

All the President's Generals: Civil-Military Relations in the US and Beyond

January 2020

Instructor: Sara Plana

Description: This course introduces the unique characteristics of militaries and explores the roles they play in the societies they are constructed to defend, with a special focus on the relationships between the military and their civilian leaders and popular publics. Topics include a modern history of relations between US Presidents and the military, coups and military governments, public trust in the military, racial integration of the military, and the military-industrial (and tech!) complex. Students will debate the responsibility of civilian leaders and the public to oversee the military in a democracy and examine the issues and tradeoffs that industry and the public face when engaging with the armed forces.

Course Outline:

Part I: Intro to the Problem of Civil-Military Relations

- Monday, January 6: Why do Civil-Military Relations Matter? Democracy and Foreign Policy

Part II: Military and Politics

- Wednesday, January 8: Causes of “Healthy” and “Unhealthy” Civil-Military Relations
- Monday, January 13: Consequences of Military Rule
- Wednesday, January 15: When Civilians Politicize the Military
- *Monday, January 20: NO CLASS (MLK, Jr. Day)*

Part III: Military and Society

- Wednesday, January 22: The Debate over Who Can/Should Serve
- Monday, January 27: The Public’s View of the Military
- Wednesday, January 29: The Future of the Military-Industrial-Tech Complex

Student Learning Outcomes:

Through this course, students will:

- Have a deeper understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the US military and other militaries across the globe—and the duty of civilians to oversee them.
- Be familiar with the causes and consequences of military involvement in politics.
- Be able to identify and diagnose threats to “healthy” civil-military relations.

Assignments and Course Grade Breakdown:

- Two Memos (50% of class grade, taken together): Two response papers (2-3 pages each), which together will account for 50% of the course grade. At least 5 days prior to the deadline, email the instructor the country you wish to analyze.
 - First Memo due Friday, January 17 at 11:59pm (25%): Pick a foreign country and make an assessment about the likelihood its military will intervene in politics

to take over the government. What conditions indicate it might intervene? Which indicators go the other way?

- Second Memo due Wednesday, January 29 at 11:59pm (25%): Pick a foreign country from the public opinion polls on the syllabus and different from the last one you picked. What explains variation in public trust of the military in that country over time?
- Oral Presentation (15%): One 5-minute presentation on “civil-military relations in the news.” The night before the class at which you will present, send me an email with the news item you will be presenting and 1-2 sentences on the themes from the class that it connects to.
- Class Participation (35%): All students are expected to read assigned readings closely and participate regularly in seminar discussion. Students should share their questions and thoughts in class and respond to those of other students. Students are also encouraged to bring current events into discussion.

Part I: Intro to the Problem of Civil-Military Relations

Monday, January 6: Why do Civil-Military Relations Matter? Democracy and Foreign Policy

O'Connor, Tom. "China Holds Military Drills in Hong Kong as Big Protests Planned for New Year," *Newsweek*, December 30, 2019. <https://www.newsweek.com/china-holds-military-drills-hong-kong-big-protests-planned-new-year-1479757>

Chaudhary, Shamila N. "Musharraf sentence sends a powerful message to Pakistan's military," *The Washington Post*, December 20, 2019.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/20/musharraf-sentence-sends-powerful-message-pakistans-military/>

U.S. Constitution, Article II (<http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.articleii.html> - section2) and Article I, Section 8 (<http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.articlei.html#section8>)

War Powers Resolution, United States Congress, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-87/pdf/STATUTE-87-Pg555.pdf>

Brooks, Risa. 2017. "[What Should U.S. Military Leaders Do if the President Provokes a Major International Crisis?](#)" *The Washington Post's* Monkey Cage. February 16, 2017.

Braw, Elizabeth. "The Military Aren't Heroes or Villains. They're Us." In *Foreign Policy*. July 1, 2019. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/01/the-military-arent-heroes-or-villains-theyre-us/>

Recommended: For those of you unfamiliar with militaries, optional background readings:

- Thornhill, Paula G.. *Demystifying the American Military: Institutions, Evolution, and Challenges Since 1789*. United States: Naval Institute Press, 2019, *Chapters 1 and 2*.

Part II: Military and Politics

Wednesday, January 8: Causes of "Healthy" and "Unhealthy" Civil-Military Relations

Feaver, Peter. 1996. "[The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civil Control.](#)" *Armed Forces and Society* 23: 149-178.

