Spring 2012
INR 6086: Issues in International Public Policy:
Military Institutions in International and Domestic Politics
Instructor: Dr. Paul Vasquez, Department of Political Science

Location & Time:	Business Administration Building (BA) 209; Tuesdays 6:00-8:50 P.M.
Office:	Howard Philips Hall 305B (Political Science Dept. main suite)
Phone:	(407) 823-3329
Office Hours:	Wednesdays and Fridays 1:30-3:30 P.M.; Thursdays 9:45-11:00 A.M. and Noon-2:45 P.M & by appointment
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Course Description: In this course we examine one of the world's oldest institutions with relevance to politics and governance: military institutions. A person would be hard pressed to identify more powerful and important entities in world politics, since armed forces are created primarily to defend states and their interests against other states and threatening actors. However, they can also play an important role in the domestic political affairs of the states that they are created to defend. Because an all-encompassing treatment of military affairs is impossible within the context of a single semester, this course will emphasize the role played by people (soldiers, officers and their civilian leaders) rather than machines (tanks, artillery pieces, small arms, etc.).

Since war is a fundamental challenge that militaries must address, we will begin this course by trying to better understand what the nature of war is. Second, we will familiarize ourselves with the concept of civil-military relations, which should be helpful throughout the course. Third, we will examine several topics related to the empirical development of military actors. Next, we will examine the way that military actors affect interstate relations and domestic politics in greater detail. Finally, we will devote the last week of the course to explore current issues related to military affairs.

Course goals: In terms of substance, this course is designed to give students a better understanding of: 1) major theoretical perspectives involving the role of military institutions in international and domestic politics; 2) important empirical developments with regard to military institutions; and 3) the influence of military institutions, even if only indirect, on their own lives. Regarding skill development, students will have the opportunity: 4) to improve upon their capacity to conduct independent scholarly research, and 5) to improve their verbal and written communication skills.

Materials: The single required book we are using for this course is listed below.

Suzanne C. Nielson and Don M. Snider. 2009. *American Civil-Military Relations: The Solider and the State in a New Era*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Electronic links to other required materials for this course, usually journal articles, will be made available by the instructor through Webcourses@ucf.edu.

Requirements: I will evaluate your performance in this class in accord with the table below.

Task	% of grade	due date
Class Participation	30%	daily
Reading Summaries	10%	11 PM on the night b/f the material will be covered
Brief proposal paper	10%	Tuesday, February 14
Research design	40%	Tuesday, April 17
Research design presentation	10%	Tuesday, April 24 @ 7:00 PM
	100%	

Read this syllabus and assignments carefully to put yourself in position to succeed.

Class Participation: As a graduate course at UCF, class participation is extremely important to promote learning. Class participation includes discussing the readings, the questions they raise or points they demonstrate, and related current events. As you attempt to internalize the course content, you should come to class having read the material assigned for that day. Be prepared to be talk in every class and probe the nuances of articles. I recommend making notes to highlight important points in articles to help jog your memory for class discussions.

I have tried to assign manageable amounts of reading, however, if you ever feel swamped, try following the advice offered by Professor Dan Lindley (Notre Dame) on reading for class: http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/handouts/howtoread.html. If you find that this advice does not help and this becomes a consistent problem, please bring it to my attention.

Reading Summaries: There are two types of readings in this course: common readings that everyone is expected to read and selected readings (denoted by *** at the beginning of a citation), which will be summarized and presented by one student. This task will include having the presenter type a 1-2 page summary and critique of the article that will be emailed to me by 11:00 PM so that I may circulate it by midnight on the night before the presentation in class. This approach will allow us to more efficiently cover a wide variety of material. It will also allow you to develop your communication skills. Student will be graded on their presentations, from 0-100, and failure to post summaries electronically by 11:00 P.M. will result in a deduction of 25 points for the individual presenting the material. These assignments are not covered by more general and more generous later assignments policy. Late submissions will be penalized 20 points for each hour after 11:00 PM they are late.

Research design proposal exercise: For this assignment you will submit three paragraphs that give an overview as to the question that you might configure your research design to address. Each paragraph should answer the "who, what, where, when, why and how" questions that are associated with each example of scholarly research. We will talk about these different aspects in depth in class. After reading over these tentative proposal ideas, I will give you my feedback about your ideas, and you can proceed from there with your decision about how to construct your research design.

