



RAMAPO COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY  
SCHOOL OF AMERICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
**POLI 361: THE MILITARY, POLITICS, AND SOCIETY**

Course Information

POLI 361-01: Military, Politics, and Society (4 cr)  
Prerequisite: POLI 107 or INTL 127  
Spring 2009: T/F 2-3:30, A106 (#21356)  
Fulfills political science electives, GE: Int'l Issues  
College Web Address: [www.ramapo.edu](http://www.ramapo.edu)  
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Instructor Information

Prof. Jeremy M. Teigen  
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American & Int'l Studies 684-7407

**Course Description:** This comparative course studies the tensions and relationship between civilian elites, military elites, and mass society in a variety of political contexts. This examination of the political role of the military will involve theory to conceptualize broadly as well as focus specifically on germane case studies: Russia and the former Soviet context, Israel, China, Latin America, and the United States.

**Course Objectives:** Students will seek to understand classic and recent theories of civilian control over the military and their use with the course's case studies. While most studies of civil-military relations tend to focus strictly upon "praetorian interventions," or military leadership seizing civilian control, students in this course will gain critical understanding not only of theories and cases related to military authoritarianism, but also to the political dimensions of the military in Western democratic settings including electoral environments.

**Required Texts** (ordered through campus bookstore):

- Reveron, Derek S. and Judith Hicks Stiehm. 2008. *Inside Defense: Understanding the U.S. Military in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. ("R&S")
- King, David and Zachary Karabell. 2003. *The Generation of Trust*. Washington: AEI Press.
- Feaver, Peter D. and Richard H. Kohn. 2001. *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*. Cambridge: MIT Press. ("F&K")
- Moskos, Charles C. et al. 2000. *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces after the Cold War*. New York: Oxford. ISBN: 0195133293 ("MWS").
- Readings from Luminis website ([my.ramapo.edu](http://my.ramapo.edu)), indicated with an uppercase lambda ("Λ").

**Course Requirements:**

- Students need to be competent users of **email** with reliable addresses, and also know well how to access the "My Ramapo/Luminis" site. Students should check their Luminis-fed email daily for college and course announcements.
- Students need to be voracious **readers**. There is a larger-than-usual per-class reading load, befitting an upper-division course. If you are the type that does not expect to read in college and only sometimes reads for class, this course is not appropriate and I suggest a different section. Your workload for this class is **6-9 hours per week** outside of class time.
- Students need to **participate** in class discussions. While I technically "lecture" some material, much of the course is an open-ended discussion where difficult issues arise and hard answers are elusive. Not only is part of your grade dependent on class attendance and participation, there is a strong, non-spurious correlation between those that participate actively in class and those that do well on examinations.

- I assume that students rank college as their highest priority. Students need to **attend** class. Most class days require students to bring in **two copies** of a very short, one-page response to my “SQs,” or “Summary Questions” regarding the readings for that class day, which will serve as evidence of their informed attendance. The calendar below indicates which days **require summaries**. There are 20 total. These cannot be made up. Because of life’s inherent randomness, whether it involves illness, broken cars, etc., there is no penalty for missing up to four of these summaries. A proportion of your grade, therefore, is the average score of all these summaries, excepting the worst four scores (even zeroes). To make this habit as easy as possible, students will use a **template** provided on Luminis. However, students who miss substantial amounts of class (>4 days), irrespective of SQs, may obtain an F at the instructor’s discretion.
- The largest part of the course grades stems from a **research paper** on the topic of conscription in a democracy. This 18-22 page (1” margins, 12-point Times, well groomed) manuscript will be turned in in draft format on 4/7 and the final version gets to me by 5/6 at noon.
- Each student will choose one book from my list and provide a **summary and review**, which will be an intelligent contextualization of the book *using the course literature and essential themes*. The final product will be 4-5 pages double spaced, well referenced and well groomed, with only 1-2 pages being summary. While the due date is late in the semester, on 4/21, acquire the title as early as possible through typical online sources (abebooks.com, amazon.com), the Potter library, or ILL. See end of syllabus for list. You must **declare your choice** in class or at the bottom of your SQ by February 13.
- Please remember there are resources for help with writing on campus, for example, the Center for Academic Success (<http://ww2.ramapo.edu/academics/cas>).
- **Grading Policy.** The scale is 100-92 A, 91-90 A-, 89-88 B+, 87-82 B, 81-80 B-, 79-78 C+, et cetera, with 60 constituting a minimum passing grade. I do not allocate grades on a curve. **Incompletes** are undesirable, and will only be given for nonacademic reasons. Your grade is made up of a weighted mean:
  - SQ average (excepting lowest four scores) 10%
  - Quantity and quality of class participation (inc. class presentation) 10%
  - Two-part midterm examination 25% (hard copy and via turnitin.com)
    - Includes a closed book in-class portion and an open book take-home portion
  - Term paper on conscription: draft 10%, final version 35% (hard copy and turnitin.com)
  - Book Summary and Review 10% (hard copy and turnitin.com):
- Each course will include a minimum of five (5) hours of unmonitored appropriate experience outside the classroom. This might comprise military museum visits, interviews of military veterans, e.g., attending veterans’ organization meetings, or attending talks such as those found at <http://nymas.org/>. Cataloguing and researching your borough’s veteran memorials is also interesting. Make a one or two slide PowerPoint of your experience for presentation on May 1.
- Students need to **respect** the other students in the course. Sensitive topics often arise in class and opinions will differ, but the tone and tenor of class shall always remain cordial and civil. I seek to provide an intellectual environment where students can feel free to express their views without ideological or partisan oppression from the professor or other students.

