Comparative Civil-Military Relations
Political Science 785
Syracuse University
Prof. Brian Taylor
Spring 2009

Classroom: HOL 111
Class time: T 3:30-6:15
Office: 531 Eggers
Office Hours: W 10-11, TH 3-4,
or by appointment
E-mail: bdtaylor@maxwell.syr.edu
Phone: 443-3713

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is a graduate seminar on the major themes and debates in the study of civil-military relations (CMR). 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.

This course has four separate units, which are intended to introduce you to the major issues in the study of civil-military relations. Most of these units could be courses in themselves, so we will only scratch the surface of the existing literature. These four units are:

1. Foundations: States, Militaries, Nations, and Military Professionalism
2. Who’s In Charge? Military Intervention and Civilian Control
3. Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force
4. New Challenges in Civil-Military Relations

As a subject of inquiry civil-military relations cuts across many of the traditional field divisions in political science. Most of the issues we will discuss are traditionally thought of as either comparative politics or international relations topics, but we also will touch on themes from American politics and public policy/public administration. Although we will not study the subject in this manner, many important texts in political theory (e.g., The Republic; The Prince) also discuss issues that we now think of as civil-military relations.

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, 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

Five required books have been ordered at the SU bookstore and Follett’s Orange Bookstore:


Additional readings are either articles or book chapters. Many of the journal articles are available through e-journals on the library website; in each case I have noted which version you should use (PDF preferable). I strongly encourage you to print these materials out, rather than reading them on-line (2 on 1, 2-sided will save lots of paper). You are much more likely to digest and remember the material if you underline/highlight, make notes in the margins, etc. Articles or book chapters that are not available through e-journals will be distributed in class or placed on Blackboard. Depending on interests and career plans, you may wish to search out used copies of many of the books from which we only have time to read small excerpts.

Note that the readings for each week are listed in the order in which I recommend you read them. This is not an indication of their importance, but there is a logic to how the readings fit together. You should bring the relevant readings to class each week in case you or someone else refers to a specific argument in one of the texts.

COURSE EXPECTATIONS AND GRADING

1) Attendance and Participation

This course is a seminar; attendance and participation are essential. Each student is expected to complete all the readings each week and to contribute to the seminar discussion. You should bring the week’s readings to class. Additionally, by 12:30 on Tuesday each student should email me 1 question or comment about the week’s readings. Your question/comment should be no more than a paragraph long, and should focus on the key themes of the readings. I am interested in what you think the most important issue(s) is/are, or what you found particularly difficult or hard to understand about the readings. Failure to turn in a question on time will affect your participation grade. Turning in a poorly thought out question in a rush just to fulfill the letter of the assignment definitely will be noticed. Class participation will be 20 percent of your grade;
you will be graded both on the quantity and quality of your participation, including your emailed
question or comment. Active participation is encouraged; however, frequent tangents can lower
your participation grade.

2) Research Paper

The major written product for the course will be a paper on civil-military relations in one
country. This paper will be written in stages and will focus on two of three key themes from the
course. The three possible themes are:

A. Who’s in charge? (February 3, 10, 17, 24);
B. CMR and the use of force (March 3, 17, and 31);
C. The military and society (January 20 and March 24).

Everyone will write a paper on theme A (Who’s in charge?) for your first paper. For your
second paper, you should write on EITHER theme B or theme C, depending on which topic is
more relevant to your country. These two papers should be about 10 pages long. At the end of
the semester you will produce a 20-25 page paper that brings these two papers together into one
coherent paper that provides an overview of civil-military relations in your country.

To maximize our collective knowledge, I would like each of you to write on a different country.
Thus, when you submit your reading question for January 20, please also submit a list of 3
countries you would most like to write on (rank ordered). 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. Finally, no one can write on the US – we already have 3-4 weeks devoted mostly to
the US.

