

Center for the Study of Militarization

Preliminary Bibliography of Recent Research on Militarization and Demilitarization

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Militarization

Overviews

Bacevich, A. (2005). The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War. New York, Oxford University Press.

"In this provocative new book, Andrew Bacevich warns of a dangerous dual obsession that has taken hold of Americans, conservatives and liberals alike. It is a marriage of militarism and utopian ideology--of unprecedented military might wed to a blind faith in the universality of American values. This perilous union, Bacevich argues, commits Americans to a futile enterprise, turning the US into a crusader state with a self-proclaimed mission of driving history to its final destination: the world-wide embrace of the American way of life. This mindset invites endless war and the ever-deepening militarization of US policy. It promises not to perfect but to pervert American ideals and to accelerate the hollowing out of American democracy. As it alienates others, it will leave the United States increasingly isolated. It will end in bankruptcy, moral as well as economic, and in abject failure. The New American Militarism examines the origins and implications of this misguided enterprise. The author shows how American militarism emerged as a reaction to the Vietnam War. Various groups in American society--soldiers, politicians on the make, intellectuals, strategists, Christian evangelicals, even purveyors of pop culture--came to see the revival of military power and the celebration of military values as the antidote to all the ills besetting the country as a consequence of Vietnam and the 1960s. The upshot, acutely evident in the aftermath of 9/11, has been a revival of vast ambitions and certainty, this time married to a pronounced affinity for the sword. Bacevich urges us to restore a sense of realism and a sense of proportion to US policy. He proposes, in short, to bring American purposes and American methods--especially with regard to the role of the military--back into harmony with the nation's founding ideals." For CSM: This book directly investigates the problem of increasing U.S. militarization and its dangers both for American policies abroad and for American ideals at home.

Chenoy, A. (2002). Militarism and Women in South Asia. New Delhi, Kali for Women.

"This book traces the course of militarism in several South Asian states, with a more detailed account of women's experiences of it in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. This closely argued, detailed analysis of the growing militarism in South Asia presents not just the phenomenon, but all its ramifications, examining its manifestations across the region from a feminist perspective for the first time." For CSM: This study is a close fit with CSM's research agenda: it examines both how the states in question have been militarized and what the impact of this militarization has been, specifically for women. It is unclear, however, whether the "militarism" it speaks of is strictly the military influence in government or a more pervasive militarization of society and economy.

Giroux, H. A. (2004). "War on Terror: The Militarising of Public Space and Culture in the United States." Third Text 18(4).

"Following September 11, American power is being restructured domestically around a growing culture of fear and a rapidly increasing militarisation of public space and culture. As US military action is spreading abroad under the guise of an unlimited war against terrorism, public spaces on the domestic front are increasingly being organised around values supporting a highly militarised, patriarchal, and jingoistic culture that is undermining 'centuries of democratic gains'.³

The growing influence of the military presence and ideology in American society is visible, in part, in that the United States has more police, prisons, spies, weapons, and soldiers than at any time in its history. This radical shift in the size, scope, and influence of the military can be seen,

on the one hand, in the redistribution in domestic resources and government funding away from social programmes into military oriented security measures at home and war abroad." (excerpt from introduction)

For CSM: This article identifies the broad domestic ramifications of an ever-more-ambitious and militarizing foreign policy, noting the economic, political, and cultural costs of such militarization.

Johnson, C. (2004). The Sorrows of Empire. New York.

"In the years after the Soviet Union imploded, the United States was described first as the globe's 'lone superpower,' then as a 'reluctant sheriff,' next as the 'indispensable nation,' and now, in the wake of 9/11, as a 'New Rome.' Here, Chalmers Johnson thoroughly explores the new militarism that is transforming America and compelling its people to pick up the burden of empire. Reminding us of the classic warnings against militarism—from George Washington's farewell address to Dwight Eisenhower's denunciation of the military-industrial complex—Johnson uncovers its roots deep in our past. Turning to the present, he maps America's expanding empire of military bases and the vast web of services that supports them. He offers a vivid look at the new caste of professional warriors who have infiltrated multiple branches of government, who classify as 'secret' everything they do, and for whom the manipulation of the military budget is of vital interest. Among Johnson's provocative conclusions is that American militarism is putting an end to the age of globalization and bankrupting the United States, even as it creates the conditions for a new century of virulent blowback. *The Sorrows of Empire* suggests that the former American republic has already crossed its Rubicon—with the Pentagon leading the way." For CSM: This book offers a broad examination of the growing militarization of U.S. society, economy, and politics that attends American empire.

Lutz, C. (2001). Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century. Boston, Beacon Press.

"In her recent ethnography, *Homefront: A Military City and the American 20th Century*, Catherine Lutz studies Fayetteville, North Carolina in an attempt to look at the "single, deeply entwined but often invisible world of America and its military" (2001:1). Lutz examines the local level relationships connecting the Fort Bragg military base and the adjacent city of Fayetteville. Rooting her ethnography in an historically situated understanding of the development of both city and base, Lutz hopes that an ethnography of these relations will help her to understand the militarization of U.S. society. Lutz argues that the militarization of daily life is not unique to cities that house military bases, since the framing of a "military definition of situation" in the U.S. has infused militarism into much of everyday life." --Jill Schennum (*North American Dialogue: Newsletter for the Society for the Anthropology of North America*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Jan. 2004.) For CSM: Through its investigation of the militarization processes that maintain the tight relationship between a local community and its military base, this book reveals the range of costs incurred by the community for its militarization.

Lutz, C. (2002). "Making War at Home in the United States: Militarization and the current crisis: September 11, 2001." American Anthropologist **104**(3): 723-735.

