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[Spring, 2022]

# IAFF 6186

## Military Power and Effectiveness

**Instructor:** Adam Wunische  
**Email:** wunische@gwu.edu  
**Office:** Virtual  
**Class Session:** Wed 7:10-9:00 PM  
**Virtual Office Hours:** By Appointment  
**Credits:** 3

### Syllabus

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#### Course Details

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**Modality:** In-Person  
**Class Time:** Wednesday, 7:10-9:00PM  
**Class Location:** 1957 E, Room 309  
**Credits:** 3

#### Course Description & Goals

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What explains victory and defeat in war? Answering this question is vitally important to the course of history and the survival of nations. It is also important to affairs beyond war, like the outcomes of international negotiations, alliance structures, and the preservation of peace. Traditionally, this question has been estimated by simply determining who had the most soldiers and resources. However, some militaries, like the Mongols in the 13th Century or the Mujahideen in Afghanistan in the 1980s, have frequently bested militaries with more soldiers and resources. What explains this variation? Violence, or the threatened use of violence, is often the primary currency in the international arena. Understanding military power and effectiveness is vitally important for anyone seeking to understand the affairs of states in the international arena. This course is an overview of military operations and strategy and the ways in which war and politics intersect to determine outcomes. This course will survey the fields of study in political science, military strategy, and policy analysis that illuminate this interaction: military effectiveness, Civil-military relations, military tactics and logistics, and foreign policy, among others. This course then explores innovation in military affairs and the limits of the application of military force in international relations.

#### Learning Outcomes & Objectives

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By the end of this course, you will be able to:

- Comprehend and explain what military power and effectiveness is.

- Understand the differences between tactical, operations, and strategic levels of analyses and how they interact.
- Have a clear understanding of the academic literature related to military power and effectiveness, its strengths/weaknesses, and be aware of ongoing debates.
- Understand the boundaries and limitations of the military as a tool of foreign policy.
- Utilize this above information in informing political and military analysis.

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## Methods of Instruction

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This course uses the following methods of instruction:

- *Lectures:* This course will introduce students to theories and concepts of military power and effectiveness through interactive lectures.
- *Case studies and readings:* Students will explore the dynamics primarily through case studies that demonstrate the various causal relationships and theories covered throughout the course. This will be in addition to academic and policy writings on the topics.
- *Discussion:* The lecture will be followed by a discussion session which will be student driven and highly active, rather than passive. Students will engage in simulations, small groups, and imitate various national security institutions to get hands-on experience with the topics and theories.
- *Simulations and Wargaming:* The course will feature numerous activities, including wargames and tactical decision games.
- *Writing assignments:* Writing is a vital part of learning and it will be the primary method of assessment for the course.

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## Credit Hour Policy

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This is a 15-week semester, which includes one week for exams and requires 100 minutes of classroom time, and about 350 minutes minimum of independent work per week. Therefore, students should expect to commit 112.5 hours to this course over the 15-week semester.

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## Prerequisites

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### Academic

Limited to graduate students only, no prerequisite courses are required.

### Technological

It is necessary to possess baseline technology skills in order to participate fully in the course. Please consult the [GW Online website](#) for further information about recommended configurations and support. If you have questions or problems with technology for this course, please consult the Technology Help link in the left navigation menu in our course in Blackboard.

You should be able to:

- Use a personal computer and its peripherals.
- Use word processing and other productivity software.
- Seek technology help by contacting [GW Information Technology](#) (202-994-4948).

If you have any problems with the software in this course, please reference the Technology Help link in the left navigation menu in our course on Blackboard.

## Course Materials & Requirements

### Required Books

- No required books for this course.

### Recommended Books

- Brooks, R. (2007). *Creating military power: The sources of military effectiveness*. Stanford University Press.
- Reiter, D. (Ed.). (2017). *The Sword's Other Edge: Trade-offs in the Pursuit of Military Effectiveness*. Cambridge University Press.
- Biddle, S. D. (2004). *Military power: Explaining victory and defeat in modern battle*. Princeton University Press.
- Biddle, Stephen. *Nonstate Warfare: The Military Methods of Guerillas, Warlords, and Militias*. Princeton University Press, 2021.
- Betts, R. K. (2011). *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security*. Columbia University Press.
- Weigley, Russell Frank. *The American way of war: A history of United States military strategy and policy*. Indiana University Press, 1977.
- Mahnken, Thomas G., and Joseph A. Maiolo, eds. *Strategic studies: a reader*. Routledge, 2014.

