



EXTENDED CAMPUS

COLLEGE *of* PROFESSIONAL
and CONTINUING STUDIES

IAS 5940-221: Civil-Military Relations

Course Description:

The fundamental challenge of civil-military relations is to build a professional, competent and effective military that can defend the state against external enemies and internal revolt, while ensuring that the military remains accountable to civilian leaders and does not use its monopoly over the means of violence to undermine the civilian political order. But even in countries where the military is firmly under civilian control, there is often contention and bargaining over the degree of military influence over decisions of war and peace.

This course is concerned with the key problems and puzzles of civil-military relations: What is the proper relationship between the politician and the soldier in a modern state? How does professionalism affect the military's political behavior? Should military organizational ethos reflect societal values, or should the military have its distinct norms even if they conflict with those of society? Why are some other militaries prone to coups? How do new democracies exert control over their armed forces?

The course is divided into two main parts. First, we will start with a careful examination of influential social science texts on the subject to extract generalizable insights into the main puzzles of civil-military relations. The second part will apply and test these theories against civil-military dynamics and practices in consolidated democracies (U.S.), authoritarian regimes (Middle East), and hybrid regimes (South Asia)

Class Dates, Location and Hours:

Dates: June 12 – 17, 2018
Location: Stuttgart, Germany. See site director for classroom location.
Hours: Tuesday - Friday 6:00-9:30 pm; Saturday and Sunday 2:00 p.m.-6:00p.m.
Last day to enroll or drop without penalty: May 14, 2018

Site Director:

Email: apstuttgart@ou.edu. DSN: 431-3304 or CIV 07031-15-2580.

Professor Contact Information:

Course Professor: Aqil Shah, PhD
Mailing Address: College of International Studies
729 Elm Ave., Room 328
University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019
Telephone Number: (405) 325-6003
Email Address: aqil.shah@ou.edu
Professor availability: The professor will be available via email to students before and after the class sessions. On-site office hours are half an hour before and after each class session, by appointment.

Textbook(s) and Instructional Materials:

Student materials are available at the OU Follett Bookstore located at 1185 Asp Avenue; Norman, OK, and can be ordered online, by phone, by email, or by fax. Ordering online at <http://www.bkstr.com/oklahomastore/home> is strongly recommended – students can track the status of their order within 48 hours. If an order has not been shipped within three days, students can contact the Follett textbook manager by phone (405) 325-3511, (800) 522-0772 (toll-free) or email 0831mgr@fheg.follett.com. Phone orders (ask for the textbook manager and identify yourself as an Advanced Programs student) can be placed 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday through Thursday; 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Friday; 10 a.m. to 4p.m. on Saturday (CST). Summer hours: 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday (CST). Fax orders can be placed 24 hours a day at (405) 325-7770. Text prices are available online.

1. Huntington, S. (1981). *The soldier and the state: The theory and politics of civil-military relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. ISBN 9780674817364.
2. Owens, T.M. (2011). *U.S. civil-military relations after 9/11*. New York: Continuum. ISBN 9781441160836.
3. Bruneau, T.C. & Tollefson, S.D. (Eds.) (2006). *Who guards the guardians and how*. Austin: University of Texas Press. ISBN 9780292719248.
4. Materials posted on the OU Canvas learning management system: Access Canvas at <https://canvas.ou.edu>, enter your OU NetID and password, and select course to access material. If you require assistance with Canvas, please click on the Help icon. You can search the Canvas guides, chat with Canvas support, or contact OU IT.

Assignments, Grading and Due Dates:

Details of assignments to be announced before commencement of the course.

Course Schedule (subject to change at instructor's discretion)

Tuesday

Theories of Civil-Military Relations

- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Belknap-Harvard, 1957), pp. 1-97.
- Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (Free Press, 1971), pp.1-15, 417-442.
- Peter Feaver, "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control," *Armed Forces & Society*, 23.2 (Winter 1996), pp. 149-178.
- Michael C. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military* (Johns Hopkins Press 1997), chapters 1-2.

