

IS 422-01: DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Instructor: LTC Dennis Foster
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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

How does domestic politics affect the ability and willingness of states to fight wars abroad, and how do wars affect domestic politics? Surveying historical and contemporary scholarship, this course will familiarize students with various theories about these relationships. General topics to be covered include (a) the influence of institutional characteristics – such as general regime type, the separation of powers, and procedural and election rules – on war initiation and war outcomes; (b) the peculiar relationship between public opinion and war; and (c) how these and other factors impact the political strategies of war-time leaders, domestic opposition groups, and international opponents. In addition to applying these theories and lessons to various historical cases, the course will afford students the opportunity to engage in interactive exercises that illustrate the complex linkages between the domestic and the international.

REQUIRED TEXTS:

Bacevich, Andrew. 2005. *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*. New York: Free Press.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 2001 (1954). *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Angel: Important information and many of the readings for this course will be posted on Angel under “IS-422-01-FA13.” Lecture notes and readings will be posted under the heading “Lessons”; important dates will be posted under “Calendar”; and both important links to external sites and this syllabus will be posted under “Resources.” Feel free, also, to post questions about the material or other course-related matters; I will answer them as time permits. **Do not submit assignments over Angel; all assignments should be submitted in hard copy form, in class.**

IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH STUDENT TO OBTAIN AND COMPLETE EACH READING IN ANGEL IN ADVANCE OF THE DATES WITH WHICH THEY ARE ASSOCIATED IN THE COURSE OUTLINE (pp4-5).

GRADING

1. **Participation (5%):** Participation in class will comprise five percent of each cadet's course grade. Participation will include reasoned contribution to class discussions, contribution to interactive in-class exercises, and the introduction of current events topics and materials germane to class themes (TWELVE points).
2. **Exam 1 (15%):** This non-cumulative exam will be administered on **24 September**. It will require students to answer SIXTEEN multiple choice questions and FOUR of the six short questions asked (THIRTY-SIX points).
3. **Exam 2 (15%):** This non-cumulative exam will be administered on **17 October**. It will require students to answer SIXTEEN multiple choice questions and **FOUR** of the six short questions asked (THIRTY-SIX points).
4. **Exam 3 (15%):** This non-cumulative exam will be administered on **14 November**. It will require students to answer SIXTEEN multiple choice questions and FOUR of the six short questions asked (THIRTY-SIX points).
5. **Analytical Paper (20%):** This paper will require students to systematically use an analytical concept covered in the course to explain the role played by domestic politics in a war of their choosing. Specific details of this assignment are given on **page 6** of this syllabus. A **rough draft** of this paper will be due on **29 October**; failure to hand in a rough draft on time will adversely affect the overall paper grade. The final draft of the paper will be due **5 December** (FORTY-EIGHT points).
6. **Final (30%):** The final exam will require students to integrate the concepts studied throughout the course. In this sense, the final is cumulative. Students will be required to answer THREE of the six essay questions asked. Each answer will be worth TWENTY-FOUR points (SEVENTY-TWO points).

The proportion of the **240** total available points that each cadet attains determines his or her final grade. The final grading scale is as follows:

A:	216-240 points.
B:	192-215 points.
C:	168-191 points.
D:	144-167 points.
F:	0 - 143 points.

CLASSROOM POLICIES

- Work for Grade Policy regulations are fully applicable and will be enforced for each of the assignments and tests (see pages 7-10).
- Qualified cadets are permitted to take 3.0 cuts with the prior approval of the instructor.
- Exams, quizzes, and other assignments will not be postponed except as provided by Institute regulations. Exams, quizzes, and due dates for assignments will be rescheduled only at the discretion of the instructor, and on his terms.
- Late submission of any written work is graded down six grade points per day.
- Other than water in a closed container, no tobacco products, food, beverages, or gum are allowed in the classroom.
- Obscene language will not be permitted.
- The use of personal electronic devices for purposes not associated with classwork is strictly prohibited. This includes, but is not limited to, (a) any form of communication (i.e., speaking and texting) with a cellular or “smart” phone; and (b) the use of a laptop or “pad” computer for tasks other than those pertaining to IS 422. The instructor reserves the right to confiscate devices used in contravention of these policies.

If you are a cadet with a documented disability, who will be requesting accommodations in my class, please make sure you are registered with the Office of Disabilities Services, 2nd Floor, Post Infirmary, 464-7667, and provide me with an Accommodations Letter outlining your accommodations. I will be glad to meet with you privately during my office hours to discuss your needs.