### Good Publications to Follow

#### Academic Journals

- Journal of Strategic Studies
- Security Studies
- International Security
- Survival
- Security Dialogue
- Strategic Studies Quarterly

#### Policy/Analysis

- Military Balance (IISS)
- Texas National Security Review
- War on the Rocks
- Foreign Affairs

- Political Violence at a Glance
- The Monkey Cage (Washington Post)

### Military

- Army War College Publications
- Naval War College Publications
- Air War College Publications
- Tactical Decision Games: <http://companyleader.themilitaryleader.com/tdg/>

## Grading & Assessment

If you feel you have received a grade that was not correct or justified, you can ask for a review of the grade. This must be formally requested via email and it must include a review of the grade given, the justification given by the instructor, and an argument for why the grade should be different based on the established assignment rubric. A review will only be granted in rare circumstances and can result in no change, or either an increase or decrease in the assignment's grade.

<i>Assignment Type</i>	<i>Number of Assignments</i>	<i>Total Percent of Final Grade</i>
Class Participation	15	10%
Reading Reviews	2	20%
Track Options	1 or 3	70%

The grading scale below, determines your final letter grade.

<b>Excellent</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Needs Improvement</b>	<b>Low Pass</b>	<b>Fail</b>
A 96%-100%	B+ 87%-89%	B- 80%-83%	C 74%-76%	F Under 70%
A- 90%-95%	B 84%-86%	C+ 77%-79%	C- 70%-73%	

## Criteria for Assignments

### Class Participation

Class participation is a measure of the quality of contribution to the class and group discussions, not the quantity. Students will be assessed on their demonstrated familiarity with the readings each week, the thoughtfulness of their questions and comments, the civility of the engagements with classmates, and their ability to enable others to contribute in meaningful ways.

## Reading Reviews

Students will choose two academic, peer-reviewed articles to review throughout the term from the list of required readings for each week. Readings that qualify for use will have an asterisk next to them. The reviews cannot exceed 1 page and must be double-spaced, Times New Roman 12-point font, with 1-inch margins. The first line must include a title and the student's GWID with the main text following on the next line.

The review should 1) establish the context of the article and what the theoretical and research questions are, 2) explain the research methods and findings, and 3) effectively communicate the significance/relevance of the article and its findings beyond the article itself. These papers are an exercise in extreme brevity and precision. To meet the 1-page limit, the review must efficiently write only what is required to communicate the most important points and absolutely nothing else.

## Track Options

### *Track I: Policy or Analysis Research Paper (70%) Due August 12<sup>th</sup>*

This project will produce a policy or analysis research paper of 13 pages (+/- one page) on a subject relevant to the topics covered in the course. Students can choose to answer one of the questions provided in the assignment descriptions or select their own in consultation with the instructor. The paper must review relevant literature related to their topic, utilize high quality analytic methods, and present primary source data. The paper must use one of the advanced analytic methods taught in course. The paper should either 1) analyze existing or proposed policy and present alternatives or recommendations, **or** 2) analyze a causal argument or theory about subjects covered in the course and its related issues and offer an original argument about the topic.

### *Track II: Three Short Papers (70% total)*

- **(15%) Op-Ed, due 9 February:** This paper is no more than 750 words and seeks to argue for an informed and educated opinion about a topic relevant to the course subjects. While this paper forwards an opinion, the arguments, and data backing them, are expected to be of the highest quality. This is an exercise in concise clarity and persuasion. Students can choose to answer one of the questions provided in the assignment descriptions or select their own in consultation with the instructor.
- **(25%) Literature Review, due 9 March:** This paper is approximately 6 pages (+/- one page) and seeks to analyze and synthesize a common issue, problem, or theoretical puzzle by comparing, contrasting, and making a coherent argument about three academic articles or policy papers that address a similar issue. Students should use course readings or select their own in consultation with the instructor.
- **(30%) Policy Critique, due 27 April:** This paper is approximately 6 pages (+/- one page) and seeks to identify a flawed aspect of current military doctrine or policy and argues for a better alternative. It can be based either on an official policy document or on less formalized policy practices of a certain country or actor. The paper should demonstrate an intimate knowledge of the relevant policy and budgetary/bureaucratic processes and be supported by quality primary source data. Students can choose to answer one of the questions provided in the assignment descriptions or select their own in consultation with the instructor.

**Track III: Three Short Papers (Wargaming Variant) (70% total)**

- **(30%) Wargame After Action Review, due 27 April:** This track is a variation on track II, you will complete the same first two papers, the op-ed and literature review, but will conduct a wargame simulation instead of the policy critique. You will play Axis and Allies Pacific, then write a 6 page (+/- one page) after action review that summarizes the course of the war from your point of view, the strategy you and your opponent employed and how successful/unsuccessful it was, what changes to your strategy would have resulted in better or worse outcomes, and how these lessons can or cannot be applied to the increasing tension in the Western Pacific today.

