

**Political Science 304: Topics in Comparative Politics**  
**Comparative Civil-Military Relations**  
Spring 2018  
Glatfelter Hall, Room 104  
Monday, Wednesday and Friday: 10:00am – 10:50am

Instructor: Michael Newell

Office: Glatfelter Hall Room 318

Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays 11am – 12pm

If possible, please email ahead so I may plan for your visit. Additional office hours may be scheduled by appointment if necessary. Please email me if you would like to meet but cannot attend my regularly scheduled hours. I am available only on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

Email: [mnewell@gettysburg.edu](mailto:mnewell@gettysburg.edu)

### **Course Description**

In the United States and other established democracies, control of the military by elected, civilian officials is assumed. However, in other historical or political contexts, relations between civilian governments and their militaries are much more tenuous. In the most extreme cases, the military itself takes power. In this course, we will examine different historical and political arrangements determining who's in charge, who gets to decide when and how military force is used, and how and why these relations may change. Topics to be covered include military coups, military professionalism, democratic versus authoritarian civil-military relations, and the consequences of civilian control for military doctrine, grand strategy, counterinsurgency, counterterrorism and more.

### **Requirements**

50 Points: Research Project (Instructions at the end of this syllabus)

Research proposal and country selection (2.5 points)

Annotated Bibliography (2.5 points)

Paper 1 (15 points)

Paper 2 (15 points)

Final Presentation (10 points)

Presentations Response Paper (5 points)

25 Points: Quizzes

Content Quizzes: Three quizzes, five points each, Announced, closed book

Reading Quizzes: Two quizzes, five points each, Unannounced, open note

20 Points: Participation and Attendance

*Participation grade breakdown:*

**Full credit:** Attentive throughout class, consistent contributions to discussions, often directly referencing specific arguments or ideas from course readings, engaging with your peers' ideas in a thoughtful and respectful manner.

**High partial credit:** Attentive throughout class, some contributions to discussions, infrequent or overly general references to the readings, engaging with your peers' ideas in a thoughtful and respectful manner.

**Low partial credit:** Attentive for most of class, few or no contributions to discussions, little or no references to the readings or recognition of peers' ideas.

**Failing participation grade:** Inattentive in class, no contributions to discussion, violations of classroom policies (i.e. technology), disrespectful towards others' ideas.

*Attendance:*

Each student has three excused absences. Each absence beyond this will result in a two point penalty on your participation grade. Additional excused absences will be given for documented illness—a doctor's note must be provided to the instructor for each absence—and for religious observance requests. You must email me at least one week ahead of time for an excused absence for religious observance. Students with excused absences may be asked to complete in-class work they miss. There are **no excused absences for your presentation day.**

5 Points: Current Event Response Papers (fourth hour requirement)

Each student will write five one-page (1.5 spacing, 12 pt. font, 1" margins) responses, worth 1 point each, to news articles relevant to content from this course. One response must be turned in for each of the first five course units (see course schedule), but may discuss content from any unit of the course. Responses are turned in via Moodle. The news article or story you are responding to must be included as a link. To fulfill this requirement, you are expected to keep up to date on current events on a week-to-week basis. For example, these responses may examine the role of a course concept or topic in a current event, discuss the similarity of a current event to another case discussed in the course, or analyze a current event using a concept from the course.

## Grading

“A range” indicates an outstanding performance in which there has been distinguished achievement in all aspects of the course.

A: 93-100      A-: 90-92

“B range” indicates a good performance in which there has been a high level of achievement in some aspects of the course.

B+: 87-89      B: 83-86      B-: 80-82

“C range” indicates an adequate performance in which a basic understanding of the subject has been demonstrated.

C+: 77-79      C: 73-76      C-: 70-72

“D range” indicates a minimal performance in which despite recognizable deficiencies there is enough to merit credit.

D: 60-69

## Reading

All readings listed in the course schedule are to be completed on or before the day of class they are listed for.

Many readings for Unit I of the course can be found in the textbook for this class, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* by Huntington (available for purchase at the College bookstore).

All other readings for this class will be available via the course Moodle site.

