

Money, Guns and Power
Course Number: PO569; IR630
Spring 2016

Professor Rosella Cappella Zielinski
Professor Kaija Schilde
Boston University

Course Time: XXXX

Course Location: XXXX

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Money, Guns, and Power

What is the relationship between money and war? Money as a critical and necessary component of warfare is unquestioned. Yet the relationship between money and war is tenuous. Resource poor states have gone onto fight much longer and more victoriously than anticipated and resource rich states have lost more often than anticipated. This class will explore the relationship between money, guns, and power through the lens of American and European military spending and through larger theoretical conversations on the concept of power.

In addition to learning about the politics of military spending and its wartime consequences, this course is structured around a 40-page research paper that is due at the end of the semester. You will learn about research design, receive and give peer review, practice presenting your work, and foster a relationship with your assigned professor.

Books Required for Purchase and Readings:

Thorpe, Rebecca. *The American Warfare State: The Domestic Politics of Military Spending*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014

Sapolsky, Harvey M., Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, U.S. Defense Politics: The Origin of Security Policies, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014

All other readings can be found on Blackboard.

Course Requirements and Grades:

- 1. Prospectus: 25% - Due Thursday, March 17th**
 - a. Please upload to Blackboard**
- 2. Class Participation + Prospectus Peer Review: 25% - Due Thursday, March 24th.**
- 3. Research Paper Presentation: 20% - Due in Class XXXX.**
- 4. Final Research Paper: 30% - Due Day of Final Exam (XXXX) Via Email to Your Assigned Professor by 5pm EST.**

Class Participation: You are expected to come to class having read the assigned readings and prepared for thoughtful discussion. We also expect active participation. We want you to learn from both us and your peers!

Prospectus Peer Review: When the final prospectus is turned in, they will be circulated amongst the other students in the course for comments. You are to provide constructive criticism that you feel would make others' projects stronger.

Prospectus: You are to develop a 5-8 page prospectus as your guide for the final paper. The prospectus should include your research puzzle – both theoretical and empirical, your dependent variable and how you will assess it, potential hypotheses, your research design, sources for your research, and a timeline.

Final Research Paper: Your final research paper is to be 40 pages (12 point font; double spaced) not including your bibliography. Your questions will be drawn from the United States Department of Defense's National defense Budget Estimates for FY2016 Green Book - http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2016/FY16_Green_Book.pdf and NATO military spending data. There are tables in usable form on Blackboard. You will be graded on application of concepts from the course, depth of discussion of topic chosen, logical cohesion, and sources used.

Research Paper Presentation: You have worked hard and its time to present your findings! You will present your work to your peers using a power point presentation (sample slides on Blackboard). The presentation should be between 10-15 minutes, please leave time for Q&A. The presentation will be graded on effective use of text (less is more!), presentation skills, command of material, and response to questions.

One-on-one meetings: You will be assigned to either Professor Cappella Zielinski or Professor Schilde at the beginning of the semester. **You will meet with them once a week starting Week 4 for a minimum of 15 minutes to discuss the research paper.** These meetings are designed to help you through your research paper. Come prepared for a discussion! If you feel you do not need help in that moment then you are to present your progress and discuss your research experience. While you are assigned professor, you are expected to meet with the other one to discuss your research at **least twice** through the semester.

Grading: Given that there are two professors in the course, we will be jointly evaluating all material. It should also be noted that there is a Plus/Minus system of grading for this course –

| | | |
|-----------|----------|----------|
| 93-100 A | 80-82 B- | 67-69 D+ |
| 92-20 A- | 77-79 C+ | 63-66 D |
| j87-89 B+ | 73-76 C | 62-60 D- |
| 83-86 B | 70-72 C- | 59-0 F |

Discussion: Both professors will be participating in the course every meeting. For clarity, we have indicated on the syllabus which professor will be formally leading discussion that day.

