

Civil-Military Relations (INAF 5206)

Course Outline

Prof. Stephen Saideman
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The purpose of this course is to introduce the students to one of the most overlooked but crucial sets of issues for any political system: democracy, autocracy, democratizing, etc. The military is an important actor in any society, as it can determine who governs and has an important influence on foreign policy. Over the course of the past fifty years, the phrase “civil-military relations” has evolved to mean several different things:

- Is the military a threat to take over the government via coup d’etat? How does one keep the military in the barracks? How do militaries govern?
- For advanced democracies, the question became: how do civilians make sure the military does what it is supposed to do? What is the proper rule of each in the relationship? Are there gaps between how the civilians and military look at the world and are these differences consequential.
- More recently, civil-military relations is often taken to mean how best to integrate the different agencies of governments as they engage in peace-building and counter-insurgency. Whole of government, Three D and all the rest are more salient these days as a result of experiences in Iraq, Afghanistan, East Timor, and elsewhere.

This course will address all three meanings of civil-military relations [CMR] via readings and discussions about the most salient issues and difficult tradeoffs. Much attention will be on the US case simply because so much has been written on it, but we will also spend time on Canadian civil-military relations and on a variety of cases around the world.

Objectives:

1. To better understand the different conceptualizations of civil-military relations.
2. To be able to analyze the various theories presented over the course of the term on the different aspects of civil-military relations.
3. To apply the various concepts to events in the world today and in the recent past, both to assess the applicability of the concepts and to gain insights into the key dynamics of these events.
4. To improve one’s research and writing skills in both short and long forms via the course assignments.
5. To develop one’s ability to articulate one’s views via course participation and the presentations at the end of the term.
6. To develop one’s ability to discern the policy implications from conflicting arguments.

Methodology

The course is explicitly comparative. While many of the examples and readings will come from North American experiences, the purpose of this class is to develop a comparative perspective on a problem facing all countries—how to manage the military. Readings will vary from purely theoretical to applied case studies to quantitative analyses. Students should read not just for content (what is the argument) but for style (how this argument constructed might influence how one develops one's own work) and analytically (is this a good argument? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology? How can it be applied to other cases or more recent events?) In some weeks, the discussion will be on specific themes or questions. In others, we will go through each piece of reading.

Course Requirements

The course requirements consist of reading, participation and writing. It is your responsibility to do the work. If you need some sort of accommodation, such as extension, or face some kind of challenge, please see the professor early, when there are more options available. **Do not wait until the last minute or after the fact.**

Participation (30%): This course is a seminar. The quality of the experience depends on what you put into it. You should complete all the readings for each week ahead of time so that you come into class armed with questions, informed opinions, and perhaps even an improved background on the relevant issues. If I find that some students are not participating, I will begin the discussion of each piece (article or book) by randomly choosing someone to start the conversation.

If you miss class, you will not gain any credit for that course meeting. If you cannot attend the class on a regular (that means every week) basis, drop this class and find one that works with your schedule. *Only documented professional, medical or family emergencies can be excused.*

Weekly Memos (20%): For five of the eight possible weeks (none for the first week or for the last three), students will email the instructor a one page assignment by 9am of the day of the seminar. These should be **lists/bullets**—not paragraphs. Keep them to **one page, single-spaced**. They will be graded “check”, check minus” or “check plus.” To receive the full 25% credit, your reviews must average at least a “check” (i.e., one check plus will offset a check minus). Because they are meant to encourage you to think about the readings *before* you come to class, **no late reviews will be accepted.**

In your memo, you should:

- a) Give **one important insight** and/or fact that you gained from **per reading** in one sentence each. What do you know understand or know that you didn't before doing this reading? What was most valuable to you about this reading?
- b) Give **one major critique per reading**. Consider methodology, logic, biases, omissions. Does the author prove his/her argument convincingly?
- c) If you heard the author present this work at a conference, what probing question would you ask him or her?
- d) Finally, given the readings of the week, what is the **one policy implication** you would want to tell a government official?