## **Late Work Policy**

Assignments will accrue a 1/3 letter grade penalty (i.e. A to A-) for each day that they are late.

## **Technology Policy**

Use of laptops and tablets is permitted for the purposes of note taking only. All other technology is prohibited, and I may ask that laptops and tablets be put away during discussions. Using laptops and tablets for anything other than taking notes will lead to a failing participation grade.

## **Academic Honesty**

Consistent with the Gettysburg College Honor Code, “students must submit work that is the fruit of their own study and labor, acknowledge assistance, words, and ideas they use in their work, and be honest will all members of the community involved in supporting their education” (Honor Code Summary, p. 1). Please be sure to read the Honor Code in its entirety; it is your responsibility to be familiar with and abide by both the rule and spirit of this code.

## **Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

Students with learning or physical issues which may affect performance in the course should come and see me as soon as possible. Bring your Individual Educational Accommodation Plan with you and we will discuss what are reasonable accommodations given the structure and content of the course. You must have an IEAP to receive accommodation in this course.

## **Religious Observances**

Gettysburg College is fully committed to diversity, equity, and inclusion. If they choose, all students, faculty, administrators, and support staff have the right to engage in essential practices of their faith while minimizing conflict with work, academic or athletic requirements. Students who wish to observe religious holy days are encouraged to discuss with me in advance. We can make appropriate arrangements so that you may make up missed work. As soon as possible but no later than the end of the drop/add period, each student has the responsibility to inform me about religious observances that are likely to conflict directly with academic, campus, or other required extracurricular activities. Once the Religious Observance Accommodation Form has been submitted, the student and faculty member, coach, or supervisor must converse and agree upon what would constitute a reasonable accommodation (i.e., missing a class, extending an assignment deadline, rescheduling an exam or assignment without penalty, etc.) for holidays (examples could include Good Friday, Yom Kippur, Eid al Adha, etc.).

## Course Schedule

Week	Date	Topic	Readings
<b><i>Unit I: Military Professionalism</i></b>			
1	M 1/22	Introduction	
	W 1/24	The Military and Civilian Professions	Huntington, <i>Soldier and the State</i> , pp. vii-viii, 1-19
	F 1/26	History and Theory of Civil-Military Relations	Taylor, <i>Politics and the Russian Army: Civil-Military Relations, 1689-2000</i> , pp. 6-30
2	M 1/29	Huntington and Military Professionalism	Huntington, <i>Soldier and the State</i> , pp. 19-58 And: Review brief discussion of organization of military units from Encyclopedia Britannica: <a href="https://www.britannica.com/topic/military-unit">https://www.britannica.com/topic/military-unit</a>
	W 1/31	Huntington and Military Professionalism	Huntington, <i>Soldier and the State</i> , pp. 59-85, 94-97
	F 2/2	Military Professionalism in U.S. Civil-Military Relations	Huntington, <i>Soldier and the State</i> , pp. 143-157, 163-169, 177-180, 184-192, 345-346
3	M 2/5	Janowitz and Civilian Control	Feaver, "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control" <i>Armed Forces and Society</i> , (Winter 1996), pp. 149-178.
	W 2/7	Comparing Huntington and Janowitz in U.S. civil-military relations	<a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2017/10/23/military-times-poll-what-you-really-think-about-trump/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2017/10/23/military-times-poll-what-you-really-think-about-trump/</a> And: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/for-some-veterans-john-kellys-remarks-add-to-a-worrying-military-civilian-divide/2017/10/21">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/for-some-veterans-john-kellys-remarks-add-to-a-worrying-military-civilian-divide/2017/10/21</a>
	F 2/9	Discussion and Quiz 1	No Readings
<b><i>Unit II: Military Coups and Military Rule</i></b>			
4	M 2/12	Coup Theory	Horowitz, <i>Coup Theories and Officers' Motives</i> , pp. 3-15, 217-221
	W 2/14	Ethnicity and Coups	Harkness, "The Ethnic Army and the State: explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa" <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> , 60.4 (2016): <b>Pages 587-599 only, skim 599-end.</b>
	F 2/16	Coup-proofing in the Middle East	James Quinlivan, "Coup-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East" <i>International Security</i> , 24, 2 (1999), <b>Pages 131-135, skim 135-end.</b>
5	M 2/19	Military Rule	Cook, <i>Ruling But Not Governing</i> , pp.14-31
	W 2/21	Documentary: <i>Erdogan: The Making of a Sultan</i>	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/turkey-military-coup/analysis-erdogan-s-purge-coup-proof-turkey-s-military-may-n630791">https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/turkey-military-coup/analysis-erdogan-s-purge-coup-proof-turkey-s-military-may-n630791</a>
	F 2/23	Military Rule and Military Coups in Zimbabwe and Turkey	Philip Martin, "Why Zimbabwe's Military Abandoned Mugabe" <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , November 2017 (in library course reserves folder)