"The job of intellectuals, the [author] argues, is to struggle to understand the crisis presented by terrorism in all its forms. This can center on a theoretical account of militarization and its relationship to broader social changes, from the emergence of nation-states to the course of racialization and other inequalities to the convergence of interests in military spending. The [author] gives a terse historical account of the 20th-century history of the militarization process and of the distinct modes of warfare that have developed over that time. To account for the growth of militarization over the last half of the century requires a focus on the growth of U.S. hegemony and the naming of the empire that dominated the global scene as the most recent crisis

opened on September 11, 2001. This account suggests how we can connect these global and national histories with specific ethnographically understood places and people, giving some examples from ethnographic and historical research in a military city, Fayetteville, North Carolina. Finally, this review of militarization suggests that the attacks on the United States, and the war that followed, represent a continuation and acceleration of ongoing developments, rather than sharp openings in history. These new developments include reasons for hope that the legitimacy of violence and empire may also be under challenge." For CSM: This article presents an overview of the scope of U.S. militarization in the past century, highlighting the role that American empire has played in this process.

Marullo, S. (1993). Ending the Cold War at Home: From Militarism to a More Peaceful World Order. New York, Lexington Books.

"If the Cold War is really over, why is the United States still spending near record high amounts of money on defense? Now that we no longer fear war with another global superpower, why are we putting U.S. troops in harm's way all over the globe? After the President and Congress pledged to shift our focus from international to domestic issues, why aren't we converting more economic resources away from the military infrastructure to meet human needs at home? The answers to these questions, asserts Sam Marullo, lie in the institutional structures created over the last four decades and still in operation today. Despite the fall of the Berlin Wall and the rise of independent Soviet states, the United States' Cold War political, cultural, economic, and military infrastructure remain virtually unchanged. After unveiling the individual and organizational values which support the Cold War's defense industry, government agencies, media, language, and ideology, Marullo proposes reforms to end our domestic Cold War. His recommendations include increasing Congressional oversight and civilian involvement in foreign and military policy making, strengthening The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the U.S. Peace Institute, and other peace keeping institutions, declassifying government documents and weapons development, introducing peace education into the schools, and bolstering the authority of the World Court, the United Nations, and international law. Only by changing our attitudes and the ways our institutions operate, can we finally win the Cold War." For CSM: This classic work identifies the vast scope of militarization in the cultural, economic, and political institutions of the United States, warning against the costs of such militarization.

Sherry, M. (1995). In the Shadow of War: The United States Since the 1930s. New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.

"Sherry (The Rise of American Air Power) argues here that beginning in the 1930s, the U.S. entered into a process of "militarization." WWII and the Cold War reinforced American impulses to develop both an effective state and a prosperous, powerful nation. War and national security became consuming anxieties, providing metaphors and models that shaped major areas of civil life and public policy. The U.S. has not relished conflict, nor has it been dominated by military institutions. War itself remained a shadow for most Americans, even between 1941 and 1945. Yet Americans have waged "war" on poverty, drugs, AIDS and a host of other "enemies" with more energy than consequence. Similarly, U.S. foreign policy from the 1940s to the present has often been capricious and contingent, responding to perceived emergencies rather than concrete national interests. Militarization has been costly: however, disengaging from it is proving a complex process in a world where conflict remains a norm." For CSM: This classic work on militarization provides a broad overview of the implications of militarization, its costs, and its entrenchment in U.S. society.

How are non-military policy areas and spaces being militarized, and what are the implications?

Amatangelo, G. (2001). *Militarization of the U.S. Drug Control Program*. Washington, DC, Foreign Policy in Focus. 6.

"The U.S. has enlisted Latin America's militaries as its pivotal partners in international drug control; Protecting national security is used as the rationale behind the militarization of U.S. counternarcotics efforts—and is strengthened by campaigns labeling insurgents 'narcoguerrillas'; Militarization and increased funding for the war on drugs have failed to stem the flow of narcotics into the United States."

For CSM: This report examines one of the many non-military policy issues that has been militarized both discursively and materially, changing the way it is framed and the way with which it is dealt. The report contends that this militarization of drug policy has not been effective, pointing to the fact that other, more constructive ways of dealing with the problem may have been obscured in the process.

Cornelius, W. A. (2001). "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy." *Population and Development Review* 27(4).

"This article assesses the efficacy of the strategy of immigration control implemented by the US government since 1993 in reducing illegal entry attempts, and documents some of the unintended consequences of this strategy, especially a sharp increase in mortality among unauthorized migrants along certain segments of the Mexico-US border. The available data suggest that the current strategy of border enforcement has resulted in re-channeling flows of unauthorized migrants to more hazardous areas, raising fees charged by people-smugglers, and discouraging unauthorized migrants already in the US from returning to their places of origin. However, there is no evidence that the strategy is deterring or preventing significant numbers of new illegal entries, particularly given the absence of a serious effort to curtail employment of unauthorized migrants through worksite enforcement. An expanded temporary worker program, selective legalization of unauthorized Mexican workers residing in the United States, and other proposals under consideration by the US and Mexican governments are unlikely to reduce migrant deaths resulting from the current strategy of border enforcement." For CSM: This article analyzes the costs of a militarized U.S.-Mexico border.

Deibert, R. (2003). *Black Code: Censorship, Surveillance, and the Militarization of Cyberspace*. International Studies Association, Portland, OR.

"As the pressures in favour of military, intelligence, and commercial interests bear down on the Internet, I argue below, the prospects for civic democratic communications become increasingly fragile. The second half of this paper outlines the prospects for contrary forces emerging to censorship, surveillance, and militarization. Here, the story is not entirely discouraging, as there is a substantial set of social forces combining to bring questions of access, privacy, and diversity to the principles, rules, and technologies that configure global communications. I refer to these social forces as "civic networks." Civic networks have begun to create an alternative transnational paradigm of Internet security and design, oriented around shared values and technologies. But their challenges are formidable." (excerpt from introduction) For CSM: This paper offers a useful examination of the way in which the Internet has been militarized and the costs of this cyber-militarization for more democratic uses of the Internet.