**Writing and Formatting:**

All papers must be typed, double spaced, use 12-point Times New Roman font. The paper must also have 1-inch margins on all sides and any header or title cannot exceed 3 inches on the first page. Citing methods should use footnotes and must be consistent throughout the paper. See the below links for perfecting your writing. Good writing takes time to develop. Don't try to change everything all at once. Pick one strategy and apply it to your next essay, then try a new strategy. Perfect it over time.

<http://www.lifehack.org/articles/lifehack/5-rules-of-effective-writing-by-george-orwell.html>

<http://writingcenter.fas.harvard.edu/pages/strategies-essay-writing>

**Course Calendar & Outline**

Class	Date	Class	Assignments
<b>Part I: Foundational Concepts and Theories</b>			
1	12 Jan	Introduction, What is Military Effectiveness	
2	19 Jan	Material Capacity	
3	26 Jan	Force Employment and Land Warfare	
4	2 Feb	Naval, Air, and Logistics	
<b>Part II: Advanced Concepts and Causes</b>			
5	9 Feb	Regime Type	Op-Ed Due
6	16 Feb	Civil-Military Relations	
7	23 Feb	Military Culture and Norms	
8	2 Mar	Innovation and Revolutions in Military Affairs	
9	9 Mar	War Termination	Literature Review
<b>Part II: Tradeoffs and Limitations</b>			
	16 Mar	Spring Break	
10	23 Mar	Tradeoffs in Achieving Military Effectiveness	
11	30 Mar	Grey Zone and Proxy Wars	
12	6 Apr	Counterterrorism	
13	13 Apr	Regime Change/Stability Operations	
14	20 Apr	Wargame: Falkland Islands War II	
	27 Apr		Final Papers Due

## Part I: Foundational Concepts and Theories

### Class 1: Introduction, What is Military Effectiveness?

#### Required Reading

- Shawn Woodford, Assessing the 1990-1991 Gulf War Forecasts.

#### Recommended Reading

- Risa A. Brooks, "Introduction," in Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley, eds., *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 1-26.
- Book 1 Chapter 1, and Book 8 Chapter 6: Carl Von Clausewitz, in Howard, Michael, and Peter Paret. *On war*. Vol. 117. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Allan Millett and Williamson Murray, eds., *Military Effectiveness* (Allen & Unwin, 1988), Vol I: chaps. 1, 9; Vol. III: chaps. 8, 10.
- Betts, Richard K. "Should strategic studies survive?" *World Politics* 50, no. 1 (1997): 7-33.
- Beyerchen, Alan. "Clausewitz, nonlinearity, and the unpredictability of war." *International security* 17, no. 3 (1992): 59-90.
- Caitlin Talmadge, "Introduction: the Puzzle of Battlefield Effectiveness," in *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015),
- Jacob Weisberg, "Gulfballs: How the Experts Blew It, Big-Time," *The New Republic*, March 25, 1991, pp. 17-19.

### Class 2: Material Capacity

#### Required Reading

- Pg. 20-29, Jonathan Schroden, "Afghanistan's Security Forces Versus the Taliban: A Net Assessment." CTC Sentinel. <https://ctc.usma.edu/afghanistans-security-forces-versus-the-taliban-a-net-assessment/>
- Michael Beckley, "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 1 (2010): 43-79.
- Review US, Russia, and China sections of *Military Balance*, 2020.

#### Recommended Reading

- Mearsheimer, John J. "Assessing the conventional balance: The 3: 1 rule and its critics." *International Security* 13, no. 4 (1989): 54-89.
- Bracken, Paul. "Net assessment: a practical guide." *Parameters* 36, no. 1 (2006): 90.
- Barry R. Posen, "Measuring the European Conventional Balance: Coping with Complexity in Threat Assessment," *International Security* 9, no. 3 (Winter 1984/85): 47-88.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), Chapter 3.
- John W.R. Lepingwell, "The Laws of Combat? Lanchester Reexamined," *International Security* 12, no. 1 (Summer 1987): 89-134.
- Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2005), pp. 39-75.
- Glaser, Charles L., and Chairn Kaufmann. "What is the offense-defense balance and how can we measure it?" *International security* 22, no. 4 (1998): 44-82.
- Keir Lieber, "Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security," *International Security* 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 71- 104.