Barany, Zoltan. *The soldier and the changing state: Building democratic armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas*. Princeton University Press, 2012, p. 14-35 and 39-43 (from "Why do people with guns obey people without guns?" to end of the chapter).

Huntington, Samuel. *The Soldier and the State*, 1957, read closely p. 80-85, skim p. 85-97.

Naunihal Singh, *Seizing Power: The Strategic Logic of Military Coups* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), p. 15-24, 39-40 (skim p. 24-39).

Recommended:

- Klaas, Brian. "Why Coups Fail: The Outcome in Turkey was No Surprise," in *Foreign Affairs*. July 17, 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2016-07-17/why-coups-fail>
- Balakrishnan, Nandita. "Sudan's upheaval is the latest example of a 'gray-zone coup'" in MonkeyCage blog in *The Washington Post*. April 17, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/04/17/sudans-upheaval-is-latest-example-gray-zone-coup/>
- Huntington, Samuel P. "Armed Forces and Democracy: Reforming Civil-Military Relations." *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 4 (1995): 9-17.

Monday, January 13: Consequences of Military Rule

Geddes, Barbara, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright. "Military rule." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (2014): p. 155-158.

Stepan, Alfred C. *Rethinking military politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone*. Princeton University Press, 1988, Chapter 7 "The Military in Newly Democratic Regimes: The Dimension of Military Prerogatives," p. 93-127.

Weeks, Jessica L. 2012. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106 (2): 326-347.

Naing, Shoon. "Myanmar parliament approves panel to discuss constitution despite military protest," Reuters, February 6, 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-constitution/myanmar-parliament-approves-panel-to-discuss-constitution-despite-military-protest-idUSKCN1PV0CX>

Wednesday, January 15: When Civilians Politicize the Military

Quinlivan, James T. "Coup-proofing: Its practice and consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24, no. 2 (1999): focus on p. 135-137 (on "exploitation of loyalties"), 141-142 (on parallel security institutions), 148-149 (on multiple security services), 151-153 ("fostering of expertness in the regular military"), 155-158 (on how coup-proofing affects military effectiveness). Skim the discussion of the cases.

Talmadge, Caitlin. "Different threats, different militaries: Explaining organizational practices in authoritarian armies." *Security Studies* 25, no. 1 (2016): 111-141.

De Bruin, Erica. "Preventing coups d'état: How counterbalancing works." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62, no. 7 (2018): 1433-1458.

Harkness, Kristen. 2016. "[The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa.](#)" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(4): 587-616.

Allen, Kenneth, Brian Chao, and Ryan Kinsella. "China's Military Political Commissar System in Comparative Perspective," *China Brief*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, Jamestown Foundation, March 4, 2013. <https://jamestown.org/program/chinas-military-political-commissar-system-in-comparative-perspective/>

Blankshain, Jessica. "Trump's Generals: Mattis, McMaster, and Kelly." In "Policy Roundtable: Civil-Military Relations Now and Tomorrow," *Texas National Security Review*. March 27, 2018. <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-civil-military-relations-now-tomorrow/#essay2>

(Friday, January 17: Response Paper 1 due at 11:59pm)

Part III: Interaction between Military and Society

Monday, January 20: NO CLASS (MLK, Jr. DAY)

Wednesday, January 22: The Debate over Who Can/Should Serve

Janowitz, Morris. "Military institutions and citizenship in western societies." *Armed Forces & Society* 2, no. 2 (1976), p. 189-193.

(in conversation with Janowitz) Krebs, Ronald R. "A school for the nation? How military service does not build nations, and how it might." *International Security* 28, no. 4 (2004), focus on p. 90-115.

Kier, Elizabeth. "Homosexuals in the US military: Open integration and combat effectiveness." *International Security* 23, no. 2 (1998): 5-39.

Rana, Aziz. 2018. "[Against National Security Citizenship](#)." *Boston Review*. February 7, 2018.

Monday, January 27: The Public's View of the Military

Feaver, Peter Douglas, and Richard H. Kohn. *Soldiers and civilians: The civil-military gap and American national security*. MIT Press, 2001, Conclusion (p. 459-473).

