

GLBL 288: Civil-Military Relations and Democratization

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Course Description

This course explores the role of the military in politics, with a focus on processes of democratization. It introduces students to concepts of civilian control, professionalism, and military intervention. The course introduces significant cases from twentieth-century history and surveys contemporary military politics. Topics include coups d'état, responses to revolution, and democratic transition. Paper required.

Course Objectives

- Define civil-military relations and understand theories of its dynamics
- Explore the relationship between the armed forces and political development
- Learn to assess world events through the lens of political science research and theory
- *To be continued...*

Course Policy

Required Books

The following books are available in electronic format from Yale Library. Their purchase in hard copy is recommended.

- Zoltan Barany, *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), ISBN: 9780691137698, \$37.50.
- Zoltan Barany, *How Armies Respond to Revolutions and Why* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), ISBN: 9780691157368, \$35.00.

All other required readings will be posted electronically on Canvas.

Grading Policy

The final grade will be composed as follows:

Participation (discussion, attendance) 15%; Weekly response memos 30%; Literature review 10%, Research design 15%, Final paper 30%.

Assignments

The final grade will be composed as follows:

- 15 pts. Participation. Students are expected to come to class ready to discuss critically the week's readings.
- 30 pts. Weekly response memos (1 page) on the assigned readings. Each memo should answer the week's guided reading question(s) and raise additional questions for clarification and for discussion in class. Due 24 hours before the relevant class.
- Research project on a topic related to the course, including:
 - 10 pts. Research Question and Literature Review (3-4 pages) due February 22.
 - 15 pts. Research Design and Annotated Bibliography (3-4 pages) due April 5.
 - 30 pts. Final Paper (12-15 pages) due May 1.

All written assignments must be submitted electronically via Canvas.

At midterm, you will receive graded feedback on your research assignments and weekly response papers to that point. There is no final exam.

Attendance

The course meets for one 110-minute seminar per week. Your attendance is required. Attendance and participation in classroom discussions will count for 15% of your final grade.

Electronics

No electronic devices are permitted in seminar. This includes laptop computers, tablets, and smartphones. This policy is intended to improve learning outcomes.¹ Students who have made arrangements with the Resource Office on Disabilities are permitted to use any electronic device for which they have been given an accommodation.

Contacting Me

If you have a quick (i.e. non-substantive) question, email is the best way to contact me. While I typically respond to emails quickly, please allow 48 hours for a response. If you do not receive a response within 48 hours, follow up with a reminder. This article is recommended reading about how to draft an effective email: Laura Portwood-Stacer, "How to Email Your Professor (without being annoying AF)," <https://go.gl/Aqg5h6>.

If you email me the night before a deadline with a last minute request, please do not expect a response; it is imperative that you look at the assignments early to ensure I can answer any questions you may have in a timeframe that is useful to you. Longer questions – for example, those dealing with your performance in the course or substantive questions about the course material – are better asked in person.

I will hold regular office hours throughout the semester. Please sign up in advance at: <https://calendly.com/nicklotito/officehours/>. Other appointments can be made on an individual basis via email.

Academic Integrity

As a student at Yale, you have joined an academic community. In this community, our intellectual honesty is our currency. Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the school's standards of academic integrity. It means, among other things, truth in presentation, diligence and precision in citing works and ideas we have used, and acknowledging our collaborations with others. Please review the section on "General Conduct and Discipline" in the Undergraduate Regulations.

¹Pam A. Mueller and Daniel M. Oppenheimer, "The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking," *Psychological Science* 25, no. 6 (2014): 1159–68.

Plagiarism

You must document all of your source material. If you take any text from somebody else, you must make it clear the text is being quoted and where the text comes from. You must also cite any sources from which you obtain numbers, ideas, or other material. If you have any questions about what does or does not constitute plagiarism, *ask!* Plagiarism is a serious offense and will not be treated lightly. Fortunately, it is also easy to avoid. Take care to give credit where credit is due, and you will not run into any problems. For guidance on how to properly cite your sources, please visit the Writing Center (<http://ctl.yale.edu/writing/using-sources>).

Disabilities

I will be happy to work with you to provide any disability accommodations you may require. You must first contact the Resource Office on Disabilities (<http://rod.yale.edu/>).

Limited Enrollment

To facilitate in-class discussion, enrollment in the course is strictly limited to 18 students. Students who attend the first class will be offered a place by priority as follows: (1) pre-registered students; (2) 3rd- and 4th-year global affairs majors; (3) seniority; (4) instructor's discretion.

Class Schedule

Note: **Friday sessions** will be held on February 15 and March 1, in addition to the regularly scheduled Tuesday sessions. The last class meeting will be April 9.

Week 01 (1/15). Why Study the Military?

