

Politics & The Military
Political Science 348.001
Syracuse University
Spring 2013

Professor: Brian Taylor

Office Hours: W 12-2, or by appointment

Office: 531 Eggers

Phone: 443-3713

E-mail: bdtaylor@maxwell.syr.edu

Class time: TTh 11:00-12:20

Classroom: HL 214

Teaching Assistant: Evan Laksmana

PREREQUISITES

PSC 123 or PSC 124 and Sophomore standing highly recommended.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is an overview of the major themes and debates in the study of civil-military relations. In every modern state the question of the proper balance between the armed forces and the civilian political leadership is a key feature of politics. In the most extreme cases, the military itself takes power. In established democracies civil-military relations do not take this extreme form, but there are still important debates about the proper degree of military influence over defense and foreign policy, and the degree to which military policy should be responsive to broader social and cultural values. In this class we will study the key themes of civil-military relations in many different countries, including the United States.

This course has five separate units. In the first unit we concentrate on Samuel Huntington's arguments about military professionalism set out in *The Soldier and the State* (1957), a book that remains highly influential more than fifty years after its initial publication. In the second unit we look at the issue of military coups and military rule. In the third unit we consider the prospects for greater civilian control in countries moving from authoritarian to democratic government. The fourth unit examines civil-military relations during decisions to use military force and go to war. The fifth unit concludes the course by examining how the military relates to the larger society from which it is drawn, and the relationship between military values and societal values.

It should be stressed that this is a course on **politics**, and not on military science or warfare. To the extent that we discuss actual wars (primarily in the fourth unit), we will be focused on relations between the military and civilians in terms of political decision-making. Thus, even if you have little background (or even interest) in military history and military strategy, you should not feel at a disadvantage – this course is fundamentally, I repeat, about politics.

READINGS

Two required books have been ordered at the SU bookstore:

Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Belknap/Harvard, 1957).

MacKubin Thomas Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11: Renegotiating the Civil-Military Bargain* (continuum, 2011).

The other readings for the class are journal articles or book chapters. They are available through Blackboard in the “Documents” section (**not** “Course Reserves”).

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

Regular attendance and participation in class is important for understanding the course material, but there is no formal attendance requirement. The lectures and readings will be complementary, but the lectures will **not** simply repeat material from the readings. In other words, **both** readings and lectures are essential for good performance in this class, and exams will draw on both lectures and readings. You are responsible for being in class to get this material. You should do the reading **before** class meets.

There will be scheduled quizzes throughout the semester every couple of weeks. The quizzes will cover assigned readings, not lectures, from the time of the last quiz **up to that day**. The quizzes cannot be rescheduled, but I will drop your lowest score. No extensions or make-ups will be allowed except for extreme circumstances (medical or family emergency, religious holiday). Quiz grades will be curved. Grading for the class will be determined as follows:

Quizzes	10%
Paper	25%
Clausewitz/Post-9/11 Wars Essay	15%
Midterm Exam	20%
Final Exam	30%

The midterm exam will cover the first two units. The final exam will cover the final three units. Although some themes from the first half of the course will carry over to the second half of the course, the final is not a comprehensive exam.

THE PAPER

Each student will write a ~10 page paper (double-spaced, normal fonts and margins) on civil-military relations in a particular country. If you have a prior interest in a particular country or region, you are encouraged to explore that interest here. As a general rule, larger and more prominent countries have more extensive literatures than those on smaller countries. The first thing you should do is decide which country most interests you. You should send me the country about which you would like to write by **January 25**. If you do not email me by that date I will assign you a country (perhaps the Principality of Monaco or The Federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis). You cannot do the United States.

Your paper should analyze civil-military relations in your country by applying a framework from one or more of the readings from the first three units (Huntington; Coups; Democratization) to your country. For example, you can use Huntington to evaluate the level of military

professionalism in your country, Taylor/McGowan/Dunlop/Quinlivan to explain the presence or absence of coups in your country, or Kohn/Pion-Berlin/ Cottey et. al to assess the strengths and weaknesses of mechanisms of civilian control in your country. You can also apply one of the theories discussed in Owens. It also might make sense to focus on a specific time period. It is important that you advance an argument or thesis in your paper. You should also feel free to use your country study to critique the course literature on a particular topic; you need not accept the arguments in the course literature uncritically.