**Academic Integrity:** On this subject consider me a zealot. Both I and the institution expect you to read and understand Ramapo College’s academic integrity policy, located in the College Catalog.\* Members of the Ramapo College community are expected to be honest and forthright in their academic

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\* [http://www.ramapo.edu/catalog\\_08\\_09/academicPrograms/gradingSystems/academicIntegrity.html](http://www.ramapo.edu/catalog_08_09/academicPrograms/gradingSystems/academicIntegrity.html)

dealings. Violations of any of the four forms of academic dishonesty (cheating, *plagiarism*, misconduct, or fabrication) will summarily be conducted to the Dean and/or the Office of the Provost and a hearing will be scheduled. Expect me to press strongly for violators' expulsion from the college. Students tend to cheat when they get in desperate situation—if you find yourself falling behind, come see me. I care about your honest progress in the course and I will be your strong ally unless dishonesty occurs. You will submit your writing assignments **in paper form as well as upload them to turnitin.com**. Sign up now (class ID: 2571901, password “roadrunner”).

**Contact Information and Office Hours: My office is room B232 and the phone number is 201-684-6286 and my email is jtelgen@ramapo.edu.** Email is the preferred form of contact and the more effective (I check voicemail sporadically but email devoutly). The course website is

<<http://my.ramapo.edu/>>, also known as Luminis, and it is an online repository for many of the course readings and outlines. Also, the environment in class is quite open so feel free to pose questions in class as well (you are likely not the only one with a question). If those times are not compatible with your schedule, I am available for conferences by appointment.

**Electronic Forms of Communication**

In accordance with College policy, I will use your official Ramapo College email address (\_\_\_\_@ramapo.edu) to communicate with you about all course-related matters.

**Accommodations for students with special needs, religious holidays, disabilities, or learning disabilities:**

If you need course adaptation or accommodations beyond the ordinary because of religious holidays, documented disability, or other reasons, contact the professor. Regarding LDs, make an appointment or register with the OSS (x7514) before discussing implementation with instructors.

