- Wayman, Frank, J. David Singer, and Gary Goertz. 1983. "Capabilities, Allocations, and Success in Militarized Disputes and Wars, 1816-1976." *International Studies Quarterly* 27(4): 497-515.

- Mason, T. David, Joseph P. Weingarten Jr, and Patrick J. Fett. 1999. “Win, Lose, or Draw: Predicting the Outcome of Civil Wars.” *Political Research Quarterly* 52(2): 239-268.

MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS

Military Effectiveness: Strategy and Force Employment (3 October)

- Biddle, Stephen. 2004. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Grauer, Ryan, and Michael C. Horowitz. 2012. “What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System.” *Security Studies* 21(1): 83-112.

Supplemental

- Millett, Allan R., and Williamson Murray, ed. 2010. *Military Effectiveness: Volume I, The First World War*. New edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Millett, Allan R., and Williamson Murray, ed. 2010. *Military Effectiveness: Volume II, The Interwar Period*. New edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Millett, Allan R., and Williamson Murray, ed. 2010. *Military Effectiveness: Volume III, The Second World War*. New edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Biddle, Stephen. 2008. “Explaining Military Outcomes.” In *Creating Military Power*, edited by Risa Brooks and Elizabeth Stanley. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1983. *Conventional Deterrence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Chapters 1-2.

Supplemental about Power and Technology

- Mearsheimer, John J. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, Chapter 3.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1989. “Assessing the Conventional Balance: The 3:1 Rule and Its Critics.” *International Security* 13(4): 54-89.
- Posen, Barry R. 1984/85. “Measuring the European Conventional Balance: Coping with Complexity in Threat Assessment.” *International Security* 9(3): 47-88.
- Lepingwell, John W.R. 1987. “The Laws of Combat? Lanchester Reexamined.” *International Security* 12(1): 89-134.
- Glaser, Charles L., and Chaim Kaufmann. 1998. “What Is the Offense-Defense Balance and How Can We Measure It?” *International Security* 22(4): 44-82.
- Lieber, Keir. 2000. “Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security.” *International Security* 25(1): 71-104.

Military Effectiveness: Regime Type and Culture (10 October)

- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam. 1998. “Democracy and Battlefield Military Effectiveness.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(3): 259-77.
- Biddle, Stephen and Stephen Long. 2004. “Democracy and Military Effectiveness.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48:525-46.
- Beckley, Michael. 2010. “Economic Development and Military Effectiveness.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33(1): 43-79.

- Cochran, Kathryn McNabb, Stephen B. Long. 2017. “Measuring Military Effectiveness: Calculating Casualty Loss-Exchange Ratios for Multilateral Wars, 1816–1990.” *International Interactions*. Online first.
- Rotte, Ralph, and Christoph Schmidt. 2003. “On the Production of Victory: Empirical Determinants of Battlefield Success in Modern War.” *Defence and Peace Economics* 14(3): 175-192.

Supplemental

- Rosen, Stephen Peter. 1995. “Military Effectiveness: Why Society Matters.” *International Security* 19(4): 5-31.
- Shils Edward A., and Morris Janowitz, 1948. “Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 12(2): 280-315.
- Grauer, Ryan. 2014. “Why Do Soldiers Give Up? A Self-Preservation Theory of Surrender.” *Security Studies* 23(3): 622-655.
- Kier, Elizabeth. 1998. “Homosexuals in the U.S. Military: Open Integration and Combat Effectiveness.” *International Security* 23(2): 5-39.
- Bartov, Omer. 1992. *Hitler’s Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blanken, Leo J., and Jason J. Lepore. 2015. “Performance Measurement in Military Operations: Information versus Incentives.” *Defence and Peace Economics* 26(5): 516-535.
- Desch, Michael C. 2008. *Power and Military Effectiveness: The Fallacy of Democratic Triumphalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Long, Austin. 2016. *The Soul of Armies: Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Military Culture in the US and UK*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Military Effectiveness: Authoritarian States (17 October)

- Talmadge, Caitlin. 2015. *The Dictator’s Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Supplemental

- Talmadge, Caitlin. 2013. “The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War.” *Security Studies* 22(2): 180-221.
- Rosen, Stephen Peter. 1996. *Societies and Military Power: India and Its Armies*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Pollack, Kenneth M. 2002. *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Military Effectiveness: Leadership and Civil-Military Relations (24 October)

- Reiter, Dan, and William A. Wagstaff. 2017. “Leadership and Military Effectiveness.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* online first.
- Grauer Ryan, and Stephen L. Quackenbush. 2017. “Explaining Military Effectiveness: Individual Initiative and the Yom Kippur War.” Manuscript.
- Biddle, Stephen, and Robert Zirkle. 1996. “Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 19(2): 171-212.
- Brooks, Risa. 2006. “An Autocracy at War: Explaining Egypt’s Military Effectiveness, 1967 and 1973.” *Security Studies* 15(3): 396-430.

- Pilster, Ulrich, and Tobias Bohmelt. 2011. "Coup-Proofing and Military Effectiveness in Interstate Wars, 1967-99." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 28(4): 331-350.

Supplemental

- Brooks, Risa. 2007. "Civil-Military Relations and Military Effectiveness: Egypt in the 1967 War." In *Creating Military Power*, edited by Risa Brooks and Elizabeth Stanley. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Brooks, Risa. 2008. *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Posen, Barry R. 1984. *The Sources of Military Doctrine*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Weeks, Jessica L. 2008. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62(1): 35-64.
- Quinlivan, James T. 1999. "Coup-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24(2): 131-165.