Both the mechanics and the content of a paper are important. You will be graded on how good a job you do of applying the relevant literature to your case and the quality of your research, as well as other important aspects of scholarly writing, including a clear introduction with a strong thesis statement, a coherent theme and structure, well-structured paragraphs (including topic sentences), proper documentation of sources, correct usage and grammar, etc. The paper is due on **March 21**.

I would suggest that you start your research by reading the military sections of the Library of Congress Country Study on your country: <http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/>. You should search for books, academic articles, and working papers on your country and topic, and be familiar with library databases that facilitate such searches, such as FirstSearch, PAIS International, WilsonSelectPlus, ProQuest Research Library, Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO), Google Scholar, etc. I have placed some books on reserve at the library, such as edited volumes that cover civil-military relations in multiple countries; these are a good first place to start for many countries. The table of contents of these edited volumes will be placed on Blackboard. The two main journals on civil-military relations are *Armed Forces & Society* and the *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*. Both of these journals are available through e-journals, where you can search their contents for articles on your country, although you should not limit your searches to these two journals. Papers that do not consult academic books and articles will be penalized; it is impossible to do a good job on this paper using Wikipedia and random Google searches.

You are allowed to use one of two citation styles. The first is the conventional footnote format, with a note in the text and the reference in an accompanying footnote or endnote. This is the style used in the Huntington book. The second style is the embedded citation format (sometimes known as MLA format), where the author and page number are placed in parentheses at the end of the sentence. This is the style used in the McGowan article that you will read for class on February 7. A bibliography should also accompany the paper.

Papers must be typed or word-processed. Be sure to proofread and spell-check the paper, and to number the pages. There should be a title page with the title of the paper, your student ID number, the name of the course, and the date on the cover-sheet. Do not place your name on the cover-sheet or subsequent pages. To the degree possible we try to grade the papers "blind."

Papers are to be handed in electronically through Turnitin in Blackboard. Turnitin is a plagiarism prevention system that identifies "matched text." You have the opportunity to view your "Originality Report" and check that all sources you have used are properly acknowledged and cited. Thus, you should leave yourself some time to run this check before submitting a final

version. Note that all submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers in the future.

Late papers will be graded down 1/3 letter grade (i.e., B to B-) for each day that they are late. Computer problems (disk failure, unable to find a printer, etc.) or other reasons/excuses of a similar nature are not acceptable excuses for a late paper. Late papers are better than no papers, which receive a grade of zero and make it very difficult to pass the course.

THE CLAUSEWITZ/POST-911 WARS ESSAY

The second writing assignment is a ~5 page analysis of U.S. civil-military relations in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. You should use Clausewitz's arguments about the relationship between politics and war to critically evaluate U.S. civil-military relations during these wars. By "critically evaluate" I do not mean "criticize" (although you are free to do that); I mean you should draw on the insights of Clausewitz to analyze the *civil-military relations* aspects of these wars. Did the conduct of these wars conform to Clausewitz's prescriptions? Why or why not? With what consequences? These are the types of issues I would like you to address. It is essential that you focus on the CMR aspects of these issues, drawing on Clausewitz; his thoughts on issues such as the maximum use of force are less relevant. The best papers will refer directly to Clausewitz's text, and then compare his prescriptions to what happened in US CMR in Iraq and Afghanistan.

You do not need to do any outside reading to write this paper. Relevant course readings include Clausewitz, Huntington, Cohen, Owens, and Kaplan. If you would like to consult additional sources, please check with me first. All sources used in writing the paper must appear in a bibliography.

It is crucial that you take a clear position and build your essay around this thesis. You will be graded on how good a job you do of analyzing U.S. civil-military relations in Iraq and Afghanistan using a Clausewitzian lens, as well as other important aspects of scholarly writing, including a clear introduction with a strong thesis statement, a coherent theme and structure, well-structured paragraphs (including topic sentences), proper documentation of sources, correct usage and grammar, etc. The paper is due on **April 9**. You should turn in the paper using Turnitin in Blackboard, just as you did for the previous paper. The information above about paper formatting requirements, and late penalties, also applies to this assignment

COURSE POLICIES

Class communication: Probably the easiest way to reach me with brief questions is via e-mail, or grabbing me before or after class. More lengthy or detailed issues are probably best discussed during office hours. I will use the email setting in Blackboard to make announcements to the class, and occasionally distribute recent, relevant news articles to the class.

