POL 4910 CAPSTONE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE
ON THE THEME: THE WAYS OF WAR AND FORCE VERSUS THE WAYS OF PERSUASION – THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE DOMAIN OF POLITICS.

Dr. Frank W. Wayman Winter Term 2022 (syllabus with rev. of Jan. 2, 2022)
Tues.&Thurs. 2 PM-3:15 PM [CRN 21809] [220102]

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COURSE CONTENT:

My conception of the capstone course in political science is that it should enable students to develop a sophisticated understanding of the concepts, theories, and methods employed in political science, with the understanding coming from each student's own research paper plus the vision of political science as a whole that comes from seeing all the term papers in relationship to each other. Insofar as possible, the capstone seminar, which for most students comes in their last semester, should combine extensive reading, in-depth research, oral student presentations where possible, and intensive class discussion. Students should prepare class presentations and a substantial research paper as part of the course requirements. Preparation of discussion questions, in my view, is an important part of the class participation grade, as the thoughtful formulation of questions by students allows us to properly structure class discussion, while permitting shy students to shine in the participation portion of the grade.

I wanted to teach this capstone because I have had a relatively broad training. My areas of study in graduate school were international, comparative, American, and theory. This set of four areas embraces most of political science, and more of political science than many of today's Ph.D.'s, who have excellent training, as we would take for granted, yet often in a very narrow area.

In this course, we will study some of the central concerns of political science:

the political aspects of human nature (principal reading by Richard Alexander);
the state (Max Weber; Montevideo convention on the rights and duties of states; Sarkees and Wayman's *Resort to War* chapter one);

war, both civil and international (Hobbes; Sarkees and Wayman's *Resort to War* chapter two);

Liberalism and economic growth (John Locke);

inequality and socio-political cleavages (Lipset, Marx and Engels);

public opinion (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, *The American Voter*; and Schattshneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People*);

the proper size, and role, of government (Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*);

representative government and representation (Mayhew's *Congress: The Electoral Connection*);

and the relationships between sovereign states (Morgenthau's *Politics among Nations*; and Deutsch, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*).

In past terms, we have had to rush to get all this in, and some of the later stuff gets minimized in the last couple of weeks. There's no harm in that; for instance, with the enrollment not too big this term, we may put the focus on where the term papers are concentrated.

Our common goal as a class is to be a community aimed at the discovery of knowledge. Our first political theorist at UM-D said that the corruption of state happened insofar as people put the private and factional ahead of the public and common good (Dobel 1978). Likewise, I'd say, as a scholarly community gathered in the class, we need to teach and learn, not take partisan sides. The partisanship is maybe for the part of each of us that is a citizen. When we come together in class, we must be respectful, that we not push back and forth as Republicans vs. Democrats, or "liberals" or "socialists" vs. "conservatives." Many of us are seeking the purpose from our studies, of gaining scientific knowledge. My sense of how to do this comes in part from Graham Allison of the Kennedy School at Harvard, who says our tasks are to (1) describe, then (2) explain and (3) predict, then, on the basis of those three kinds of knowledge, move on to (4) evaluate, and finally (5) recommend what should be done. A full accomplishment of that will take a while, years, and meantime we need to get started this week. To launch the course in a meaningful direction, I am going to propose a shorter version of what is the overall goal we seek.

As a title for our study, I would say we are in a capstone in political science, on the theme: Ways of war and ways of peace -- the two aspects of the domain of politics.

Apropos of the theme, we can begin with the words of Edith Hamilton, as quoted by Robert Kennedy in his Indianapolis speech upon news of the death of Martin Luther King: that the aim, one might say, of the political project is "to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the ways of this world."

I believe this normative orientation leads logically to the specific topics we will study -- the topical areas in which we endeavor to describe, explain, and even recommend. As for this capstone course, the topics, in the order we will cover them, are:

LECTURE TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS:

In Class:

Jan. 11: Syllabus; term paper topics, and student oral reports in April	Jan. 13: Cases of Mil. Rule in Indonesia (1965 coup), and miliary take-over of democratic govt. in Japan (1930s)
Jan. 18: *When the Sword Is Mightier: A Theory of Military Involvement in Politics*	Jan. 20: More on Military Regimes, and resort to force in domestic politics
Jan. 25: Path analysis and regression, as core statistical procedures in political analysis	Jan. 27: List of U.S. wars, and sample term paper on U.S. victory rate in different types of wars (inter-state, intra-state, etc.)
Feb. 1: Alexander video on human nature, and Wayman four-point summary of human nature in politics	Feb. 3: Public opinion in U.S., especially 1964-present. *Time of Turmoil* first 3 chs.; discussion of public opinion term papers. Focal point of my concerns: change from "civic culture" to polarization, in stages, 1960s to now
Feb. 8: Liberalism	Feb. 10: Hobbes and Locke
Feb. 15: The State (Vol. 1 of 2), and War (Vol. 2 of 2), 1492-present	Feb. 17: Hypotheses on the causes of war (especially inter-state war), and the connection of each to its origins in political theory. Going over term paper topics, in relation to our class sessions thus far.
Feb. 22: Sample term paper one, as scanned – Rabab Qamar on M.E. Wars	Feb. 24: Sample term paper two, as scanned – Lindsay Giuffre on changes in party ID
Mar. 1: Spring Break	Mar. 3: Spring Break
Mar. 8: Exam review including summary of Alexander talk and	Mar. 10: **Exam.**

