

HOW TO LOSE POWER: REVOLUTIONS, COUPS AND OTHER THREATS
UNIVERSITY OF KONSTANZ, WINTER SEMESTER 2019/20

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Time and Location

Thursdays, 13:30 - 15:00 Uhr, Y311

Description

How do governments lose power? While in democracies elections determine a government's fate, this is the exception for dictators and ruling elites in authoritarian regimes. When they lose power, then this happens often times irregularly. In this course, we will read theoretical and empirical (mostly quantitative) literature that investigate these non-constitutional ways to lose power via coups, popular uprisings, foreign intervention or assassinations. While the goal of this seminar is to enable students to work on these questions empirically, we will pair the scientific literature with some in-depth examples of how dictators lost power. The course requires prior knowledge in quantitative methods.

Grading

The course will be held as a seminar, and it is necessary that students come prepared to class. Participation in class discussions and participation in the mini-conference together account for 20% of the final grade. You are expected to participate in every session. Still, you have two jokers, which means that I will tolerate up to two unexcused absences. Every absence beyond that requires a doctors certificate (if due to sickness) or some other written documentation. Failure to comply with this rule will result in you failing the course. In addition, there are two kinds of written evaluation and one short presentation:

- A research design paper, due on March 31, 2020 (submit via ILIAS, no late submissions). The purpose of this paper is to describe a research question related to the topic of this course, and develop a (quantitative or qualitative) design to answer this question without actually carrying out the research. In particular, your research design paper must
 1. introduce the research question and its relevance,
 2. relate the question to the existing literature,
 3. spell out the theoretical framework that explains the phenomenon you are studying,
 4. describe the empirical cases and the data, and
 5. introduce the (qualitative or quantitative) approach you employ to answer your question.

If you are unsure about possible topics for your paper and/or about the approach you should take, I would be happy to provide feedback at early stages of your project. The final version of your paper should be about 12 pages (main text, excluding title page and references), 12pt font, line spacing 1.5, with one inch margins. It accounts for 50% of the course grade. We will use the last sessions of the course to organize a mini-workshop, where students briefly present the ideas for their research projects.

- One response paper. In the first session, I will pre-assign weeks to students in order to obtain an equal distribution of response papers across all sessions. You can select one of the assigned readings, mandatory or additional, for the respective session, with the exception of papers marked with an asterisk (*) that cannot be selected. Your response paper should have three paragraphs. In the first paragraph, summarize the research question and argument presented. Do so briefly and without technical details. The second paragraph describes how and where this question fits into the literature: maybe you can draw links to other work you know? Finally, in the third paragraph, critically discuss one aspect of the paper/chapter.

This last point must be the focus of your paper (about half of its length), and can address a theoretical, methodological or empirical issue. Your response paper should be about one page, single-spaced, one inch margins, and is due at 12 noon on Wednesdays before class (submit via ILIAS). We will incorporate the issues raised in the response papers into the class discussion, so it is required that you submit your paper on time. Late submissions will not be accepted. The response paper accounts for 15% of the course grade.

- One short presentation. In the first session, I will determine groups of students that have to present short case studies during specific sessions. The goal of this 10 minutes presentation is to introduce to specific cases that illustrate the arguments made in the respective sessions and answer the session's question. The presentation should include three parts. In the first part, the presenters briefly introduce the background of the case/country. In the second part, the presenters should talk about the involved actors. This means, the presenters should create a figure that shows what government was in power, what actors conducted (or did not conduct) the coup/revolutions, what third parties were involved, etc. Finally, and most importantly, the presenters should answer the formulated question for the respective section. The presentation accounts for 15% of the course grade.
- Grading: All grading will be done according to the 1.0–5.0 scale. Each grade element (participation, response paper, presentation, final paper) must receive a 4.0 or above for you to pass. The final score (the weighted average of written submissions and participation, as defined above) will be rounded to the nearest grade to determine your final grade for the course.

Online Resources

Readings are available from the [ILIAS](#) module for this course. Registration requires a password: bolivia. Please fill out the preregistration survey if you want to participate in the course. This system is also to be used for submissions of response- and term papers.