Dow, M. (2004). *American Gulag: Inside U.S. Immigration Prisons*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.

"Before September 11, 2001, few Americans had heard of immigration detention, but in fact a secret and repressive prison system run by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has existed in this country for more than two decades. In *American Gulag*, prisoners, jailers, and whistle-blowing federal officials come forward to describe the frightening reality inside these INS facilities. Journalist Mark Dow's on-the-ground reporting brings to light documented cases of illegal beatings and psychological torment, prolonged detention, racism, and inhumane conditions. Intelligent, impassioned, and unlike anything that has been written on the topic, this gripping work of investigative journalism should be read by all Americans. It is a book that will change the way we see our country. *American Gulag* takes us inside prisons such as the Krome North Service Processing Center in Miami, the Corrections Corporation of America's Houston Processing Center, and county jails around the country that profit from contracts to hold INS prisoners. It contains disturbing in-depth profiles of detainees, including Emmy Kutesa, a defector from the Ugandan army who was tortured and then escaped to the United States, where he was imprisoned in Queens, and then undertook a hunger strike in protest. To provide a framework for understanding stories like these, Dow gives a brief history of immigration laws and practices in the United States—including the repercussions of September 11 and present-day policies. His book reveals that current immigration detentions are best understood not as a well-intentioned response to terrorism but rather as part of the larger context of INS secrecy and excessive authority. *American Gulag* exposes the full story of a cruel prison system that is operating today with an astonishing lack of accountability." For CSM: This book helps us understand both the increasing militarization of immigration policy since September 11 and the prison-industrial complex that benefits from treating immigrants as criminals.

Handberg, R. (2000). *Seeking New World Vistas: The Militarization of Space*. Westport, CT, Praeger Publishers.

"The military is moving slowly but surely toward a world in which weapons will be stationed in outer space, and officials argue that these developments are essential to the maintenance of US national security in the post-Cold War world. Handberg explores these recent proposals for change and assesses the policy implications that might well result in a challenge to proponents for the militarization of space. Taking the reader through the first Sputnik launch and then the Gulf War, the "first space war," Handberg introduces his audience to a broad overview of space as an arena for the conduct of military activity. He argues that the new policies are likely to result in a world that is less, not more, secure. Both technologically and organizationally, the Gulf War served as a watershed for military and political leaders. As a result, the great changes occurring across the spectrum of space activities, as well as the commercial applications of space, have become particularly critical to the field. Handberg argues that one unintended outcome of current policy decisions could well be a resumption of the global arms race as powers jockey for positions in the heavens. Too much of the current military advocacy is premised upon temporary advantages, both military and economic, which will dissipate in time. The political leadership of the United States must be fully engaged in this debate, given its crucial importance for future American national security." For CSM: This book is an important addition to the discussion about the militarization of new spaces and policy areas—in this case, of space itself. It also investigates the costs and dangers of this militarization.

Salin, P. (2001). "Privatization and militarization in the space business environment." *Space Policy* 17(1). "Space business competition is presently fueled by two paradoxical phenomena. First, accelerated privatization of space projects leads to the militarization of outer space. Second, this militarization process in turn leads to the increased control of space ventures by a handful of nations. In other words, commerce and the military are going hand in hand to assert national objectives in outer space, no matter what space treaties and international agreements might say, so far. This could be detrimental to the multilateral cooperation spirit that should prevail in many,

if not all, outer space ventures, as a consequence of the uniqueness of that environment." For CSM: This article identifies the costs associated with privatizing and militarizing space.

Staudt, K. (2001). "Informality Knows No Borders? Perspectives from El Paso-Jaurez." SAIS Review **11**(1).

"At the U.S.-Mexico border, where people breathe the same air, use water from the same sources, and work in integrated economies, some advocate a regional approach to address people's well-being. All along the 2,000-mile border, a part of Mexico until the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, people cross the border some 47 million times each year to work, shop, and visit relatives.¹ International Relations was once wedded to the idea of nation-state analyses, but more recent work that incorporates examples like El Paso-Juárez now examines borders and frontiers as spaces in which to contest sovereignty and organize transnationally.² Nation-state analysis, with its different policies and regulations, may disguise similarities in people's work. This paper focuses on the incidence of informal economic activity on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border and raises questions about its continuity under the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), border militarization, and currency fluctuations, all developments of the late twentieth century." (first paragraph) For CSM: The relevant aspect of this article for CSM is how border militarization impacts informal economic activity on both sides.

What does it mean for the military to control a government or for a political system to be militarized, and how does this impact society?

Alamdari, K. (2005). "The power structure of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Transition from populism to clientelism, and militarization of the government." Third World Quarterly **26**(8).

"Since the 1979 revolution, Iran has experienced two non-class power structures—populism and clientelism. Populism, a product of the revolution, helped Ayatollah Khomeini to rule Iran for a decade with absolute power. Clientelism in Iran is linked to Shiism, as well as to a rentier state, and to the revolution, which resulted in many autonomous groups formed in patron – client bonds. Neither clientelism nor Shiism can be analysed using classical class system theory. Instead of horizontal layers of classes, the power structures in both Shi'ism and clientelism are based on vertical columns of rival and autonomous groups. The traditional Shi'a institution of Marja'iyat (source of emulation), has come into conflict with an elected government. The reformist government elected in 1997 failed to deliver on its democratic promises and to end the destructive role of autonomous groups. Therefore, disenchanted with state-sponsored reforms, Iranian society seems to be moving towards pragmatism and utilitarianism, while the political power structure leans towards militarism." For CSM: The relevance of this article is in its focus on the current militarization of the Iranian government and how this plays out with a society that may not be as militarized. In such a situation, will the society inevitably follow, or are there seeds there for resistance to the government's militarization?