<b>Unit III: Democratization and Civilian Control</b>			
6	M 2/26	Democratic Transitions	Felipe Agüero, "Institutions, Transitions, and Bargaining: Civilians and the Military in Shaping Postauthoritarian Regimes" Chapter 8 of <i>Civil-Military Relations in Latin America</i> , ed. By David Pion-Berlin, 2001: pages 194-220 (in library course reserves folder)
	W 2/28	Establishing Civilian Control	Kohn, "How Democracies Control the Military" <i>Journal of Democracy</i> , 8, 4 (October 1997), pp. 140-153.
	F 3/2	The Legacy of Military Rule: Civil-military relations in Brazil	Nina Schneider, "Breaking the 'Silence' of the Military Regime: New Politics of Memory in Brazil" <i>Bulletin of Latin America Research</i> , 30, 2 (2011), pp. 198-212
7	M 3/5	How Democracies Control the Military	Zoltan Barany, <i>The Soldier and the Changing State</i> , 2012: pages 1-6, 10-11, 25-43 (Library <b>ebook</b> : access via Gettysburg College Library website)
	W 3/7	Democratic Militaries in Germany and Japan	Zoltan Barany, <i>The Soldier and the Changing State</i> , 2012: pages 47-67, 72-77 (Library <b>ebook</b> : access via Gettysburg College Library website)
	F 3/9	Discussion and Quiz 2	No Readings
8	<b>SPRING BREAK</b>		
<b>Unit IV: Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force</b>			
9	M 3/19	Theories of Civil-Military Relations and Military Doctrine: Clausewitz	Carl Von Clausewitz, "On War", pages 75-89, 605-610
	W 3/21	Europe in WWI	Stephen Van Evera "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War", <i>International Security</i> , 9, 1 (Summer 1984): <b>pages 58-79 only</b> .
	F 3/23	Propaganda and Preparedness for War: <i>Why We Fight</i> film by Frank Capra	No Readings
10	M 3/26	The U.S. and the Vietnam War Experience	Kenneth Campbell, "Once Burned, Twice Cautious: Explaining the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine" <i>Armed Forces &amp; Society</i> , 24, 3 (Spring 1998): pages 357-374.
	W 3/28	The U.S. and the Iraq War Experience	Michael Desch "Bush and the generals" <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , 86, 3 (May-June 2007): pages 97-108.
	F 3/30	Debate: Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force in the U.S.	Excerpts from the U.S. National Security Strategy (2017, 2010)
11	M 4/2	Civilian Control of Nuclear Weapons in the U.S.	Feaver, "Guarding the Guardians: Civilian Control of Nuclear Weapons in the U.S." 1992: <b>Pages 7-13, 29-33, 230-231 only</b> . And: Blair, "Trump and the Nuclear Keys" NY Times ( <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/12/opinion/trump-and-the-nuclear-keys.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/12/opinion/trump-and-the-nuclear-keys.html</a> )
	<b>NO CLASS: 4/4 and 4/6</b>		

