

Political Science 4412: Strategy and Warfare

Spring 2017
M/W/F 10:00 to 10:50 am
Middlebush Hall, Room 310

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Course Description

This course will provide a general overview of the state of scientific research into the onset, outcomes, and conduct of warfare between states and sub-state actors. We will not focus on specific wars, and this is not a military history course. Instead, we will examine the general understanding of aspects of war. The first part of the class will examine the factors that influence things like the onset of conflict, how states make war demands, how well states perform, and the role of leadership in conflict. The second section focuses more on individual strategies that conflict actors undertake. We will examine subjects such as how well war affects political outcomes, the benefits of air power, nuclear proliferation and the utility of drone warfare.

Readings

There are no assigned textbooks for the course. Instead, I will provide PDFs of book chapters, academic journal articles, and other sources for you to read. These will be provided on the course Canvas page.

I expect you to have completed the readings before the day they appear on the syllabus. Fully reading and understanding the material is essential to doing well on the exams and class discussions.

Canvas

All communication for this course will be conducted via the course's Canvas site and University email. Any supplementary material, assignments, or changes to the course will be made

available on this site and announced in class. Each student should ensure that they have access to these materials and are able to receive emails through their student account. Please note that I cannot accept material from, or respond to, student emails that come from a non-university address.

Grading

Exam 1: (30%)

Exam 2: (30%)

Exam 3: (30%)

Participation: (10%)

Exams

There will be exams held in class **February 20**, **April 7**, and **May 10**. The exams will consist of a mixture of multiple choice, short answer, and/or essay questions that will test your general understanding of social science research into human rights. I will provide a study guide prior to each exam, and will set aside time to review in class if the schedule permits. Exams will not be cumulative, but you will need to maintain your basic understanding of social science across exams.

Participation

To receive full credit for the participation component of the grade, simply come to class after having completed the readings and offer your insights or questions during the class. Feel free to come see me in reference to your participation. Always feel free to state your opinion in a way that invites discussion. No outside knowledge of international relations, human rights, or history is required for class participation, and I welcome questions, comments, or examples from students as long as they are relevant to the discussion at hand. While I will not formally take attendance, being in class is mandatory. It is up to the student to provide quality comments or questions that pertain to the discussion at hand and indicate a grasp of the assigned readings.

Make-up Exams

While I am more than happy to provide make-up exams for those that miss class, I cannot do so without a reason to excuse the absence. I will excuse absences on a case by case basis. Please note that any alternative or make-up exams may be different than those given to the rest of the class.

Grading Scale

98-100: A+ 88-89: B+ 78-79: C+ 68-69: D+ 59 and below: F
94-97: A 84-87: B 74-77: C 64-67: D
90-93: A- 80-83: B- 70-73: C- 60-63: D-

Information and University Policies

Diversity Requirement

This course satisfies the university diversity requirement by examining the interactions between governments and targeted social groups that result in the violation of physical or political human rights. It will discuss how class, race, gender, or other differences influence a group's interaction with the state and the process through which governments harm human security for these groups.

The course will make use of detailed case studies of incidents of human rights abuse to highlight the general mechanisms discussed in class, including the way groups are targeted by the state institutions that carry out such abuses. In addition, it will provide discussion of general social scientific findings about the ways inequality are influence by and influence human rights abuse across country contexts.

Academic Honesty

Academic integrity is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. All members of the academic community must be confident that each person's work has been responsibly and honorably acquired, developed, and presented. Any effort to gain an advantage not given to all students is dishonest whether or not the effort is successful. The academic community regards breaches of the academic integrity rules as extremely serious matters. Sanctions for such a breach may include academic sanctions from the instructor, including failing the course for any violation, to disciplinary sanctions ranging from probation to expulsion. When in doubt about plagiarism, paraphrasing, quoting, collaboration, or any other form of cheating, consult the course instructor.

Classroom Conduct

The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the departmental chair or divisional director; the director of the Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities; the MU Equity Office, or equity@missouri.edu.

All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor at the end of the course.