Research design: For this assignment you will write a research design that lays out how you would conduct research into a question related to the subject of this class. You will need to answer the "who, what, where, when, why and how" questions that are associated with each example of scholarly research. Your design should: indicate why your topic is worthy of study, discuss the existing relevant scholarly literature and how this project could bring new and valuable findings to light, and state the theoretical approach that informs your research as well as the hypotheses that you will test with your research. Finally, you will need to discuss the methods, data and standards that you will use to test your hypotheses. Papers should be between 12 and 15 pages in length. Make sure to use proper grammar and punctuation in your writing. As someone pursuing an advanced degree communication skills are important are important, and these things should not be overlooked.

Research design proposal: These presentations, which will be conducted during the final exam period for this course, will require students to present their research design in approximately five minutes. We will have up to 10 minutes to ask students questions about their designs.

Grades scale for course assignments

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

Late assignment and Make-up Exams: Unless otherwise specified, out-of-class assignments are due at the beginning of class on the dates listed below. Late assignments will be penalized 10% for each full calendar day they are late, up to as much as 30%, unless a compelling and honest explanation is offered.

Academic Support Services

Student Academic Resource Center (SARC) (Phillips Hall, Room 113/ (407) 823-5130): If you have trouble succeeding in this class and comprehending the material, you might benefit from contacting this office for assistance with improving your study skills.

University Writing Center (UWC) (MOD 608/ (407) 823-2197)**:** The Center is free for all UCF students. At the UWC, a writing consultant can work with you on anything you are writing, whether it is brainstorming or editing. While recommended, appointments are not required.

UCF Counseling Center (Building #27/ (407) 823-2811): Students experiencing formidable mental health challenges, including, but by no means limited to stress, anxiety, or depression, that are hindering their ability to be the best they can be should contact this office for help.

Students with Disabilities (Ferrell Commons, Room 132/ phone (407) 823-2371): Students with disabilities that need special accommodations regarding class attendance or assignments should have proof of their disability on file with Student Disability Services They should also inform the instructor of their within the first day of class or once they become aware of it, should such realization occur during the course of a semester.

Behavior

"To educate a man in mind and not in morals is to educate a menace to society."
President Theodore Roosevelt.

Disruptions: Meeting just once a week and with class participation as important as it is, you should make it a point to arrive on time for every class. If circumstances require you to arrive late for class, please do so in as discreet a manner as possible. Please limit distractions in class as much as possible. Such behavior bothers others who are paying good money to learn and it may be distracting to me as I attempt to do my job.

Cheating: **Do not cheat** as this clearly violates the Golden Rule Student Handbook and violates several aspects of the UCF Creed. I strongly recommend that everyone take the UCF Online Information Literacy tutorial "Avoiding Plagarism" prior to beginning this assignment so that you will be clear about my expectations of you. I will send out the link to this tutorial during the semester. Unless otherwise specified by the instructor (such as on team quizzes), your work must be your own. Cheating can come in many forms, including plagiarism. Plagiarism is when writers use other people's words or ideas and do not give them credit. Use footnotes or endnotes to give credit for direct quotes, paraphrased quotes, or borrowed ideas. Feel free to discuss readings and ideas with fellow students, but if you use their ideas, please reference them accordingly. If you don't know what footnotes or endnotes are, please ask me. Do not quote or paraphrase without giving credit in footnotes or endnotes. Do not copy or use papers or sections of papers from the web or other sources. Don not use papers prepared by your for other classes or large sections from them without my permission, as this could constitute self-plagarism. In the event that I suspect a paper of being plagiarized, I will use Turnitin.com to help with that determination. Instances of cheating that result in a grade being penalized will be reported to the Office of Student Conduct. Assignments on which cheating occurs will be penalized with an F and the weight of that assignment when factored into the final grade will be increased two-fold. For example, cheating by plagiarizing a portion of your research design would mean that 80% of your final grade would be a 0.

Tuesday, January 10 **Introductions, Orientation and Orientation**

Peter D. Feaver. 1999. "Civil-Military Relations."*Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 2 (June): 211-241

Tuesday, January 17 **<u>I. Introductory Concepts</u>**

Civil Military Relations

Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider. 2009. "Introduction." In *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era*. Edited by Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, (hereafter Nielsen and Snider): 1-10.