### Class 3: Force Employment and Land Warfare

#### Required Reading

- Chapter 3: Biddle, Stephen D. *Military power: Explaining victory and defeat in modern battle*. Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Introduction: Jonathan M. House. *Combined arms warfare in the twentieth century*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2001.
- Chapter 2: Friedman, B.A. *On Tactics*. Naval Institute Press, 2017.
- H.R. McMaster, "Eagle Troop at the Battle of 73 Easting." *The Strategy Bridge*, February 2016. <https://thestategybridge.org/the-bridge/2016/2/26/eagle-troop-at-the-battle-of-73-easting>

#### Recommended Reading

- Swinton, Ernest Dunlop. *The defence of Duffer's Drift*. United States Infantry Association, 1916.
- Ryan Grauer and Michael C. Horowitz, "What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System," *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (February 2012): 83-112
- John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), Chapters 1-2.
- Captain Jonathan M. House, *Toward Combined Arms Warfare: A Survey of Twentieth Century Tactics, Doctrine, and Organization* (Ft. Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Combat Studies Institute, 1984), pp. 1-6, 19-42, 79-104, 172-190.
- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984): 108-146.
- Grauer, Ryan. *Commanding Military Power*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

### Class 4: Naval, Air, and Logistics

#### Required Reading

- Chapter 1: Hughes, Wayne. *Fleet tactics and coastal combat*. Naval Institute Press, 2014.
- Chapter on US War of Independence: Weigley, Russell Frank. *The American way of war: a history of United States military strategy and policy*. Indiana University Press, 1977.
- Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, "Kosovo and the great air power debate," in Mahnken and Maiolo, "Strategic Studies: a reader," 2014.
- Ryan Baker and Jonathan Schroden, "Why is it so tough to withdraw from Afghanistan," *War on the Rocks*, April 8, 2021.

#### Recommended Readings

- Turner, Jobie. *Feeding Victory: Innovative Military Logistics from Lake George to Khe Sanh*. University Press of Kansas, 2020.
- Rumbaugh, Russell. *What We Bought: Defense Procurement from FY01 to FY10*. Washington, DC: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2011.
- Peltz, Eric, Marc L. Robbins, Kenneth J. Girardini, Rick Eden, John M. Halliday, and Jeffrey Angers. *Sustainment of Army forces in Operation Iraqi Freedom: Major findings and recommendations*. No. RAND/MG-342. RAND CORP SANTA MONICA CA, 2005.
- Betts, Richard K. *Military readiness: concepts, choices, consequences*. Washington: Brookings institution, 1995.
- Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, *Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate*, in Mahnken, Thomas G., and Joseph A. Maiolo, eds. *Strategic studies: a reader*. Routledge, 2014.
- Felbab-Brown, "Stuck in the Mud: The Logistics of Getting Out of Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, July 2012.



## Part II: Advanced Concepts and Causes

### Class 5: Regime Type

**Due:** Op-Ed

#### Required Reading

- Biddle, Stephen, and Stephen Long. "Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 4 (August 2004): 525–546.
- Chapter, Intro: Jessica L.P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- James T. Quinlivan, "Coup-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East," *International Security* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 131-165.
- Argentina's Invasion of the Falklands (Malvinas), 1982; in Gompert, David C., Hans Binnendijk, and Bonny Lin. *Blinders, blunders, and wars: What America and China can learn*. Rand Corporation, 2014.

#### Recommended Reading

- Risa A. Brooks, "Making Military Might: Why Do States Fail and Succeed: A Review Essay," *International Security* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 149-191.
- John M. Schuessler, "The Deception Dividend: FDR's Undeclared War," *International Security* 34, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 133-165.
- Alexander B. Downes, "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory," *International Security* 33, no. 4 (Spring 2009): 7-51.
- Introduction and Chapter 1: Talmadge, Caitlin. *The Dictator's army: Battlefield effectiveness in authoritarian regimes*. Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam III. "Democracy and battlefield military effectiveness." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, no. 3 (1998): 259-277.
- Michael C. Desch, *Power and Military Effectiveness: The Fallacy of Democratic Triumphalism* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 70-94.
- Talmadge, Caitlin. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Chapter 2: Castillo, Jasen J. *Endurance and War: The National Sources of Military Cohesion*. Stanford University Press, 2014.

### Class 6: Civil-Military Relations

#### Required Reading

- Chapter 2: Pauline Shanks Kaurin, *On Obedience: Contrasting Philosophies for the Military Citizenry and Community*. Stanford University Press, 2020.
- Chapters 2: Desch, Michael C. *Civilian control of the military: The changing security environment*. JHU Press, 2008.
- Krebs and Ralston, "Civilian Control of the Military is a Partisan Issue," *Foreign Affairs*, July 2020.

#### Recommended Reading

- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984): 108-146
- Risa Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Ulrich Pilster and Tobias Böhmelt, "Do Democracies Engage in Less Coup-Proofing? On the Relationship between Regime Type and Civil-Military Relations," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 4 (October 2012): 355-371.

- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).
- Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- Stephen Biddle and Robert Zirkle, "Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 19, no. 2 (June 1996): 171-212.

### Class 7: Military Culture and Norms

#### Required Reading

- Theo Farrell, "Global Norms and Military Effectiveness: The Army in Early Twentieth-Century Ireland," in Brooks and Stanley, eds., *Creating Military Power*, 136-157.
- Chapter 2: Austin Long, *The Soul of Armies: Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Military Culture in the US and UK* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).
- Ch 5: King, Anthony. *The combat soldier: Infantry tactics and cohesion in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries*. OUP Oxford, 2013.

#### Recommended Reading

- Mansoor, Peter R., and Williamson Murray. *The Culture of Military Organizations* Cambridge: Cambridge, 2019.
- Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 3-7, 194-214.
- Chapter 2: Elizabeth Kier, *Imagining War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- Tanner Greer, "Taiwan's Defense Strategy Doesn't Make Military Sense," *Foreign Affairs*.

### Class 8: Innovation and Revolutions in Military Affairs

#### Required Reading

- Chapter 1: Knox, MacGregor, and Williamson Murray, eds. *The dynamics of military revolution, 1300–2050*. Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Biddle, Stephen. "Victory misunderstood: What the Gulf War tells us about the future of conflict." *International Security* 21, no. 2 (1996): 139-179.
- Jack Watling, "The Key to Armenia's Tank Losses: The Sensors, Not the Shooters" *RUSI*. 2020.
- Lawfare Blog, *The Foreign Policy Essay: Erik Gartzke on "Fear and War in Cyberspace"*

#### Recommended Reading

- Gartzke, Erik. "The myth of cyberwar: bringing war in cyberspace back down to earth." *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 41-73.
- Patterson, Rebecca. *The Challenge of Nation-building: Implementing Effective Innovation in the US Army from World War II to the Iraq War*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.
- Cohen, Eliot A. "Change and transformation in military affairs." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 27, no. 3 (2004): 395-407.
- Grissom, Adam. "The future of military innovation studies." *Journal of strategic studies* 29, no. 5 (2006): 905-934.
- Biddle, Stephen. "Assessing Theories of Future Warfare." *The Use of Force after the Cold War* (2000).
- Harvey M. Sapolsky, "On the Theory of Military Innovation," *Breakthroughs* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 35-39

### Class 9: War Termination

**Due:** Literature Review

#### Required Reading

- Kolenda, Christopher D. "Slow failure: Understanding America's quagmire in Afghanistan." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 7 (2019): 992-1014.
- Spiller, "Six Propositions": in Moten, Matthew. *Between War and Peace: How America Ends Its Wars*. 1st Free Press hardcover ed. New York: Free Press, 2011.
- Adam Wunische, "The Lost Art of Exiting a War," *War on the Rocks*, October 21, 2019, <https://warontherocks.com/2019/10/the-lost-art-of-exiting-a-war/>.

### Recommended Reading

- Mastro, Oriana Skylar. *The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime*. Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Chapters 1 & 2: Reiter, Dan. *How wars end*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Krause, Joachim. "How do wars end? A strategic perspective." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 7 (2019): 920-945.
- Bremer, Stuart A., and Thomas R. Cusack, eds. *The process of war: Advancing the scientific study of war*. Taylor & Francis, 1995.
- Sullivan, Patricia. *Who Wins?: Predicting Strategic Success and Failure in Armed Conflict*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Johnson, Dominic DP, and Dominic Tierney. "The Rubicon theory of war: how the path to conflict reaches the point of no return." *International Security* 36, no. 1 (2011): 7-40.
- Johnson, Dominic DP, and Dominic Tierney. *Failing to win: Perceptions of victory and defeat in international politics*. Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Tierney, Dominic. *The Right Way to Lose a War: America in an Age of Unwinnable Conflicts*. Little, Brown, 2015.
- Johnson, Dominic, and Dominic Tierney. "Essence of victory: Winning and losing international crises." *Security Studies* 13, no. 2 (2003): 350-381.
- Iklé, Fred Charles. *Every war must end*. Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Feis, Herbert. *Between war and peace*. Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Stoker, Donald. *Why America Loses Wars: Limited War and US Strategy from the Korean War to the Present*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

## Part III: Tradeoffs and Limits

### Class 10: Tradeoffs in Achieving Military Effectiveness

#### Required Reading

- Chapter 4 Forced to Fight: Reiter, Dan. *The Sword's Other Edge: Tradeoffs in the Pursuit of Military Effectiveness*. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Chapter 1: Zielinski, Rosella Cappella. *How states pay for wars*. Cornell University Press, 2016.
- 1945 Blog: Why the Littoral Combat Ship Failed.