To summarize, each memo will have one insight, one critique and one question per reading and then one policy implication covering the entire week.

Presentation (10%): We will spend the last three weeks of the term with students presenting their research paper. Instructions on the presentation will be circulated a few weeks into the term.

Research Paper (40%): A fifteen page paper on a topic of your choosing, applied to any issue related to this class in the distant or recent past. The paper will NOT be about something that is currently in process in the world and will NOT be speculative. It is a research paper. It will consist of two parts: the paper itself and a one page “chapeau” that summarizes the key points of the paper. This will be explained in class. We will discuss paper topics in class in week 3 (so have an idea by then).

Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide.

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;

- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Academic integrity policy can be accessed at <http://www2.carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity> .

Electronic Policy: The internet can be both boon and bane to scholarship and instruction. Please turn off cell phones at the start of class. If you choose to text or answer a call during class, I will kick you out of that day's class and you will lose credit for participation for that day. Laptops can be helpful or harmful to the discussion. If I find that laptops inhibit discussion, I will ask students to put them away. I recommend that **you print out your notes before coming to seminar** so that you can refer to them, rather than flipping through the PDFs of the readings on your laptop.

Readings:

Blogs/Twitter: You should get in the habit of following key analysts on twitter and the blogosphere. See the course CuLearn site for some suggested links.

Books

The books are available at the bookstore but also can be find at Amazon and the usual outlets.

Michael Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*.

Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*

Risa Brooks and Elizabeth Stanley, *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness* 978-0804753999 (R&S)

[Suzanne C. Nielsen](#) (Editor), [Don M. Snider](#) (Editor) *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era*, 978-0801892882 , (N&S)

LR: Library Reserves will be providing access to articles. You should be able to find the articles on your own through the library's access to online journals.

O: Readings that are available online on the course's CuLearn site—especially for my writings.

Week 1 Sept 9th: Introduction to Civil-Military Relations

This session will focus on getting the basics down: what is this class, what are the expectations, why are you taking it, what your backgrounds are, and my background and biases that will shape the class.

O [Rosa Brooks, Thought Cloud, ForeignPolicy.com, August 2nd, 2012.](#)

Skim O DND Plans and Priorities <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rpp/2012-2013/inst/dnd/dndpr-eng.asp?format=print>

Burk, "Responsible Obedience," in N&S

Driver, "The Military Mind," in N&S

Biddle, "Explaining Military Outcomes," chapter 9 in R&S

Week 2, Sept 16th: Basic Questions, Starting Approaches

What is meant by civilian control? What are the different meanings? Who are the key actors? What are their motivations? What are the ideal types of civil-military relations? What constitutes a crisis in civil-military relations? What are some of the factors shaping different countries' civil-military dynamics? Consider the tradeoffs between control and effectiveness.

Michael Desch, *Civilian Control*, chap 1-3

Brooks, "Introduction," chapter 1 in R&S

Nielsen and Snider, Intro in N&S

Betts, "Are Civil Military Relations Still a Problem," in N&S

Feaver and Seeler, "Before and After Huntington," in N&S

LR Marybeth P. Ulrich, "General Stanley McChrystal Affair," *Parameters* Spring 2011

LR LTC Paul Yinglin, "A Failure in Generalship." *Armed Forces Journal*, May 2007

Supplemental:

Feaver, P. D. 1999. "Civil-military relations." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:211-41.

Feaver, Peter. 2003. *Armed servants : agency, oversight, and civil-military relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1957. *The soldier and the state : the theory and politics of civil-military relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Janowitz, Morris. 1961. *The Professional Soldier*. New York: Free Press.

Week 3: Sept 23rd: Coup D'Etat

When do militaries try to take power? When do they succeed? How can they be deterred? What are the consequences for different strategies of coup prevention?