Legal

Please familiarize yourself with the Departments policies for academic integrity. See <https://www.polver.uni-konstanz.de/en/advice-and-service/academic-working/plagiarism/>. Please complete the form available on this website and submit it along with your final paper. We do not require this form for the response papers, but the Departments academic integrity policy applies nevertheless.

Course Readings

The readings for this course consist of books and academic papers on the topics to be discussed in class. Readings are available on the ILIAS system (see above). If you need a more in-depth introduction to the topic (optional), the following references may be helpful:

De Mesquita Bruce, B., Smith, A., Siverson, R. M., & Morrow, J. D. (2003). *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2005). *Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Luttwak, E. (2016). *Coup d'état*. Harvard University Press.

Nordlinger, E. A. (1977). *Soldiers in politics: Military coups and governments*. Prentice Hall

Singh, N. (2014). *Seizing power: The strategic logic of military coups*. JHU Press

Greitens, S. C. (2016). *Dictators and their secret police: Coercive institutions and state violence*. Cambridge University Press

Skocpol, T. (1979). *States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge University Press

Schedule

Book chapters and papers are listed in the order in which I recommend you to read them.

Part I. Introduction

Oct 26 (Week 1): Introduction, Course Overview

Djuve, V. L., Knutsen, C. H., & Wig, T. (2019). Patterns of regime breakdown since the French Revolution. *Comparative Political Studies, Online First*, 1–36*

Oct 31 (Week 2): Irregular exits

Svolik, M. W. (2012). *The politics of authoritarian rule*. Cambridge University Press [Chapter 1]*

Geddes, B., Wright, J., & Frantz, E. (2014). Autocratic breakdown and regime transitions: A new data set. *Perspectives on Politics, 12*(2), 313–331*

Additional readings (optional):

Svolik, M. W. (2009). Power sharing and leadership dynamics in authoritarian regimes. *American Journal of Political Science, 53*(2), 477–494*

Part II. Coups

Nov 7 (Week 3): Concepts

Luttwak, E. (2016). *Coup d'état*. Harvard University Press [Chapter 1]

Powell, J. M., & Thyne, C. L. (2011). Global instances of coups from 1950 to 2010: A new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research, 48*(2), 249–259

Additional readings (optional):

Nordlinger, E. A. (1977). *Soldiers in politics: Military coups and governments*. Prentice Hall [Chapter 3]

Nov 14 (Week 4): Coup Risk

Belkin, A., & Schofer, E. (2003). Toward a structural understanding of coup risk. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 47*(5), 594–620

Wig, T., & Rød, E. G. (2016). Cues to coup plotters: Elections as coup triggers in dictatorships. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 60*(5), 787–812

Presentation case: How did it come to the coup in Algeria 1991/1992?

Additional readings (optional):

Savage, J. D., & Caverley, J. D. (2017). When human capital threatens the capitol: Foreign aid in the form of military training and coups. *Journal of Peace Research, 54*(4), 542–557

Thyne, C. L. (2010). Supporter of stability or agent of agitation? The effect of us foreign policy on coups in latin america, 1960–99. *Journal of Peace Research, 47*(4), 449–461

Nov 21 (Week 5): Coup Proofing

Quinlivan, J. T. (1999). Coup-proofing: Its practice and consequences in the Middle East. *International Security, 24*(2), 131–165

Pilster, U., & Böhmelt, T. (2012). Do democracies engage less in coup-proofing? On the relationship between regime type and civil-military relations. *Foreign Policy Analysis, 8*(4), 355–371

Presentation case: Why did it not come to a coup during the Pinochet regime in Chile?

Additional readings (optional):

Sudduth, J. K. (2017). Coup risk, coup-proofing and leader survival. *Journal of Peace Research*, 54(1), 3–15

Böhmelt, T., & Pilster, U. (2015). The impact of institutional coup-proofing on coup attempts and coup outcomes. *International Interactions*, 41(1), 158–182

Nov 28 (Week 6): Dynamics

Luttwak, E. (2016). *Coup d'état*. Harvard University Press [Chapter 5]*

Powell, J. (2012). Determinants of the attempting and outcome of coups d'état. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56(6), 1017–1040

De Bruin, E. (2019). Will there be blood? Explaining violence during coups d'état. *Journal of Peace Research*, *Online First*, 1–15

Presentation case: Why was the 1982 coup in Kenya violent?