discussion of levels of statistical significance from path analysis of military rule. Concerning term papers – the Politeia regime data (lib.-dem., military, communist, and personalist regimes)	
Mar. 15: Panel data codebooks, in Excel and MS-Word. SPSS analysis of hypotheses about attitudes on abortion, as demonstrated in classroom computer.	Mar. 17: *What Do We Know about War? (*Brief intro via Midlarsky paper). Wayman and Tago paper on genocide.
Mar. 22: Wrap-up of genocide studies.	Mar. 24: Graduate Record Exam. Vasquez book, and realist, idealist, micro, and macro hypotheses.
Mar. 29: Marx on class conflict. Student presentations.	Mar. 31: Morgenthau vs. Deutsch, differing views of international relations. Student presentations.
April 5: Student presentations.	April 7: Student presentations.
April 12: Student presentations.	April 14: Student presentations.
April 19: Public opinion essay question for the exam	April 21: War essay question for the exam.

Your readings, to be done "at home", explained here in the context of what we are doing in class:
Note: additional readings, many in the form of handouts, and some perhaps from JSTOR for journal articles, will be assigned from time to time (note especially the last five weeks of this chronology), as this course is a seminar-style course, and we are going to be following the thread of our conversations as they develop out of the convergence of your interests, research, and curiosity with my expertise.

Complete by the start of class on Jan. 11th:

To Start Us out on the TERM PAPER TOPICS: Wayman, "The Japanese Case," in Wayman, *When the Sword Is Mightier: A Theory of Military Involvement in Politics*. We launch the course with this in order to consider the qualitative and quantitative ways to gain knowledge, and how those two ways can support each other, when starting with an undergraduate large term paper. There will be supplemental handouts on this, concerning the differences between and among military regimes, as opposed to liberal-democratic regimes, communist regimes, and personalist regimes such as kingdoms and non-hereditary dictatorships such as those led by the founder of a country.

If there's time, we may also start out with a "quiz": several multiple choice questions from the Graduate Record Exam (GRE) for political science (to give a sense of what political scientists thought we should know); this GRE may be delayed till the half-hour immediately after the first exam.

MORE ABOUT THE TERM PAPER. The topics are grouped around themes in the readings: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: What is war like, and how can we explain it? What are the sovereign states of the world like? The over-arching topic here is the nations of the world, and how they connect to each other. COMPARING NATIONS: as to their ability to attain goals, such as maintaining stable liberal democracy. REPRESENTATION: How well do representative bodies such as Congress do in representing the people, and how can we explain this? PUBLIC OPINION: What are voters like, and how can we explain that? You could say study of the voters is the micro- level, nations and their connections are the macro- level, and the representation is how these two levels connect up.

The papers are due electronically (as email attachment) on Wed. April 13th. The essential requirement is the electronic copy (the electronic copy being sent as an email attachment, in MS-Word); depending on the pandemic, I may or may not require a paper copy – let's see if we are still meeting in-person, and how contagious things are.

Humans in the State of Nature and the Need for the Establishment of the State (i.e., of government). Read by Jan. 18th:

Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chs. 13 ("Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning their Felicity and Misery") and 17 ("Of the Causes, Generation, and Definition of Commonwealth") (these are a combined 9 pages), along with first three paragraphs of chapter 18. Short handout of other readings on the state (Max Weber; Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States [1933]; etc.), concerning what is and is not a state. Handout on the concepts of state and nation, with list of some modern sovereign states. To read Hobbes at no cost to you, you should go to the Project Gutenberg text, available for free online at https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3207/3207-h/3207-h.htm

Related Term paper research: the trends in deadly violence, genocide and battle deaths. Is Hobbes right that the sovereign states reduce the fear of violent death?

Complete by Jan. 20th:

Human Nature

Alexander, "Human Sociality and the Emergence of Social Artifacts" (70 pages). Short handout of other readings on human nature and the political (Hannah Arendt, et al.)

War

Complete by Jan. 25: Wayman and Schafer handout; Wayman and Tago on JSTOR; then by Jan. 29 (pp. 1-200 of Vasquez); then by Feb. 5th (pp. 201-259 of Vasquez): Note – the Vasquez readings will focus on essays by Singer, Bremer, Midlarsky, Wayman, Ray (democracy and war), and a couple of others to be announced in lecture. This will reduce the burden on you, by allowing you to skip almost half the book; hence, in the above page ranges, you will only have to read the pages of the particular authors we emphasize.

By Feb. 12th: Handout on the state (referred to as "Vol. I"). To give you a sense of how much reading this is, this is about 70 pages of double-spaced type.