Goldberg, G. (2006). "The Growing Militarization of the Israeli Political System." Israel Affairs **12**(3): 377 - 394.

"Israel is a garrison state. It is also a western democracy. How is such a combination possible? Does it make Israel a military democracy?¹ The fact that Israel preserves its democratic character at a time when the required security level is increasing is rather surprising. Apparently we are talking about especially strong democratic roots, which curb the strong military influence on Israeli society. Another explanation that can be adopted in connection with this paradox is that Israeli democracy does not have real liberal roots and its political behaviour does not tend towards democracy, but only the formal structural foundations are characterized by a democratic

tendency. Meaning, it is easy to preserve a formal-structured democracy in the presence of increasing militarism.

One of the ways to review the conflict between the democratic elements and Israel becoming a garrison state is by investigating the penetration of militarism into politics. This problem can be dealt with in several ways. One of them is to examine the policies taken and evaluate the weight of the military forces in the decision-making process. Another way is to examine the positions taken by the upper echelon of the army, retired generals, in the political system. The assumption is that generals who served in the army for decades will not change their way of thinking and acting immediately upon entering politics. The military mind will continue to characterize them and will have a critical influence on political outputs. [...]

The main argument of this research is that a process of the penetration of retired officers into Israeli politics is taking place. The most prominent researcher dealing with the militarization of Israeli politics is Yoram Peri. In his book *Between Battles and Ballots*, he analyzed and measured the phenomenon of the penetration of retired officers into politics.¹² Peri supplies a number of explanations. The structural explanation refers mainly to the aspect of the supply of retired officers. The functionalist explanation deals more with the aspect of the demand for retired officers. Peri calls the third explanation 'exchange of power and prestige' between the veteran leadership and the officers, with its main point being the interest of both parties." (excerpts from introduction)

For CSM: This article empirically investigates the extent to which Israeli politics is becoming militarized through the appointment of retired military officials to political posts.

Higgs, R. (2005). Resurgence of the Warfare State: The Crisis since 9/11. Oakland, CA, Independent Institute.

"Immediately after 9/11, government officials and commentators claimed that the terrorist attacks had "changed everything." In contrast, economist and historian Robert Higgs warned that history would likely repeat itself in one key respect: the government's hasty reactions would resemble its responses to previous crises, providing little more than opportunities for special interests to feather their nests and for the government itself to expand its powers at the expense of the public's wealth and civil liberties. *Resurgence of the Warfare State* is Robert Higgs's real-time analysis of the U.S. government's tragic but predictable response: the quick enactment of the USA PATRIOT Act, the federal takeover of airport security, the massive increase in defense and other government spending, and the carnage in Afghanistan and Iraq wrought by leaders unaccountable for their costly and deadly mistakes. Governmental responses to crises have been—and will likely continue to be—a bonanza for political, corporate, and even religious opportunists who seek power and financial gain by exploiting the fears of the American public."

For CSM: This volume critically examines the repercussions of a militarized state, emphasizing the costs to individual freedom, democratic process, and accountability.

Honna, J. (2003). Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia. New York, Routledge.

"The military have had a key role to play in Indonesia's recent history and may well have a decisive role to play in her future. This book looks at the role of the military in the downfall of Suharto and their ongoing influence on the succeeding governments of B.J. Habibie and Abdurrahman Wahid. The author also examines such key features as human rights, reconciliation, civic-military discourse and ongoing security dilemmas. The book is unique in providing the best overview of the role of the military in the world's fourth most populous nation." For CSM: This book tackles the topic of the militarization of government—in other words, what happens when a government is heavily influenced by the military or largely under military control—and explores the implications for democracy and human rights.

Jacoby, T. (2003). "For the People, Of the People and By the Military: The Regime Structure of Modern Turkey." Political Studies 51(4).

"The arrival, and subsequent longevity, of the military in politics in much of the Middle East over the last 50 years or so has elicited considerable attention. This is, perhaps, particularly so in Turkey, where, since 1909, there has been only 10 years in which a fully civilian administration has governed. Recently, the collapse of the Kurdish Workers Party and the beginning of a process of constitutional amendment aimed at meeting EU accession criteria has sharpened the controversy over the role of the military in the Turkish polity. The aim of this paper is to contribute to this debate by analysing the methods through which military rule has been perpetuated since the Second World War. Using the work of the sociologists Eric Nordlinger and Michael Mann, I argue that two succinct regime strategies are discernible. The first –*semi-authoritarian incorporation*– was deployed throughout Turkey during the 1960s and 1970s. Following the 1980 coup, however, it existed alongside a second method –*autocratic militarism*– which emerged in south-east Anatolia. Thus, the primary purpose of this paper is to offer an explanation for the structure of these strategies." For CSM: This article identifies and explores two different forms of militarized government in Turkey and explains how each form operates.

Kaplan, S. (2002). "*Din-u Devlet* All Over Again? The Politics of Military Secularism and Religious Militarism in Turkey following the 1980 Coup." International Journal of Middle East Studies 34: 113-127.

“Current discussions on the political developments in Turkey frequently frame the struggles between the military and religious parties as a war between secularism and Islam and draw out incommensurable differences between the two sides. Indeed, the military establishment, which casts itself as the guardian of the secular republic, succeeded in 1997 in having the Supreme Court ban the Welfare Party, the first openly religious party ever to form a government in the Turkish Republic. The generals justified this seemingly undemocratic move by claiming that that this party was trying to reinstate the sacred shari’a law.