Peter D. Feaver and Erika Seeler. 2009. "Before and after Huntington: The Methodological Maturing of Civil-Military Studies," 72- 90.

Samuel P. Huntington. 1956. "Civilian Control and the Constitution." The American Political Science Review. Vol. 50, No. 3 (September): 676-699.

***[1]Amos Perlmutter. "Civil-Military Relations in Socialist Authoritarian and Praetorian States." Chapter 13 in *Soldiers, Peasants, and Bureaucrats: Civil-Military Relations in Communist and Modernizing Societies*. Edited by Roman Kolkowicz and Andrzej Korbonski. London: George Allen & Unwin: 310-331.

Richard K. Betts. 2009. "Are Civil-Military Relations still a Problem?" In *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a new era*. Edited by Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 11-41. (hereafter Nielsen and Snider)

Tuesday, January 24 **<u>II. Evolution of Military Forces through History</u>**

Militaries, State Building and Citizenship

Charles Tilly. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." Chapter 5 in *Bringing the State Back In*. Edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer & Theda Skocpol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 169-191.

Janice E. Thomson. 1990. "State Practices, International Norms, and the Decline of Mercenarism." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1. (March): 23-47.

Deborah Avant. 2000. "From Mercenary to Citizen Armies: Explaining Change in the Practice of War." *International Organization*. Vol. 54, No. 1 (Winter): 41-72.

Ronald R. Krebs. 2004. "A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might." International Security. Vol. 28, No. 4 (Spring): 85–124.

[1] Remember that three asterisks (***) denote a reading that will be summarized and critiqued by a particular student from the class. Those summaries and critiques will be disseminated by email prior to class as directed above.

Tuesday, January 31

Military Service and Identity

Kaushik Roy. 2001. **"**The Construction of Regiments in the Indian Army: 1859-1913." *War in History*. Vol. 8, No. 2: 127-148.

George Evans. 2000. "The Gurkhas." *Contemporary Review*. Vol. 276, Issue 1611 (April): 197-200.

Joan Beaumont. 2000. "Whatever Happened to Patriotic Women, 1914-1918?" *Australian Historical Studies*. Vol. 31 Issue 115 (October): 273-286.

Cynthia Enloe. 2000. Excerpt from "The Prostitute, the Colonel, and the Nationalist." Chapter 3. In *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Military Structure and Command

Elliot Cohen. 1985. "Constraints: Necessity and Choice." Chapter 1 in *Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 25-41.

M. D. Feld. 1959. "Information and Authority: The Structure of Military Organization." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1. (February): 15-22.

***[2]Samuel P. Huntington. 1961. "Interservice Competition and the Political Roles of the Armed Services." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 55, No. 1. (March): 40-52.
And
***Peter J. Roman and David W. Tarr. 1998. "The Joint Chiefs of Staff: From Service Parochialism to Jointness." *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 113, Issue 1 (Spring): 91-111.

Tuesday, February 7

<u>III. Military Actors in International Relations</u>

Military Innovation

Michael Horowitz & Stephen Rosen. 2005. "Evolution or Revolution?" *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Volume 28, Issue 3: 437-448.

[2] The articles by Huntington as well as the one by Roman and Tarr will be summarized and critiqued by one student.

Military Doctrine

Scott D. Sagan. 1986. "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability." *International Security*, Vol. 11, No. 2. (Autumn): 151-175.

Elizabeth Kier. 1995. "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars." *International Security*. Vol. 19, No. 4 (Spring): 65-93.

Deborah Avant. 1993. "The Institutional Sources of Military Doctrine: Hegemons in Peripheral Wars." *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 37, No. 4 (December): 409-430.

Jonathan D. Caverley. 2009-2010. "The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam." *International Security*. Vol. 34, No. 3 (Winter): 119-157.

Tuesday, February 14 **Brief design proposal papers due when class begins**

Militaries and Perceptions of Threats & Opportunities

Richard K. Betts. 1978. "Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are inevitable." *World Politics*. Vol. 31, No. 1 (October): 61-89.

Jack Snyder. 1991. "Japan's Bid for Autarky." Chapter 4 in *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 112-152.