Michael Desch, *Civilian Control*, chap 5

O/LR Jonathan Powell, "Determining the Attempting and Outcome of Coups" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56, 6 (2012): 1017-1040

LR Roessler, "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups and Civil War in Africa," *World Politics* 63, 2, April 2011: 300-346

- LR JT Quinlivan, "Coup-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East," *Intl Security*, 1999
- LR Terence Lee, "Military Cohesion and Regime Maintenance: Explaining the Role of the Military in 1989 China and 1998 Indonesia," *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 80-104 (2005)
- Brooks, "Civil-Military Relations and Military Effectiveness in Egypt," in R&S, chapter 5

Supplemental

- Belkin, A., and E. Schofer. 2003. "Toward a structural understanding of coup risk." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47 (5):594-620.
- Finer, S., S.E. Finer, and J. Stanley. 2002. *The man on horseback: The role of the military in politics*: Transaction Publishers.
- Jackman, R.W. 1978. "The predictability of coups d'etat: a model with African data." *The American Political Science Review*:1262-75.
- Johnson, T.H., R.O. Slater, and P. McGowan. 1984. "Explaining African military coups d'etat, 1960-1982." *The American Political Science Review*:622-40.
- Powell, J. 2012. "Determinants of the Attempting and Outcome of Coups d'état." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Staniland, P. 2008. "Explaining Civil-Military Relations in Complex Political Environments: India and Pakistan in Comparative Perspective." *Security Studies* 17 (2):322-62.

Week 4 Sept 30th: Democratic Civ-Mil

How does civilian control of the military work in democracies? What are the challenges? How do countries deal with the challenges? What features of democratic politics foster or inhibit good civilian control of the military?

- Avant, "Political Institutions and Military Effectiveness," in R&S
- Brooks, "Military and Political Activity in Democracies," in N&S
- LR Joseph Paul Vasquez, "Shouldering the Soldiering Democracy, Conscription, and Military Casualties" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 6, 849-873 (2005)
- LR Deborah Avant, "Are the Reluctant Warriors Out of Control?" *Security studies*6(2): 51-90.
- LR Hugh Smith, "What Costs Will Democracies Bear?" *Armed Forces and Society*, 31, 4, 2005.

Supplemental:

- Avant, Deborah D. 1994. *Political institutions and military change : lessons from peripheral wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Dieterich, S., H. Hummel, S. Marschall, and Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces. 2010. *Parliamentary war powers: a survey of 25 European parliaments*: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).
- Feaver, P. D. 2003. "The civil-military gap in comparative perspective." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 26 (2):1-5.
- Feaver, Peter D. 2011. "The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision." *International Security* 35 (4):87-125.

Week 5 Oct 7th Canadian Civil-Mil Relations

What have the concepts we developed thus far say about Canada? Is there a crisis in Canadian civ-mil relations? What does the Kandahar decision tell us about Canadian civilians and control of the military? Is there any accountability when it comes to national defence? What is the role of parliament? We plan to have Brigadier General Thompson, Commander of Canada's Special Operations Command, speak to the class about the civil-military relations of his current position as well as perhaps his Afghanistan experience (he commanded in Kandahar in 2008).

Stein and Lang, all—skim.

LR Lagasse and Sokolsky, "A Larger Footprint in Ottawa," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 15:2, 16-40"

LR Lagasse, "Accountability for National Defence," IRPP Study March 2010:

http://www.irpp.org/pubs/irppstudy/irpp_study_no4.pdf

Saideman, posts at Canadian International Council

[\(http://www.opencanada.org/author/ssaideman/\)](http://www.opencanada.org/author/ssaideman/)

Supplemental:

LR Okros, Hill and Pinch, *Between 9/11 and Khandahar: Attitudes of Canadian Forces Officers in Transition*, 2008, **ISBN:** 978-1-55339-215-6

Bland, D.L. 1995. *Chiefs of Defence: Government and the Unified Command of the Canadian Armed Forces.*

Bland . 2001. "Patterns in liberal democratic civil-military relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 27 (4):525-40.