University of Missouri System Executive Order No. 38 lays out principles regarding the sanctity of classroom discussions at the university. The policy is described fully in Section 200.015 of the Collected Rules and Regulations. In this class, students may make audio or video recordings of course activity unless specifically prohibited by the faculty member. However, the redistribution of audio or video recordings of statements or comments from the course to individuals who are not students in the course is prohibited without the express permission of the faculty member and of any students who are recorded. Students found to have violated this policy are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020 of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters.

Title IX and Mandatory Reporting

University of Missouri policies and federal law prohibit all forms of sex discrimination in education, including discrimination on the basis of sex, gender, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, and pregnancy. Discrimination includes any form of unequal treatment such as denial of opportunities, harassment, and violence. Sex-based violence includes rape, sexual assault, unwanted touching, stalking, dating/interpersonal violence, and sexual exploitation.

Because we care about our community, Mizzou employees are required to report all incidents of sex discrimination to the Title IX Office. The Title IX Office connects students with resources and helps them decide whether they wish to file a complaint of discrimination. To learn more, contact title9@missouri.edu or (573) 882-3880, or go to www.title9.missouri.edu. Students may also contact the Relationship & Sexual Violence Prevention (RSVP) Center, a confidential resource, for counseling and other support: rsvp@missouri.edu or (573) 882-6638, or go to www.rsvp.missouri.edu. Both the Title IX Office and the RSVP Center can provide accommodations to students who need help with academics, housing, or other issues. The Title IX Office and the RSVP Center will respect your privacy.

Disability Services

If you anticipate barriers related to the format or requirements of this course, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need to make arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please let me know as soon as possible.

If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please register with the MU Disability Center, S5 Memorial Union, 573-882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations.

Copyright on Lecture and Course Materials

Copyright 2017 (Christopher Patane) as to this syllabus and all lectures. During this course, students are prohibited from selling notes or being paid for taking notes by any person or commercial firm without the express written permission of the instructor teaching this course.

Class Outline

I reserve the right to make changes to this syllabus at any time. Changes will be announced in class and on the course Canvas site. It is the responsibility of the student to take note of any changes.

Part I: Why States Fight

Week 1, January 18 & 20: Introduction and Scientific Approaches

Goals: Basic overview of the course. How can we scientifically study political events, and how does this apply to the study of war?

Readings:

1. Rosenberg, Karen. 2011. "Reading Games: Strategies for Reading Scholarly Sources." in *Writing Spaces: Readings on Writing*, Vol 2. 1-12.
2. **Recommended:** Most, Benjamin A. and Harvey Starr. 1989. "Opportunity and Willingness: A Pre-Theoretic Framework" Chapter 2 in *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics*.
3. **Recommended:** Avey, Paul C. and Michael C. Desch. 2014. "What Do Policymakers Want from Us? Results of a Survey of Current and Former Senior National Security Decision Makers." *International Studies Quarterly*. 58, 227-246.

Week 2, January 23, 25, & 27: Introducing the Bargaining Model of War

Goals: Is there a unified explanation for war onset? Is war "rational?"

Readings:

1. Bennett, D. Scott. and Allan C. Stam. 2000. "A Universal Test of an Expected Utility Theory of War." *International Studies Quarterly*. 44(3): 451-480.
2. Powell, Robert. 2002. "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict." *Annual Reviews of Political Science*. 5:1-30.
3. Reiter, Dan. 2003. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War." *Perspectives on Politics*. 1(1): 27-43.
4. Goddard, Stacie E. 2006. "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization*. 60(1): 35-68.
5. **Recommended:** Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. Chapters 2 and 3 in *The War Trap*.

Week 3, January 30, February 1 & 3: Testing the Bargaining Model of War

Goals: How well does the bargaining model explain the onset of international conflict? Does it only work for interstate war?

Readings:

1. Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization*. 49(3): 379-414.
2. Wagner, R. Harrison. 2000. "Bargaining and War." *American Journal of Political Science*. 44(3): 469-484.
3. Reed, William, David H. Clark, Timothy Nordstrom and Wonjae Hwang. 2008. "War, Power, and Bargaining." *The Journal of Politics*. 70(4): 1203-1216.
4. Gartzke, Eric. 1999. "War is in the Error Term." *International Organization*. 53(3): 567-587.
5. **Recommended:** Walter, Barbara F. 2009. "Bargaining Failures and Civil War." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 12:243-61.