***Jack Snyder. 1991. "Germany and Pattern of Late Development." Chapters 3 in *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 66-111.

Policy Debates involving Military Actors and the Consequences

Michael C. Desch. 2009. "Hartz, Huntington, and the Liberal Tradition in America: The clash with Military Realism," 91-111. In Nielsen and Snider.

Matthew Moten. 2009. "A Broken Dialogue: Rumsfeld, Shinseki, and Civil-Military Tension," 42-71. In Nielsen & Snider.

James Burk. 2009. "Responsible Obedience by Military Professionals: The Discretion to do what is Wrong," 149-171. In Nielsen & Snider.

Tuesday, February 21

Organizational Behavior and International Threats

*******Scott D. Sagan. 1993. "Nuclear Weapons Safety during the Cuban Missile Crisis." Chapter 2 in *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 53-116.

Peter D. Feaver. 1992. "Command and Control in Emerging Nuclear Nations." *International Security*. Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter): 160-187.

Michael C. Desch. 1998. "Soldiers, States, and Structures: The End of the Cold War and Weakening U.S. Civilian Control." Armed Forces & Society. Vol. 24, Issue 3 (Spring): 389-405.

Military Effectiveness

Allan R. Millett, Williamson Murray, Kenneth H. Watman. 1986. "The Effectiveness of Military Organizations." *International Security*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Summer): pp. 37-71.

***Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowitz. 1948. Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 12, No. 2 (Summer): 280-315.

Risa Brooks. 2003. "Making Military Might: Why Do States Fail and Succeed?" *International Security*. Volume 28, Number 2, (Fall): 149-191.

Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long. 2004. "Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 48, No. 4: 525-546.

Tuesday, February 28

Casualties and Military Conflict

James Burk. 1999. "Public Support for Peacekeeping in Lebanon and Somalia: Assessing the Casualties Hypothesis." *Political Science Quarterly.* Vol. 114, No. 1 (Spring): 53-78.

Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi. 2004. "Conclusion." A chapter from *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force*. Princeton: Princeton.

Christopher Gelpi, Peter D. Feaver & Jason Reifler. 2009. *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Conscript, Volunteer Forces and Military Conflict

***Gil Merom. 2003. A chapter from *How Democracies Loose Small Wars: State, Society, and Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 229-250.

Morris Janowitz. 1975. "The All-Volunteer Military as a 'Sociopolitical' Problem." *Social Problems.* Vol. 22, No. 3 (February): 432-449.

Joseph Paul Vasquez, III. 2005. "Shouldering the Soldiering: Democracy, Conscription and Military Casualties." *Journal of Conflict Resolution.* Vol. 49, No. 6: 849-873.

Tuesday, March 6 Spring Break--no class: Have fun and be safe!

Tuesday, March 13

Michael C. Horowitz, Erin M. Simpson, and Allan Stam. 2011. "Domestic Institutions and Wartime Casualties." *International Studies Quarterly*, 55, 4: 909-936.

Jeffrey Pickering. 2011. "Dangerous Drafts? A Time-Series, Cross-National Analysis of Conscription and the Use of Military Force, 1946—2001." *Armed Forces & Society* Vol. 37, No. 1 (January): 119-140

Yagil Levy. 2010. "How the Military's Social Composition Affects Political Protest: The Case of Israel." *Peace & Change*, 35: 123–145.

***James S. Krueger and Francisco I. Pedraza. (online December 2011) "Missing Voices: War Attitudes among Military Service-Connected Civilians." *Armed Forces & Society*.

Robert S. Erikson and Laura Stoker. 2011. "Caught in the Draft: The Effects of Vietnam Draft Lottery Status on Political Attitudes." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 105, No. 2 (May): 221-237.

Douglas L. Kriner and Francis X. Shen. 2010. *The Casualty Gap: The Causes and Consequences of American Wartime Inequalities.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, ___.

Tuesday, March 20

Military Occupation and Stability Operations

Robert A. Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism" *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 97, No. 3 (August): 343-361.

Nadia Schadlow and Richard A. Lacquement, Jr. 2009. "Winning Wars, not just Battles: Expanding the Military Profession to Incorporate Stability Operations," 112-132. In Nielsen & Snider.