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><i>Unit V: Beyond the Military—Examining the Military and Society; and Civilian Control in the Face of New Security Threats</i></b></p>			
12	M 4/9	Modern Militaries	Barry Posen, “Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power” <i>International Security</i> , 18, 2 (Autumn 1993): <b>pages 80-95, 99 only</b> .
	W 4/11	Post-Modern Militaries	Mackubin Owens, “US Civil-Military Relations After 9/11: Renegotiating the Civil-Military Bargain” 2011: Pages 128-161.
	F 4/13	The Military in Society	Review of Bacevich’s <i>The Demilitarized Soldier</i> : <a href="https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/demilitarized-soldier-andrew-bacevich-american-foreign-policy-breach-trust/">https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/demilitarized-soldier-andrew-bacevich-american-foreign-policy-breach-trust/</a> And: <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/the-bundeswehrs-image-problem-is-it-overrun-with-right-wing-extremists/a-38684538">http://www.dw.com/en/the-bundeswehrs-image-problem-is-it-overrun-with-right-wing-extremists/a-38684538</a>
13	M 4/16	The Military in a Foreign Society: Counterinsurgency and Civil-Military Relations	TE Lawrence “The 27 Articles of TE Lawrence” And: “Unity of Effort: Integrating Civilian and Military Activities” <i>U.S. Army Field Manual No. 3-24</i> , 2007: pages 53-77
	W 4/18	Civil-Military Relations in a Post-9/11 Era	Linda Robinson, “The Future of Special Operations: Beyond Kill and Capture” <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , 2012: pages 110-122. And: <a href="https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/23172/the-risks-of-giving-the-cia-expanded-drone-strike-authority">https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/23172/the-risks-of-giving-the-cia-expanded-drone-strike-authority</a>
	F 4/20	Discussion and Quiz 3	No Readings
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><i>Unit VI: Examining Global Civil-Military Relations</i></b></p>			
14	M 4/23	Presentations	No Readings
	W 4/25	Presentations	No Readings
	F 4/27	Presentations	No Readings
15	M 4/30	Presentations	No Readings
	W 5/2	Presentations	No Readings
	F 5/4	Course Conclusion and Evaluations	No Readings

## Research Project

### *Country assignments*

During class on January 26 a sign-up sheet will be passed around class. If you are not in class on this day you must email me your preferences by the end of the day, otherwise you will have to choose from the remaining countries. You will indicate your first three preferences for the country you will research for the remainder of assignments for this research project. The available countries are located at the end of this syllabus. You may not choose the U.S. (we will discuss this case enough throughout the course), but you may list another country not on this list if you believe you will be able to find sufficient information about its civil-military relations. I will do my best to give everyone their preferred choice. Country assignments will be posted on Moodle as soon as possible so that you may begin your research proposals. Presentation date sign ups will occur later.

### *Research proposal and country selection (2.5 points)*

Due Date: Friday February 2, 2018, 5pm, via Moodle

Requirements: Submit a one-page (1.5 spacing, 12 pt font, 1" margins) research proposal that includes the following: the country you will research, what time period you will restrict your research to (i.e. post-cold war, WWI, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, etc.—this can be flexible, but must be clearly defined in the proposal), what data sources you anticipate using for your research (i.e. library books, journal articles, online archives, personal contacts/interviews, etc.), and, briefly, why you think this country, in your chosen time period, is worth investigating.

### *Annotated Bibliography (2.5 points)*

Due Date: Friday February 16, 2018, 5pm, via Moodle

Requirements: Submit a bibliography with annotations for five academic sources and one data source. For each academic source, include the following: bibliographic information in a consistent format (i.e. MLA, APA, Chicago), and annotations that 1) summarize the piece, 2) discuss the relevance of the piece for your research, 3) identify significant arguments made in the source, and 4) provide your response to those arguments. The annotation for each source should be approximately 1-2 paragraphs. For the single data source, provide a link or explanation of where the source was found, identify the data provided there, and briefly explain how it could be used in your research.

### *Paper 1 (15 points)*

Due Date: Friday March 2, 2018, 5pm, via Moodle

Requirements: Submit a four-page (1.5 spacing, 12 pt. font, 1" margins) paper in which you analyze the civil-military relations of your chosen country using concepts from the first two units of the class (military professionalism, and/or military coups and military rule). You should apply a specific theoretical framework in this paper (i.e. Huntington's theory of professionalism, the concept of coup-proofing, Taylor's theories of civil-military relations, etc.). You can apply these concepts to explain your country, or you can use your country as a case study to show complexities and/or limitations in these theories. The best papers will advance an argument and thesis, correctly apply a theoretical framework, use empirical support for the argument, and make use of good techniques of

academic writing (clear introduction and thesis, well-structured argument, correct citations, correct word usage and grammar).