**Topics, Schedule, and Reading Assignments:**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topics</i>	<i>What to read before class, and SQ</i>
Tue Jan 20	Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Syllabus, faculty, student, and course introductions.</li> </ul>
Fri Jan 23	Foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• F&amp;K: Cohen, Ch. 12.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Owens, Ch. 16.</li> <li>• No SQ.</li> </ul>
Tue Jan 27	Classic Theories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Nordlinger, Eric A. 1977. <i>Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments</i>. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Ch. 1.</li> <li>• <b>SQ1:</b> What rationales do militaries use to justify their interventions into politics? What do these justifications tell us about their actions?</li> </ul>
Fri Jan 30	Classic Theory: Military Mind and Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Huntington, Samuel P. 1957. <i>The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations</i>. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, Ch. 3.</li> <li>• A Betros, Lance. 2001. “Political Partisanship and the Military Ethic in America,” <i>Armed Forces &amp; Society</i> 27(4): 501-523.</li> <li>• <b>SQ2:</b> How does Huntington define the military mind? When it is said that the military is conservative, what does “conservative” mean?</li> </ul>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topics</i>	<i>What to read before class, and SQ</i>
Tue Feb 3	Classic Theory: Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Huntington, Samuel P. 1957. <i>The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations</i>. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, Ch. 7 &amp; 4.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Morris, ch. 8.</li> <li>• <b>SQ3:</b> Discuss the seeds of civil-military conflict sown in the US Constitution.</li> </ul>
Fri Feb 6	Classic Theory and Criticisms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Finer, S. E. 1962. <i>The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics</i>. London: Pall Mall, Ch. 1 &amp; 4.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Garofano, ch. 5.</li> <li>• <b>SQ4:</b> What are armed forces' incentives to intervene in politics? What does Garofano mean by "undermilitarization?"</li> </ul>
Tue Feb 10	Russia & Post Soviet World	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Taylor, Brian D. 2003. "The Soviet Military and the Disintegration of the USSR," <i>Journal of Cold War Studies</i> 5(1): 17-66.</li> <li>• <b>SQ5:</b> What is "Tbilisi syndrome," and what effects did it have for Soviet military leadership thereafter?</li> </ul>
Fri Feb 13  <i>Declare Book Choice!</i>	China and the PLA, Taiwan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Shambaugh, David. 2002. <i>Modernizing China's Military</i>. Los Angeles: University of California Press. Ch. 2.</li> <li>• A You Ji. 2001. "Jiang Zemin's Command of the Military," <i>The China Journal</i> 45: 131-138.</li> <li>• <b>SQ6:</b> Compare Jaing's and Hu's relations with the military. Why have there been no military coups in the PRC? What is your book to review and how can you assuredly obtain a copy?</li> </ul>
Tue Feb 17	Democratization: Latin America	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hunter, Wendy. 1997. <i>Eroding Military Influence in Brazil: Politicians against Soldiers</i>. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, ch. 2, 5.</li> <li>• <b>SQ7:</b> Given the Hunter reading, what does it take to coax the military back to the barracks?</li> </ul>
Fri Feb 20	Democratization: Eastern Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Barany, Z. 1997. "Democratic Consolidation and the Military: The East European Experience," <i>Comparative Politics</i> 30(1): 21-43.</li> <li>• <b>SQ8:</b> Discuss the effect of Soviet civ-mil legacies upon the new states' politics that emerged in the post-Soviet period.</li> </ul>
Tue Feb 24	<b>In-class Midterm</b>	<i>Midterm Test Day: In-class examination, then students depart with the take-home portion of midterm handed out, due Mar 3.</i>
<i>Fri Feb 27</i>	<i>No Class</i>	
Tue Mar 3	Civil Military Relations in Consolidated Democracies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lecture and discussion on next half of course.</li> <li>• No reading, no SQ due.</li> </ul> <p><b><i>Take-home portion of Midterm due (turnitin.com &amp; hardcopy)</i></b></p>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topics</i>	<i>What to read before class, and SQ</i>
Fri Mar 6	Consolidated Democracies: Postmodern?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MWS: Ch. 1 &amp; 2.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Stiehm, Ch. 18.</li> <li>• In class, each student signs up for one chapter among ch. 3-13 (sign up in class for next time).</li> <li>• <b>SQ9:</b> Describe the modern era, late modern era, and postmodern eras according to MWS. What is the most notable change for the role of women in the military?</li> </ul>
Tue Mar 10	Student presentations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create a handout/Powerpoint of your selected chapter of MWS (3-11, 13).</li> <li>• No SQ.</li> </ul>
Fri Mar 13	US: Historical Foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Λ Kohn, Richard. 1975. <i>Eagle and Sword</i>. New York: Free Press, Ch. 14.</li> <li>• F&amp;K, Weigley, Ch. 5.</li> <li>• <b>SQ10:</b> What is the Whig tradition that Weigley describes and how has it played out in American civ-mil history?</li> </ul>
<i>Mar 17 &amp; 20</i>	<i>Spring Break</i>	