Facilitating Cooperation and Conflict Termination

Kimberly Zisk. 1999. "Contact Lenses: Explaining U.S.-Russian Military-to-Military Ties," *Armed Forces and Society* Vol. 25, No. 4 (Summer): 579-611.

Kimberly Marten. 2002-2003. "Defending against Anarchy: From War to Peacekeeping in Afghanistan." *The Washington Quarterly.* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter): 35-52.

Tuesday, March 27

IV. Military Actors in Domestic Politics

Economics and Local Community Relations

Smedley Butler. *War is a Racket*. Text can be accessed from the site below: http://www.lexrex.com/enlightened/articles/warisaracket.htm

Michael Dardia, Kevin F. McCarthy, Jesse Malkin and Georges Vernez. 1996. *The Effects of Military Base Closures on Local Communities. A Short-Term Perspective*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

Kimberly Marten Zisk. 2004. "Bases for Reflection: The History and Politics of U.S. Military Bases in South Korea," APSA Annual Meeting, Chicago, September.

Military Attitudes

Todd S. Sechser. 2004. "Are Soldiers Less War-Prone than Statesmen?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution.* Vol. 48, No. 5: 746-774.

Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn. 2000. "The Gap." *National Interest*. Issue 61 (Fall): 29-37.

Darrell W. Driver. 2009. "The Military Mind: A Reassessment of the Ideological Roots of American Military Professionalism," 172-193. In Nielsen & Snider.

***Hew Strachan. 2003. "The Civil-Military 'Gap' in Britain." *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Volume 26, Number 2, (June): 43-63.

Tuesday, April 3

Internal Security

Wray R. Johnson. 1999. "Black American Radicalism and the First World War: The Secret Files of the Military Intelligence Division." *Armed Forces & Society*. Vol. 26, Issue 1 (Fall): 27-54.

Matthew Morgan. 2004. "The Garrison State Revisited: *Civil-Military* Implications of Terrorism and Security." *Contemporary Politics.* Vol. 10 Issue 1 (March): 5-19.

Wendy Hunter. 1999. "The Dirty War and Its Aftermath: Recent Contributions on the Military and Politics in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review*. Vol. 34, Issue 2: 198-212.

Military Coups

S. E. Finer. "The Man on Horseback-1975." Chapter 13 in *The Man on Horseback*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc.: 223-267.

Stephen M. Meyer. 1991-1992. "How the Threat (and the Coup) Collapsed: The Politicization of the Soviet Military." *International Security*. Vol. 16, No. 3. (Winter): 5-38.

Tuesday, April 10

Military Institutions and the Transition to Democracies' Third Wave

****Felipe Agüero. 1992. "The Military and the Limits to Democratization in South America." In *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Edited by Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press: 153-180.

Jon Pevehouse. 2005. "Regional Organizations, the Transition to and the Consolidation of Democracy." Chapter 2 in *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 15-45.

Katherine J. Worboys. 2007. "The Traumatic Journey from Dictatorship to Democracy Peacekeeping Operations and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina, 1989-1999." *Armed Forces & Society*. Vol. 33, No. 2: 149-168.

Risa A. Brooks. 2009. "Militaries and Political Activity in Democracies," 213-238. In Nielsen & Snider

Richard H. Kohn. 2009. "Building Trust: Civil-Military behaviors for Effective National Security," 264-289. In Nielsen & Snider. In Nielsen & Snider.

Christopher P. Gibson. 2009. "Enhancing National Security and Civilian Control of the Military: a Madisonian approach," 239-263. In Nielsen & Snider.

Tuesday, April 17 **Last class day: Research designs due when class begins**

V. Issues of Recent Relevance

Warlords and Foreign Force Development

Kimberly Marten. 2006-2007. "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective," *International Security.* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter): 41-73.

Stephen Biddle. 2006. "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon." Foreign Affairs. March/ April (Vol. 85, No. 2): 2-14.

Private Military Contractors and Mercenaries

P.W. Singer. 2001-2002. "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security." *International Security*. Vol. 26, No. 3 (Winter): 186-220.

Deborah Avant and Lee Sigelman. 2010. "Private Security and Democracy: Lessons from the U.S. in Iraq." *Security Studies*. Vol. 19, No. 2: 230-265.

Tuesday, April 24 **Research design presentations: 7:00-9:50 P.M.**