Week 4, February 6, 8, & 10: War Outcomes

Goals: Do Democracies fight better? What influences victory?

Readings:

1. Reiter, Dan. and Allan C. Stam III. 1998. "Democracy, War Initiation, and Victory." *The American Political Science Review*. 92(2): 377-389.
2. Desch, Michael C. 2002. "Democracy and Victory: Why Regime Type Hardly Matters." *International Security*. 27(2): 5-47.
3. Downes, Alexander B. 2009. "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War." *International Security*. 33(4): 9-51.
4. Reiter, Dan. 2009. Chapters 1-3 in *How Wars End*.
5. **Recommended:** Reiter, Dan. 2009. Chapter 6 in *How Wars End*.

Week 5, February 13, 15, & 17: Diversionary War

Goals: Do leaders facing crises at home seek conflict abroad?

Readings:

1. Enterline, Andrew J. and Kristian S. Gleditsch. 2000. "Threats, Opportunity, and Force: Repression and Diversion of Domestic Pressure, 1948-1982." *International Interactions*. 26:(1), 21-53.
2. Tarar, Ahmer. 2006. "Diversionary Incentives and the Bargaining Approach to War." *International Studies Quarterly*. 50, 169-188.
3. Oakes, Amy. 2006. "Diversionary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands." *Security Studies*. 15:3, 431-463.
4. Tir, Jaroslav. 2010. "Territorial Diversion: Diversionary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict." *The Journal of Politics*. 72(2), 413-425.
5. **Recommended:** Pickering, Jeffrey and Emizet F. Kisangani. 2010. "Diversionary Despots? Comparing Autocracies' Propensities to Use and to Benefit from Military Force." *American Journal of Political Science*. 54(2), 477-493.

Week 6, February 20, 22, & 24:

Exam 1: February 20

No Class Wednesday, February 22 or Friday, February 24: ISA National Convention.

Week 7, February 27, March 1, & 3: Deterrence

Goals: How do states deter armed conflict? Does it only apply to nuclear weapons?

Readings:

1. Huth, Paul K. 1999. "Deterrence and International Conflict: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Debates." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2(25), 25-48.
2. Signorino, Curtis S. and Ahmer Tarar. 2006. "A Unified Theory and Test of Extended Immediate Deterrence." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(3): 586-605.
3. Asal, Victor and Kyle Beardsley. 2007. "Proliferation and International Crisis Behavior." *Journal of Peace Research*. 44(2): 139-155.
4. Zagare, Frank C. 2011. Chapters 2 and 3 in *The Games of July: Explaining the Great War*.

Week 8, March 6, 8, & 10: Leaders and War

Goals: Do leaders matter in war onset?

Readings:

1. McDermott, Rose and Peter K. Hatemi. 2014. "The Study of International Politics in the Neurobiological Revolution: A Review of Leadership and Political Violence." *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*. 43(1): 92-123.
2. Horowitz, Michael C. Allan C. Stam, and Cali M. Ellis. 2015. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 in *Why Leaders Fight*.

Week 9, March 13, 15, & 17: Gender and Conflict

Goals: What influences women's participation in war? Why women aren't just passive players.

Readings:

1. Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War." *World Politics*. 65(3): 383-415.
2. Thomas, Jakana L. and Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review*. 109(3): 1-19.
3. McDermott, Rose. 2015. "Sex and Death: Gender Differences in Aggression and Motivations for Violence." *International Organization*. 69: 753-775.
4. Horowitz, Michael C. Allan C. Stam, and Cali M. Ellis. 2015. Chapter 4 in *Why Leaders Fight*.
5. **Recommended:** Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross National Evidence (1980-2009)." *American Political Science Review*. 107(3): 1-17.

Part II: Strategies of Warfare

Week 10, March 20, 22, & 24: War as Politics

Goals: Do states get what they want from war?

Readings:

1. Arreguin-Toft, Ivan. 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars. A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict." *International Security*. 26(1), 93-128.
2. Slantchev, Branislav L. 2004. "How Initiators End Their Wars: The Duration of Warfare and the Terms of Peace." *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(4), 813-829.
3. Sullivan, Patricia L. 2007. "War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 51(3), 496-524.
4. Sullivan, Patricia L. 2008. "At What Price Victory? The Effects of Uncertainty on Military Intervention Duration and Outcome." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 25, 49-66.

