

PS 90D Sophomore Seminar: Defense in Democracies
Professor Richard C. Eichenberg

Tuesdays 1:30-4:00
Office Hours: Tues/Thurs 11:30-12:45
Eaton 314
Phone: x73465

Course Website: <http://crs.ase.tufts.edu>

Introduction and Overview

This is a sophomore research seminar on the topic of *how democratic politics affect the defense policies of the United States and the states of Western Europe* (other countries can be added if you are so inclined).

We will pursue 3 main goals in the course:

1. To examine the substantive problems of *national security policy* faced by democracies;
2. To master the steps that are required to *conduct quality research* on these issues;
3. To master some *methodologies* for carrying out this research.

A research seminar is different from other classes in several ways. First, a seminar is a collegial enterprise: we will explore, discuss, debate, question, and research several topics *together*. **Preparation, attendance, and engagement** are crucial. Passive acceptance of readings and discussion is discouraged: we want to *question!*

Second, the paper that you will write for this class should be *an original research paper* rather than a traditional term paper. The crucial difference is this: in a term paper, you review and synthesize the arguments and conclusions of others. In a *research paper*, you a.] formulate your own question or argument, and then b.] you conduct research to answer or justify it. This theme will be pursued several times as we progress.

Good research seminars are active, boisterous, affairs. How active and boisterous depends on you (although I will do a fair amount of goading).

Choosing a Research Topic Early

One way for all of us to stay engaged and curious right from the beginning is to choose a research (paper) topic quite early and to research it from the very beginning of the semester.

Thus, I want you to begin **immediately** to think (at least generally) about what aspect or topic or question interests you. It may be a country (a student who has studied France and is interested in French perspectives on Iraq or the EU's common defense policy). It may be a particular question: will the American public support war against Iraq? It may be a particular subject (will citizens in democracies really support military interventions in which people are killed?).

I want you to think about this, and as noted below under Assignments, you are required to turn in a brief (one-page) statement of your research interests on October 8th. It will not be graded. It can be general. But it is required.

Course Website and E-mail

A website for the seminar has been established at the address listed at the top of this page. Instructions for logging in are provided at that address. Any e-mail from me will go to your Emerald mail UNLESS YOU CHANGE IT, which you can do using the "Student Tools" button. As for E-mail; please confine e-mail communications to brief logistical communications that can be answered with a yes or no. Substantive questions should be brought to seminar; to office hours; or posted on the Discussion board under "Communications" on the website. I would much rather see you and talk to you than write lonely e-mails.

Assignments and Grades

Your grade in the seminar will be based on the following:

1. Weekly Journal/Reading Discussion: (10% of your grade). Beginning immediately, I want you to keep a weekly journal. The journal must be typed and submitted. Each week's journal entry will deal with A.] a news article related to the class. I will provide details on what you should write, but obviously I want you to summarize and analyze at least one article per week (I am happy to look at more).

B.] The second thing that your journal will contain is a reaction to the reading for that week. Again, I will provide details, but essentially I want you to write some reaction to the reading. Do you have questions? Do you disagree? Do you have an argument to make about the reading?

The logistics of submitting your journal entries on our Webpage will be discussed in class. For the moment, it is important to note only that each week's entry is due on Sunday by 5pm.