By Feb. 14: Handout on war (referred to as "Vol. II"). This includes an essay by Wayman on the concept of war, from work of Wayman and Schafer ("Chapter One: The Scientific Study of Modern Wars") -- (70 pages)

Term paper research: Patterns of war and peace, rivalry and amity, among states

Complete by Feb. 18th:

The Possibility of Improvement in the Material Standard of Living, and its Consequences

Locke, *Second Treatise of Civil Government*, ch. 5 ("Of Property") (14 pages)
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7370/7370-h/7370-h.htm

Term paper research: economic growth and its association with democracy.
Economic growth and its association with political amelioration (free governments). Economic growth and a decline in warfare.

Complete by Feb. 20th:

Sarkees and Wayman, pp. 1-73. *Resort to War* is available from the UM-D library electronic reserves.

EXAM ON ABOVE MATERIAL ON Mar. 10th.

Moving on from the first exam: **Read the following by March 15th:**

Vasquez, *What Do We Know about War?* Definitions of war (Cicero: war is contending by force; the alternative is contending by persuasion. Hobbes: the state of war is also "a tract of time in which the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known." Singer: war is sustained combat involving sufficient casualties).
Types of war: inter-state; intra-state (civil and between armed groups within a state); extra-state (imperial and colonial); non-state. (See issues in defining and listing sovereign states, in first entry above)

Wayman and Tago, "Predicting the Onset of Mass Killing, 1949-1987," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 47 (No. 1, January 2010): pp. 3-13. Access via JSTOR or similar UM-D library e-resources.

Complete by March 22nd:

Problems of Inequality, and their consequences, including revolution

Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto* (60 pages)
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/31193/31193-h/31193-h.htm

Term paper research: the great political and social revolutions

Complete by Mar. 29th (first 100 pages of Lipset); then by April 5th (second 100 pages of Lipset and Wayman materials on military regimes and especially the Japanese case):

The Social Requisites of Democracy -- Despotic and Free Governments

Lipset, *Political Man*, first 200 pages

Wayman, ch. 5, "The Japanese Case" (40 pages) (Re-read, from 1st week)

Term paper research: Military coups and military regimes. This doubles back to where we started, so I won't repeat it all here; you were already in class the first two weeks!

[Here are some wonderful readings we probably will not have time for, so I'll just lecture on them briefly:

The Size of Government

Lindblom, Politics and Markets, first 200 pages

Term paper research: types of government and economic growth and equality. Students have done term papers on this. For instance, do countries with big government role in the economy (Sweden, etc.) have more or less long-term economic growth and prosperity than small-government countries like the US? I have a data set which you could update that helps with this topic (showing economic performance each year, ca. 1960-2013).

Representation

The classic reading, from the 1974, is Mayhew, Congress: The Electoral Connection (180 pages). We'll try to digest or even read this, plus a handout of a few pages from Rousseau's Social Contract, if time permits. Mayhew's thesis: members of Congress just want to get re-elected (e.g., that's why the Republicans, many of whom despised Trump in 2016, did his bidding for 4 years while he had a grip on the voters). It's important that Mayhew's book was true for its time (the middle of the 20th century), but I wonder about now: (1) some say about two-thirds of all money given to Congress for campaigns is "dark money" (we don't know about it). (2) When we did have all the data on the money, in last quarter of the 20th century, Hall and Wayman (1990) found that campaign contributions biased how members of Congress spent their time. So it wasn't just doing what the voters wanted, it was doing what the donors wanted. (3) Lobbyists spend even more money lobbying than donors spend contributing to campaigns. Presumably they also do this to bias Congress in their favor. (4) Unlike in the middle of the 20th century, members of Congress now spend much (most?) of their time raising money from campaign donors. (5) A recent study showed that when members were offered information on what their constituency wanted, many didn't want to take the time to learn, and those who did get a briefing soon forgot what they were told. In short, there may be an electoral connection, i.e., members are mainly motivated by wanting to be re-elected, but it's not so clear that this means that their constituents are represented well. See Hall and Wayman, "Buying Time," https://www.jstor.org/stable/1962767?seq=1

Assigned reading: Hall and Wayman.

Term paper research: Influence of money and constituency on Congressional behavior]

In class in April: student term paper presentations (plan for four presentations every week, 20 min. presentations, plus ten minutes for question-and-answer after each presentation)

Complete by April 12th:

