POS 4931 Civil-Military Relations in Unconsolidated Democracies

Class Meeting Time: Tuesday 1:55 to 2:45 PM and Thursday 1:55 PM to 3:50 PM
Class Venue: 101 Anderson Hall

Professor: Sebastian Elischer
Office: Anderson Hall 212
Office Hours: Monday 3 PM to 5:30 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 nascent or not yet consolidated 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 including Iran, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, Chile, Turkey, Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Mali, Pakistan or India. 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. All students have to give a class presentation (either alone or as part of a group) on a topic we discuss in class. The presentation accounts for 10% of your final grade. In week 5 (on September 25) there will be a mid-term. The mid-term accounts for 20% of your final grade and covers the concepts and issues we discuss during the first four weeks. During the course of the semester there will be two unannounced short quizzes (multiple-choice). Each quiz accounts for 10% of your final grade. At the end of the semester students have to hand in a final research paper (10 pages...
without the bibliography and cover page) in which they apply some of the key concepts of civil-military relations to a set of countries (comparative study) or any particular country (individual case study). 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 50% of your grade.

Grading scale

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<th>Grade</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>91 or above</td>
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<td>A-</td>
<td>88-90</td>
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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 Plagiarism

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

Week 1, August 25 and 27: 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, September 2: Getting Concepts Right: Democratization and Democratic Civilian Control of the Armed Forces I
There is no class on September 4 due to the American Political Science Association annual conference.
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.


Week 3, September 8 and 10, 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?


Week 4, September 15 and 17: Classical Readings on Military Professionalism
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.

Huntingon, Samuel (1957): The Soldier and the State. The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations. Cambridge: Belknap. (details to be announced)


Week 5, September 22 and 24: Democratic Control of the Military in Practice
On September 24 there will be a mid-term exam covering all topics we discussed in week 1 to week 4!!!!!!!

A majority of nations has at some point experienced military rule. We look at the statistical evidence and examine in which regions of the world coups have occurred most frequently.


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

Week 6, September 29 and October 1: The Causes behind Military Coups: Theoretical Considerations
We examine why the armed forces overthrow democratically elected regimes and the factors that are conducive to military coups.


Week 7, October 6 and 8: 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


Week 8, October 13 and 15: 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.


Week 9, October 20 and 22: The Challenges of Rebuilding Democratic Civilian Rule
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.


Week 10, October 27 and 29: 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.


Week 11, November 3 and 5: 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.


**Week 12, November 3 and 5: International Interventions in Favor of Democratic Civilian Rule**

Major Western powers have invested considerable time and effort in stabilizing democratic rule after the breakdown of military rule. We discuss some prominent cases and the extent to which Western attempts to build democratic rule have been successful.

The assigned reading is still to be announced.

**Week 13: November 10 and 12: 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.


**Week 14: November 17: The Arab Spring and the Role of Arab Armies in Facilitating Democracy**

*Please note that there is no class on November 19 due to the annual meeting of the African Studies Association*

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.


**Week 15: November 24 and 26: The Army as Informal Vetoplayer**

Armies remain powerful political actors even in countries in which democratic rule has been re-established and which are on the path to democratic consolidation. This week we take a closer look at Latin America and discuss to what extent the military is still a powerful informal vetoplayer.


Week 16: December 1 and 3: Discussion of Research Papers in Class
Everyone is invited to present and discuss their ideas for the final research paper. This is the change to get feedback from your peers.