Disabilities: Boston University is committed to providing equal access to our coursework and programs to all students, including those with disabilities. In order to be sure that accommodations can be made in time for all exams and assignments, please plan to turn in your accommodations letter as soon as possible after the first class. If you have further questions or need additional support, please contact the Office of Disability Services (access@bu.edu).

Academic Misconduct: Plagiarism and cheating are serious offences and will be punished in accordance with BU's Academic Conduct Code:
<http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>

Part I – Learning the Landscape

Section 1: What is Power? Who has it? Who wants it? What are the costs of getting it? In addition to the big questions, we get into the weeds, how does economic power and resources become military and national power. What is the bureaucratic process? What government institutions are responsible for this process?

Week 1 (January 21): Course Introduction

- To familiarize yourself with some more specific defense and national security terminology that will be used in the next few weeks, see the Glossary in Sapolsky, Harvey M., Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, U.S. Defense Politics: The Origin of Security Policies, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014: **PP. 166-171**

Week 2 (September 28): What is Power? Why do states want it? Where do states get it? What are the tradeoffs in acquiring it? Professor CZ to lead discussion.

- Baldwin, David A. "Power and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons. London: Sage, 2013
- Baldwin, David A. *Paradoxes of Power*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989, **PP. 1-8, 11-44, 83-99**
- Edward Mead Earle. Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Princeton University Press, **PP. 217-226, 230-242, 246-254**
- Sapolsky, Harvey M., Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, U.S. Defense Politics: The Origin of Security Policies, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014, **PP. 1-12**

- Recommended:
 - Robert Art, "American Foreign Policy and the Fungibility of Force," *Security Studies*, vol. 5, Summer 1996, **PP. 7-42**
 - David Baldwin, "Force, Fungibility, and Influence," *Security Studies*, vol. 5, Summer 1996, **PP. 173-82**
 - Robert Art, "Force and Fungibility Reconsidered," *Security Studies*, vol. 5, Summer 1996, **PP. 183- 89**

Week 3 (January 28): History of Money, Guns, and Power. The politics of US and European defense spending prior to WWII, changes brought by WWII mobilization, challenges and reforms of 1960s. Professor CZ and Professor Schilde to lead discussion.

- Wildavsky, Aaron. *The New Politics of the Budgetary Process*. Illinois: Little Brow College Division, 1988: **PP. 34-69**
- Thorpe, Rebecca. *The American Warfare State: The Domestic Politics of Military Spending*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014: **PP. 33-92**
- Eventhownen, Alain and K. Wayne Smith. *How Much is Enough?* New York: Harper and Row, 1971: **PP. 11-28**

Week 4 (February 4): Money, Power, and Guns: Politics and Institutions. Professor CZ to lead discussion.

- ****One-on-One Meetings with Assigned Faculty Begin****
- Sapolsky, Harvey M., Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *U.S. Defense Politics: The Origin of Security Policies*, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014: **Chapters 3-6**
- Adams, Gordon and Cindy Williams. *Buying National Security*. New York: Routledge, 2010: **PP. 93-119, 221-244**
- Wildavsky, Aaron. *The New Politics of the Budgetary Process*. Illinois: Little Brow College Division, 1988: **PP. 348-395**
- Eventhownen, Alain and K. Wayne Smith. *How Much is Enough?* New York: Harper and Row, 1971: **PP. 31-72**
- Familiarize yourself with the Green Book

Week 5 (February 11): Spending Money, Acquiring Guns, and Producing Power. Professor Schilde to lead discussion.

- Sapolsky, Harvey M., Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *U.S. Defense Politics: The Origin of Security Policies*, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014: **Chapters 8-9**
- Moshe Schwartz, "Defense Acquisitions: How the DoD Acquires Weapons Systems and Recent Efforts to Reform the Process," CRS Report for Congress, RL 34026, January 2, 2013.