COURSE OUTLINE
Readings found on Angel denoted "A"

Part I: Overview

- 8/27: Introduction and Course Synopsis
No Readings Assigned
- 8/29: War and the Major IR Theories
Waltz, Chapters 1-3
- 9/3: War and the "Second Image"
Waltz, Chapters 4-8
- 9/5: Domestic Politics and War: An Overview
(A) *Levy, "Domestic Politics and War"*

Part II: Institutions and War

- 9/10: The Structural Democratic Peace
(A) *Maoz and Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace"*
- 9/12: The Effects of Institutional Variation
(A) *Leblang and Chan, "Explaining Wars Fought By Established Democracies"*
- 9/17: Growing Pains
(A) *Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and War"*
- 9/19: The Case of the War of 1812
(A) *Risjord, "1812"*
- 9/24: **Exam 1**

Part III: The Public and War

- 9/26: The Normative Democratic Peace
(A) *Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace"*
- 10/1: Popular Militarism
Blainey, Chapter 3; Bacevich, Intro and Chapter 1
- 10/3: Popular Militarism in the American Case
Bacevich, Chapters 2-4, Conclusion; skim Chapters 5-7
In Class: Paper Topics Chosen
- 10/8: The Soft Left and Hard Right?
(A) *Schultz, "The Politics of Risking Peace"*
- 10/10: Death Watches and Scapegoating
Blainey, Chapter 5

10/15: Public Opinion
(A) Jentleson, "The Pretty Prudent Public"; (A) Lian and Oneal, "Presidents, the Use of Military Force, and Public Opinion"

10/17: **Exam 2**

Part IV: Special Interests, the Economy, and War

10/22: The Mouse that Roared?
(A) Putnam, "Diplomacy and the Logic of Two-Level Games"

10/24: The Israel Lobby and the American Case
(A) Mearsheimer and Walt, "The Israel Lobby"

10/29: "Paradise is a Bazaar"
Blainey, Chapter 2
In Class: Rough Draft of Analytical Paper Due

10/31: Merchants of Death?
Blainey, Chapter 6

11/5: "All History... is the History of Class Struggle"
(A) Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto

11/7: "Parasitic Capitalism"
(A) Lenin, Excerpt from Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

11/12: **No Class – Monday Classes Meet**

11/14: **Exam 3**

Part V: Complexities and Inverse Relationships

11/19: The Contingency of the Domestic on the Individual
(A) Keller and Foster, "Presidential Leadership Style and the Political Use of Force"

11/21: The Contingency of the Domestic on the Interstate
(A) Foster, "State Power, Linkage Mechanisms, and Diversion against Nonrivals"

11/26: The Second Image Reversed: War Making as State Making
(A) Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime"

11/27-12/2: **No Class – Thanksgiving Furlough**

12/3: The Second Image Reversed: War and Democratization
(A) Gleditsch et al., "Democratic Jihad?"

12/5: **In Class: Wrap-Up and Course Evaluations**
In Class: Analytical Paper Due

Analytical Paper Assignment

The fundamental purpose of political science is to maximize our ability to simplify, explain, and predict phenomena in the political realm through the application of behavioral theories. Accordingly, the goal of this paper is the student's capacity to use theoretical concepts developed in the class to explain the ways in which domestic politics influence international conflict.

On **5 December**, submit a 15-20 page paper – double-spaced, 12-point Times New Roman or Garamond font, one-inch margined, with page numbers – that accomplishes the following tasks (**rough draft to be submitted 29 October**):

1. Choose one of the interstate wars that have occurred since 1945, as defined by the Correlates of War (COW) project's definition of interstate war. A list of these wars is available on Angel.
2. Choose one of the combatants in that war. Conduct research (using archival sources, online sources, JSTOR, etc.) that **describes** the role played by domestic politics in that combatant's decision to (a) initiate or join the war; (b) implement a particular strategic or tactical approach in fighting the war; **or** (c) terminate its involvement in the war.
3. Use **one** of the following theoretical concepts, addressed in class, to **explain** the role played by domestic politics in the decision you have chosen to analyze:
 - a. The militating effects of democratization;
 - b. The militating effects of popular "hawkishness";
 - c. The militating effects of special interest groups' efforts to shape foreign policy;
 - d. The militating effects of capitalist economic expansion (to include trade);
 - e. The diversionary theory of war; **or**
 - f. The intervening effects of individual/interstate factors on domestic-level impetuses for war

For instance, if you were analyzing the 1898 Spanish-American War, you might come to the conclusion that "yellow journalism" and congressional attitudes both reflected and fueled popular desires to punish the Spanish for their imperialistic harshness towards Cuba and to remove Spanish influence from the Western Hemisphere, thus compelling President McKinley – who did not want war – to initiate war nonetheless. You could then use the rationales provided by Blainey, Risjord, Bacevich, and other relevant work (to include those outside of class readings) to provide an account of how and why popular hawkishness in democratic states can, due to the electoral concerns, compel leaders to begin wars they otherwise believe to be counterproductive from a strategic standpoint, and to thus provide a theoretical explanation for why the US fought the Spanish-American War.