Although political rhetoric in Turkey often assumes a sharp difference between a secular and a religious vision of the nation, the military ideals that children learn at school suggest a more ambiguous relationship between these two adversarial worldviews. In fact, the curriculum emphasizes that the Turkish soldier is a *pious* defender of the nation. Clearly, Islamic rhetoric is used to valorize the military heritage in the national education system, and the question is how are we to account for this when the military establishment does its utmost to limit holders of religious worldviews from participating actively in national politics?” (first two paragraphs)

For CSM: This article explores the complex relationship between the military and religion in Turkey, particularly the way in which religion is used to legitimize militarism. It contributes to our understanding both of education as a vehicle for militarization and of the implications of a militarized government.

Mora, F. O., and Quintan Wiktorowicz (2003). "Economic Reform and the Military: China, Cuba, and Syria in Comparative Perspective." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 44(2): 87-128.

"This article examines the involvement of the military in the economy during processes of economic reform and liberalization in non-democratic systems. The hypothesis is that the nature of this involvement is guided by regime survival strategies. Specifically, under dire economic conditions that necessitate liberalization measures, regimes will attempt to promote military loyalty and political survival by minimizing or offsetting the negative effects of economic reform while maximizing positive dividends. The article examines military economic involvement in China, Cuba, and Syria, and emphasizes the need for more cross-regional studies." For CSM: This article helps us understand why and how the military might step in during periods of

economic reform, suggesting that military control over economic and political matters may enhance order and survival during tough economic times.

How and why are conflicts (and foreign policies, more generally) militarized? By what mechanisms is this militarization justified, naturalized, or legitimated? And what are the costs of militarized conflicts?

Bacevich, A., and Elizabeth Prodromou (2004). "God is Not Neutral: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy after 9/11." *Orbis* 48(1): 43-54.

"George W. Bush is a man of genuine religious conviction. Since September 11, 2001, his personal religiosity has had a marked effect on U.S. foreign policy. But observers draw different conclusions as to what the effect has been.

In the eyes of his supporters (who are not all religious believers), Bush has infused U.S. policy with a moral clarity and conviction that it lacked prior to 9/11. He has returned the United States to its true mission as agent of universal human freedom. To his critics (who are not necessarily non-believers), 9/11 caused Bush to see the world in simplistic, even Manichean terms. Critics charge the president with having made U.S. policy not moral, but moralistic. The result, they say, has been to heighten fears abroad that U.S. policy is rigid, arrogant, bellicose, and perhaps even messianic. Critics at home also charge that, in practice, such an approach to policy is unsustainable, and that in the long run it will only open the United States to allegations of cynicism and hypocrisy.

Both sides may be at least partially right. The 2003 Gulf War and policy statements such as the September 2002 *National Security Strategy* suggest that the trauma of 9/11 reinforced preexisting tendencies looking to create a global Pax Americana. This paper considers the role of religion in that process. In particular, we suggest that in the aftermath of 9/11, conceptions of justice, largely evangelical in their origin, became fused with a set of policy prescriptions aimed at transforming U.S. national security strategy. Religion has been rendered an instrument used to provide moral justification for what is, in effect, a strategy of empire." (introduction of article)

For CSM: This is perhaps the only work in the bibliography to look at the mobilization of religion and religious discourse in the service of a militarized foreign policy.

Belkin, A. (2005). United We Stand? Divide-and-Conquer Politics and the Logic of International Hostility. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press.

"It has long been assumed that leaders engage in international conflict to unify their followers-- what is often called the "rally round the flag" hypothesis. Despite its intuitive appeal, however, this hypothesis does not always provide a compelling explanation of the relationship between domestic politics and international conflict. In *United We Stand?* Aaron Belkin shows that in one important realm, civil-military relations, leaders often prefer divisiveness over cohesion. When they feel domestically vulnerable, leaders use international conflict in order to create and exacerbate rivalries among their own military forces to lower the risk of a coup and to contribute to the consolidation and stability of the political order. Case studies include post-Soviet Georgia and Syria. "Belkin addresses an underexplained source of international conflict and does a persuasive job of turning widely accepted truisms on their heads. His basic argument is important, clearly presented, and well supported." --Paul N. Stockton (coeditor of *Reconstituting America's Defense: The New U.S. National Security Strategy*) For CSM: Though a step removed from the central concerns of CSM, the argument presented in this book helps explain the strategic motives leaders might have for selecting military policies in the first place. In this case,

the costs of militarization (of policy) are incurred by the domestic groups that are being manipulated and divided but also, more importantly, by the victims of the unnecessary military conflict itself.

Crawford, N. C. (2003). "The Slippery Slope to Preventive War." Ethics & International Affairs **17**(1).

This article discusses the Bush administration's arguments for its right to use preemptive force and analyzes whether the circumstances at hand meet the four criteria that constitute the legitimate use preemptive force. For CSM: This article is useful for analyzing the discursive strategies employed to legitimate the militarization of conflict—to make military force seem the natural and correct course of action, as opposed to the myriad other avenues available for managing conflict.

Dobson, A., Raia Prokhovnik, and Jef Huysmans, eds. (2006). The Politics of Protection: Sites of Insecurity and Political Agency. New York, Routledge.

"Following the end of the Cold War the security agenda has been transformed and redefined, academically and politically. This book focuses on the theme of protection. It moves away from the dominant question of whom or what is threatening to the crucial questions of who is to be protected, and in the case of conflicting claims, who has the capacity to define whose needs prevail.

This book poses the question of political agency in relation to some of the most significant questions raised in relation to the governance of insecurity and protection in the contemporary world. The authors identify and explore five issues that challenge or raise a number of questions about the traditional notion that states are to protect their citizens through retaining a monopoly over the legitimate use of violence:

- The privatisation of security
- Protection and the judicial regulation of armed conflict
- Peace building, post-conflict reconstruction, and the politics of protection
- Humanitarian needs and the political agency of refugees
- Environmental protection and the politics of nature

Combining political theory and empirical case studies, this book makes a significant contribution to the study of international relations and security studies."