Tue Mar 24	US Civ-Mil: The Gap Issue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• F&amp;K, Intro &amp; Holsti, Ch. 1.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Ruger, Ch. 15.</li> <li>• <b>SQ11:</b> Describe the “Ricks thesis,” and find evidence that supports it in the readings and elsewhere.</li> </ul>
Fri Mar 27	US Civ-Mil: The Gap Issue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• F&amp;K, Burk, Ch. 6 &amp; Bianco &amp; Markham, Ch. 7.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Doherty, Ch. 11.</li> <li>• <b>SQ12:</b> What do the terms “moral integration” and “material salience” mean as Burk uses them? What is the effect of having more or less veterans in Congress?</li> </ul>
Tue Mar 31	Politicized US Generals since Vietnam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Λ Desch, Michael C. et al 2007. “Bush and the Generals” (and follow-ups) <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 86(3): 97-108 (and others).</li> <li>• Λ Bacevich, Andrew J. <i>The New American Militarism</i>, Ch. 2.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Mahoney-Norris, Ch. 17.</li> <li>• <b>SQ13:</b> What are the dangers of Petraeus testimony in fall 2007 according to Mahoney-Norris? Summarize the legacy of General Abrams.</li> </ul>
Fri Apr 3	US Military in Heroism and Disgrace: My Lai, Abu Ghraib, and Peacekeeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Λ Hersh, Seymour. 2004. “Torture and Abu Ghraib,” <i>New Yorker</i>, May 10.</li> <li>• Λ Bacevich, Andrew J. <i>New American Militarism</i>, Ch. 4.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Pfiffner, Ch. 14.</li> <li>• <b>SQ14:</b> Explain the political differences and implications of <i>First Blood Part II</i> and <i>Top Gun</i>. Discuss the debate over justified torture by the US military.</li> </ul>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topics</i>	<i>What to read before class, and SQ</i>
Tue Apr 7	Casualties, Warfare, Presidents, and Public Opinion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Feaver, Peter and Andrew Gelpi. 2004. <i>Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force</i>. Princeton University Press. Excerpt: Chapter 4.</li> <li>• No SQ.</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b><i>Term Paper Draft Due</i></b></p>
Fri Apr 10	US Military in Citizens' Eyes: 'Nam to now	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• King, David and Zachary Karabell. 2003. <i>The Generation of Trust</i>. Washington: AEI Press.</li> <li>• F&amp;K, Ch. 3.</li> <li>• <b>SQ15:</b> How do different generations differ in their trust of the US military and why?</li> </ul>
Tue Apr 14	Remembering Soldiers and War Dead	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Piehler, G. Kurt <i>Remembering War the American Way</i>, Intro &amp; ch. 4.</li> <li>• A Mustafa, S. 2008. "The Politics of Memory: Rededicating Two Historical Monuments in Postwar Germany," <i>Central European History</i> 41(2): 255-280.</li> <li>• <b>SQ16:</b> Describe a memorial venerating war dead in your hometown. Explain reasons why different wars and different contexts engender different types of war memorials.</li> </ul>
Fri Apr 17	Recruiting Soldiers: Who should be in serve? Prereq for citizenship or vice versa?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A White, J. 2007. "Army Recruiting Rebounds in July to Exceed Goals," <i>Washington Post</i>, August 11: A3.</li> <li>• A Abruzzese, S. 2007. "Iraq War Brings Drop in Black Enlistees," <i>New York Times</i>, Aug. 22: A12.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Leal, Ch. 21.</li> <li>• <b>SQ17:</b> What explains why there racial/ethnic differences in the willingness to volunteer for the military? Reflect on Leal and summarize where the civilian world and the military world interact.</li> </ul>
Tue Apr 21	"Wagging the Dog": Diversionary Wars in US history  <b>BOOK REVIEW DUE</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Cramer, Jane K. 2006. "'Just Cause' or Just Politics? US Panama Invasion and Standardizing Qualitative Tests for Diversionary War." <i>Armed Forces &amp; Society</i> 32(2): 178-201.</li> <li>• A Stoll, Richard J. 1984. "The Guns of November: Presidential Reelections and the Use of Force, 1947-1982." <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 28(2): 231-246.</li> <li>• <b>SQ18:</b> Explain the nature, origin, and veracity of the notion that US presidents initiate small wars to distract the public from domestic concerns.</li> </ul>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topics</i>	<i>What to read before class, and SQ</i>
Fri Apr 24	<b>Military Service and Elections</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Teigen, J. 2007. "Veterans' Party Identification, Candidate Affect, and Vote Choice in the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election," <i>Armed Forces &amp; Society</i> 33(4): 414-437.</li> <li>• Feaver &amp; Kohn, Ch. 4.</li> <li>• R&amp;S: Inbody, Ch. 12.</li> <li>• A McGarry, B. 2009. "2008 Military Times Poll: Wary about Obama," <i>The Army Times</i>, Jan 2.</li> <li>• <b>SQ19:</b> Discuss and explain the enlisted vs. public distinction and the officer vs. public distinction in their political views. Are veterans politically mainstream? Does the military view Obama differently than W?</li> </ul>
T Apr 28	<b>Political impact of wars in US</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Mayhew, David R. 2005. "Wars and American Politics," <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 3(3):473-493.</li> <li>• <b>SQ20:</b> What effects have wars had upon electoral regimes in American history?</li> </ul>
Fri May 1	<b>Experiential Day</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Student presentations of their experiential learning experiences.</li> <li>• No SQ.</li> </ul>
Wed May 6 Noon	<b><i>Term Paper Due</i></b> (turnitin.com and traditional)	