#### Recommended Reading

- Betts, Richard K. "Is strategy an illusion?." *International security* 25, no. 2 (2000): 5-50.
- Reiter, Dan. *The Sword's Other Edge: Tradeoffs in the Pursuit of Military Effectiveness*. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Luttwak, Edward. *Strategy: the logic of war and peace*. Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Chapter 4: Gray, Colin S. *The strategy bridge: theory for practice*. No. s 28. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

### Class 11: Grey Zone and Proxy Wars

#### Required Reading

- Singh, Michael. "Conflict with small powers derails US foreign policy." *Foreign Affairs*. August 12, 2020.
- Sullivan, Patricia L. "War aims and war outcomes: Why powerful states lose limited wars." *Journal of conflict resolution* 51, no. 3 (2007): 496-524.
- Ch 3. The evolution of proxy wars since 1945; in Groh, Tyrone L. *Proxy war: the least bad option*. Stanford University Press, 2019.
- Ch 3. Separatism and Aggression in Eastern Ukraine; in Kofman, Michael, Katya Migacheva, Brian Nichiporuk, Andrew Radin, Olesya Tkacheva, and Jenny Oberholtzer, *Lessons from Russia's Operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017.

#### Recommended Reading

- Tsygankov, Andrei P. *Russia and America: the asymmetric rivalry*. John Wiley & Sons, 2019.
- Jonsson, Oscar. *The Russian Understanding of War: Blurring the Lines Between War and Peace*. Georgetown University Press, 2019.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. *Russia and America: the asymmetric rivalry*. John Wiley & Sons, 2019.
- Seib, Philip. *Information at War: Journalism, Disinformation, and Modern Warfare*. John Wiley & Sons, 2021.

### Class 12: Counterterrorism and the Limits of Military Effectiveness

#### Required Reading

- Chapter 2: Jones, Seth G., and Martin C. Libicki. *How terrorist groups end: Lessons for countering al Qaeda*. Vol. 741. Rand Corporation, 2008.
- Jordan, J., 2009. When heads roll: Assessing the effectiveness of leadership decapitation. *Security Studies*, 18(4), pp.719-755.
- Braithwaite, Alex. "Transnational terrorism as an unintended consequence of a military footprint." *Security Studies* 24, no. 2 (2015): 349-375.

#### Recommended Reading

- Byman, Daniel. "US Counter-terrorism Options: A Taxonomy." *Survival* 49, no. 3 (2007): 121-150.
- Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside terrorism*. Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *How terrorism ends: Understanding the decline and demise of terrorist campaigns*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Gottlieb, Stuart, ed. *Debating terrorism and counterterrorism: conflicting perspectives on causes, contexts, and responses*. CQ Press, 2013.
- Biddle, Stephen. "The determinants of nonstate military methods." *The Pacific Review* 31, no. 6 (2018): 714-739.
- Shah, Aqil. "Do US drone strikes cause blowback? Evidence from Pakistan and beyond." *International Security* 42, no. 04 (2018): 47-84.
- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. "The strategies of terrorism." *International security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 49-80.
- Hwang, Julie Chernov. *Why terrorists quit: The disengagement of Indonesian jihadists*. Cornell University Press, 2018.

### Class 13: Regime Change/Stability Operations

#### Required Reading

- Introduction: Edelstein, David M. *Occupational hazards: Success and failure in military occupation*. Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson. "Rage against the machines: Explaining outcomes in counterinsurgency wars." *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (2009): 67-106.
- Chapter 10 on Afghanistan: Paris, Roland, and Timothy D. Sisk, eds. *The dilemmas of statebuilding: confronting the contradictions of postwar peace operations*. Routledge, 2009.

### Recommended Reading

- Downes, Alexander B., and Jonathan Monten. "Forced to be free?: Why foreign-imposed regime change rarely leads to democratization." *International Security* 37, no. 4 (2013): 90-131.
- Introduction: Sinno, Abdulkader H. *Organizations at War in Afghanistan and Beyond*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- U.S. Army, "FM 3-07 stability operations." (2008).  
[https://usacac.army.mil/sites/default/files/misc/doctrine/CDG/cdg\\_resources/manuals/fm/fm3\\_07.pdf](https://usacac.army.mil/sites/default/files/misc/doctrine/CDG/cdg_resources/manuals/fm/fm3_07.pdf)
- Downes, Alexander B., and Lindsey A. O'Rourke. "You can't always get what you want: Why foreign-imposed regime change seldom improves interstate relations." *International Security* 41, no. 2 (2016): 43-89.
- Owen IV, John M. *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510-2010*. Vol. 123. Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Dobbins, James F. "America's role in nation-building: From Germany to Iraq." *Survival* 45, no. 4 (2003): 87-110.