For CSM: This book problematizes the notion of protection and thus the question of when and why states employ military force to "protect" their populations. As such, the militarization of conflicts is seen as a much more contingent process that is meant to benefit certain populations at the expense of others.

Kellner, D. (2002). "Postmodern War in the Age of Bush II." New Political Science **24**(1): 57-72.

"This study charts the genealogy and development of new trends in high-tech warfare that have emerged in the past decade, focusing on both the challenges and dangers. Attention is devoted to the Bush administration's military program and foreign policy moves, highlighting the ways Bush II intensifies the dangers of high-tech war while undermining efforts at collective security, environmental protection, and global peace. The argument here is that the volatile mixture of highly regressive, unilateralist, and militarist tendencies combined with high-tech weapons provides a clear and present danger of a protracted and frightening period of war. This mixture dramatically erupted in Bush's military response to the terrorist attacks of September 11 and is currently intensifying dangers to world peace in the campaign some are labeling 'World War III.'" For CSM: This article elucidates the costs and dangers associated with a militarized foreign policy, drawing our attention to the special implications of high-tech warfare.

Meszaros, I. (2003). "Militarism and the Coming Wars." Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine 55(2).

"Discusses U.S. military history as of June 2003. Definition given by the book "Vom Kriege," of the relationship between politics and war; Imposition by the U.S. government of its aggressive policies on the rest of the world, since September 11, 2001; Connected aspects with the regard to the present phase of imperialism." For CSM: This article helps flesh out the relationship between militarization and the pursuit of military policies (i.e., war and empire).

Plümper, T., and Eric Neumayer (2006). "The Unequal Burden of War: The Effect of Armed Conflict on the Gender Gap in Life Expectancy." International Organization 60: 723-754.

"Most combatants in armed conflict are men, so naturally men are the major direct victims of military operations. Yet armed conflicts have important indirect negative consequences on agriculture, infrastructure, public health provision, and social order. These indirect consequences are often overlooked and underappreciated. They also affect women—arguably more so than men. This article provides the first rigorous analysis of the impact of armed conflict on female life expectancy relative to male. We find that over the entire conflict period, interstate and civil wars on average affect women more adversely than men. In peacetime, women typically live longer than men. Hence, armed conflict tends to decrease the gap between female and male life expectancy. For civil wars, we also find that ethnic wars and wars in "failed" states are much more damaging to women than other civil wars. Our findings challenge policymakers as well as international and humanitarian organizations to develop policies that tackle the large indirect and long-term negative health impacts of armed conflicts." For CSM: This article, quite simply, looks at the costs of militarized conflicts (i.e. wars) and, as such, is relevant to CSM's work.

Smith, M. (2004). "Between Two Worlds? The European Union, the United States and World Order." International Politics 41(95-117).

"This paper explores the current and recent tensions in EU-US relations by reference to questions of world order: in other words, questions about the role of leadership, the distribution of power, the development of institutions and the articulation of ideas and values about the nature of the world arena. It asks 'How do the EU and the US differ on questions of world order, and how and how much does this matter, to the parties or to world order more generally?' The first part of the paper asks whether we have seen this all before, in the 1970s, the 1980s or the early 1990s, and attempts to establish what is distinctive about the current conjuncture. It also reviews the current debate about concepts in the EU-US context: sovereignty, leadership, power, institutions and values. On the basis of this review, the article proposes a distinction between 'warrior states' and 'trading states' in approaches to world order, and assesses the extent to which this leads to different languages and images of world order. It is argued that the US in the present conjuncture has assumed the position of a 'warrior state' and the EU that of a 'trading state', and that this has fundamental implications for their approaches to world order." For CSM: Though a bit removed in its relevance, this article provides an explanation for how a militarized state (a "warrior state") might operate differently from a less militarized state (a "trading state").

Stables, G. (2003). "Justifying Kosovo: Representations of Gendered Violence and U.S. Military Intervention." Critical Studies in Media Communication 20(1).

"This essay examines the public discourse, comprised of both official governmental communication and media coverage, of the American-led military intervention in Kosovo in 1999 as a site of representations of gendered violence. The project considers the implications for such representations for both the prevention of gendered violence and its future employment as a justification for military operations. The essay concludes by cautioning that prominent rhetorical strategies employing such representations ultimately undermine efforts to prevent gendered

violence." For CSM: Rather than investigate the construction of gender ideals according to military values, this article looks at the way gender is deployed for military goals, to justify the militarization of conflicts and policy.

Stimpson, N., Hollie Thomas, Alison Weightman, Frank Dunstan, and Glyn Lewis (2003). "Psychiatric disorder in veterans of the Persian Gulf War of 1991." The British Journal of Psychiatry **182**: 391-403. "Background: Veterans of the Persian Gulf War of 1991 have reported symptoms attributed to their military service.

Aims: To review all studies comparing the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in Gulf War veterans and in a comparison group of service personnel not deployed to the Gulf War.

Method: Studies of military personnel deployed to the Gulf published between 1990 and 2001 were identified from electronic databases. Reference lists and websites were searched and key researchers were contacted for information. A total of 2296 abstracts and 409 complete articles were reviewed and data were extracted independently by two members of the research team.

Results: The prevalence of psychiatric disorder in 20 studies of Gulf War veterans was compared with the prevalence in the comparison group. Prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and common mental disorder were higher in the Gulf War veterans. Heterogeneity between studies was significant, but all reported this increased prevalence.

Conclusions: Veterans of the Persian Gulf War reported an increased prevalence of PTSD and common mental disorder compared with other active service personnel not deployed to the Gulf. These findings are attributable to the increase in psychologically traumatic events in wartime."

For CSM: The intuitive results of this study clearly uncover one set of costs associated with the militarization of conflicts--the psychological toll wars take on the soldiers who fight them.

Willis, S. (2003). "What Goes Around Comes Around: A Parable of Global Warfare." Social Text **21**(4): 127-138.