Parties and Voters

At a meeting I attended, a group of faculty seemed to think that the center-piece of a pol. sci. capstone would well be Campbell, et al., *The American Voter*. To take their lead, one way to go would be to take excerpts from it (50 pages or so), and consider some changes in public opinion since its publication (which was around 1960). Perhaps the central point of the *American Voter* is that voters in the US are heavily influenced by their party identification (as Republicans or Democrats). This partisan attachment is also called party ID for short. There has been a criticism of that thesis, by Fiorina and others, who contend that voters are rational and choose to support the party and candidates that are best for them at the moment, without being anchored in old habits such as party ID. A middle ground, between Fiorina and the "Michigan model" (of Campbell et al.) is provided by Grofman, Wayman, and Barreto, "Rethinking Partisanship," which says that both schools are partly correct. A broader view of the subject, of recent public opinion, might be to say that, while the *American Voter* holds up well in the United States (US voters still are like that), there are bigger questions on most people's minds, such as how people vote (beyond party ID determining it). In the US, we've seen drift from a New Deal Democratic majority of 1932-1964, to a system since then in which Republicans have been President more than Democrats. Policies became more conservative as a result. Meanwhile, abroad, there was a drift to authoritarianism, not unlike Trump's movement here. A good book on the US is Fiorina, *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting, and Political Stalemate* (Hoover Press, 2017). Books on the global picture include Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Evolution* (Cambridge 2018), and Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge, 2019). I will show you what Grofman, Wayman and Barreto think.

Optional: Schattschneider, excerpts from *The Semi-Sovereign People* and "Towards a More Responsible Two Party System" (ca. 50 pages). Before the American voter, this was the big deal. The theme of this body of work was that the US would be better off, in place of the way we were in the mid-20th century, a situation more like Britain then. In the supposedly better system, we'd have two parties which each clearly differentiated itself from the other. Voters would then choose. Problem: we seem to have gotten what Schattschneider wished for; our 21st century parties are polar opposites, and voters have a clear choice of direction for the country, by choosing one party over the other. The catch is that we now have events like the Jan. 6th insurrection on Capitol Hill. Was Schattschneider wrong? This gets us back to Fiorina and his *Unstable Majorities*.

Term paper research: Stability of Party ID, Voting Trends. One student studied Brexit, but most of my capstone term papers on voters have been on US public opinion.

Complete by April 19th (from start to p. 197 of Morgenthau, and reading by Karl Deutsch):

Interactions of States

Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, first 200 pages. I will guide you to the most important pages, during class lecture and discussion, so you will be able to skip about half of this assignment.

Term paper research: The balance of power. If you've been in my great powers course, it makes a difference for ability to tackle this topic.

Political integration and permanent Peace

Deutsch, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (10 pages)

Term paper research: Did EU members prosper after joining? Do they share common values? (Inglehart reading or short lecture summarizing Inglehart's Evolutionary Modernization Theory building on Abraham Maslow's human needs hierarchy)

estimated total reading: 1350 pages

One student term paper was on the EU. Deutsch indicates you'll get integration that will not be reversed, but what about Brexit?!

UM-D study day period is the weekend of April 23-24.

FINAL EXAM WILL BE DURING FINAL EXAM WEEK, April 25-29.

All the above scheduling and assignments, as well as the course policies (below) are subject to change on account of my sense of the safety needs in this changing pandemic. Also, with the main focus on the term papers, we may trim some of these readings if appropriate (e.g., if the term papers are going in one direction mostly, we'll try to read mostly about that).

SO, WHAT IS POLITICAL SCIENCE?

You could ask, why are the topics we are studying in the course? Partly, they are things I know well enough to have published about them, so to be competent to guide you a bit in your studies of them. Don't you think these topics should represent political science? But what is this subject matter you have majored in? Politics has been defined as "the authoritative allocation of valued things," or, more bluntly, "who gets what." (Easton 1965: 50; Lasswell 1958) So one answer is you have majored in the study of politics. Although actual politics is often chaotic, unfair, and a-theoretical, human aspiration sometimes calls for something better. This longing has sustained interest in Aristotle's ancient hope that political science, in one sense of that term, could be the

"architectonic science," showing how the polis, or community, should be designed, just as an architect shows how a building should be designed (Aristotle, 1947: 309). This makes the political science a little broader than just politics in the narrow sense; for example, Aristotle mentions that political science also includes economics, rhetoric, and strategic (military) studies.

This all comes up in Aristotle in the first sentences of his *Nichomachean Ethics*, when he says,

> If, then, there is some end of the things we do, which we desire for its own sake (everything else being desired for the sake of this) . . . clearly this must be the good and the chief good. Will not the knowledge of it, then, have a great influence on life? Shall we not, like archers who have a mark to aim at, be more likely to hit upon what is right? If so, we must try, in outline at least to determine what it is, and of which of the sciences or capacities it is the object. It would seem to belong to the most authoritative art and that which is most truly the master art. And politics appears to be of this nature; for it is this that ordains which of the sciences should be studied in a state, and which each class of citizens should learn. . . ; and we see even the most highly esteemed of capacities to fall under this, e.g., strategy, economics, rhetoric; now, since politics uses the rest of the sciences, and, since, again, it legislates as to what we are to do and what we are to abstain from, the end of this science must include those of the others, so that this end must be the good for man. For even if the end is the same for a single man and for a state, that of the state seems at all events something greater and more complete whether to attain or to preserve; though it is worth while to attain the end for one man, it is finer and godlike to attain it for a nation or for city-states. These, then, are the ends at which our inquiry aims, since it is political science, in one sense of that term. (Aristotle 1947: 309).[1]