### Class 14: Wargame: Falkland Islands War II

#### Required Reading

- Introduction: War Gamers' Handbook: a Guide for Professional War Gamers. Newport, Rhode Island: War Gaming, United States Naval War College, 2013.
- The Real Lessons of the Falklands War, *The National Interest*. <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/reboot/real-lesson-falklands-war-179497>

## Policies

### Attendance

Attendance is vital for successful completion of the course. Students may miss classes for verifiable religious or medical reasons. Visiting friends or family, scheduled or not, is not an acceptable reason to miss class. Students can miss up to two classes before negatively impacting their participation grade. Any missed class still needs to be covered by watching the recording of the class that is automatically posted online.

### Incomplete Grades

At the option of the instructor, an Incomplete may be given for a course if a student, for reasons beyond the student's control, is unable to complete the work of the course, and if the instructor is informed of, and approves, such reasons before the date when grades must be reported. An Incomplete can only be granted if

the student's prior performance and class attendance in the course have been satisfactory. Any failure to complete the work of a course that is not satisfactorily explained to the instructor before the date when grades must be turned in will be graded F, Failure.

If acceptable reasons are later presented to the instructor, the instructor may initiate a grade change to the symbol I, Incomplete. The work must be completed within the designated time period agreed upon by the instructor, student, and school, but no more than one calendar year from the end of the semester in which the course was taken. To record the exact expectations, conditions, and deadlines of the Incomplete please use the Elliott School's Incomplete Grade Contract:

<http://go.gwu.edu/incompletecontractgraduate>

The completed and signed contract is to be submitted to the Academic Affairs and Student Services Office. All students who receive an Incomplete must maintain active student status during the subsequent semester(s) in which the work of the course is being completed. If not registered in other classes during this period, the student must register for continuous enrollment status. For more information regarding Incompletes please review the relevant sections in the University Bulletin:

<http://bulletin.gwu.edu/university-regulations/#Incompletes>

### Instructor Response Time

I will respond to emails within 48 hours on weekdays and on the next business day over weekends and holidays. I will return assignments within one week.

### Statement on Inclusive Teaching

In support of inclusive excellence, the Elliott School is committed to supporting our faculty and students in exercising inclusive teaching throughout our curriculum. All faculty members are expected to practice inclusive teaching as outlined in ESIA inclusive teaching statement (<https://elliott.gwu.edu/statement-inclusive-teaching>) and to include a stated commitment in the syllabus. Resources for inclusive teaching can be found here: <https://elliott.gwu.edu/inclusive-teaching-resources>

### Inclement Weather

Please note that online courses at the George Washington University will continue to be held even when the University is closed for inclement weather.

### Late Work

If you have a medical emergency that prevents you from attending class or completing an assignment on time, a medical professional must confirm this in writing. Accommodations will be made for students who have verified medical emergencies. Unexcused absences require either a grade reduction or a make-up assignment. Students are allowed two excused absences before their grade will be affected. Unexcused late work will be marked down by one letter grade for every day it is late.

If you do not complete all assignments, you will receive a failing grade for that component of the course. If you do not hand in an assignment on time, that paper's grade will be marked down for every day it is late. Any

extenuating circumstances that are communicated to the instructor after the assignment was due will require written proof. If you think an issue may arise, communicate with the instructor early and often.

## GW Acceptable Use for Computing Systems and Services

All members of the George Washington University must read and comply with the Acceptable Use Policy when accessing and using computing systems and services, including email and Blackboard. Please read [the Acceptable Use Policy](#) to familiarize yourself with how GW information systems are to be used ethically.

## Netiquette

Please observe the following rules of netiquette for communicating online:

- Remain professional, respectful, and courteous at all times.
- Remember that a real human being wrote each post and will read what you write in response. It is easy to misinterpret discussion posts. Let's give the benefit of the doubt.
- If you have a strong opinion on a topic, it is acceptable to express it as long as it is not phrased as an attack. Please be gracious with differing opinions.
- When upset, wait a day or two prior to posting. Messages posted (or emailed) in anger are often regretted later.
- Proofread and use the spell check tool when you type a post. It makes the post easier to read and helps your readers understand what you are saying.

I reserve the right to delete any post that is deemed inappropriate for the discussion forum, blog, or wiki without prior notification to the student. This includes any post containing language that is offensive, rude, profane, racist, or hateful. Posts that are seriously off-topic or serve no purpose other than to vent frustration will also be removed.

## Academic Integrity

Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.