Wednesday

The Military in Politics

- Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 1-32, 78-92, 192-198.
- Eric Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics* (Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 63-78.
- Naunihal Singh, *Seizing Power: The Strategic Logic of Coups* (Johns Hopkins Press, 2016), p. 1-40.

Thursday

Democratization and the Military

- Zoltan Barany, *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas* (Princeton, 2012), p. 14-43.
- Bruneau and Tollefson, eds., *Who Guards the Guardians and How* (University of Texas Press, 2006), selection.

Friday-Saturday

Cases in Civil-Military Relations: United States

- Thomas M. Owens, *U.S. Civil-Military Relations After 9/11* (Bloomsbury, 2011), selection.
- More readings TBA

Cases in Civil-Military Relations: Middle East and South Asia

- Zoltan Barany, *How Armies Respond to Revolutions & Why* (Princeton, 2016), selection.
- Aqil Shah, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan* (Harvard, 2014), selection.

Sunday

Final exam.

Grading:

This is a letter-graded course: A, B, C, D, or F.

| Assignment | Percent of Grade |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Class Participation | 25% |
| Presentation | 20% |
| Article Review Essay | 25% |
| Final Exam | 30% |

Notice: Failure to meet assignment due dates could result in a grade of I (Incomplete) and may adversely impact Tuition Assistance and/or Financial Aid.

Policy for Late Work:

Modest extensions required by urgent circumstances may be granted for written work if requested well in advance.

Attendance Policy:

Students are expected to be present for all class sessions. Any student anticipating a class absence should consult with the instructor in advance to arrange a method for making up missed material.

Incomplete Grade Policy:

A grade of “I” is not automatically assigned, but rather must be requested by the student by submitting to the instructor a “Petition for and Work to Remove an Incompleted Grade” form. An “I” can never be used in lieu of an “F” nor can an “I” be assigned because of excessive failure to participate in class activities.

POLICIES AND NOTICES

Attendance/Grade Policy

Attendance and participation in interaction, individual assignments, group exercises, simulations, role playing, etc. are valuable aspects of any course because much of the learning comes from discussions in class with other students. It is expected that you attend all classes and be on time except for excused emergencies.

Excused absences are given for professor mandated activities or legally required activities such as emergencies or military assignments. It is the policy of the University to excuse absences of students that result from religious observances and to provide without penalty for the rescheduling of examinations and additional required class work that may fall on religious holidays. Unavoidable personal emergencies, including (but not limited to) serious illness; delays in getting to class because of accidents, etc.; deaths and funerals, and hazardous road conditions will be excused.

If you are obtaining financial assistance (TA, STAP, FA, VA, Scholarship, etc.) to pay all or part of your tuition cost, you must follow your funding agency/institution's policy regarding "I" (Incomplete) grades unless the timeline is longer than what the University policy allows then you must adhere to the University policy. Students who receive Financial Aid must resolve/complete any "I" (Incomplete) grades by the end of the term or he/she may be placed on "financial aid probation." If the "I" grade is not resolved/completed by the end of the following term, the student's Financial Aid may be suspended make the student ineligible for further Financial Aid.

Students are responsible for meeting the guidelines of Tuition Assistance and Veterans Assistance. See the education counselor at your local education center for a complete description of your TA or VA requirements.

Academic Integrity and Student Conduct

Academic integrity means honesty and responsibility in scholarship. Academic assignments exist to help students learn; grades exist to show how fully this goal is attained. Therefore all work and all grades should result from the student's own understanding and effort.

Academic misconduct is any act which improperly affects the evaluation of a student's academic performance or achievement. Misconduct occurs when the student either knows or reasonably should know that the act constitutes misconduct. Academic misconduct includes: cheating and using unauthorized materials on examinations and other assignments; improper collaboration, submitting the same assignment for different classes (self-plagiarism); fabrication, forgery, alteration of documents, lying, etc...in order to obtain an academic advantage; assisting others in academic misconduct; attempting to commit academic misconduct; destruction of property, hacking, etc...; intimidation and interference with integrity process; and plagiarism. All students should review the Student's Guide to Academic Integrity at http://integrity.ou.edu/students_guide.html

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. All students should review policies regarding student conduct at <http://studentconduct.ou.edu/>

Accommodation Statement

The University of Oklahoma is committed to making its activities as accessible as possible. For accommodations on the basis of disability, please contact your local OU Site Director.