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[1] A FURTHER THOUGHT OR TWO ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF OUR WORD 'POLITICS':

Politics is still meaningfully understood from its roots in the oldest perspective in print, that of classical Greece, as expressed in Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nichomachean Ethics*. The word 'politics' derives from the Greek *polis*. The polis, literally a city (Liddell and Scott 1966), is "the community of men sharing a way of life and governing themselves." (Bloom 1968: 439) Extending from this basic root, "the citizen (*polites*) is literally one who belongs to the city, and the statesman (*politikos*) is one who knows the things of the city (Bloom 1968: 439)." Now, since the ancient Greeks lived in city-states, whereas modern political communities are usually nation-states, we need to generalize the Greek idea to apply it to the bigger political communities that date from at least the founding of the United States of America (Madison, Federalist 10). The broader idea behind a *polis*--broad enough to extend to geographically extensive states as well as cities--would be the community of all people living in a common place. This means the political community can sometimes be a city (ancient Athens, or modern Singapore), or a nation (modern Italy, or the United States of America), or even an emerging supra-national community, whether regional (the European Union) or the global community of all mankind (as at the United Nations or other world forums).

The first book on politics is Plato's *Republic*. The title word "'Republic' is the English equivalent of Cicero's Latin translation of the Greek title *Politeia*." (Bloom 1968: 439; for various dictionary renderings of the Greek word *politeia* into English, see Liddell and Scott 1966: 571; -eia is a Greek suffix denoting action, as in paideia, education, or basileia for kingly power (Goodwin 1963: 186)). The meaning of the Latin title 'Republic' (and the source of meaning for the English word republic) is easily grasped when one breaks the Latin into its component roots, "res publicae," or things of the community (literally, public things). Cicero's translation, properly understood, thus cuts to the heart of the title: the book is about things important to the public.

What are these public things? To start with examples as concrete as possible, the most famous public thing in the Athenian acropolis (literally the high city) is the Parthenon. And in the most important contemporary polis, Washington, D.C., we have a modern semblance of the Parthenon in another public shrine, the Lincoln Memorial. Public things can range from architectural objects such as these hallowed symbols to more abstract institutions such as constitutions, legislatures, policies, and traditions.

While politics is primarily concerned with affairs of state, there is also a secondary politics, in a less general form, wherever there is a community of people making policies for themselves--in churches and other religious

Probably all these things just mentioned (economics, politics, etc.) are "fuzzy sets" that don't have distinct boundaries, and that overlap some with each other, and a practical consequence of that is that we don't have to worry too much about the definitions, and can just move on with the course. Other fields live with this level of messiness and do fine. For example, in physics, light is both a wave and a particle, and quantum mechanics says that things are predictable, but only in a probabilistic way. Medicine works for some us but not all, because each person's DNA is a little bit different. We still get rockets to the moon, and medical cures, and we can still make sense of politics with what we know. However, all our knowledge is imperfect, and our job in your term papers and in our study together is to do our best to improve our understanding of politics, and make political science a little bit better if we can. I would argue that the themes we are exploring this semester are a good sample of the study of politics; while there are other things to study in politics, these are a good place to start.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:

This course is designed to enable students to develop a sophisticated understanding of the concepts, theories, and methods employed in political science, as these emerge in studies of large-scale use of force (war, in one sense of that term). The seminar combines extensive reading, in-depth research, oral student presentations, and intensive class discussion. Students will prepare class presentations and a substantial research paper as part of the course requirements.

Learning Goals

• Understand the concepts that are central to the reading. For instance, in public opinion research regarding voting, there is the central concept of party identification. In the study of war, there is the concept of war, and then specific terms such as civil war, inter-state war, and extra-state (imperial and colonial) war, as well as non-state war.
• Analyze and synthesize explanations of why things are happening the way they are in the world. Compare, for instance, the causes of civil and of international war.
• Understand the debates in the field of study. For instance, on whether or not party realignments have periodically rearranged the balance of power between the parties in the U.S., and if so, why. Or debates over whether war is becoming less common, or is persisting or even becoming more of a hazard to our long-term survival as a species, through weapons of mass destruction.

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institutions, in the military, in universities and other non-profit intellectual entities, in business organizations, in clubs, and even in family life. These secondary forms of politics will be called parochial politics, to designate that they are restricted or narrow in scope.

• Understand the role of scientific evidence in studying these debates, causes, and concepts.
• Evaluate the quality of published research.
• Debate the merits of arguments expressed in academic and policy articles.
• Write papers, making well-reasoned arguments supported by evidence.
• Write and present about the particular research topic selected for a term paper.