"The quintessential embodiment of our moment in history, the sniper manifests the repercussions of U.S. imperialism on the home front. With military surveillance planes patrolling the skies over Washington and ground troops, including 623 agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, 600 FBI agents, 100 U.S. marshals, and 50 Secret Service agents,²⁰ the quest for the sniper transformed a police action into a federal mobilization. Lulled by the myth of democracy, Americans like to imagine that imperialism is something we enact elsewhere. We fail to grasp the ever-present military in our daily lives. Yet many of us live in cities that border military camps, like Tacoma, Washington, a place the sniper once called home. Here, FBI agents dug a tree stump out of his backyard and hauled it back to Washington, where they pried out the bullets that would match the spent casings found at murder sites thousands of miles away. Military cities like Tacoma precariously endure a pathological symbiosis between town (a site for off-duty R and R, and the domestic life of military dependents) and base (our nation's most viable welfare economy). Journeying to Tacoma to get a feel for the sniper's neighborhood, a reporter for the *New York Times* commented, "You can't drive around Tacoma without noticing the transitory nature of an Army town, with neighborhoods that are used and reused, where people move on without anyone noticing."²¹ Here, the sniper's backyard target practice also went unnoticed, camouflaged by the bigger booms of the heavy artillery guns at Fort Lewis. Less substantial than the potatoes in a sack—the small-holding exurbanites who claim their political presence with

their conservative votes—the transient population lives in the cracks, failing to register until one of them travels to the sprawling megalopolis and begins picking off citizens." (excerpt)

For CSM: This article uses the recent sniper attacks in Washington, DC, to illustrate and investigate the ramifications of the United States' current militarization at home and abroad.

How does American empire operate? How is it experienced? And what are the costs and consequences of its military reach?

Bacevich, A. (2002). American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

"In a challenging, provocative book, Andrew Bacevich reconsiders the assumptions and purposes governing the exercise of American global power. Examining the presidencies of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton--as well as George W. Bush's first year in office--he demolishes the view that the United States has failed to devise a replacement for containment as a basis for foreign policy. He finds instead that successive post-Cold War administrations have adhered to a well-defined "strategy of openness." Motivated by the imperative of economic expansionism, that strategy aims to foster an open and integrated international order, thereby perpetuating the undisputed primacy of the world's sole remaining superpower. Moreover, openness is not a new strategy, but has been an abiding preoccupation of policymakers as far back as Woodrow Wilson.

Although based on expectations that eliminating barriers to the movement of trade, capital, and ideas nurtures not only affluence but also democracy, the aggressive pursuit of openness has met considerable resistance. To overcome that resistance, U.S. policymakers have with increasing frequency resorted to force, and military power has emerged as never before as the preferred instrument of American statecraft, resulting in the progressive militarization of U.S. foreign policy.

Neither indictment nor celebration, *American Empire* sees the drive for openness for what it is--a breathtakingly ambitious project aimed at erecting a global imperium. Large questions remain about that project's feasibility and about the human, financial, and moral costs that it will entail. By penetrating the illusions obscuring the reality of U.S. policy, this book marks an essential first step toward finding the answers."

For CSM: This book examines both how a militarized foreign policy has emerged from the United States' desire for global economic "openness" and what the costs of such policy militarization are.

Enloe, C. (2004). The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, University of California Press.

"In this collection of lively essays, Cynthia Enloe makes better sense of globalization and international politics by taking a deep and personal look into the daily realities in a range of women's lives. She proposes a distinctively feminist curiosity that begins with taking women seriously, especially during this era of unprecedented American influence. This means listening carefully, digging deep, challenging assumptions, and welcoming surprises. Listening to women in Asian sneaker factories, Enloe reveals, enables us to bring down to earth the often abstract discussions of the global economy. Paying close attention to Iraqi women's organizing efforts under military occupation exposes the false global promises made by officials. Enloe also turns the beam of her inquiry inward. In a series of four candid interviews and a new set of autobiographical pieces, she reflects on the gradual development of her own feminist curiosity. Describing her wartime suburban girlhood and her years at Berkeley, she maps the everyday

obstacles placed on the path to feminist consciousness—and suggests how those obstacles can be identified and overcome.

The Curious Feminist shows how taking women seriously also challenges the common assumption that masculinities are trivial factors in today's international affairs. Enloe explores the workings of masculinity inside organizations as diverse as the American military, a Serbian militia, the UN, and Oxfam. A feminist curiosity finds all women worth thinking about, Enloe claims. She suggests that we pay thoughtful attention to women who appear complicit in violence or in the oppression of others, or too cozily wrapped up in their relative privilege to inspire praise or compassion. Enloe's vitality, passion, and incisive wit illuminate each essay. *The Curious Feminist* is an original and timely invitation to look at global politics in an entirely different way."

For CSM: This volume looks at empire through a gendered lens and examines how certain ideals of masculinity and femininity enable this militarization of political relations, as well as how women around the world experience empire.

Hooks, G., and Chad L. Smith (2004). "The treadmill of destruction: National sacrifice areas and Native Americans." *American Sociological Review* 69(4): 558-575.

"When examining environmental justice and injustice, surprisingly few studies have examined the experiences of Native Americans. In filling this gap, we criticize and build on environmental and political sociology. We make the case and provide evidence that the U.S. military pursues a pattern of environmental bads that cannot be reduced to capitalism and that coercive state policies can mold the spatial distribution of people relative to environmental dangers. Our contribution, then, is both theoretical and substantive. First, we recast the environmental sociology literature by [specifying] the scope [of] conditions under which a treadmill of production and a treadmill of destruction are applicable. Specifically, we argue that a treadmill of destruction is driven by a distinct logic of geopolitics that cannot be reduced to capitalism. Second, we provide empirical evidence of the treadmill of destruction by examining the environmental inequality endured by Native Americans at the hands of the U.S. military. We have collected data on a large number of military bases that have been closed but remain dangerous due to unexploded ordnance. We provide evidence that Native American lands tend to be located in the same county as such hazardous sites. In the twentieth century, the United States fought and won two global wars and prevailed in a sustained Cold War. The geopolitical demands of remaining the world's leading military power pushed the United States to produce, test, and deploy weapons of unprecedented toxicity. Native Americans have been left exposed to the dangers of this toxic legacy." For CSM: This article deals directly with the question of who pays the price of militarization—in this case, it is Native American communities who pay the environmental and health price of U.S. military bases and weapons testing.

