

POS 4931 Politics and the Armed Forces

Class Meeting Time: Tuesday 1:55 to 2:45 PM and
Thursday 1:55 PM to 3:50 PM

Class Venue: 34 Anderson Hall

Professor: Sebastian Elischer
Office: Anderson Hall 212
Office Hours: Wednesday 10 AM to 12 PM
Thursday 4 PM to 5 PM.
Email: selischer@ufl.edu
Phone: 352-273-2359

Seminar Description

The subordination of military forces to democratic civilian rule occupies a central space in comparative politics and can be seen as one of the oldest problems of human governance. Whether and how a society controls those who possess the ultimate power of physical coercion, and ensures their loyalty both to the particular government in power is essential to democratic governance. Civilian control of the military is of concern in established democracies such as the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom or France but even more so in the many nascent democracies of Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Arab world. Governments of these not yet consolidated democracies must ensure that the military - often the previous holder of power - will not attempt a coup or otherwise defy their effective power to govern. In many of these countries the military remains deeply involved in politics often through informal channels.

The focus of the class is on civil-military relations in young democracies. It discusses the key concepts of civil-military scholarship and applies these concepts to a diverse set of empirical cases from across the globe. At the heart of the seminar are the following questions: a) What does the concept of civilian democratic control actually entail? b) What are the major challenges in ensuring the democratic control of the armed forces? c) Which factors cause the military to overthrow democratically elected governments? d) What are the long-term political and economic consequences of military rule?

Requirements, Assignments and Grading

Students must read the assigned material for each week and come to class prepared. I expect students to attend all classes and participate in class discussions. If you cannot make it to class please let me know prior to the class which you cannot attend. If this is not possible please contact me as soon as you can.

In order to get full credits students have to pass several assignments.

1. All students have to give a *class presentation* (as part of a group of 3; the presentation should last no longer than 25 minutes in total) on a topic we discuss in class. Please note that you must not present on the readings but on additional readings related to the topic. You are required to discuss the content of your presentation with me during my

office hours. I will provide help identifying suitable literature/ topic for your presentation. The presentation accounts for 20% of your final grade.

2. Two tests in class. The tests accounts for 50% (2x25%) of your final grade and cover the concepts and issues we discuss in class.
3. A final research paper, which consists of a 5 page memo covering civil-military relations in a country of your choice. By week 8 all students must submit an outline of their final paper to me electronically. All students must discuss their final paper with me during my office hours from week 8 onwards. During the last week of class all students are invited to discuss their final paper in class in order to get some constructive feedback from their peers. The final research paper accounts for 30% of your grade. The memo is due on *December 10 at 9 PM*.

Grading scale

| | | | |
|----|-------------|----|-------|
| A | 91 or above | B | 81-84 |
| A- | 88-90 | B- | 78-80 |
| B+ | 85-87 | C+ | 75-77 |

Policies on Persons with Disabilities

Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. It will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Anyone with a disability should feel free to see me during office hours to make the necessary arrangements.

Policy on Cheating and Plagerism

All students should observe the University of Florida's standards of academic honesty. In the event that a student is found cheating or plagiarizing, he/she will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs and to the Department Chair and Graduate Coordinator for possible dismissal from the program. Acts of plagiarism include:

- Turning in a paper or another assignment that was written by someone else (i.e., by another student, by a research service, or downloaded off the Internet);
- Copying, verbatim, a sentence or paragraph of text from the work of another author without properly acknowledging the source through a commonly accepted citation style and using quotation marks;
- Paraphrasing (i.e., restating in your own words) text written by someone else without citing that author;
- Using a unique idea or concept, which you discovered in a specific reading, without citing that work.

Policy on Late Assignments

I understand that sometimes there are reasons why an assignment cannot be handed in on time. If you see such a situation emerging please contact me ahead of time to discuss the issue with me. This **MUST** happen prior to the deadline of the assignment. In any case: Whatever happens, please do get in touch with me!

Books

There is no textbook to purchase for this class. Each week students must read a number of articles. I will try and upload some of the reading on the UF online learning system.

Class Calendar

Please note that any of the sessions may be subject to change!

Week 1, August 23 and 25: Getting Started

Organizational meeting, getting to know each other, expectations and assignments, introduction of open source databases, discussion of syllabus, (very) short introduction of some of the key concepts and topics of civil-military relations.

Week 2, August 30 and September 1: Getting Concepts Right: Democratization and Democratic Civilian Control of the Armed Forces I

We discuss basic definitions of democracy and review the so-called “third wave of democratization”. We examine the differences between a democratic transition and a democratic consolidation.

Samuel Huntington (1991). *The Third Wave of Democracy*. USA: University of Oklahoma Press, p. 231-252.

Schedler, Andreas (1998): What is Democratic Consolidation? *Journal of Democracy* 9 (2): 91-107.

Week 3, September 6 and 8, Getting Concepts Right: Democratization and Democratic Civilian Control of the Armed Forces II

What does democratic control of the armed forces mean in practice? Why should ordinary citizens care about the role of the armed forces?

Kohn, Richard (1997). How Democracies Control the Military. *Journal of Democracy* 8 (4): 140-153.

Croissant, Aurel, David Kuehn, Paul W Chambers and Siegfried Wolf (2011). Conceptualizing Civil-Military Relations in Emerging Democracies. *European Political Science* 10: 137-145.

Week 4, September 13 and 15: Civilian Control in the United States I

We examine highly influential studies on civil-military relations in the United States. Although these texts were written decades ago, they continue to shape the thinking behind the role of the military in new democracies.