It is important that each of the shorter papers, as well as the finished product, are grounded in the
theoretical literature on the relevant topics. The papers should not be a straightforward narrative.
You should use the papers as a vehicle for applying, and potentially critiquing, the literature
from the various units. You probably should not try to include all of the class readings on a
particular theme, but you should definitely use one or more of these readings to give some
framework to your analysis of your country. For example, the paper on “who’s in charge”
should be informed by the relevant readings on that topic. Depending on your country, it may
make sense to concentrate either on the issue of military coups/non-coups, or mechanisms of
civilian control. It also might make sense to focus on a specific time period.

You will be graded on how good a job you do of applying the relevant literature to your case, 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, a good connection of
evidence to theory, well-structured paragraphs (including topic sentences), correct usage and
grammar, etc.

Feel free, of course, to discuss this paper assignment further with me. If this description is
unclear, I trust the assignment will make more sense as the semester goes along. You may have
noticed that I did not list the readings for January 27 as relevant to any of the 3 themes; that is because they are potentially relevant to ALL of the themes. Why this is so should also become clear as the semester goes along. There is also a separate paper assignment for that week. The readings for April 7 on Security Sector Reform may be incorporated into the “who’s in charge” section of the final paper if appropriate.

You are encouraged to consult Stephen Van Evera, Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science (Cornell University Press, 1997), for a brief discussion of the various ways a paper can use theory (theory testing, theory creation, explaining cases, etc.), and for suggestions on how to shape and write a research paper. A copy is on reserve at the library, or you can borrow my copy.

Two final points. First, you are highly encouraged to bring your case knowledge to seminar discussions. Because the course is organized more thematically than geographically, the readings pass over many important countries. Hopefully individual contributions from “experts” on these countries will somewhat fill the gap in our collective knowledge. Second, I strongly suggest that you start seeking out library resources very early. Some edited volumes that cover multiple countries and are useful for the papers have been placed on reserve. You also should consider getting materials through Interlibrary Loan that are not available at Syracuse, another reason to start your research early.

Each of the first-stage papers is due on a Friday (noted in the syllabus) by 12 p.m., hard copy required. The final paper is due on May 1 by 4:00 p.m. The first-stage papers are worth 15 percent of your grade each, the final paper counts for 30 percent of your final grade.

3) Presentations

The final three class sessions are reserved for student presentations on their papers. This is a chance for you to tell the class what you have learned, for you to get feedback before the final paper, and for us to benefit from your research. The length of the presentations will depend on final enrollment in the class. Note that we will meet as normal during Mayfest.

The presentations will be graded on clarity, preparedness, content, and length (i.e., neither too long nor too short). If you choose to use PowerPoint, I would caution not to overdo it, particularly by making slides too busy, cluttered, or wordy. Your presentation will count for 10 percent of your final grade.

4) Huntington/Janowitz Reaction Paper

Two of the most influential CMR books ever written are Samuel Huntington’s The Soldier and the State and Morris Janowitz’s The Professional Soldier. Huntington, in particular, has largely defined the terms of much writing on CMR. We therefore read large chunks of Huntington and an excerpt from Janowitz, as well as an article evaluating their contributions.

The week we read Huntington and Janowitz each student will write a short (5-7 pages, double-spaced) review essay. This essay should critically assess the readings for that week (Huntington,
Janowitz, Feaver). The object of the essay is to identify the central issues that the readings address, to locate the authors’ positions vis-à-vis those issues, and to comment critically on the state of the debate and the value of the individual contributions to it. You should keep the following questions in mind: What are the central issues at stake in these readings? What are the principal arguments of the works under study? How do they relate to each other? What are the main theoretical or empirical strengths or weaknesses of the studies? How valuable and viable is the theory that each proposes (if it proposes a theory)? Your paper should go beyond a summary of the readings toward critical commentary and a discussion of the issues that unite the works.

The papers will be evaluated according to the effectiveness and insight with which you illuminate the principal issues raised by the readings in an independent and critically-minded way. You obviously cannot cover all the conceivable issues raised by the readings, but you should certainly concentrate on the most important ones and eschew trivial issues. You should not consult any outside works for this assignment. The paper is due in class on January 27. Your grade on this paper will constitute 10 percent of your final grade. You do not need to submit a question this week.