Adjustment for Pregnancy/Childbirth-Related Issues

Should you need modifications or adjustments to your course requirements because of documented pregnancy-related or childbirth-related issues, please contact me as soon as possible to discuss. Generally, modifications will be made where medically necessary and similar in scope to accommodations based on temporary disability. Please see <http://www.ou.edu/content/eoo/faqs/pregnancy-faqs.html>.

Title IX Resources

For any concerns regarding gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, sexual misconduct, stalking, or intimate partner violence, the University offers a variety of resources, including advocates on-call 24/7, counseling services, mutual no-contact orders, scheduling adjustments, and disciplinary sanctions against the perpetrator. Please contact the Sexual Misconduct Office at smo@ou.edu or (405) 325-2215 (8-5), or the Sexual Assault Response Team at (405) 615 -0013 (24/7) to report an incident. To learn more about Title IX, please visit the Institutional Equity Office's website at <http://www.ou.edu/content/eoo.html>

Course Policies

Advanced Programs policy is to order books in paperback if available. Courses, dates, and professors are subject to change. Please check with your OU Site Director. Students should retain a copy of any assignments that are mailed to the professor for the course. Advanced Programs does not provide duplicating services or office supplies.

Any and all course materials, syllabus, lessons, lectures, etc. are the property of professor teaching the course and the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma and are protected under applicable copyright.

For more information about Advanced Programs, visit our website at: <http://www.goou.ou.edu/>

INSTRUCTOR VITA

Aqil Shah, Ph.D.

Education

PhD in Political Science, Columbia University, 2010.

Current Positions

- Wick Cary Assistant Professor, College of International Studies, University of Oklahoma since 2015
- Non-Resident Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace since 2014

Major Areas of Teaching and Research Interest

- International security
- Democratization
- civil-military relations
- counterterrorism
- South Asia/Pakistan.

Representative Publications and Presentations

- *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan* (Harvard University Press, 2014)
- “Do U.S. Drone Strikes Cause Blowback: Evidence from Pakistan and Beyond,” *International Security*, 42.4 (Spring 2018), pp. 1-37.
- “Civil-Military Relations in South Asia,” in Sumit Ganguly, Andrew Scobell and Joseph Liow, eds., *The Handbook of Asian Security Studies* (Routledge, 2017).
- “The Dog That Did Not Bark: The Indian Army and the Emergency,” *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 55.1 (2017), 1-19.
- “Democracy Deadlocked in Bangladesh,” *Current History*, (April 2016), 130-136.
- “Fighting Terror, Pakistan Army-Style,” *Asian Survey* 56.1 (Jan/Feb, 2016), 216-224.
- “States, Organizations, and War-making,” Review Essay, *Perspectives on Politics*, 13.4 (December 2015), 1-10.
- “Constraining Consolidation: Military Politics and Democracy in Pakistan,” *Democratization*, 21.6 (2014), 1007-1033.
- “Getting the Military Out of Pakistani Politics: How Aiding the Army Undermines Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs* (Fall 2011), 69-82.

Representative Honors and Awards Received

- Outstanding Faculty Award, University of Oklahoma, 2016.
- Junior Faculty Fellowship, University of Oklahoma, 2016
- Post-doc Fellow, Society of Fellows, Harvard University (2010-2013)
- William F. Milton Faculty Grant, Harvard University, 2011
- Hewlett Fellowship, Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, 2009-2010.
- Reagan-Fascell Fellowship, National Endowment for Democracy, 2003-2004.
- Rhodes Scholarship, Oxford University, 1997-1999.
- Ford Foundation Fellowship, Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security (ACDIS), University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1997.