

POS 4931 Politics and the Armed Forces

Class Meeting Time: Monday 3:00 to 3:50 PM
Wednesday 3:00 to 3:50 PM
Friday 3:00 to 3:50 PM
Class Venue: 0034 Anderson Hall

Professor: Sebastian Elischer
Office: Anderson Hall 212
Office Hours: Monday 10:00 to 11:00 AM
Wednesday 10:00 to 11:00 AM
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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 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 young or less institutionalized democracies must ensure that the military – often the previous holder of power – will not stage a coup or otherwise defy their effective power to govern. In many of these so-called “praetorian” countries the military remains deeply involved in politics 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. Regular attendance *and* active participation in class. If students miss more than two classes without a reasonable excuse, your grade will suffer. Attendance and participation account for 10% of your final grade.

2. All students need to give a *group presentation* in class (as part of a group of 3; the presentation should last no longer than 25 minutes in total) on a topic related to the weekly readings. The oral presentation must include material that goes beyond the required reading. I strongly encourage you to discuss the content of your presentation with me during my office hours around one week prior to the presentation. I will provide help identifying suitable literature/ topic for your presentation. The presentation accounts for 20% of your final grade. The group presentations normally take place on Fridays. During Week 7 student presentations take place Monday, Wednesday and Friday. We will divide everyone into groups during the first and second week of the semester.

3. A *group research memo* (5 pages including bibliography; Time New Roman 12, double-spaced) summarizing the topic of your group presentation. **The group memo is due two weeks after your presentation in class.** The group memo accounts for 20% of your final grade.

4. Two tests in class. The tests accounts for 50% (the first test accounts for 20%, the second and final test accounts for 30%) of your final grade and cover the concepts and issues we discuss in class. **The first test takes place on February 11, the second test takes place on April 24.**

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 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 anticipate such a situation please contact me asap. This **MUST** happen prior to the deadline of the assignment.

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

Any of the sessions may be subject to change

To follow the discussions in class you need to do the readings prior to the Monday class

Week 1, January 7,9 and 11: Getting Started

Organizational meetings, getting to know each other, expectations and assignments, introduction of open source databases, discussion of syllabus, key concepts and topics of civil-military relations.

Week 2, January 14,16 and 18: Getting Concepts Right: 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.

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

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

Week 3, January 23 and 25: Getting Concepts Right: 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?

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

Thomas Bruneau and Harold Trinkunas (2006). Democratization as a Global Phenomenon and its Impact on Civil-Military Relations. *Democratization* 13 (5): 776-790.

Week 4, January 28, 30 and February 1: 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.

Janowitz, Morris (1960): *The Professional Soldier. A Social and Political Portrait*. Glencoe: Free Press.

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

Week 5, February 4,6 and 8: Civilian Control in the United States II

Morgen, Matthew (2006). American Empire and the American Military. *Armed Forces & Society* 32 (2): 202-218.

Kohn, Richard (2002). The erosion of civilian control of the military in the United States today. *Naval War College Review* 55 (3): 9-59.

Week 6, February 11, 13 and 15: 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 February 11, the first test takes place in class covering the material we discuss during Week 1 and Week 5!

Week 7, February 18, 20 and 22: 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, February 25, 27 and March 1: 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, March 11, 13 and 15: 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.

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, March 18, 20 and 22: 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, March 25, 27 and 29: Security Sector Reform

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.

The required reading is yet to be determined

Week 12 and 13: April 1, 8, 10 and 12: The Arab Spring

No class on April 3 and April 5. The Arab Spring has changed the global geostrategic landscape. We examine the role of Arab armies in facilitating and in countering democratic transitions.

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 14, April 15, 17 and 19: 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: April 22 and 24: No class. Students should use the time to prepare for the second and final test, which takes place on April 24 in class.