**SUMMARY**

Grades will be based on the following:

- Class Participation: 20%
- Reaction Paper: 10%
- Presentation: 10%
- First-Stage Papers: 30% (15% each)
- Final Paper: 30%

There is no final exam for the class.

**COURSE POLICIES**

*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 also strongly recommend that you visit the website Plagiarism.org [http://www.plagiarism.org] and read the sections on “What is plagiarism,” “Types of Plagiarism,” and “Planning Your Paper.” 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. Students found to cheat will receive an F for that assignment; because this is a graduate class the penalty may be harsher at my discretion, up to and including an F for the course. Students have a right to appeal. I take this VERY seriously.

Disability-Related Accommodations: Students who are in need of disability-related academic accommodations must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS), 804 University Avenue, Room 309, 315-443-4498. Students with authorized disability-related accommodations should provide a current Accommodation Authorization Letter from ODS to the instructor and review those accommodations with the instructor. Accommodations, such as exam administration, are not provided retroactively; therefore, planning for accommodations as early as possible is necessary. For further information, see the ODS website, Office of Disability Services http://disabilityservices.syr.edu/

Religious holidays: In accordance with SU policy, I will excuse any absences that result from religious observances, provided that you notify me in advance of the planned absence.

IMPORTANT DATES TO REMEMBER

January 27 Reaction Paper Due
February 27 First Paper Due
April 3 Second Paper Due
May 1 Final Paper Due

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

FIRST UNIT: THE FOUNDATIONS

January 13: Introduction

This meeting is primarily administrative, and a chance to get acquainted.

At some point this week – perhaps tonight! -- you should review a US Army website on how military units are organized:
http://www.army.mil/institution/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.

**January 20: States, Nations, Militaries, and War**


Miguel Angel Centeno, “Limited Wars and Limited States,” in Diane Davis and Anthony Pereira, eds., *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 82-95. [distributed in class]


**January 27: Huntington, Janowitz, and Military Professionalism**

**Reaction Paper due in class.**


SECOND UNIT: WHO’S IN CHARGE? MILITARY INTERVENTION & CIVILIAN CONTROL

February 3: Coups and Coup Theories

Brian D. Taylor, Politics and The Russian Army: Civil-Military Relations, 1689-2000 (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 6-30. [distributed in class or on Blackboard]

Donald Horowitz, Coup Theories and Officers’ Motives: Sri Lanka in Comparative Perspective (Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 3-15, 217-221. [distributed in class or on Blackboard]

Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 1-5, 78-80, 192-263, 460-461. [distributed in class or on Blackboard]

Eric Nordlinger, Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments (Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 63-78, 85-95. [distributed in class or on Blackboard]


February 10: Coups and Military Dominance in the Middle East

Cook, Ruling But Not Governing, entire.


February 17: Establishing Civilian Control: Theory and Practice


February 24: Civilian Control in Communist and Post-Communist Countries

First Paper Due February 27.


**THIRD UNIT: CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND THE USE OF FORCE**

March 3: The European Experience


March 10: Spring Break

March 17: U.S. Experience: Vietnam to Iraq


H. R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty: Johnson, McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam* (Harper Collins, 1997), pp. 323-334. [distributed in class or on Blackboard]


**Recommended:**


**FOURTH UNIT: NEW CHALLENGES IN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS**


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”). [distributed in class or on Blackboard]


**March 31: Civil-Military Challenges of 21st Century Military Operations**

**Second Paper Due April 3.**


*The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 53-77. [distributed in class or on Blackboard]


Anna Leander, “Regulating the role of private military companies in shaping security and politics,” in Simon Chesterman and Chia Lehnardt, eds., *From Mercenaries to Market: The Rise and Regulation of Private Military Companies* (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 49-65. [distributed in class or on Blackboard]

Recommended:


April 7: State Failure and Security Sector Reform: Solution or Illusion?


[E-Journals, Wiley Interscience]

[distributed in class or on Blackboard]

[E-Journals, ProQuest Research Library]

April 14: Student Presentations

April 21: Student Presentations

April 28: Student Presentations

MAY 1 FINAL PAPER DUE, 4 P.M.