The Military and Politics

Dr Jesse Dillon Savage dillonsj@tcd.ie

Office Location: Rm 406 College Green

Office Hours: Mon 10-12

Course Description

One of the key strategic dilemmas raised by the military is that an organization that has the power to protect a polity from external threats has the potential to threaten the polity itself. The goal of this module is to help understand how this dilemma has been resolved in a variety of contexts. This course explores how civilian control over the military is institutionalised or breaks down, how the military affects domestic competition and conflict, and how the military can affect foreign policy. These issues are examined cross-nationally, including developing and developed countries, democracies and non-democracies.

Assessment

Participation 15%

Student participation and discussion is a central aspect of the seminar. This means that it is necessary to do the readings. Students should come prepared with topics of discussion and questions. The assessment of participation will be based on the quality of input into class discussions. To prepare for discussion you should: identify the theory or argument of the readings; identify the method used by the authors in the readings to test their arguments, and evaluate the strength of these method for testing the authors' argument; and you should think of possible extensions or alternatives to the arguments put forward in the readings.

Along with participation in class, there will be a discussion board on Blackboard. All students are expected to make at least one comment or raise a question for discussion on this board by the day before class. Higher levels of participation are welcome.

Response Papers (800 words each) 20%

Students are required to submit two 800-word response papers each worth 10% of the student's total mark. Students must submit one paper during the first 3 weeks and one from the remaining two weeks. These response papers should critically evaluate the readings. This means identifying a weakness or limitation in the articles and offering suggestions on how to improve the research. The critical evaluation may focus on the empirical or theoretical aspects of the readings or both.

Presentation 15%

Each student will be required to provide a 5 minute presentation on one of the readings. These presentations are intended to stimulate discussion. To this end, the presentation should provide a brief over view of the reading, highlighting the main points. Students should emphasise potential questions for discussion and, critically, why these questions are of interest. There should be no or

minimal summary of the readings. Grading will be based on the quality of content and presentation of the argument. A sign up list for the presentations will be distributed in the first week of term.

Research Design Paper (2500 words) 50%, Due April 16 2017

The research design paper focuses on a potential research project related to the military and politics. Based on the course materials or other knowledge related to the topic, students should identify a question of interest or puzzle that they do not feel is adequately answered in the literature. Students should define their research question, outlining the variation they hope to explain, develop a preliminary theory to explain the variation, then detail the methods they would use to test the theory. When outlining the methods students should pay close attention to issues such as how they conceptualise their key variables (both independent and dependent variables) and the data they would use to measure them and how the methods they propose can be used to falsify their theory.

Academic Honesty and Plagiarism Policy

Plagiarism is a serious matter and must be avoided. Students should be familiar with what constitutes plagiarism. Please see http://www.tcd.ie/undergraduate-studies/general-regulations/plagiarism.php for further information regarding plagiarism and the university's policy regarding it.

Course Outline

The weekly coverage might change as it depends on the progress of the class.

Week 1: General Issues

Required Reading:

- Feaver, P. D. (1999). Civil-military relations. Annual Review of Political Science, 2(1):211–241
- McMahon, R. B. and Slantchev, B. L. (2015). The guardianship dilemma: Regime security through and from the armed forces. American Political Science Review, 109(02):297–313 (The McMahon and Slantchev reading contains a formal, mathematical model of military behaviour. It is not necessary to understand the details of the models. Pay attention to the introduction, the discussion of the model and how the model relates to empirical research in the field)

Recommended Reading:

- Desch, M. C. (2001). Civilian control of the military: The changing security environment. JHU Press
- Feaver, P. (2009). Armed servants: Agency, oversight, and civil-military relations. Harvard University Press
- Feaver, P. D. (1996). The civil-military problematique: Huntington, janowitz, and the question of civilian control. *Armed Forces & Society*, 23(2):149–178

- Finer, S. E. (2002). The man on horseback: The role of the military in politics. Transaction Publishers
- Huntington, S. P. (1957). The soldier and the state: The theory and politics of civil-military relations. Harvard University Press
- Janowitz, M. (1960). The professional soldier: A social and political portrait, volume 91618. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press
- Schiff, R. L. (2008). The military and domestic politics: a concordance theory of civil-military relations. Routledge

Week 2: The Military and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- Brooks, R. (2008). Shaping strategy: the civil-military politics of strategic assessment. Princeton University Press, Chapters 1 and 2
- Caverley, J. D. (2014). Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War. Number 131. Cambridge University Press,, Chapters 1 and 2
- Snyder, J. (1984). Civil-military relations and the cult of the offensive, 1914 and 1984. *International Security*, 9(1):108–146

Recommended Reading:

