

The Military in Politics

GOV 365G, U#37520

Spring 2024/MEZ 1.208/T/Th 3:30-4:45

Department of Government

Instructor: Prof. ZDS Barany (barany@austin.utexas.edu)

Office: BAT 3.156/Office hours: T/Th 1:30-3

What social and political role do the armed forces play in the modern state and society? What are the hallmarks of democratic civil-military relations? Can the armed forces play a progressive social role? Do generals in power ever promote economic development or should they be expected to loot the country they rule? And, ultimately, why do people with guns obey those without? The purpose of this course is to seek answers to these and other age-old questions and to acquaint the advanced undergraduate student with the military's role in the modern state and society. To prevent misunderstandings: the class does not deal with weapon systems, nuclear proliferation, strategy, or tactics. Rather, we focus on the sociopolitical character of the armed forces in a variety of political settings: advanced democracies, authoritarian states, post-communist systems, etc.

My goal is to have you leave this class in May as someone who can intelligently discuss the political and societal role of the armed forces in a number of different contexts. *I respect you enough to have high expectations because I assume that as students at the University of Texas at Austin you want to satisfy high standards.* We will also have fun, viewing a couple of documentaries with military politics themes, welcoming some outside speakers, and reading books that you will not just learn from but, I hope, enjoy.

There will be two examinations that will test your knowledge of the materials. They will be a combination of multiple-choice and one essay question (you will pick one out of three). Other than this, the most important assignment is a research project: not a paper but a 15-minute' oral presentation about a topic cleared with me that should be informed by at least 15 different sources (books, articles, etc.). It should answer a clear research question, should be structurally sound and the argument(s) should be built to follow logical reasoning. You can use no more than 15 power-point slides and they should be for illustrative purposes (statistics, pictures, quotes, etc.) rather than to read off of.

Grading

1. first midterm examination	20%
2. second midterm examination	25%
3. unannounced pop quizzes	10%
4. research project	20%
5. class participation	25%

Components: -- in-class engagement (10)

-- discussion questions (10)

-- presentation of the research project (5)

Note: The “Class participation” grade **will be taken seriously** because the success of this class hinges on it. This grade will also include an assessment of your presentation, at the end of the semester. You will need to come to every class: if you are not present, you cannot participate in the discussions, you will miss the lectures and the quizzes and, therefore, you will be at a major disadvantage.

Rules

1. You **may not** use a laptop in the classroom. All electronic devices must be shut off throughout the entire class period. If you are interested in why you are actually going to learn more and have a better time doing it this way, read this brief article:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/22/business/laptops-not-during-lecture-or-meeting.html>

2. I will treat you as adults and I want you to treat this class as adults. I will be in class on time and so should you be. If you do not think you can make it at 3:30PM or stay until 4:45PM, **do not** register for this class. Please do not come in late or leave early: it distracts the instructor and your fellow students.

3. There will be **no** extensions for the due dates of any written work.

Students with disabilities

Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259.

Academic Integrity

I take plagiarism and other kinds of academic fraud very seriously. Students who violate University rules on scholastic dishonesty are subject to disciplinary penalties, including the possibility of failure in the course and/ or dismissal from the University. Since such dishonesty harms the individual, all students, and the integrity of the University, policies on scholastic dishonesty will be strictly enforced. For further information please visit the Student Judicial Services Web site: <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs>. Refer to the Dean of Students Student Judicial Services website or call 471-2841 for the official university policies and procedures on scholastic dishonesty. What constitutes plagiarism? See http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/acadint_plagiarism.php or check out the UT Libraries’ plagiarism module: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/services/instruction/learningmodules/plagiarism/>

Required Readings

***B:** Barany, Zoltan. *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 456 pages – I am providing you with a PDF of this book as well as the other readings. (All on Canvas.)

In addition, other articles (see under class schedule) are assigned. If I see pertinent shorter newspaper articles as the semester progresses, I will ask you to read them. Feel free to bring to the class's attention interesting reading materials you think we could benefit from reading.

Schedule, Topics, Readings:

Week 1

1. January 16: Introduction to the course
PPP: GOV365/S24-INTRO
2. January 18: What Are Civil-Military Relations?/Armies & Democracy
Read: David Pion-Berlin and Danijela Dudley, "Civil-Military Relations: What Is the State of the Field? *Handbook of Military Sciences*, (2020): 1-22.
PPP: GOV365/S24-1

Week 2

3. January 23: Armies and Democracy/Theories & Practice of US CMR
Read: B, 14-43
PPP: GOV365/S24-2
4. January 25: Military Leadership/The Control of the Military & Its Influence
Read: Peter Feaver and Richard Kohn, "Civil-Military Relations in the United States: What Senior Leaders Need to Know (and Usually Don't)," *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 15:2 (Summer 2021): 12-37. FIND IT AT THIS LINK <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/SSQ/> -- find full issues in the "Archives"
PPP: GOV365/S24-3

Week 3

5. January 30: Democracy and Military Effectiveness
Read: Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long, "Democracy and Military Effectiveness," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48:4 (August 2004): 525-546.
PPP: GOV365/S24-4
6. February 1: General Vincent K. Brooks will visit the class

Read: LTC Vincent K. Brooks, et al., "Two Hands on the Sword: A Study of Political-Military Relations in National Security Policy, US Army War College, 1999.