5. **Recommended:** Sullivan, Patricia L. 2008. "Sustaining the Fight: A Cross-Sectional Time-Series Analysis of Public Support for Ongoing Military Interventions." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 25, 112-135.

Week 11, March 27, 29, & 31

No Class, Spring Break

Week 12, April 3, 5, & 7: Land and Air War

Goals: How well do states perform on the battlefield? Does aerial bombing work?

Readings:

1. Reiter, Dan and Allan C. Stam III. 1998. "Democracy and Battlefield Military Effectiveness." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 43(3), 259-277.
2. Gartzke, Erik. 2001. "Democracy and the Preparation for War: Does Regime Type Affect States' Anticipation of Casualties?" *International Studies Quarterly*. 45, 467-484.
3. Horowitz, Michael and Dan Reiter. 2001. "When Does Aerial Bombing Work?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 45(2), 147-173.
4. Pape, Robert A. 2004. "The True Worth of Air Power." *Foreign Affairs*.
5. **Recommended:** 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): 201-218.

Exam 2: April 7

Week 13, April 10, 12, & 14: Counterinsurgency

Goals: What counterinsurgency strategies work?

Readings:

1. Byman, Daniel L. 2006. "Friends Like These: Counterinsurgency and the War on Terrorism." *International Security*. 31(2), 79-115.
2. Lyall, Jason and Isaiah Wilson III. 2009. "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization*. 63(1), 67-106.
3. Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2011. "Divide and Conquer or Divide and Concede: How do States Respond to Internally Divided Separatists?" *American Political Science Review*. 105(2), 275-2979.
4. Staniland, Paul. 2012. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders" *Perspectives on Politics*. 10(2), 243-264.

5. **Recommended:** Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Laia Balcells. 2010. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." *American Political Science Review*. 104(3), 415-429.

Week 14, April 17, 19, & 21: Counterterrorism

Goals: Do counterterrorism strategies work?

Readings:

1. Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53(3), 331-362.
2. Choi, Seung-Whan. 2010. "Fighting Terrorism through Rule of Law." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 54(6), 940-966.
3. Mueller, John and Mark G. Stewart. 2015. Introduction and chapters 1-3 in *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism*.

Week 15, April 24, 26, & 28: Nukes and Nuclear Proliferation

Goals: Why do states seek nuclear weapons? How easy is it?

Readings:

1. Powell, Robert. 2003. "Nuclear Deterrence Theory, Nuclear Proliferation, and National Missile Defense." *International Security*. 27(4), 86-118.
2. Mueller, John. 2010. Chapters 8-10 in *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda*.
3. Hymans, Jacques E. C. 2012. pp 1-21 and Chapter 2 in *Achieving Nuclear Ambitions: Scientists, Politician, and Proliferation*.
4. **Recommended:** Way, Christopher and Jessica L. P. Weeks. 2014. "Making it Personal: Regime Type and Nuclear Proliferation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 58(3), 705-719.
5. **Recommended:** Mueller, John. 2010. Chapters 12-13 in *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda*.

Week 16, May 1, 3, & 5: Drone Warfare

Goals: Do drones strikes reduce terrorist attacks?

Readings:

1. Byman, Daniel. 2006. "Do Targeted Killings Work?" *Foreign Affairs*. 85(2), 95-111.

2. Wilner, Alex S. 2010. "Targeted Killings in Afghanistan: Measuring Coercion and Deterrence in Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 33(4), 307-329.
3. Smith, Megan and James Igoe Walsh. 2013. "Do Drone Strikes Degrade Al Qaeda? Evidence From Propaganda Output." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 25(2), 311-327.
4. Johnston, Patrick B. and Anoop K. Sarbahi. 2016. "The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan." *International Studies Quarterly*. 60, 203-219.
5. **Recommended:** Jaeger, David A. and Zahra Siddique. 2011. "Are Drone Strikes Effective in Afghanistan and Pakistan? On the Dynamics of Violence between the United States and the Taliban."

Week 17, May 10: Finals Week

Exam 3: May 10, 7:30-9:30am