Huntington, Samuel (1957): *The Soldier and the State. The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Belknap. For details consult UF e-learning system.

Janowitz, Morris (1960): *The Professional Soldier. A Social and Political Portrait*. Glencoe: Free Press. For details consult UF e-learning system.

Week 5, September 20 and 22: Civilian Control in the United States II

“The Civil-Military Industrial Complex.” Speech by President Dwight Eisenhower.

Feaver, Peter and Richard Kohn (2000). The Gap. Soldiers, Civilians and their Mutual Misunderstanding. *National Interest* Fall 2000, p.29-37.

Cohen, Eliot (2000). Why the Gap Matters. *National Interest* Fall 2000, p.38-48

Week 6, September 27 and September 29: Civilian Control in Young Nations

We examine why the armed forces overthrow democratically elected regimes and the factors that are conducive to military coups.

Powell, Jonathan and Thyne, Clayton (2011). Global Instance of Coups from 1950 to 2010. *Journal of Peace Research* 48 (2): 249-259.

Perlmutter, Amos (1969). The Praetorian State and the Praetorian Army. *Comparative Politics* 1 (3): 382-404.

Thompson, William (1975). Regime Vulnerability and the Military Coup. *Comparative Politics* 7 (4): 459-487.

On September 27 the first test takes place in class covering the material we discuss during Week 1 and Week 5!

Week 7, October 4 and 6: Coups and Their Causes. Empirical Evidence from Across the World

Building on last week's class we examine a few countries which have experienced military coups in greater detail.

Please read two of the following

Benin: Decalo, Samuel (1990). *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*. USA: Yale University Press, pp.89-132.

Thailand: Connors, Michael and Kevin Hewison (2008). Thailand and the "good coup". *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 38 (1): 1-10.

Turkey: Lombardi, Ben (1997). Turkey-The Return of the Reluctant Generals? *Political Science Quarterly* 112 (2): 191-215.

Wiking, Staffan (1983). *Military Coups in Sub-Saharan Africa. How to Justify Illegal Assumptions of Power*. Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, pp.16-67.

Week 8, October 11 and 13: The Military as Pillar of Autocratic Rule

Many autocratic governments are led by civilian rulers. These regimes often rely on the military in order to remain in power. We examine some prominent cases.

Cook, Steven (2007). *Ruling but Not Governing. The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria and Turkey*. USA: Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapter 1, 2 and 6.

Lee Huang, Robert (2013). Re-thinking Myanmar's Political Regime: Military Rule in Myanmar and Implications for Current Reforms. *Contemporary Politics* 19 (3): 247-261.

Week 9, October 18: The Challenges of Rebuilding Democratic Civilian Rule

No class on October 20. In the last 25 years many former military dictatorships underwent democratic transitions. The removal of the armed forces from power is a challenging task for incoming democratic governments. We analyze some of these challenges.

Aguero, Felipe (1998): Legacies of Transitions: Institutionalization, the Military, and Democracy in South America. *Mershon International Studies Review* 42(2): 383-404.

Hunter, Wendy (1998). Negotiating Civil-Military Relations in Post-Authoritarian Argentina and Chile. *International Studies Quarterly* 42 (2): 295-317.

Week 10, October 25 and 27: Successful Democratization and its Effect on Civil-Military Relations

The re-establishment of democratic rule after military dictatorship is challenging but not impossible. We discuss the effect of democratization on civil-military relations in countries where democratization has been successful.

Clark, John (2007): The Decline of the African Military Coup. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 141-155.

Lehoucq, Fabrice and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán (2014). Breaking Out of the Coup Trap Political Competition and Military Coups in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (8): 1105-1129.

Week 11, November 1 and 3: Institutional Reform of the Armed Forces

Many new democracies have put in place institutional oversight mechanisms in order to establish democratic control of the armed forces. We examine some of these reforms and their implications.

Chambers, Paul (2013). *Unruly Boots: Military Power and Security Sector Reform Efforts in Thailand*. Germany: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

Further reading to be determined

Week 12: November 8 and 10: The Arab Spring and the Role of Arab Armies in Facilitating Democracy

The Arab Spring has changed the global geostrategic landscape to a considerable extent. We examine then role of Arab armies in facilitating and in avoiding democratic rule.

Lutterbeck, Derek (2013). Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil–Military Relations. *Armed Forces & Society* 39 (1): 28-52.

Nepstad, Sharon (2013): Mutiny and Nonviolence in the Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria. *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (3): 337-349.

Week 13, November 15 and 17: Contemporary Issues in Civil-Military Relations

The reading and the content of this week is determined by international events.

The second test takes place on November 15 in class covering the material we discuss during Week 6 and Week 12.

Week 14: November 22: When Coups Lead to Democratization

A prominent assumption in the literature is that military coups lead to military dictatorship and thus to autocratic rule. Most recent research, however, argues that coups increasingly lead to democratization. The implications of military coups, therefore, might be considerably more nuanced than assumed previously.

Thyne, Clayton and Jonathan Powell (2014). Coup d'Etat or Coup d'Autocracy? How Coups Impact Democratization, 1950–2008. *Foreign Policy Analysis* (forthcoming).

Marinov Nikolay and Hein Goemans (2013). Coups and Democracy. *British Journal of Political Science* 44 (4): 799-825.

Week 15: November 29 and December 1: No class.

Week 16: December 6: Discussion of final assignment