Please review GW's policy on academic integrity, located at <https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity>. All graded work must be completed in accordance with the George Washington University Code of Academic Integrity. For more information see [Academic Dishonesty Prevention](#).

## Sharing of Course Content

Unauthorized downloading, distributing, or sharing of any part of a recorded lecture or course materials, as well as using provided information for purposes other than the student's own learning may be deemed a violation of GW's Student Conduct Code.

## Use of Student Work (FERPA)

The professor will use academic work that you complete during this semester for educational purposes in this course during this semester. Your registration and continued enrollment constitute your consent.

## Copyright Policy Statement

Materials used in connection with this course may be subject to copyright protection under Title 17 of the United States Code. Under certain Fair Use circumstances specified by law, copies may be made for private study, scholarship, or research. Electronic copies should not be shared with unauthorized users. If a user fails to comply with Fair Use restrictions, he/she may be liable for copyright infringement. For more information, including Fair Use guidelines, see [Libraries and Academic Innovations Copyright page](#).

### Bias-Related Reporting

At the George Washington University, we believe that diversity and inclusion are crucial to an educational institution's pursuit of excellence in learning, research, and service. Acts of bias, hate, or discrimination are anathema to the university's commitment to educating citizen leaders equipped to thrive and to serve in our increasingly diverse and global society. We strongly encourage students to report possible bias incidents. For additional information, follow this link: <https://diversity.gwu.edu/bias-incident-response>.

### Disability Support Services & Accessibility

If you may need disability accommodations based on the potential impact of a disability, please register with Disability Support Services (DSS) at [disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/registration](http://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/registration). If you have questions about disability accommodations, contact DSS at 202-994-8250 or [dss@gwu.edu](mailto:dss@gwu.edu) or visit them in person in Rome Hall, Suite 102. For additional information see: [disabilitysupport.gwu.edu](http://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu)

For information about how the course technology is accessible to all learners, see the following resources:

[Blackboard accessibility](#)

[Kaltura \(video platform\) accessibility](#)

[Voicethread accessibility](#)

[Microsoft Office accessibility](#)

[Adobe accessibility](#)

### Religious Observances

In accordance with University policy, students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance. For details and policy, see: [registrar.gwu.edu/university-policies#holidays](http://registrar.gwu.edu/university-policies#holidays)

### Mental Health Services

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information call 202-994-5300 or see: [counselingcenter.gwu.edu/](http://counselingcenter.gwu.edu/)

### Emergency Preparedness and Response Procedures

The University has asked all faculty to inform students of these procedures, prepared by the GW Office of Public Safety and Emergency Management in collaboration with the Office of the Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs.

### To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity

Call the University Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon).

### Shelter in Place – General Guidance



Although it is unlikely that we will ever need to shelter in place, it is helpful to know what to do just in case. No matter where you are, the basic steps of shelter in place will generally remain the same.

- If you are inside, stay where you are unless the building you are in is affected. If it is affected, you should evacuate. If you are outdoors, proceed into the closest building or follow instructions from emergency personnel on the scene.
- Locate an interior room to shelter inside. If possible, it should be above ground level and have the fewest number of windows. If sheltering in a room with windows, move away from the windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms may be necessary.
- Shut and lock all windows (for a tighter seal) and close exterior doors.
- Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able. (University staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible).
- Make a list of the people with you and ask someone to call the list in to UPD so they know where you are sheltering and who is with you. If only students are present, one of the students should call in the list.
- Await further instructions. If possible, visit [GW Campus Advisories](#) for incident updates or call the GW Information Line 202-994-5050.
- Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

### Evacuation

An evacuation will be considered if the building we are in is affected or we must move to a location of greater safety. We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds. In the event of an evacuation, please gather your personal belongings quickly (purse, keys, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Every classroom has a map at the door designating both the shortest egress and an alternate egress. Anyone who is physically unable to walk down the stairs should wait in the stairwell, behind the closed doors. Firemen will check the stairwells upon entering the building.

Once you have evacuated the building, proceed to our primary rendezvous location: the court yard area between the GW Hospital and Ross Hall. In the event that this location is unavailable, we will meet on the ground level of the Visitors Parking Garage (I Street entrance, at 22nd Street). From our rendezvous location, we will await instructions to re-enter the School.

### Alert DC

Alert DC provides free notification by e-mail or text message during an emergency. Visit [GW Campus Advisories](#) for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, you are encouraged to share the information immediately.

### GW Alert

GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. In the event that we receive an alert to the computer in our classroom, we will follow the instructions given. You are also encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit [GW Campus Advisories](#) to learn how.

### Additional Information

Additional information about emergency preparedness and response at GW or the University's operating status can be found on [GW Campus Advisories](#) or by calling the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050.