Computers and cell phones: Laptops/tablets are not allowed in class unless you receive permission from me directly, in person. Those who receive permission can only use laptops for

taking notes, or risk losing their privileges. Cell phones should be silent and put away, and texting in class is not allowed.

Academic misconduct: The Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. The Policy states:

At Syracuse University, academic integrity is expected of every community member in all endeavors. Academic integrity includes a commitment to the values of honesty, trustworthiness, fairness, and respect.... An individual's academic dishonesty threatens and undermines the central mission of the University. It is unfair to other community members who do not cheat, because it devalues efforts to learn, to teach, and to conduct research. Academic dishonesty interferes with moral and intellectual development, and poisons the atmosphere of open and trusting intellectual discourse.

You should be familiar with the Policy; it is your responsibility to learn about instructor and general academic expectations with regard to proper citation of sources in written work. Plagiarism is the representation of another's words, ideas, opinions, or other products of work as one's own, either overtly or by failing to attribute them to their true source. The policy also governs the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments as well as the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verifications of participation in class activities. Serious sanctions can result from academic dishonesty of any sort. For more information and the complete policy, see <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>. I particularly recommend the page on "What Does Academic Integrity Mean?" and the links from that page to writing resources at Harvard and Purdue universities. Turnitin is designed to help you avoid plagiarism, and learn how to use sources correctly.

A failure to develop good research and writing habits can negatively affect both your academic and professional career. University rules against plagiarism and academic dishonesty will be strictly enforced in this class. According to the policy, "The grade of 'XF' is the presumptive penalty for a first offense of academic dishonesty by undergraduates at the University.... The presumptive sanction for any subsequent violation of the Policy will be suspension or expulsion from the University." Students have a right to appeal. I take this VERY seriously.

Disability-Related Accommodations: If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services(ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located in Room 309 of 804 University Avenue, or call (315) 443-4498 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

Religious holidays: SU's religious observances policy recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holy days according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are

provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance provided they notify their instructors before the end of the second week of classes. An online notification process is available through MySlice/Student Services/Enrollment/My Religious Observances from the first day of class until the end of the second week of class.

IMPORTANT DATES TO REMEMBER

February 21	Midterm Exam
March 21	Paper Due
April 9	Clausewitz Essay Due
May 3	Final Exam

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

FIRST UNIT: HUNTINGTON AND MILITARY PROFESSIONALISM

Week One (1/15-17): The Rise of the Professional Military

1/15: Introduction

Before class on Thursday, you should review a US Army website on how military units are organized: <http://www.army.mil/info/organization/unitsandcommands/oud/>

Be sure to click on the links for fuller descriptions of the different types of units. You should also read the very brief (2 pp.) description of military ranks from James Dunnigan, *How to Make War*, pp. 308-309. This will be distributed in class.

1/17: Huntington, *Soldier and the State*, pp. vii-viii, 1-58.

Week Two (1/22-24): Civilian Control: Theory and Practice

1/22: Huntington, *Soldier and the State*, pp. 59-97.

1/24: **QUIZ 1**

Huntington, *Soldier and the State*, pp. 98-142.

*E-Mail with list of countries due on **January 25**.*

Week Three (1/29-31): U.S. Civil-Military Relations

1/29: Huntington, *Soldier and the State*, pp. 143-157, 163-169, 177-180, 184-192, 345-346, 456-466.

1/31: Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 1-43.

SECOND UNIT: MILITARY COUPS AND MILITARY RULE

Week Four (2/5-7): Coup Theory; Africa

2/5: **QUIZ 2**

Brian Taylor, *Politics and The Russian Army* (2003), pp. 6-30. **[Blackboard]**

2/7: Patrick J. McGowan, "African military coups d'état, 1956–2001: frequency, trends and distribution," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41, 03 (September 2003), pp. 339-370. **[Blackboard]**

Week Five (2/12-14): An American Coup?

2/12: FILM: "Seven Days in May"
No readings.