For instance, last year, the focus was sometimes on the wars of a group of countries (e.g., major powers, Middle Eastern countries, North American countries), gathering and analyzing information from a variety of sources to reach comparative inferences, based insofar as possible on a method of examining data, and in particular the Correlates of War Project data of wars 1816-present, and our (Wayman et al.) extension of that back to the early modern period, 1492-1815. This year, foci will be expanded to interest group influence, through campaign contributions, on legislative behavior; Tim Kiska (of UM-D) and his colleagues, for example, have data on the Michigan legislature that could be examined; and Prof. Wayman has supervised similar studies of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. In public opinion, Prof. Wayman has a data set on the dynamics of partisanship (i.e., party ID) that could be used to test hypotheses for your paper on public opinion, partisanship, and voting.

Course Grade Summary Grade Component	**% of Grade**	**Date/Deadline**
Class participation and attendance	10	Every class
First exam and related quizzes	25	Feb. 26th for the exam
Second exam and related quizzes	25	Dec. 17th for the exam (6:30 PM)
Research presentation	15	Mar. 18th on in class. Paper draft due eight days prior to presentation. Slides due at 12pm on presentation day.
Research paper	25	Due 6 PM, April 8th

The course is built around reading, lectures, and class participation. **Use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, except for course-related purposes.**

The following book is required of students and should be purchased in the bookstore:

John Vasquez, ed., *What Do We Know about War?*
Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000. ISBN: 0-8476-9927-7

Fortunately, additional readings, for the other topics, turn out to be available at Project Gutenberg (on-line, free), cheap from ABE books, or from library sources like JSTOR. There will also be class handouts for some of the shorter readings.

TERM PAPER PORTION OF THE GRADE

Option 1, International Relations: Term papers examining the wars of group of countries of the world. On war, we will use as a basic resource Meredith Sarkees and Frank Wayman, *Resort to War*, which describes the wars of 1816-2007 as defined by the Correlates of War Project (www.correlatesofwar.org), expanded by Wayman-Schafer data back to 1492 and up to the present. Option 2, Comparing Nations: For example, on military regimes, look at the BBC time-lines for countries to ascertain when military rule ended in each of the mid-20th-century military regimes, what patterns there are (e.g., differences between Mideast and Latin America, the places that had had the most military regimes), and how well that worked out for the ex-military countries. Option 3, Representation in Democracy: Hypothesis tests on how much US Senate and House, or Michigan legislative behavior is being influenced by campaign contributions. Option 3, Public Opinion studies, in U.S. or W. Europe: For example, hypothesis tests on panel data on change in partisanship in voting and public opinion. This paper counts for 40% of the grade (15% for the oral presentation and first draft of that time, 25% for the paper itself, which is due April 8th).

You must turn in two paper copies of the paper on the due date, as well as emailing me an attached e-copy.

CLASS PARTICIPATION PORTION OF THE GRADE

This portion of the grade will be based on three factors
1. Each student will be expected to submit, 36 hours before class, an email to me with five main points you found most educational in the reading; five puzzles (ambiguities, omissions, or things that are not comprehensible) in the reading; and two questions for class discussion.
2. Each student will be expected to participate in the class discussion of the reading.

3. There may be pop quizes on the readings, which I reserve the option to administer at the start of class.

EXAMINATION PORTION OF THE GRADE

The exams in the course will be designed to test your knowledge of the readings and class sessions. Each exam will be part multiple choice and part essay. The essay counts 50% of the exam grade, the multiple choice and the remaining 50%. The multiple choice will be designed to test your knowledge of specific points in the readings and classes. The essay portion of each exam will be 25 minutes long, and during that period you will answer one question, assigned to you from a set of questions that will be distributed at least one week before the exam. The questions will attempt to give you the opportunity to integrate your knowledge into a broad perspective of your own on some aspect of politics. You will have to answer the question on the exam without aid of notes, but the opportunity to prepare in advance will insure that you are not caught by surprise by the question. Each exam will have equal weight, which is 25% of the course grade

Grading Scale:

Grading of the multiple choice tests is curved, to roughly correspond to the historic average University grade, in the B to B- range. Grading of the essay portion of the exam and of the term papers is on a basis of absolute quality rather than a curve. Grades of A correspond to a GPA of 4.0, B is a 3.0, C is a 2.0, and so on down through D (1.0) and E or F (0).

THERE WILL BE NO MAKE UP EXAMS EXCEPT UNDER THE MOST EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES AND WITH PROOF.

On occasion, there will be a few points extra credit offered for an event that is relevant to this course. However, some of you will not be able to take advantage of these because of time restrictions, so don't count on getting extra credit.

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND POLICIES:

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying) --

Code of Conduct from the office of the Provost:

The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth by the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

Any incidences of the above will be reported to the Social Science Department Chair, the CASL Deans office, and the Student's unit and/or school.

DISABILITIES:
The University will make reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students need to register with Disability Resource Services (DRS) every semester they are enrolled for classes. DRS is located in Counseling & Support Services, 2157 UC. To be assured of having services when they are needed, students should register no later than the end of the add/drop deadline of each term.