This assignment allows for a lot of latitude in case and theory choice, so be creative; at the same time, however, avoid overly "stretching" the theoretical concepts to fit particular cases, and vice versa. **All told, any failure to explicitly lay out both the theory and the evidence, and to make a compelling and well-reasoned argument linking the theory to the evidence, will result in a subpar grade.**

Extensive assistance by the instructor in completing this assignment is available, but only upon the request of the cadet. General guidelines for academic integrity, research practices, citation, attribution are addressed in the "Work for Grade" policies (see Pages 7-10 of this syllabus), and will be discussed by the instructor in class.

WORK FOR GRADE POLICY

Development of the spirit as well as the skills of academic inquiry is central to the mission of VMI's Academic Program. As a community of scholars, posing questions and seeking answers, we invariably consult and build upon the ideas, discoveries, and products of others who have wrestled with related issues and problems before us. We are obligated ethically and in many instances legally to acknowledge the sources of all borrowed material that we use in our own work. This is the case whether we find that material in conventional resources, such as the library or cyberspace, or discover it in other places like conversations with our peers.

Academic integrity requires the full and proper documentation of any material that is not original with us. It is therefore a matter of honor. To misrepresent someone else's words, ideas, images, data, or other intellectual property as one's own is stealing, lying, and cheating all at once.

Because the offense of improper or incomplete documentation is so serious, and the consequences so potentially grave, the following policies regarding work for grade have been adopted as a guide to cadets and faculty in upholding the Honor Code under which all VMI cadets live:

1) Cadets' responsibilities

"**Work for grade**" is defined as any work presented to an instructor for a formal grade or undertaken in satisfaction of a requirement for successful completion of a course or degree requirement. All work submitted for grade is considered the cadet's own work. "**Cadet's own work**" means that he or she has composed the work from his or her general accumulation of knowledge and skill except as clearly and fully documented and that it has been composed especially for the current assignment. No work previously submitted in any course at VMI or elsewhere will be resubmitted or reformatted for submission in a current course without the specific approval of the instructor.

In all work for grade, failure to distinguish between the cadet's own work and ideas and the work and ideas of others is known as **plagiarism**. Proper documentation clearly and fully identifies the sources of all borrowed ideas, quotations, or other assistance. The cadet is referred to the VMI-authorized handbook for rules concerning quotations, paraphrases, and documentation.

In all written work for grade, the cadet must include the words "**HELP RECEIVED**" conspicuously on the document, and he or she must then do one of two things: (1) state "none," meaning that no help was received except as documented in the work; or (2) explain in detail the nature of the help received. In oral work for grade, the cadet must make the same declaration before beginning the presentation. Admission of help received may result in a lower grade but will not result in prosecution for an honor violation.

Cadets are prohibited from discussing the contents of a quiz/exam until it is returned to them or final course grades are posted. This enjoinder does not imply that any inadvertent expression or behavior that might indicate one's feeling about the test should be considered a breach of honor. The real issue is whether cadets received information, not available to everyone else in the class, which would give them an unfair advantage. If a cadet inadvertently gives or receives information, the incident must be reported to the professor and the Honor Court.

Each cadet bears the responsibility for familiarizing himself or herself thoroughly with the policies stated in this section, with any supplementary statement regarding work for grade expressed by the academic department in which he or she is taking a course, and with any special conditions provided in writing by the professor for a given assignment. If there is any doubt or uncertainty about the correct interpretation of a policy, the cadet should consult the instructor of the course. There should be no confusion, however, on the

basic principle that it is never acceptable to submit someone else's work, written or otherwise, formally graded or not, as one's own.

The violation by a cadet of any of these policies will, if he or she is found guilty by the Honor Court, result in his or her being dismissed from VMI. Neither ignorance nor professed confusion about the correct interpretation of these policies is an excuse.

2) Faculty members' responsibilities

Each academic department will publish an official statement of supplementary departmental policies regarding work for grade, titled "Departmental Statement Concerning VMI's Policies Regarding Work for Grade." Each departmental statement will include explicit policies on the following: (a) tutoring* [e.g., Writing Center, Learning Center, athletic tutors, private tutors], (b) peer collaboration*, and (c) computer aids, including calculators, translators, spelling, style, and grammar checkers. Individual course assignments that deviate from the departmental work for grade policies must be approved by the department head in advance and must be explained to cadets in writing.