Week 02 (1/22). The Classics

- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), chap. 1
- Peter D. Feaver, "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control," *Armed Forces & Society* 23, no. 2 (1996): 149–78
- Samuel E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1962), 6–32

Week 03 (1/29). New(er) Theory

- Thomas C. Bruneau and Florina Cristiana Matei, "Towards a New Conceptualization of Democratization and Civil-Military Relations," *Democratization* 15, no. 5 (2008): 909–29
- Milan W. Svoblik, "Contracting on Violence: The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 5 (2013): 765–94
- R. Blake McMahan and Branislav L. Slantchev, "The Guardianship Dilemma: Regime Security through and from the Armed Forces," *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 02 (2015): 297–313

Week 04 (2/5). Coups d'état

- Naunihal Singh, *Seizing Power: The Strategic Logic of Military Coups* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), chap. 2
- Erica De Bruin, "Preventing Coups d'état: How Counterbalancing Works," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Mar. 7, 2017,
- Jesse Dillon Savage and Jonathan D Caverley, "When Human Capital Threatens the Capitol: Foreign Aid in the Form of Military Training and Coups," *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 4 (2017): 542–57
- Tobias Böhmelt, Abel Escribà-Folch, and Ulrich Pilster, "Pitfalls of Professionalism? Military Academies and Coup Risk," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Aug. 13, 2018,

Week 05 (2/12). Africa: Ethnic Politics

- Philip Roessler, "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa," *World Politics* 63, no. 02 (2011): 300–46
- Maggie Dwyer, *Soldiers in Revolt: Army Mutinies in Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2018), chap. 6
- Kristen A. Harkness, *When Soldiers Rebel: Ethnic Armies and Political Instability in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), chap. 5
- Joseph Soeters and Audrey Van Ouytsel, "The Challenge of Diffusing Military Professionalism in Africa," *Armed Forces & Society* 40, no. 2 (2014): 252–68

Week 06 (Fri. 2/15). The Army and Democracy

- Barany, *The Soldier and the Changing State*, chap. 1
- Narcís Serra, *The Military Transition: Democratic Reform of the Armed Forces* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), chap. 2
- Thomas Bruneau and Harold Trinkunas, "Democratization as a Global Phenomenon and Its Impact on Civil-Military Relations," *Democratization* 13, no. 5 (2006): 776–90
- Aurel Croissant et al., "Beyond the Fallacy of Coup-ism: Conceptualizing Civilian Control of the Military in Emerging Democracies," *Democratization* 17, no. 5 (2010): 950–75

Week 07 (2/19). Latin America: After Military Rule

- Alfred C. Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), chap. 7
- Harold A. Trinkunas, *Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela: A Comparative Perspective* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), chap. 1
- Barany, *The Soldier and the Changing State*, chap. 5

Week 08 (2/26). Asia: Removing the Military Veto

- Zoltan Barany, *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), chap. 6
- Aurel Croissant et al., *Democratization and Civilian Control in Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), chap. 7
- Marcus Mietzner, "Veto Player No More? The Declining Political Influence of the Military in Postauthoritarian Indonesia," in *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*, ed. Mirjam Künkler and Alfred C. Stepan (Columbia University Press, 2013)
- Terence Lee, "The Armed Forces and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule Explaining the Role of the Military in 1986 Philippines and 1998 Indonesia," *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 5 (2009): 640–69

Week 09 (Fri. 3/1). Post-Communist Bloc: Democratic Consolidation

- Zoltan Barany, *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), chap. 7
- Nadja Douglas, "Top Down or Bottom Up? Public Control of the Armed Forces in Post-Soviet Russia," *Armed Forces & Society*, May 10, 2018,
- Peter Siani-Davies, "Romanian Revolution or Coup D'état?: A Theoretical View of the Events of December 1989," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29, no. 4 (1996): 453–65

Week 10 (3/5). War & Post-Conflict Environments

- Barany, *The Soldier and the Changing State*, chap. 2-3
- Kimberly Marten, *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States* (Cornell University Press, 2012), 1–15
- Dipali Mukhopadhyay, *Warlords As Bureaucrats: The Afghan Experience* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009)

Week 11 (3/26). South Asia: War and Instability

- Paul Staniland, "Explaining Civil-Military Relations in Complex Political Environments: India and Pakistan in Comparative Perspective," *Security Studies* 17, no. 2 (2008): 322–62
- Steven Wilkinson, *Army and Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy Since Independence* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2015), "Introduction"
- Aqil Shah, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), "Introduction"

Week 12 (4/2). Revolution

- Zoltan Barany, *How Armies Respond to Revolutions and Why* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), chap. 1–4

Week 13 (4/9). Middle East: Confronting Military Regimes

- Steven A Cook, *Ruling but Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), chap. 1
- Hicham Bou Nassif, "Generals and Autocrats: How Coup-Proofing Predetermined the Military Elite's Behavior in the Arab Spring," *Political Science Quarterly* 130, no. 2 (2015): 245–75

- Derek Lutterbeck, “Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil–Military Relations,” *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 1 (2013): 28–52
- Nicholas John Lotito, “Soldiers and Societies in Revolt: Military Doctrine in the Arab Spring” (Columbia University, 2018)