BROADER PURPOSES OF OUR CONCENTRATION IN POLITICAL SCIENCE:

For the purpose of stating our goals, I have been told to place this website in the syllabus, as a source if you seek it:
http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/politicalsciences/

CLASS POLICIES:

Keeping everyone safe during the COVID epidemic is paramount, and the class policies will be modified as needed to meet that goal. How this will work out depends a lot on what President Schlissel and Chancellor Grasso state as the University policies, which can change quickly in response to changes in the virulence of the pandemic. Please follow my directions to keep us from infecting each other.

1. No make-up exams will be given except under documented circumstances.

2. RESPECT. We are all to respect others opinions, beings, comments, and habits. This does not mean we cannot disagree, nor does it mean we cannot have fun. However, we each need to respect the diversity of our fellow students. There are also topics discussed that may challenge you either intellectually or emotionally; while we try to be sensitive, a university is also a place for inquiry and discovery. More about this in class.

3. Students arriving late should do so as quietly and unobtrusively as possible.

4. In the event that I am aware of a major accident on the road or a weather problem, I may delay class start by five to ten minutes.

5. ON E-MAIL: E-MAIL IS THE MAIN VEHICLE WE WILL USE TO STAY IN TOUCH OUTSIDE OF CLASS. For example, if school is canceled, I will send you an email with some attached materials. Anyone without access to the Internet at home should see me the first week of class to have alternative plans in place. While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, there is so much trouble for all of us from hackers and viruses, that it is good to observe appropriate norms of behavior. Because of the threat from viruses and similar plagues, I do not open emails that do not have your name as the sender, or emails that do not have a subject heading that indicates a topic related to you and the course. We should all also be cautious about opening e-mail attachments. This means, for example, your e-mail must actually be readable by me when I click on it; in other words, when I open an e-mail and there is no text because all the text has been placed in an attachment, I do not open the attachment out of caution. I look forward to hearing from you; on the whole, this email system is a blessing.

6. Class discussion and participation is an integral part of this class. If you are within two or three points of a higher grade, your participation and attendance will be taken into account. (I do not count you as present if you are sleeping, carrying on personal discussions, or otherwise "tuned out.")

7. **As a general rule, use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, but there are reasonable exceptions for portable computers for class purposes. Please step up to the podium area and notify**

me, in the first week of class, if you are wish to use a laptop computer.
Put your pagers on vibrate and turn off your cell phones. (In the event that you are on stand-by to be asked by President Obama to be a liaison in secret meetings with the Syrian rebels, or Donald Trump has asked you to be his on-call foreign policy advisor, or some critical personal reason, let me know ahead of time). **If your pager or cell phone goes off, or if you read or answer a text, YOU LOSE 5 POINTS. If you get up and leave to be on the phone, you lose five points. If mine goes off, you get five points.**

8 **The use of a laptop in class is acceptable ONLY FOR CLASS PURPOSES**. Game playing, emailing, and web surfing, unless approved by instructor, are not acceptable. This has become a problem and students have complained privately that it is distracting and annoying. If you feel a need to keep emailing your friends, surfing the web, or playing games, you probably should not come to class. It is your choice. If you have a laptop, I will, on occasion, ask you to look up something we are discussing.

9. I reserve the right to make minor changes to the syllabus, and we may fall behind or surge ahead, but any changes to exam dates (due to school closure, falling behind because we had a speaker, etc.) will be decided by the class by vote.

10. **UM-Dearborn's official attendance policy states that, "a student is expected to attend every class and laboratory for which he or she has registered. Each instructor may make known to the student his or her policy with respect to absences in the course. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of this policy. The instructor makes the final decision to excuse or not to excuse an absence. An instructor is entitled to give a failing grade (E) for excessive absences or an Unofficial Drop (UE) for a student who stops attending class at some point during the semester."** If you are absent, you must get notes from a fellow student. I will not go over what we covered in class, nor will I excuse you from any assignment or new information unless a real (documented) emergency occurred.

11. I will make every effort to meet with any student so requesting. You need to build relationships with your instructors so when it is time for a recommendation for a scholarship or something else, your instructors will know you. Try to come up and see me at least twice during the semester. I am around many other times than my official hours indicate; just ask. Using my email sledward@umich.edu. is definitely the BEST way to contact me.

Emergency Preparedness:

All students are encouraged to program 911 and UM-Dearborn's University Police phone number (313) 593-5333 into personal cell phones. In case of emergency, first dial 911 and then if the situation allows call University Police.

The Emergency Alert Notification (EAN) system is the official process for notifying the campus community for emergency events. All students are strongly encouraged to register in the campus EAN, for communications during an emergency. The following link includes information on registering as well as safety and emergency procedures information: http://umdearborn.edu/emergencyalert/.

If you hear a fire alarm, class will be immediately suspended, and you must evacuate the building by using the nearest exit. Please proceed outdoors to the assembly area and away from the building. Do not use elevators. It is highly recommended that you do not head to your vehicle or leave campus since it is necessary to account for all persons and to ensure that first responders can access the campus.

If the class is notified of a shelter-in-place requirement for a tornado warning or severe weather warning, your instructor will suspend class and shelter the class in the lowest level of this building away from windows and doors.