Dec 6 (Week 7): No class

Dec 12 (Week 8): Consequences

Thyne, C. L., & Powell, J. M. (2016). Coup d'état or coup d'autocracy? How coups impact democratization, 1950–2008. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12(2), 192–213

Derpanopoulos, G., Frantz, E., Geddes, B., & Wright, J. (2016). Are coups good for democracy? *Research & Politics*, 3(1), 1–7

Presentation case: Did the 2010 coup in Nigeria lead to democracy?

Additional readings (optional):

Marinov, N., & Goemans, H. (2014). Coups and democracy. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(4), 799–825

Part IV. Revolutions

Dec 19 (Week 9): Concepts & Causes I

One reading will be send shortly before.

Presentation case: How did it come to the uprising against the GDR regime in 1989?

Additional reading (optional):

Skocpol, T. (1979). *States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge University Press [Chapter 1 & 3]

Kuran, T. (1991). Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989. *World Politics*, 44(1), 7–48

Jan 9 (Week 10): Concepts & Causes II

Davies, J. C. (1962). Toward a theory of revolution. *American Sociological Review*, 27(1), 5–19

Chenoweth, E., & Ulfelder, J. (2017). Can structural conditions explain the onset of nonviolent uprisings? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(2), 298–324

Presentation case: How did it come to the 2011 uprising against the Mubarak regime in Egypt?

Jan 16 (Week 11): Dynamics & Outcomes

Stephan, M. J., & Chenoweth, E. (2008). Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict. *International Security*, 33(1), 7–44

Celestino, M. R., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2013). Fresh carnations or all thorn, no rose? Nonviolent campaigns and transitions in autocracies. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(3), 385–400

Presentation case: Did the popular uprising in Ukraine 2004 succeed because it was non-violent?

Additional reading (optional):

Hale, H. E. (2005). Regime cycles: democracy, autocracy, and revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia. *World Politics*, 58(1), 133–165

Jan 23 (Week 12): Security Forces Interactions

Lutscher, P. M. (2016). The more fragmented the better? The impact of armed forces structure on defection during nonviolent popular uprisings. *International Interactions*, 42(2), 350–375

Grewal, S. (2019). Military defection during localized protests: the case of Tataouine. *International Studies Quarterly*, 63(2), 259–269

Presentation case: Would the Iranian revolution in 1979 have succeeded if the security forces had not defected?

Additional reading (optional):

Croissant, A., Kuehn, D., & Eschenauer, T. (2018). The dictator's endgame?: Explaining military behavior in non-violent anti-incumbent mass protests. *Democracy and Security*, 14(2), 174–199

Nepstad, S. E. (2011). Nonviolent resistance in the Arab Spring: The critical role of military-opposition alliances. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17(4), 485–491

Makara, M. (2013). Coup-proofing, military defection, and the Arab Spring. *Democracy and Security*, 9(4), 334–359

Part V. Other Threats

Jan 30 (Week 13): Other Threats

Iqbal, Z., & Zorn, C. (2006). Sic semper tyrannis? Power, repression, and assassination since the Second World War. *The Journal of Politics*, 68(3), 489–501

Easterly, W., Satyanath, S., & Berger, D. (2008). Superpower interventions and their consequences for democracy. *Brookings Global Economy and Development Working Paper*, No. 17, 1–34

Presentation case: What role did foreign powers play in the 1973 Chilean coup d'tat?

Additional reading (optional):

Fjelde, H. (2010). Generals, dictators, and kings: Authoritarian regimes and civil conflict, 1973–2004. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 27(3), 195–218

Bonfatti, R. (2011). An economic theory of foreign interventions and regime change. *CESifo Working Paper*, No. 3475, 1–51

Part VI. Workshops

Mini-Workshop: Pitch your research projects in three slides (approx. 5 minutes). Details and schedule to be announced. Please submit your slides the day before the presentation via ILIAS.

Feb 6 (Week 14): Mini-Workshop I

Feb 13 (Week 15): Mini-Workshop II