2. Paper 1 (October 8): **ungraded**. Provide a brief (1 page) statement of your *potential* research paper topic for this class. No rules apply. It may be a question that invokes your curiosity. It may be an argument that has been nagging you. It may be something that arises from our first weeks' discussion of Sept 11 and the War Against Terror. In any case, simply write out in one page what you *might* want to research for your paper. One piece of advice: choose something that really interests you. More advice: if you know earlier what your topic might be, come in and talk about it. Oct 8 is actually a bit late.
3. Paper 2 (Nov 12): **ungraded**. Provide a brief (4 page; double space; font 12) statement of the research paper that you intend to write for this seminar. Presumably you will have received feedback from Paper 1. There are no ground-rules for this paper, but you must cover the following: a.] an introduction to the issue/question/argument (why are you interested? Why is this important? What, briefly, is the state of scholarship on this issue?); b.] state precisely the question or argument that you intend to pursue; c.] describe briefly how you intend to research this paper (what exactly are you going to do?); and d.] list 5 major scholarly sources (no WWW sources please) that deal with your topic. The paper is ungraded, but you would be wise to give it careful attention.
4. Take-Home Midterm Examination (due October 29 in class, 30% of your grade): covering material from September 10-October 22. Essay only – open book, open source. I will provide three questions covering the above dates and you will submit a 7 page (double spaced; 12 font) response to ONE. We will discuss details in class.
5. Paper 3: Research Design (due November 26, 10 % of your grade). I will provide an assignment sheet during our class of November 12 (or earlier). Basically, this paper will ask you to revise paper 2 to take into account what we learned in reading and discussion for November 19 – thus preparation for this week is crucial. The assignment will ask you to (now) state your research questions/arguments/theories clearly; to define terms used in the paper; to spell out clearly how and what information you will gather for the paper; how you will analyze that information; and what conclusions you intend to draw.
6. Research Paper (due no later than Friday, December 13, 5pm, 40 % of your grade). Your final paper is likely to be 10-20 pages in length (12 point font; double-spaced). There is no hard and fast rule. The “best” papers may be 11 pages, and very long papers can be very poor. The key is to strive to meet the standards that we will set for “good research” –which pretty much boils down to executing the tasks set out in paper 3 at a high level of quality.

7. Participation 10% percent of your grade. As note above, a good seminar requires active, even boisterous, participation. I will evaluate your participation according to the following: a.] attendance; b.] quality of preparation; ability to discuss and question readings; ability to discuss progress on research paper; and c.] intellectual activism: willingness to question or dissect readings; willingness to constructively discuss colleagues' research; openness to constructive discussion or criticism of your own research. I want to especially emphasize the ability to discuss your research project as early as October. The reading for the seminar itself is fairly light, the presumption being that you are reading and researching your papers. Papers that are done essentially in late November or early December are rarely more than average (let us say, C+). . Thus, it is in your interest both for your paper and your participation grade that you are able to concretely discussion the progress of your research paper – every week.

Reading – assigned books

- Holbrooke, Richard, *To End a War* (Modern Library, 1999) – also on reserve Ginn Library/Fletcher.
- Daalder Ivo, and Michael O'Hanlon , *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*, (Brookings, 2000) - also on reserve Ginn Library/Fletcher.
- Wilson, George C., *This War Really Matters: Inside the Fight for Defense Dollars*, CQ Press, 2000.
- Sandler, Todd and Keith Hartley, *The Political Economy of NATO*, Cambridge, 1999.
- White, Louise, *Political Analysis: Technique and Practice*. Wadsworth (any edition or year is OK).

Other Reading

HDL: A substantial amount of the remaining reading for this seminar will take the form of chapters, articles, and reports that I will either hand out, make available for downloading, or provide in the form of a link to the WWW (thus: handout, download, link: **HDL**). In the case of xeroxed handouts, I may have to keep track and charge you for xeroxing at the end of the term. I will try to avoid this, but if not, keep in mind that the book bill is pretty low.

Weekly Schedule and Readings

PART I: The Politics and Economics of Defense in Democracies

September 10: Democracy Challenged: September 11, 2001 and the Politics of Defense in Democracies.

You will have a choice of readings for this class, to be based on materials to appear under “External Links” on our Webpage. Basically, I have tried to link the more interesting or provocative links on this question: how did the event of September 11 of last year affect how our (or other) democracies deal with national security?

September 17: Deterrence and Coercion over Bosnia

Required:

1. Holbrooke, Richard, *To End a War* (Modern Library, 1999) – also on reserve Ginn Library/Fletcher.

Additional Sources:

2. Daalder, Ivo, *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America's Bosnia Policy*, (Brookings, 2000) – also on reserve Ginn Library/Fletcher.
3. Owen, David, *Balkan Odyssey*, (Harcourt, 1995)-also on reserve Ginn Library/Fletcher

September 24: NATO's Democracies Go to War over Kosovo

1. Daalder Ivo, and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*, (Brookings, 2000) - also on reserve Ginn Library/Fletcher.

