The Military-Industrial Complex and Civil-Military Relations in the Age of Terrorism

Government 91r: Supervised Reading and Research

Professor Shawn Ling Ramirez

College Fellow
Department of Government
Harvard University
sramirez@gov.harvard.edu

How does the structure and organization of U.S. national security, the military, and intelligence impact our ability to combat terrorism? How is our security enhanced or compromised by the rise in the use of technology and private military companies in warfare? What is the impact of civil-military relations on our ability to combat terror from a comparative perspective?

Description

This course explores issues at the intersection war and the structure of national security, the military-industrial complex, intelligence, and civil-military relations. How do our evolving security needs relate to emerging trends in the conduct of warfare? What explains the rise in the use of technology, cyber warfare, and private military companies? What are our capabilities and limitations in confronting contemporary challenges such as failed states, insurgency, terrorism and nuclear terror? Case studies of civil-military relations in the former Soviet Union, Turkey, Pakistan, Latin America, and Africa, as well as readings (to be expanded during the course) on terrorism are included.

Research Paper due by May 3, 2012

Students will complete a research paper that is approximately 30 double-spaced pages long of approximately 8000 words (not including bibliography or appendices) written in 12-point Times New Roman.

WEEK ONE

I. THE BASICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

A. The Structuring of National Security Organizations in the United States

- 1. Allan R. Millett, Williamson Murray, and Kenneth H. Watman, *The Effectiveness of Military Organizations*, Mershon Center, Ohio State University, 1988. pp 1–30.
- 2. Ashton B. Carter and John P. White (editors), "Chapter 1: Keeping the Edge: Managing Defense for the Future," Keeping the Edge, MIT Press, September 2000. pp 1–25.

B. Building a National Security Strategy

- 1. B.H. Liddell Hart, "The Theory of Strategy," Strategy, Meridian, 1967. pp 319–333.
- 2. Robert Gates, "A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age," Foreign Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, Jan/Feb 2009.

C. Civilian and Military Leadership in American National Security: The Goldwater-Nichols Act and Beyond

- 1. Major Christopher M. Bourne, USMC, "Unintended Consequences of the Goldwater–Nichols Act," Joint Forces Quarterly, Spring 1998. pp 99–108.
- 2. "Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986," U.S. Code, Title 10, Subtitle A, Part I, Chapter 5.

WEEK TWO

II. UNDERSTANDING THE MILITARY

A. Changes in Military Technology

- 1. Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett, editors, "Innovation: Past and Future," Military Innovation in the Interwar Period, Cambridge University Press, 1996. pp 300–328.
- 2. James Fitzsimonds and Thomas Mahnken, "Military Officer Attitudes Toward UAV Adoption: Exploring Institutional Impediments to Innovation", Joint Force Quarterly, Issue 46, 3rd Quarter 2007.
- 3. Ashton B. Carter with Marcel Lettre and Shane Smith, "Chapter 6: Keeping the Technological Edge," Keeping the Edge, MIT Press, September 2000. pp 127–162.

WEEK THREE

B. Private Industry and the Military

- 1. P.W. Singer, "Outsourcing War," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2005.
- 2. Petersohn, Ulrich. "Outsourcing the Big Stick: The Consequences of Using Private Military Companies." Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/Petersohn Outsourcing.pdf

C. The Shifting Needs of the Military

- 1. Hans Binnendijk and Stuart Johnson editors, "Force Planning for Ungoverned Regions and Failed States," Statement for the Record for the House Armed Services Committee, National Defense University, November 8, 2005. pp 1–13.
- 2. Frederick W. Kagan, "Chapter Four: The Transformation of American Military Policy," Finding the Target, Encounter Books, 2006. pp 166–175.

WEEK FOUR

D. Modern Warfare: The US War in Afghanistan

1. International Crisis Group, "Afghanistan: New U.S. Administration, New Directions," March 2009. Pgs. 1 - 13.

- 2. Stanley McChrystal, "Commander"s Initial Assessment," NATO International Security Force, Afghanistan. (Purpose (i), Commander"s Summary (Sec 1), and Initial Assessment (Sec 2).)
- 3. Frederick, Jim. TIME, Special Ops: The Hidden World of America's Toughest Warriors.