- Cohen, E. A. (2012). Supreme command: Soldiers, statesmen and leadership in wartime. Simon and Schuster
- Gelpi, C. and Feaver, P. D. (2002). Speak softly and carry a big stick? veterans in the political elite and the american use of force. *American Political Science Review*, 96(04):779–793
- Heginbotham, E. (2002). The fall and rise of navies in east asia: Military organizations, domestic politics, and grand strategy. *International Security*, 27(2):86–125
- Recchia, S. (2015). Reassuring the Reluctant Warriors: US Civil-military Relations and Multilateral Intervention. Cornell University Press
- Van Evera, S. (1984). The cult of the offensive and the origins of the first world war. *International security*, 9(1):58–107

Week 3: Coups and Military Interventions in Domestic Politics

Required Reading:

- Singh, N. (2014). Seizing power: the strategic logic of military coups. JHU Press, Chapters 1 and 2 and 3
- Powell, J. (2012). Determinants of the attempting and outcome of coups d'état. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56(6):1017–1040

• Piplani, V. and Talmadge, C. (2015). When war helps civil-military relations: Prolonged interstate conflict and the reduced risk of coups. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*

Recommended Reading:

- Belkin, A. and Schofer, E. (2003). Toward a structural understanding of coup risk. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 47(5):594–620 item Casper, B. A. and Tyson, S. A. (2014). Popular protest and elite coordination in a coup d'état. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(02):548–564
- Egorov, G. and Sonin, K. (2011). Dictators and their viziers: Endogenizing the loyalty-competence trade-off. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 9(5):903–930
- Harkness, K. A. (2014). The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60(4):1–30
- Londregan, J. B. and Poole, K. T. (1990). Poverty, the coup trap, and the seizure of executive power. World Politics, 42(2):151–183
- Powell, J. M. and Thyne, C. L. (2011). Global instances of coups from 1950 to 2010 a new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(2):249–259
- Roessler, P. (2011). The enemy within: Personal rule, coups, and civil war in africa. World Politics, 63(2):300–346
- Svolik, M. W. (2012b). Which democracies will last? coups, incumbent takeovers, and the dynamic of democratic consolidation. *British Journal of Political Science*, pages 1–24

Week 4: The Military and Regime Change

Required Reading:

- Marinov, N. and Goemans, H. (2014). Coups and democracy. British Journal of Political Science, 44(04):799–825
- Lee, T. (2009). The armed forces and transitions from authoritarian rule explaining the role of the military in 1986 philippines and 1998 indonesia. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(5):640–669
- Barany, Z. (2011). The role of the military. Journal of Democracy, 22(4):24–35

Recommended Reading:

- Albertus, M. and Menaldo, V. (2012). Coercive capacity and the prospects for democratization. *Comparative Politics*, 44(2):151–169
- Albrecht, H. and Ohl, D. (2016). Exit, resistance, loyalty: Military behavior during unrest in authoritarian regimes. *Perspectives on Politics*, 14(01):38–52
- Bell, C. (2016). Coup d'état and democracy. Comparative Political Studies, page 0010414015621081
- Geddes, B., Frantz, E., and Wright, J. G. (2014). Military rule. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17:147–162

- Nepstad, S. E. (2013). Mutiny and nonviolence in the arab spring exploring military defections and loyalty in egypt, bahrain, and syria. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(3):337–349
- Pion-Berlin, D., Esparza, D., and Grisham, K. (2014). Staying quartered civilian uprisings and military disobedience in the twenty-first century. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(2):230–259
- Svolik, M. W. (2013). Contracting on violence the moral hazard in authoritarian repression and military intervention in politics. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57(5):765–794
- Svolik, M. (2012a). The Politics of Authoritarian Rule. Cambridge University Press, London
- Tansey, O. (2016). The limits of the "democratic coup" thesis: International politics and post-coup authoritarianism. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 1(3):220–234

Week 5: Politics and Military Effectiveness

Required Reading:

- Castillo, J. (2014). Endurance and war: the national sources of military cohesion. Stanford University Press, Chaps 1 and 2
- Reiter, D. and Stam, A. C. (1998). Democracy and battlefield military effectiveness. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(3):259–277
- Narang, V. and Talmadge, C. (2017). Civil-military pathologies and defeat in war: Tests using new data. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, page 0022002716684627

Recommended Reading:

- Avant, D. D. (1993). The institutional sources of military doctrine: Hegemons in peripheral wars. *International Studies Quarterly*, 37(4):409–430
- Biddle, S. (2010). Military power: Explaining victory and defeat in modern battle. Princeton University Press
- Farrell, T. (2001). Transnational norms and military development: Constructing ireland's professional army. European Journal of International Relations, 7(1):63–102
- Horowitz, M. C. (2010). The diffusion of military power: Causes and consequences for international politics. Princeton University Press
- Brooks, R. (2007). Creating military power: The sources of military effectiveness. Stanford University Press
- Rosen, S. P. (1995). Military effectiveness: Why society matters. *International Security*, 19(4):5–31

•