Military Effectiveness: Organization and Command (31 October)

- Grauer, Ryan. 2016. *Commanding Military Power: Organizing for Victory and Defeat on the Battlefield*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Supplemental

- Bensahel, Nora. 2007. "International Alliances and Military Effectiveness." In *Creating Military Power*, edited by Risa Brooks and Elizabeth Stanley. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Grauer, Ryan. "Uncertain Victory: Information Management and Military Power." *Journal of Global Security Studies*, forthcoming.
- Dupuy, Trevor N. 1979. *Numbers, Predictions, and War: Using History to Evaluate Combat Factors and Predict the Outcome of Battles*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Dupuy, Trevor N. 1987. *Understanding War: History and Theory of Combat*. New York: Paragon House.
- Dupuy, Trevor N. 1989. "Combat Data and the 3:1 Rule." *International Security* 14(1): 195-201.

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

Military Innovation (7 November)

- Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Supplemental

- Rosen, Stephen Peter. 1994. *Winning the Next War: Innovation and the Modern Military*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Murray, Williamson, and Allan R. Millett., ed. 1996. *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Posen, Barry R. 1984. *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Sapolsky, Harvey M. 2000. "On the Theory of Military Innovation." *Breakthroughs* 9(1): 35-39.
- Grissom, Adam. 2006. "The Future of Military Innovation Studies." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29(5): 905-934.
- Kollars, Nina A. 2015. "War's Horizon: Soldier-Led Adaptation in Iraq and Vietnam." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38(4): 529-553.
- Foley, Robert T. 2012. "A Case Study in Horizontal Military Innovation: The German Army, 1916- 1918." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 35(6): 799-827.

Counterinsurgency: Theory (14 November)

- Nagl, John A. 2005. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2
- Gray, Colin S. 2012. *War, Peace and International Relations: An Introduction to Strategic History*. Second edition. London: Routledge. Chapter 18.
- Department of the Army. 2006. *FM 3-24: Counterinsurgency*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, Chapter 1, available online at <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf>.
- Fall, Bernard B. 1965. "The Theory and Practice of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency." *Naval War College Review* 17(8): 21-37.
- Greenhill, Kelly M., and Paul Staniland. 2007. "Ten Ways to Lose at Counterinsurgency." *Civil Wars* 9(4): 402-19.
- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2007. "Fighting Fire with Fire? How (Not) to Neutralize an Insurgency." *Civil Wars* 9(4): 378-401.

Supplemental

- Department of the Army. 2014. *FM 3-24: Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, available online at <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>.
- Galula, David. 1964. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. New York: Praeger.
- Kilcullen, David. 2009. *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kilcullen, David. 2010. *Counterinsurgency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gentile, Gian P. 2013. *Wrong Turn: America's Deadly Embrace of Counterinsurgency*. New York: New Press.
- Porch, Douglas. 2013. *Counterinsurgency: Exposing the Myths of the New Way of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, Robert. 1966. *Defeating Communist Insurgency: The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam*. New York: Praeger.
- Biddle, Stephen, and Jeffrey A. Friedman. 2008. *The 2006 Lebanon Campaign and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute.

No Class (21 November)

Thanksgiving Break

Counterinsurgency: Empirical Analyses (28 November)

- Lyall, Jason. 2010. "Do Democracies Make Inferior Counterinsurgents? Reassessing Democracy's Impact on War Outcomes and Duration." *International Organization* 64(1): 167-92.
- Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson III. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63(1): 67-106.
- Murdie, Amanda, and Stephen L. Quackenbush. 2015. "We Always Fight the Last War? Prior Experiences in Counterinsurgency and Conventional Warfare and War Outcomes." *International Interactions* 41(1): 183-200.
- Friedman, Jeffrey A. 2011. "Manpower and Counterinsurgency: Empirical Foundations for Theory and Doctrine." *Security Studies* 20(4): 556-591.
- Biddle, Stephen, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37(1): 7-40.

Supplemental

- Berman, Eli, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter. 2011 "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy* 119(4): 766-819.
- Caverley, Jonathan D. 2009/10. "The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam." *International Security* 34(3): 119-57.
- Daddis, Gregory A. 2011. *No Sure Victory: Measuring U.S. Army Effectiveness and Progress in the Vietnam War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2007. "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy." *Civil Wars* 9(4): 420-44.
- Jordan, Jenna. 2009. "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation." *Security Studies* 18(4): 719-755.
- Kocher, Matthew Adam, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 201-18.

Air Warfare (5 December)

- Horowitz, Michael, and Dan Reiter. 2001. "When Does Aerial Bombing Work? Quantitative Empirical Tests, 1917-1999." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(2): 147-173.
- Machain, Carla Martinez. 2015. "Air Campaign Duration and the Interaction of Air and Ground Forces." *International Interactions* 41(3): 539-564.
- Allen, Susan Hannah, and Carla Martinez Machain. 2017. "Understanding the Impact of Air Power." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. Online First.
- Allen, Susan Hannah. 2007. "Time Bombs: Estimating the Duration of Coercive Bombing Campaigns." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(1): 112-133
- Quackenbush, Stephen L. and Thomas Guarrieri. 2017. "Air Power and War Outcomes." Manuscript.

Supplemental

- Pape, Robert A. 1996. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Biddle, Tami Davis. 2002. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Byman, Daniel L., and Matthew C. Waxman. 2000. "Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate." *International Security* 24(4): 5-38.
- Pape, Robert A. 1990. "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War." *International Security* 15(2): 103-146.
- Allen, Susan Hannah, and Tiffany Vincent. 2011. "Bombing to Bargain? The Air War for Kosovo." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7(1): 1-26.