WEEK FIVE

III. THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE

A. The Basics of Intelligence

- 1. Jeffrey Richelson, The U.S. Intelligence Community (5th ed.). Chapter 1: Intelligence, and Chapter 2: National Intelligence Organizations.
- 2. Jeffrey Richelson, A Century of Spies, Oxford U paperback, 1997. Chapter 19: Crisis Intelligence, Chapter 26: A New World of Disorder.
- 3. Analyzing Intelligence: Origins, Obstacles, and Innovations, ed. Roger Z. George and James B. Bruce (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2008). Chapter 4: Serving the National Policymaker, Chapter 5: The Policymaker's Perspective: Transparency and Partnership, Chapter 6: Intelligence Analysis: Between "Politicization" and Irrelevance.
- 4. Eric Rosenbach, "Intelligence Reform," Confrontation or Collaboration: Congress and the Intelligence Community, 2009.

WEEK SIX

IV. CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

A. Introduction

- 1. Huntington, Samuel. The Soldier and the State. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2007. Chapter
- 4: Power, Professionalism, and Ideology: Civil-Military Relations in Theory, Chapter 6: The Ideological Constant: The Liberal Society Versus Military Professionalism, Chapter 7: The Structural Constant: The Conservative Constitution.
- 2. Desch, Michael. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1999. ISBN: 9780801860591. Chapter 3: Civilian Control of the Military in Different Threat Environments, Chapter 7: What the Future Holds.

V. CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS CASE STUDIES: A CLOSER LOOK

B. American Civil-Military Relations in Practice

1. Sarah Sewall and John White, "Parameters of Partnership: U.S. Civil-Military Relations in the 21st Century." Pp. 1-6 (Executive Summary)

2. "Reforming Civil-Military Relations." In *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*. Edited by Lary Diamond, and Marc Plattner. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp. 3-11. ISBN: 9780801855368.

WEEK SEVEN

A. The Case of the Great Purge in the Soviet Union

- 1. Colton, Timothy. *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority: The Structure of Soviet Military Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979. ISBN: 9780674145351. Chapter 6: The Great Purge, Chapter 12: Civil-Military Relations and Soviet Development.
- 2.Meyer, Stephen. "How the Threat (and the coup) Collapsed: The Politicization of the Soviet Military." *International Security* 16, no. 3 (Winter 1991/92): 5-38.
- 3. Blank, Stephen. "The Great Exception: Russian Civil-Military Relations." *World Affairs* 165 (2002): 91-105.
- 4. Gomart, Thomas. Russian Civil-Military Relations: Putin's Legacy. Introduction, Chapter 1: The Heritage of Civil-Military Relations in Russia.

WEEK EIGHT

B. The Case of Latin America

- 1. Desch, Michael. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1999. ISBN: 9780801860591. Chapter 6: Twilight of the Generals? Domestic Security and Civil-Military Relations in Southern Latin America.
- 2. Pion-Berlin, David. Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: New Analytical Perspectives. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. Chapter 6: Institutions, Transitions, and Bargaining: Civilians and the Military in Shaping Post-authoritarian Regimes.

WEEK NINE

C. The Cases of Turkey and Pakistan

Turkev

1. Rustow, Dankwart. "The Army and the Founding of the Turkish Republic." *World Politics* 11 (1959): 511-552.

Pakistan

2. Siddiqa, Ayesha. Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy. May 2007. Chapter 1: MILBUS - A Theoretical Concept, Chapter 7: The New Land Barons, Chapter 10: MILBUS and the Future of Pakistan.

WEEK TEN

D. The Case of Africa and Multiethnic States

- 1. Jackman, Robert, Rosemary O'Kane, Thomas Johnson, Pat McGowan, and Robert Slater. "Explaining African Coup d'Etat." *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986): 225-250.
- 2. Peled, Alon. *A Question of Loyalty: Military Manpower Policy in Multiethnic States.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998, preface, and chapter 1. ISBN: 9780801432392.

WEEK ELEVEN

- 1. "Civil-Military Relations in an Age of Terror." Dr. Rod Lyon. Prepared for the Australian-American Fulbright Symposium, held at the University of Queensland, Brisbane (July 2004). http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/pmt/exhibits/2290/lyon.pdf
- 2. <u>Influence in Terrorist Networks: From Undirected to Directed Graphs</u>. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29(7), Oct-Nov 2006: 703-718. Steven J. Brams and Hande Mutlu, and Shawn L. Ramirez.
- 3. Graham Allison. "Nuclear Deterrence in the Age of Nuclear Terrorism." *Technology Review* (Nov/Dec 2008). http://www.nuclearfiles.org/menu/key-issues/nuclear-weapons/issues/terrorism/PDFs/Allison,%20Graham.%20Nuclear%20Deterrence%20in%20the%20Age%20of%20Nuclear%20Terrorism..pdf

WEEK TWELVE

Draft of final paper due

WEEK THIRTEEN

Final paper due.