Week 4

7. February 6: 1st Movie: "Obama's War" (2009), 60'

<https://www.pbs.org/video/frontline-obamas-war/>

8. February 8: Ethnic and Gender Satisfaction/Who Serves Ministries, Trust, Confidence

Read: Lundquist, Jennifer Hicke, "Ethnic and Gender Satisfaction in the Military: The Effect of a Meritocratic Institution," *American Sociological Review*, 73:3 (2008): 477-496.

-- Jim Golby, "Sorry, Gen. Lloyd Austin. A Recently Retired General Should Not Be Secretary of Defense," *New York Times*, 7 December 2020.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/07/opinion/biden-defense-secretary-dod.html?action=click&module=Opinion&pgtype=Homepage>

PPP: GOV365/S22-5

Week 5

9. February 13: Public Opinion, Popularity/The Public and the Evolution of US CMR

Read: Michael Allen, et al., "Outside the Wire: U.S. Military Deployments and Public Opinion in Host States," *APSR*, 114:2 (2020): 326-341.

-- Mara Karlin and Alice Hunt Friend, "Military Worship Hurts American Democracy", September 24, 2018, *Order from Chaos*, Brookings Institution

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/09/24/military-worship-hurts-us-democracy/?utm_campaign=Brookings%20Brief&utm_source=hs_email&utm_medium=email&utm_content=66163363

-- Jessica D. Blankshain and Max Z. Margulies, "The Downside of High Trust in the Military," *New York Times*, September 16, 2021.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/16/opinion/americans-trust-us-military.html>

PPP: GOV365/S24-6

10. February 15: Crisis, Sexual Harassment/America at War

Read: Melinda Wenner Moyer, "'A Poison in the System': The Epidemic of Military Sexual Assault," *New York Times Magazine*, August 3, 2021.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/magazine/military-sexual-assault.html>

-- Maya Guzdar, "What Happened the Day After I Was Sexually Harassed in the Pentagon," *New York Times*, September 5, 2021

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/05/opinion/culture/sexually-harassed-pentagon.html>

-- Eric Schmitt, "Navy Fires Warship's Top Two Officers, Citing 'Loss of Confidence'," *New York Times*, December 30, 2021

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/30/us/politics/uss-montgomery-captain-fired.html>
 PPP: GOV365/S24-7

Week 6

11. February 20: Foreign Deployments, Budgetary Concerns/US Foreign Policy and the Military
 Read: Sarah Burns and Andrew Stravers, "Obama, Congress, and Audience Costs: Shifting the Blame on the Red Line," *Political Science Quarterly*, 135:1 (2020): 67-101.
 -- Farhad Manjoo, "We Must Stop Showering the Military with Money," *New York Times*, 13 January 2022.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/13/opinion/military-budget-build-back-better.html?action=click&module=Well&pgtype=Homepage§ion=OpEd%20Columnists>
 PPP: GOV365/24-8

12. February 22: FIRST MIDTERM

Week 7

13. February 27: Building Democratic Armies... after World War II
 Read: Barany, Introduction and Chapter 2, 1-13 and 47-77
 PPP: GOV365/S24-9
14. February 29: Army Building after Civil Wars
 Read: Barany, Chapter, 78-110 ||| PPP: GOV365/S24-10

Week 8

15. March 5: Military Reform after Military Rule: Europe and Latin America
 Read: Barany, Chapters 4-5, 113-177 ||| PPP: GOV365/S24-11
16. March 7: No class

SPRING BREAK (MARCH 11-17)

Week 9

- March 19: 2nd Movie Day: "The Cost of America's War on Terror In Afghanistan & Iraq" (2021), 48' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2_60O8hO4IA

and

“The Fall Of Afghanistan: How America’s \$2 trillion, Two-Decade War Ended In Chaos”
(2021), 10’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DjhOGLUQNcw>

March 21: Military Reform after Military/Socialist Rule: Asia and Eastern Europe
Read: Barany, Chapters 6-7, 178-242 ||| PPP: GOV365/S24-12

Detailed Research Paper Outlines Are Due in Class

Week 10

17. March 26: China

18. March 28: Japan

Week 11

19. April 2: Building Democratic Armies after (Re)Unification and Apartheid
Read: Barany, Chapter 10 and Conclusion, 303-357
PPP: GOV365/S24-14

20. April 4: How Armies Respond to Revolutions and Why
Read: TBA ||| PPP: GOV365/S24-15

Week 12

21. April 9: Military Rule and Coup in Burma
Read: TBA ||| PPP: GOV365/S24-16

23. April 11: Student presentations

Week 13

25. April 16: Student presentations

26. April 18: Student presentations

Week 14

27. April 23: Student presentations

28. April 25: IN-CLASS SECOND MIDTERM

3rd Movie Day: "Latino Americans in War and Peace"

<https://www.pbs.org/veterans/stories-of-service/stream-tv/a-to-z/latino-americans-war-and-peace/> (56 minutes)

Building New Armies after Colonial Rule in Asia and Africa

Read: Barany, Chapters 8-9, 245-302 ||| PPP: GOV365/S24-13

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m-uhTne2KPI>