- Locher III, James R., and Sam Nunn. *Victory on the Potomac: The Goldwater-Nichols Act Unifies the Pentagon*. Vol. 79. Texas A&M University Press, 2004
- Case Study: What Does “Cost” Mean? The V-22 and Alternatives. Read: Selections from “Testimony from the Senate Hearing Regarding the V-22 Osprey” and “Institute for Defense Analyses Study of the V-22 Osprey,” **PP. 1, 5-39, 45-57**
- 60 Minutes excerpt: “The F-35: The most expensive weapons system ever”
<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/f-35-looking-at-most-expensive-weapons-system-ever/>
- Recommended
 - Eugene Gholz, “The Curtiss-Wright Corporation and Cold War-Era Defense Procurement: A Challenge to Military-Industrial Complex Theory,” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Winter 2000), **PP. 35-75**
 - De Vore, Marc and Mortiz Weiss. “Who's in the Cockpit?: The Political Economy of Collaborative Aircraft Decisions,” *Review of International Political Economy* (available via online first at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2013.787947>).

Part II: What explains changes in the relationship between Money, Guns, and Power?

What is the relationship between economics and power, and between defense spending and military power?

Week 6 (February 18): Economic Interests, Money and Power. Professor Schilde to lead discussion

- Brooks, Stephen. *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations and the Changing Calculus of Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007: **PP. 57-79**
- Jonathan D. Caverley, “United States Hegemony and the New Economics of Defense,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Oct-Dec 2007), **PP. 598-614**
- Sapolsky, Harvey M., Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, *U.S. Defense Politics: The Origin of Security Policies*, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014: **Chapter 7-9**
- Eugene Gholz and Harvey M. Sapolsky, “Restructuring the U.S. Defense Industry,” *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Winter 1999-2000), **PP. 5-51**
- Andrew Moravcik, “Arms and Autarky in Modern European History,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 120, No. 4 (Fall 1991), **PP. 23-45**

Week 7 (February 25): Military Innovation. Professor Schilde to lead discussion

- Adam Grissom, “The Future of Military Innovation Studies,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 5 (October 2006), **PP. 905-34**.

- Harvey M. Sapolsky, "On the Theory of Military Innovation," *Breakthroughs*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2000), **PP. 35-39**
- Peter Dombrowski and Eugene Gholz, "Identifying Disruptive Innovation: Innovation Theory and the Defense Industry," *Innovations*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 2009), **PP. 101-17**
- Farrell, Theo, Terriff Terry, and Osinga Frans, eds. *A Transformation Gap: American Innovations and European Military Change*. Stanford University Press, 2010: **TBA**
- Adamsky, Dima. *The Culture of Military Innovation: The Impact of Cultural Factors on the Revolution in Military Affairs in Russia, the US, and Israel*. Stanford University Press: 2010, **TBA**.
- Rosen, Stephen Peter. "New Ways of War: Understanding Military Innovation." *International Security* (1988): **PP. 134-168**

Week 8 (March 3): Society, Civil-Military Relations, and Public Opinion. Research Design Workshop. Professor CZ and Schilde to lead discussion.

- Hartley, Thomas, and Bruce Russett. "Public Opinion and the Common Defense: Who Governs Military spending in the United States?." *American political Science Review* 86.04 (1992): **PP. 905-915**
- Fordham, Benjamin O. "Military Interests and Civilian Politics: The Influence of the Civil-Military 'Gap' on Peacetime Military Policy." In *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* edited by Peter Feaver and Richard Kohn. Cambridge: MIT Press (2001): **PP. 327-360**
- Caverley, Jonathan D. *Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War*. Vol. 131. Cambridge University Press, 2014: **Chapters 3 and 8**.
- Samuels, Richard J. " *Rich Nation, Strong Army*": *National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan*. Cornell University Press, 1996: **TBA**.

Week 9: SPRING BREAK

Week 10 (March 17): Class Canceled Due to International Studies Association Conference

- **Prospectus Due to be uploaded on Blackboard by 5pm.**

Week 1 (March 24): "External" Explanations of Military Spending and Grand Strategy and Peer Review. Professor CZ to lead discussion.