Pew Research Center, "War and Sacrifice in the Post-9/11 Era," October 5, 2011. <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/10/05/war-and-sacrifice-in-the-post-911-era/>

Feaver, Peter Douglas, and Richard H. Kohn. *Soldiers and civilians: The civil-military gap and American national security*. MIT Press, 2001, Chapter 10 on gender and sexual orientation in military, p. 361-402.

Diavolo, Lucy. "6 Legendary Vietnam-Era Anti-War Movement Protests Everyone Should Know." *Teen Vogue*, May 3, 2019. <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/legendary-vietnam-era-anti-war-movement-protests>

Peralta, Eyder. "Pentagon Paid Sports Teams Millions For 'Paid Patriotism' Events," NPR News, November 5, 2015. <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/11/05/454834662/pentagon-paid-sports-teams-millions-for-paid-patriotism-events>

Skim the following polls on trust in the military globally. For your response paper, pick country from these polls:

Global public opinion of the military:

- Public support for military governance: Pew Research Center, "Globally, Broad Support for Representative and Direct Democracy", October 16, 2017. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2017/10/16/globally-broad-support-for-representative-and-direct-democracy/>, p. 28-30 of the PDF report.
- *US*: Saad, Lydia. "Military, Small Business, Police Still Stir Most Confidence," Gallup, June 28, 2018. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/236243/military-small-business-police-stir-confidence.aspx> and "Military and National Defense," Gallup. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1666/military-national-defense.aspx>
- *Latin America*: LAPOP AmericasBarometer "Trust in the Armed Forces" 2018/2019 findings (https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ab2018/Statistical_Compndium_2018-19_W_10.22.19.pdf)
 - Note: the PDF findings are in Spanish, but the findings for "Trust in the Armed Forces in 2018/2019 can be found under variable B12 "Confianza en las Fuerzas Armadas." The options for respondents on the left column go from "Nada" (or nothing) to "Mucho" (or a lot). "No sabe" is "Don't know," "No responde" is "Refused to respond."
- *Africa*: AfroBarometer 1991-2018 > Select All (countries) > See Results > "Institutions and Leaders" > "Trust in Army" trends <https://afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis/analyse-online>
- *Asia*: Asian Barometer
 - Chu, Yun-han, et al. "Re-assessing the Popular Foundation of Asian Democracies: Findings from Four Waves of the Asian Barometer Survey," Global Barometer Working Paper Series, No. 120, <http://asianbarometer.org/publications/b15620cf8549caa8a6cc4da5d481c42f.pdf>, "Figure 11: The Army(Military) Should Come In to Govern the Country".
 - If you want more detailed survey data, you should apply directly to the Asian barometer to ask them to send you the data. Find the application process here: <http://www.asianbarometer.org/data/data-release>.
- *Europe*: EuroBarometer. Browse the findings of the variable "Trust in Institutions: Army" over the different years of the survey here: <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/series/26/variables?q=army>.

Recommended:

- *For information on differences in attitudes between US civilians and people in the military*: Ole R. Holsti, "Of Chasms & Convergences: Attitudes and Beliefs of Civilians

and Military Elites,” in *Soldiers and Civilians: the civil-military gap & American national security*, edited by Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, MIT Press, 2001, 15-63 & 90-99.

(Response Paper 2 due Wednesday, January 29 at 11:59pm)

Wednesday, January 29: The Future of the Military-Industrial-Tech Complex

“Egypt's Sisi rebuffs videos alleging corruption,” *Reuters*, September 14, 2019.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-politics/egypts-sisi-rebuffs-videos-alleging-corruption-idUSKBN1VZ0KO>

Avant, Deborah D. *The market for force: The consequences of privatizing security*. Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 7-26.

Risa Brooks, “Technology and Future War Will Test U.S. Civil-Military Relations,” in *War on the Rocks*, November 26, 2018. <https://warontherocks.com/2018/11/technology-and-future-war-will-test-u-s-civil-military-relations/>

Braw, Elizabeth. “How Israeli Conscription Drives Innovation,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 19, 2017. (this is the positive argument of military-economy revolving door)

Metz, Cade. “Is Ethical A.I. even possible?” *New York Times*, March 1, 2019.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/01/business/ethics-artificial-intelligence.html>

Silverman, Jacob. “Tech’s Military Dilemma: Silicon Valley’s emerging role in America’s forever war,” *the New Republic*, August 7, 2018. <https://newrepublic.com/article/148870/techs-military-dilemma-silicon-valley>