Additional Sources:

2. Clark, Wesley, *Waging Modern War* (Public Affairs Press, 2001).

October 1: Public Opinion and National Security in the United States before and after 9/11

Jentleson, Bruce, "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post-Vietnam Opinion on the Use of Military Force Abroad", 1992. **HDL**.

Eichenberg, Richard, "Gender Differences and the Use of Force by the United States, 1990-2002". **HDL**

Holsti, Ole, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy", 2001 – **HDL**

Wittkopf, Eugene, "What Americans Really Think About Foreign Policy", 1996. **HDL**.

I will also provide some Web links to browse recent opinion polls on this subject. If you are working on this as a research topic, see: www.pollingreport.com

October 8: Public Opinion and National Security in Europe: the EPSD (and other issues)

Art, Robert, "Why Europe Still Needs NATO", 1996. **HDL**.

Eichenberg, Richard, "Having It Both Ways: European Defense Integration and the Commitment to NATO", 2002. **HDL**.

Sandler and Hartley, *Political Economy of NATO*, chapters 7-9 (a bit hard; let's discuss).

Everts, Phillip, "Public Opinion after the Cold War: The Case of the Netherlands in Comparative Perspective", in Nacos/Shapiro, *Decision-making in a Glass House*, 2000. **HDL**.

EU Council, *Cologne Declaration*, June 1999 –WWW link to be provided.

EU Council, *Helsinki Declaration*, December 1999 –WWW link to be provided.

The EU Webpage on the *Common Policy on Security and Defense* – link to be provided.

Weblinks for this week, as listed above, will appear under "Course Documents" on our course webpage

***Paper 1 is due today**

October 22: The Politics of Defense Budgeting in the United States

Wilson, George, *This War Really Matters*, entire book. This is an extraordinary book. Savor every page and come ready to discuss.

October 29: take-home midterm examination is due in class.

No reading (obviously), but we will have some discussion and planning today.

November 5: The Economics of Defense and Burden-sharing within NATO

Sandler and Hartley, *Political Economy of NATO*, pp. xi-201.

PART II: Research Design and Research Tools

We now enter a different phase of the seminar – the emphasis turns to research and your papers. We have covered a number of important issues of national security policy in democracies. You are moving toward the specification of a research paper topic and *how to carry it through*. The next three weeks are designed to help you do that. The reading is light *because I want you to be working on your paper topics –that’s where your reading takes place*. I will also provide a few exercises –homework—that will help you digest what I do each week.

November 12: Research Design: How to Plan a Research Paper

Paper 2 is Due Today – writing this paper is actually the most important preparation for this week, because your ideas for your papers will provide the examples that I use in discussion. In addition, please read:

Louise D. White, *Political Analysis: Technique and Practice*, ch 14 + pp. vii-60. You may want to look over the “exercises” at the end of White’s chapters ---they will make your **Paper 2** better.

November 19: Using the Library and the Web for Research on Defense in Democracies (or other things....)

No reading, but based on your paper topics, I will provide some exercises –homework—to gear up for what is essentially a demonstration of how best to use the Web to find the research materials that you need.

I will provide an online demonstration of some interesting research materials available on the Web.
This is a “breather” week in terms of reading. You should be pushing ahead with your paper.

November 26: Rudimentary Methodology for Research

White, *Political Analysis*, chs 6-11, 13 (the last is really quite important).

If we have time, I will also provide a demonstration of some simple software that you can use in your research – now or in the future. But it may have to wait for the two open weeks below.

Paper 3 (Research Design) is Due Today

PART III: Research Colloquium and Workshop

There will be one additional topic (and some light reading) chosen to reflect the research interests of seminar members. There will not be formal presentations, although individuals conducting research on the chosen topics may be asked to begin the discussion or may form a panel whom we will question.

Depending on interest and need, we may also use this week for a research “workshop”. That is, we may actually work through the real research problems of individual seminar members using: group discussion; Web-based demonstration for library and/or information search; or demonstration of spreadsheet, graphical, or statistical software. If there is something you want to learn for your research paper, please ask and we will include it in this “workshop”.

December 3

Your final research paper is due on Friday December 13, 5pm. There will be a box outside my door. Please place it there rather than in my mailbox.