- ****Meet One-on-One with Other Professor****
- Sapolsky, Harvey M., Eugene Gholz, and Caitlin Talmadge, U.S. Defense Politics: The Origin of Security Policies, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014: **Chapter 2**
- Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions of U. S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/97).

- **Skim** - *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (The White House, May 2010) at http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf, and *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Department of Defense, February 2010) at http://www.defense.gov/qdr/images/QDR_as_of_12Feb10_1000.pdf; read closely

Section 3: Disruptions and Unintended Consequences in the Relationship between Money, Guns, and Power

Week 12 (March 31): Saving Money, increasing Guns and Power? Privatization and Non State Actors. Professor Schilde to lead discussion

- Deborah Avant and Lee Siegelmen, "Private Security and Democracy: Lessons from the US in Iraq," *Security Studies*, Vol. 19 (2010): **PP. 230-65**
- Bruneau, Thomas. *Patriots for profit: Contractors and the military in US national security*. Stanford University Press, 2011, **PP. TBA**
- Gupta, Sanjeev, Luiz De Mello, and Raju Sharan. "Corruption and military spending." *European Journal of Political Economy* 17.4 (2001): **PP. 749-777**
- Fredland, J. Eric. "Outsourcing Military Force: A Transactions Cost Perspective on the Role of Military Companies." *Defense and Peace Economics* 15.3 (2004): **PP. 205-219**

Week 13 (April 14): Costs of Money, Guns, and Power. Professor CZ to lead discussion

- ****Meet One-on-One with Other Professor****
- Oatley, T. (2015) *A Political Economy of American Hegemony: Buildups, Booms, and Busts*, **PP. TBA**
- Kahler, M. (1988). "External Ambition and Economic Performance." *World Politics* **40(4): PP. 419-451**
- Rasler, Karen A., and William R. Thompson. "Global Wars, Public Debts, and the Long Cycle." *World Politics* 35, no. 4 (1983): **PP. 489-516**

Week 14 (April 21): Presentations

Week 15 (April 28): Presentations

Final Paper Due May XX by 5pm.

Additional Materials

Federal Budget Website:

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/budget.pdf>

Fiscal Year (FY) 2013 Budget of the United States Government
Analytical Perspectives volume includes summary of spending for homeland security
Historical Tables of the Budget
Prior-Year Budgets

DOD Comptroller's website: <http://comptroller.defense.gov/>

National Defense Budget Estimates for FY 2013 (The Green Book)

- Historical tables for DoD Spending: by appropriation, by Service, in constant dollars and current dollars; BA, TOA, and Outlays
- Deflators to convert current to constant dollars

Program acquisition costs by weapon system (not averages, but costs this year)

Procurement Programs (P-1)

Operation and Maintenance Programs (O-1)

Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation (RDT&E) Programs (R-1)

Military Personnel Programs (M-1)

Links to Service budgets

Congressional Budget Office: <http://www.cbo.gov>

CBO reports, including economic and budgetary analyses, long-term economic and budgetary outlook, policy reports

General Accountability Office: <http://www.gao.gov>

GAO Reports including:

- *A Glossary of Terms Used in the Federal Budget Process*, (Washington DC: Government Accountability Office, September 2005), <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05734sp.pdf>
- *Defense Acquisitions: Assessments of Selected Weapon Programs*, March 2010, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d10388sp.pdf>
-

Congressional Research Service Reports – Selected reports available at:

- <http://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/CRSR/browse/>
- <http://www.fpc.state.gov/c18185.htm>

Non-governmental organizations studying the budget

- www.csbaonline.org
- <http://www.stimson.org/budgeting/programhome.cfm>
- <http://www.cato.org/foreign-policy-national-security>
- <http://www.cbpp.org/>
- <http://www.brookings.edu/projects/21defense.aspx>
- <http://www.heritage.org/research/nationalsecurity/>