*Paper 2 (15 points)*

Due Date: Friday April 2, 2018, 5pm, via Moodle

Requirements: Submit a four-page (1.5 spacing, 12 pt. font, 1" margins) paper in which you analyze the civil-military relations of your chosen country using concepts from the third and/or fourth units of the class (Democratization and Civilian Control, and civil-military relations and the use of force). The same requirements and expectations from the first paper apply here. You should apply a specific theoretical framework from the third or fourth unit (or frameworks if using more than one) to your chosen country (i.e. democratic transitions and civil-military relations, Barany's theory of democratic civilian control, the legacy of military rule, civil-military relations and grand strategy, etc.), or use your country as a case study to demonstrate complexities and/or limitations of these frameworks.

*Final Presentation (10 points)*

Due Date: Depends on assigned date between April 23 and May 2

Requirements: Prepare a ten-minute presentation, saving time for questions (i.e. 8 minute presentation plus 2 minute Q&A) relating to the civil-military relations of your country. This presentation should describe and explain the significant theoretical and empirical findings you uncovered while writing your first and second papers. You may use PowerPoint or other tools that are available in the classroom. These should not be 'Wikipedia' style presentations providing only basic historical and political information about your country. These details may be important to set up your presentation, but your main focus should be on presenting a theoretical examination of your country's civil-military relations. To do so, you should identify what you think is most significant or interesting about your country's civil-military relations, and provide a presentation on that specific event/feature/institution/etc. For example, for a presentation on the U.S., one might provide a presentation on civil-military dynamics during and after the highly contentious Vietnam War.

*Presentations Response Paper (5 points)*

Due Date: May 4, 2018

Requirements: Submit a two-page (1.5 spacing, 12 pt. font, 1" margins) paper responding to one or more presentations by other students in the course. These response papers should identify the arguments made in these other presentations along with your reaction. You might address the following: Did you learn something new about your own country from the presenter's arguments? Do you agree with the presenter's assessments? Would you explain things differently? Does their argument relate to your own findings from your research?

### **Ideas for country selection:**

#### Middle East:

Turkey	Syria	Israel	Iran	Iraq	Saudi Arabia	Yemen
Lebanon	Jordan					

#### Africa:

Egypt	Libya	Tunisia	Algeria	Ivory Coast
Ethiopia	Kenya	South Africa	Zimbabwe	Namibia
Angola	Sudan	Somalia	Rwanda	Sierra Leone
				Ghana

#### The Americas:

Brazil	Chile	Argentina	Venezuela	Colombia	Peru
Nicaragua	Honduras	Canada	Mexico		

#### South Asia:

India	Sri Lanka	Pakistan	Bangladesh	Afghanistan
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#### East and Southeast Asia:

Australia	Japan	China	South Korea	North Korea
Vietnam	Indonesia	Myanmar		

#### Western Europe:

Great Britain	Ireland	Germany	France	Spain	Italy
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#### Eastern Europe and former USSR:

Russia	Ukraine	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Serbia	Poland
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### **Research Paper and Course Resources**

- Military sections of the Library of Congress Country Study for your country:  
<http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs>
- Online and library databases:
  - Google Scholar, ProQuest Research Library, FirstSearch, PAIS International, Polity IV, ProQuest Social Sciences, ICPSR, Issues and Controversies, Congressional Research Service Reports, Freedom House Data, and the CIA World Fact Book. Each of these databases is available either via the Gettysburg College Library or is free online.
- Academic Journals:
  - *Armed Forces & Society, Journal of Political & Military Sociology, Comparative Political Studies, Journal of Comparative Politics, World Politics, International Security, Security Studies, Security Dialogue*, and regional journals (i.e. *Comparative European Politics, Latin American Politics and Society*, etc.).