2/14: FILM (continued): "Seven Days in May"

Readings:

Dwight Eisenhower, "Farewell Address," 17 January 1961. **[Blackboard]**

Charles Dunlap, Jr., "The Origins of the American Military Coup of 2012," *Parameters*, 22, 4 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 2-20. **[Blackboard]**

Week Six (2/19-21): The Middle East; Midterm

2/19: **QUIZ 3**

James Quinlivan, "Coup-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East," *International Security*, 24, 2 (Fall 1999), pp. 131-165. **[Blackboard]**

2/21: MIDTERM EXAM

THIRD UNIT: DEMOCRATIZATION AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

Week Seven (2/26-28): Democracies and Civilian Control; Latin America

2/26: Larry Diamond, "Democracy's Third Wave Today," *Current History*, November 2011, pp. 299-307. **[Blackboard]**

Richard Kohn, "How Democracies Control the Military," *Journal of Democracy*, 8, 4 (October 1997), pp. 140-153. **[Blackboard]**

2/28: David Pion-Berlin, "Defense Organizations and Civil-Military Relations in Latin America," *Armed Forces & Society*, 35, 3 (April 2009), pp. 562-586.

Week Eight (3/5-7): Eastern Europe & the Former Soviet Union; The Arab Spring & the Military

3/5: **QUIZ 4**

Andrew Cottey, Timothy Edmunds, and Anthony Forster, "The Second Generation Problematic: Rethinking Democracy and Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society*, 29, 1 (Fall 2002), pp. 31-56. **[Blackboard]**

3/7: Zoltan Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," *Journal of Democracy*, 22, 4 (October 2011), pp. 24-35. **[Blackboard]**

March 12-14 SPRING BREAK

Week Nine (3/19-21): Pakistan; Clausewitz

3/19: C. Christine Fair, "Why the Pakistan army is here to stay: prospects for civilian governance," *International Affairs*, 87, 3 (May 2011), pp. 571-588. **[Blackboard]**

FOURTH UNIT: CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND THE USE OF FORCE

3/21: **PAPER DUE**

Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* (1832/1976), pp. 75-89, 605-610. **[Blackboard]**

Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (2002), pp. 1-14, 241-264 (notes pp. 269-270, 290-294). **[Blackboard]**

Week Ten (3/26-28): World War I and World War II

3/26: **QUIZ 5**

Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, 9, 1 (Summer 1984), pp. 108-146. **[Blackboard]**

3/28: Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars," *International Security*, 19, 4 (Spring 1995), pp. 65-93. **[Blackboard]**

Week Eleven (4/2-4): Recent US Experience

4/2: Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 44-89.

4/4: **QUIZ 6**

Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 90-127.

Fred Kaplan, "The End of the Age of Petraeus: The Rise and Fall of Counterinsurgency," *Foreign Affairs*, 92, 1 (January 2013), pp. 75-90. [Blackboard]

FIFTH UNIT: THE MILITARY AND SOCIETY

Week Twelve (4/9-11): Modern and Postmodern Militaries

4/9: CLAUSEWITZ ESSAY DUE

4/9: Barry Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," *International Security*, 18, 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 80-124. [Blackboard]

4/11: Charles Moskos, John Allen Williams, and David Segal, eds., *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces after the Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 1-6, 11-13 ("Armed Forces after the Cold War"), 14-31 (Moskos: "Toward a Postmodern Military: The United States as a Paradigm"). [Blackboard]

Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 134-138.

Week Thirteen (4/16-18): The Military and U.S. Society

4/16: QUIZ 7

Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 128-134, 157-161.

James Burk, "The Military's Presence in American Society, 1950-2000," in Peter Feaver and Richard Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (MIT Press, 2001), pp. 247-274. [Blackboard]

4/18: Robert Goldich, "American Military Culture from Colony to Empire," *Daedalus*, 140, 3 (Summer 2011), pp. 58-74. [Blackboard]

Karl Eikenberry, "Reassessing the All-Volunteer Force," *The Washington Quarterly*, 36, 1 (Winter 2013), pp. 7-24. [Blackboard]

David Leal, "Students in Uniform: ROTC, the Citizen-Soldier, and the Civil-Military Gap," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 40, 3 (July 2007), pp. 479-483. [Blackboard]

Week Fourteen (4/23-25): Two Debates: Women in Combat, LGBT Soldiers

4/23: Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 138-152.

Megan Mackenzie, "Let Women Fight," *Foreign Affairs*, 91, 6 (November 2012), pp. 32-42. [Blackboard]

4/25: **QUIZ 8**

Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 152-157.

Aaron Belkin et. al, *One Year Out: An Assessment of DADT Repeal's Impact on Military Readiness* (Palm Center, September 2012). **[Blackboard]**

Week 15 (4/30): Conclusion

4/30: Owens, *US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11*, pp. 172-205.

MAY 3, 5:15PM - 7:15PM

FINAL EXAM

HL 214