If notified of an active threat (shooter) you will Run (get out), Hide (find a safe place to stay) or Fight (with anything available). Your response will be dictated by the specific circumstances of the encounter. http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/classroomsafety

Any late assignment without a signed letter from an M.D. or equivalent authority will result in a two-notch reduction in grade for that exam (e.g., from B- to straight C). The same reduction will be applied again if the paper is over 5 days late (C to D+ in this example), and so on for additional five-day increments.

THE INSTRUCTOR:

Prof. Wayman has been on the UM-D faculty since 1972. He has also taught courses on foreign policy at the University of Pennsylvania and on the Ann Arbor

campus of this University. He has a B.A. from Cornell University and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He has published a monograph on what conditions produce military dictatorships (*Military Involvement in Politics*), a book on American presidential elections (*A Time of Turmoil*, co-authored with Ronald R. Stockton), and a number of articles on American, world politics and comparative politics. A long-time associate of the Correlates of War Project at the University of Michigan, he has especially written about the causes of war and the conditions of peace. Meredith Sarkees and Frank Wayman have recently completed *Resort to War: Data, Trends, and Narratives Concerning All Inter-State, Extra-State, Intra-State and Non-State Wars, 1816-2008* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010). This book has a one-page essay with supporting data on each U.S. international war since 1816. Civil wars, while included, receive briefer attention. He is also an active scholar in the fields of American public opinion and of the effect of interest groups on Congress. His articles have been reprinted in such compendia as *Classics of International Relations, Classic Readings in American Politics,* and *Classics of Interest Group Behavior*. He has won the prize for the best paper at the Midwest Political Science annual meeting, as well as grants from the National Science Foundation and Resources for the Future. One of his recent projects is *Predicting the Future in Science, Economics, and Politics*, a book on the prediction of global conditions, and, in that endeavor, the proper role of "consilience," the quest for reduction and unity of the sciences. Currently working on a book project on public opinion changes in the U.S. (with Bernard Grofman), an another book project on the international balance of power and its impact on comparative politics and on economic growth and the wealth of nations. All these publications match pretty closely with the topics we are covering in class, and so there's enough faculty expertise to guide you through a literature review and hypothesis test. Prof. Wayman also has some data available on wars and nations, and some data on public opinion, and some older data on Congress, so that student's testing of hypotheses, within the fifteen-week time frame of the course, will be possible.

THE EXAM ESSAY QUESTIONS:

These are subject to change, but here's what we did last term, and likely we'll stick with it. Any modifications will be announced two weeks (or more) before the pertinent exam.

Exam 1. Prepare 30-minute answers to each question. One will be on the exam. It is possible that one may be carried forward to the second exam (which as of the start of the semester has only one question).

1. On military rule and military seizures of power, we have seen a case study of Japan in the 1930s and a cross-national path analysis of the nations of the world in the 1960s. What are the important causes of military seizure of power in Japan, according to the case study? As to the "causal model" (i.e., path analysis) of the world in the 1960s, what were the important variables leading to military rule? Which variables that were tested seemed insignificant (as causes of

military rule)? What are the similarities and differences in the case study findings versus the statistical study's findings?

2. What was the argument of Richard Alexander, concerning human nature and our ability to cooperate and to clash? How does it fit into the class lecture and discussion, which involved the notion that there seem to be a few key traits of human nature in politics (that we are rational and goal seeking but in a limited way, because we are also rationalizing [making the world seem like our beliefs, rather than what it really is], that we are pursuing goals in the manner described by Maslow's hierarchy of needs, that we are prone to form in-groups that oppose out-groups, and that we like strong group leaders)? What about the notions that people are equal and can improve themselves through education? What is Locke's view, in chapter five, on Property, in the *Second Treatise of Civil Government*?

3. What is a state? What are the different definitions (International Law, Correlates of War, Max Weber, and the one similar to International Law that I use)? What is a war, to the Correlates of War project, on the one hand, and to Hobbes, on the other hand? Taking the Correlates of War definitions, what are the patterns of inter-state, intra-state, extra-state, and non-state war, since 1816? What do they show, about Hobbes's view of the role of the state in human affairs? Does the state reduce and regulate violence, as Hobbes expected?

Exam 2 (the final):

For the final exam,

the essay questions are: 1. What is party ID like – is it a permanent identity or a changing attitude, or is it, as Grofman, Wayman, and Barreto write, half-way in between those two extremes? The U. of Michigan scholars who wrote *The American Voter* (1960) said that party ID was the main thing making voters vote the way they do in the US, and that people did not change their party ID, as a general rule. Use the Grofman, Wayman, and Barreto reading to give your answer. Be sure to refer to each of the five or six characteristics of party ID that they discuss.

2. On inter-state war, and its causes, as found in the Vasquez book and class discussion of it, what role is played by military alliances, military buildups, and rivalries? Are there other variables you would want to mention, from the book, that also contribute to the onset of war?

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