Gosselin, D. 2009. "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old."

Graham, R. 2002. "Civil Control of The Canadian Forces: National Direction and National Command." *Canadian Military Journal* 3 (1):23-30.

Roussel, S. 2004. "Canada's grand strategy and strategic culture - Guest editor's introduction." *International Journal* 59 (3):477-8.

Shaw, G.D.T. 2001. "The Canadian Armed Forces and Unification." *Defense Analysis* 17 (2):159-74.

Sokolsky, J. 2004. "Canada's army - Waging war and keeping the peace." *International Journal* 59 (4):974-8.

Week 6: Oct 21st: Transitions and Societies

This week addresses two distinct but often related issues: how do countries manage the transition back to civilian rule & how does the military relate to the society? The first addresses the questions of the end of authoritarian rule and the end of military regimes—what are the complications involved in sending the military back to the barracks? Can the members of the previous regime be held accountable or will that risk further coups? The second addresses situations where the composition of the military and of the society may not be the same. One of the key legacies of many colonial regimes are situations where minorities dominate the military. Changing that imbalance has consequences.

Michael Desch, *Civilian Control*, chap 4, 6

LR David Pion-Berlin, “Tipping the Civil-Military Balance,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 31, 5, 1998

LR Ronald Krebs, “One Nation under Arms? Military Participation Policy and the Politics of Identity,” *Security Studies*, 14, 3, Spring 2005

Hoyt,” *Social Structures, Ethnicity and Military Effectiveness*” in R&S

Reiter, “Nationalism and Military Effectiveness,” in R&S

Kohn, “Building Trust,” in N&S

Supplemental

Staniland, P. 2008. "Explaining Civil-Military Relations in Complex Political Environments: India and Pakistan in Comparative Perspective." *Security Studies* 17 (2):322-62.

Week 7 Nov 4th Int'l Dynamics of Civil-Military Relations

This week focuses on both domestic -> IR and IR-> domestic. How does domestic politics affect multilateral military endeavors? Are there systematic variations in the way countries manage their participation? How do international forces shape civil-military relations within countries?

O Auerswald and Saideman, *NATO and Afghanistan*, chapters 1-3, 8-9, skim in between

Bensahel, “International Alliances and Military Effectiveness,” in R&S

Farrell, “Global Norms and Military Effectiveness,” in R&S

Goldman, “Int'l Competition and Military Effectiveness,” in R&S

LR Epstein, “NATO Enlargement & The Spread of Democracy” *Security Studies* 14, 1, 2005: 63-105

Week 8 Nov 11th Whole of Government, COIN, Peace-building and All that Jazz

O Saideman, “Canada’s Whole of Government Approach: More and Less Than Advertised,”

LR Touko Piiparinen, “A Clash of Mindsets? An Insider’s Account of Provincial Reconstruction Teams,” *International Peacekeeping*, 14, 1 (January 2007), pp. 143-157.

LR Florence Gaub, *Military Integration After Civil Wars*, chapters 1, 5

Schadlow and Lacquement, “Winning Wars, Not Just Battles,” N&S

Murray, "Professionalism and Professional Military Education," N&S
Ronald R. Krebs, A School for the Nation?: How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and
How It Might, *International Security*, Volume 28, Number 4, Spring 2004

Week 9 Nov 18th Private Military Actors

P. W. Singer, Outsourcing War, *Foreign Affairs*

O/LR Avant, The Privatization of Security: Lessons from Iraq, *Orbis*, 50, 2 Spring 2006, 327-342

Akcinaroglu and Radziszewski, "Private Military Companies, Opportunities, and Termination of Civil Wars in Africa" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, online 28 June 2012

Weeks 10-12 Nov 25th, Dec 2nd, 9th Presentations

Research Paper is Due December 13th, 1pm, River Bldg 5104