Other important dates to consider: Last day to withdraw from courses with "W" grade: [3/17]. Last day to withdraw with 50% tuition: [2/10].

#### **Additional Readings** (and possible book review titles):

Adekanye, J. 2005. *The Retired Military As Emergent Power Factor In Nigeria*. Heinemann Ed. Books.

Barany, Zoltan. 2007. *Democratic Breakdown and the Decline of the Russian Military*. Princeton University Press.

Bruneau, Thomas C. and Scott D. Tollefson. 2006. *Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations*. Austin TX: University of Texas Press.

Burk, James. 1994. *The Military in New Times: Adapting Armed Forces to a Turbulent World*. New York: Westview.

Cheeseman, Graeme and Lorraine Elliott. 2005. *Forces for Good?: Cosmopolitan Militaries in the Twenty-First Century*. Manchester University Press.

Cohen, Eliot A. 2002. *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime*. New York: Free Press.

Desch, Michael. 1999. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

Dolman, Everett. 2004. *The Warrior State: How Military Organization Structures Politics*. New York: Palgrave.

Doran, Jason K. 2005. *I am my Brother's Keeper*. North Topsail, NC: Caisson Press.

Finer, S. E. 1962. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. New York: Praeger.

Finkelstein, David and Kristen Guinness. 2006. *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*. New York: ME Sharpe.

- Franke, Volker. 1999. *Preparing for Peace: Military Identity, Value Orientations, and Professional Military Education*. New York: Praeger.
- Gold, Philip. 2006. *The Coming Draft: The Crisis in Our Military and Why Selective Service Is Wrong for America*. Presidio Press.
- Herspring, Dale. 2005. *The Pentagon And The Presidency: Civil-military Relations From FDR To George W. Bush*. University Press of Kansas.
- James, Patrick and Seung-whan Choi. 2005. *Civil-Military Dynamics, Democracy, and International Conflict: A New Quest for International Peace*. New York: Palgrave.
- Johnson, Dominic D. P. and Dominic Tierney. 2006. *Failing to Win: Perceptions of Victory and Defeat in International Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Krebs, Ronald R. 2006. *Fighting for Rights: Military Service and the Politics of Citizenship*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Larson, Eric. 2005. *American Public Support for U.S. Military Operations from Mogadishu to Baghdad*. Santa Monica: RAND.
- Li, Nan. 2006. *Chinese Civil Military Relations: The Transformation of the People's Liberation Army*. New York: Routledge.
- Mitchell, Thomas G. 2003. *Indian Fighters Turned American Politicians: From Military Service to Public Office*. New York: Praeger.
- McPherson, James M. 2008. *Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief*. New York: Penguin.
- Moskos, Charles C., and John S. Butler. 1996. *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way*. New York: Basic Books.
- Perry, James M. 2003. *Touched with Fire: Five Presidents and the Civil War Battles That Made Them*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Roth-douquet, Kathy and Frank Schaeffer. 2007. *AWOL: The Unexcused Absence of America's Upper Classes from Military Service*. New York: Collins.
- Sarkesian, Sam and Robert Conner. 2006. *The US Military Profession into the 21st Century: War, Peace and Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Scahill, Jeremy. 2007. *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army*. New York: Nation.
- Simon, Jeffrey. 2004. *Central European Civil-military Relations and NATO Expansion*. University Press of the Pacific.
- Stevenson, Charles A. 2006. *Warriors and Politicians: US Civil-Military Relations Under Stress*. New York: Routledge.
- Webber, Stephen L. and Jennifer G. Mathers. 2006. *Military and Society in Post-Soviet Russia*. Manchester University Press.
- Weber, C. 2005. *Imagining America at War: Morality, Politics and Film*. New York: Routledge.
- Wright, Evan. 2004. *Generation Kill*. New York: Penguin.