No departmental or individual assignment policies may contradict or compromise the Institutional principles expressed in the Academic Regulations, particularly notions of academic integrity and the requirement to document borrowed material and help received. Each departmental statement must be approved by the Deputy Superintendent for Academics and Dean of the Faculty following review by the Academic Policy Committee of the Academic Board. A copy of the document must be filed with the Superintendent, the Deputy Superintendent for Academics and Dean of the Faculty, and the Superintendent's Representative to the Honor Court. Such a statement must be signed by the department head and must be posted in each classroom used by the department.

As an essential part of the duty of teaching and a matter of professional citizenship, faculty are expected to adhere to established work for grade policies and to communicate clearly and regularly with their cadets about the values and practices of academic honesty and integrity. Each faculty member must therefore include work for grade policies in a syllabus for every course he or she teaches. Each syllabus must include an exact transcription of the section titled "Cadets' Responsibilities" from "Work for Grade Policies" in the VMI Academic Regulations and a full statement of the established departmental policies regarding work for grade, plus any approved course-specific policies.

Furthermore, all faculty members are responsible for discussing with all of their students the details, definitions, and implications of (1) the entire section of the Academic Regulations entitled "Work for Grade Policies"; (2) the relevant sections on quotations, paraphrasing, and documentation in the current VMI-authorized handbook; and (3) the departmental and any approved course-specific policies regarding Work for Grade. This discussion must take place before any work is submitted for grade, and it should be treated with the gravity and level of detail that it merits.

Faculty must also review the Institute policy regarding the discussion of quizzes and exams with their classes. Specifically, faculty must remind cadets that they are prohibited from discussing the contents of a quiz/exam with anyone except the professor until it is returned to them or final course grades are posted.

If a member of the faculty believes that a cadet has violated one or more of VMI's, the department's, or the instructor's work for grade policies, he or she should report the evidence to the head of the department. The department head will decide whether the collected evidence justifies referral to the Deputy Superintendent for Academics and Dean of the Faculty. If the department head decides that the evidence does not justify referral, then he or she will conclude the investigation. Otherwise, the department head will submit a written report to the Deputy Superintendent for Academics and Dean of the Faculty. The report must contain both

a recommendation for action and all relevant documents, including a statement signed by the faculty member who reported the violation.

The instructor will assign a grade of “I” following a formal charge of an Honor Court academic violation in his or her course until the issue is resolved.

* Departmental policies must include a statement on whether tutors and peers may offer cadets **critical comments** on their papers. Offering **critical comments** means giving general advice on such matters as organization, thesis development, support for assertions, and patterns of errors. It does not include proofreading or editing.

Proofreading means correcting errors (e.g., in spelling, grammar, punctuation). It is the last step taken by the writer in the **editing** process. In addition to the corrections made in proofreading, **editing** includes making such changes as the addition, deletion, or reordering of paragraphs, sentences, phrases, or words. **A cadet may not have his or her work proofread or edited by someone other than the instructor.** [Instructors may grant exceptions to this rule only if they have received written permission from the department head for a particular assignment.]

Department of International Studies & Political Science

Work for Grade Policy

Work for Grade in this department is generally of the following types.

1. Written quizzes, tests, or examinations
2. Book reviews
3. Research Papers, policy memoranda, briefing papers, and discourse analysis--
identification and analysis of the critical differences in the findings and opinions of
scholars on issues of interest to the discipline.

1. Cadets are permitted and encouraged to study with their peers to prepare for quizzes, tests and exams. However, when a cadet takes either written or oral quizzes, tests, and examinations, answers must be his/her own work without help from any other source including notes or consultation with others.

2. In the case of book reviews, research and other papers, as described in "2" and "3" above, research and composing of such works must be done by the cadet alone. Cadets are permitted to use spell and grammar-checking facilities.

IS cadets are encouraged to make use of all VMI tutoring services to receive critical comments (defined above). Cadets who do so and mark "Help Received" will not receive a lower grade on an assignment. Cadets are also permitted to seek critical comments on their written work from their peers. However, proof-reading and editing (**defined above**) of a cadet's written work is not permitted.

Any exceptions to these rules, including the use of tutors, collaboration among cadets, and the use of computer style, spell and grammar checkers; must be explained in writing by the course instructor. Instructors are at liberty to stipulate exceptions only with the written approval of their department head.

If you have any questions about the application of these rules, consult your instructor. Do not leave anything to chance.

Colonel James J. Hentz
Professor and Head