Johnson, C. (2000). *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*. New York, Metropolitan Books.

"A veteran, and veteran academic on China and Japan, offers a serious indictment of the security system the U.S. organized in East Asia circa 1950 to contain the communists. Convinced the time has arrived to close down bases, bring troops home, and renegotiate extant security treaties, Johnson examines, from a highly critical, almost excoriating viewpoint, the American presence in Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia. He wants to connect with general-interest readers, perceiving them blinkered to the resentments engendered by U.S. military activity. When anti-Americanism erupts, Americans tend to be perplexed by it (why are those ingrates rioting?), [...] believing their foreign policy to be animated by virtuous liberal values, not hegemonic self-interest. These occasional but persistent reactions Johnson calls

"blowback," and his intimation of disasters to come, possibly wars, drives his insistence on dismantlement of the cold war security structures..." -- *Gilbert Taylor, Booklist (This text refers to an out of print or unavailable edition of this title.)* For CSM: This volume clearly illuminates the costs of a militarized and imperial foreign policy.

Mann, M. (2003). Incoherent Empire. New York, Verso.

"The US is a military giant, better at devastating than at bringing peace to other countries. It is a political dwarf, unable to rule foreign lands or control its own client states. It is the backseat driver of the global economy; it cannot steer, but prods poorer foreign states toward often-irresponsible free-market politics. An ideological phantom, it seduces with promises of freedom, democracy, and material plenty, while bringing only militarism and stagnation. By dissecting the military, economic, political, and cultural resources of the US, Mann concludes that these resources only add up to an incoherent empire. Mann also analyzes US involvement in invasions overseas, the war on terror, and "rogue states," concluding that the strategies it utilizes only increase the resolve of terrorists." For CSM: This book examines just how American empire operates and identifies the costs of its militarized foreign policy.

Mann, M. (2004). "The First Failed Empire of the 21st Century." Review of International Studies **30**(4): 631-653.

"American foreign policy has been recently dominated by the venture into Iraq. This has not gone well. Most criticism has focused on 'mistakes' – there were not enough US troops, or they were of the wrong type, the Iraqi army was mistakenly disbanded after it surrendered, looting was not anticipated, oil expectations were unreal, the US depended too much on Iraqi exile claims, and so forth. Indeed, these were mistakes. 250,000 troops trained also in police roles would have made a difference. So might Iraqi army units converted into security police. So might better planning all round. But the mistakes were only the surface phenomena of a more profound American failure. The Iraq venture was doomed from the outset by the attempt to create what some neo-conservatives styled a 'New American Empire'. This exaggerated American powers, made facile historical comparisons with previous Empires, mis-identified the enemy, and mis-identified the century we live in. This early twenty-first century attempt at Empire is failing. There will not be others." For CSM: This article looks at the shortcomings of the current militarized foreign policy of the United States, suggesting that its costs may be more far-reaching than imagined.

Pieterse, J. N. (2004). "Neoliberal Empire." Theory, Culture & Society **21**(3): 119-140.

"If neoliberal globalization was a regime of American economic unilateralism, has this been succeeded by or combined with political and military unilateralism? This discussion probes the emerging features of a hybrid formation of neoliberal empire; a mélange of political-military and economic unilateralism, an attempt to merge geopolitics with the aims and techniques of neoliberalism. This is examined in relation to government, privatization, trade, aid, marketing and the occupation of Iraq. A further question is what kind of wider strategy is taking shape amid the turmoil of the new wars." For CSM: This article is helpful insofar as it gives us a more nuanced way to characterize the militarized (and imperial) foreign policy of the United States and makes explicit the connections between economic interest and military action.

What are the consequences of arms build-ups?

Schell, J. (2003). The Unfinished Twentieth Century: The Crisis of Weapons of Mass Destruction. New York, Verso.

"Pointing to the dangers presented by the 30,000 nuclear weapons still in existence, the unravelling of the ABM treaty, and the arrival of nuclear weapons in South Asia, amongst other disastrous developments, Schell suggests that the world now faces an inescapable choice between annihilation and rapid arms proliferation." For CSM: This book presents the dangers inherent in the joint outcome of militarized policy and the military-industrial complex: the nuclear arms build-up.

How do certain sectors of society (for example, the military) become more privileged than others when it comes to public policy creation?

Schneider, A. L., and Helen M. Ingram, eds. (2005). Deserving and Entitled: Social Constructions and Public Policy. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press.

"Public policy in the United States is marked by a contradiction between the American ideal of equality and the reality of an underclass of marginalized and disadvantaged people who are widely viewed as undeserving and incapable. *Deserving and Entitled* provides a close inspection of many different policy arenas, showing how the use of power and the manipulation of images have made it appear both natural and appropriate that some target populations benefit from policy, while others do not. These social constructions of deservedness and entitlement, unless challenged, become amplified over time and institutionalized into permanent lines of social, economic, and political cleavage. The contributors here express concern that too often public policy sends messages harmful to democracy and contributes significantly to the pattern of uneven political participation in the United States." For CSM: This book includes one chapter specifically on constructing the entitlement of veterans, but it's more broadly applicable insofar as it explains how certain sectors of society or groups of people can be constructed as privileged over others. Therefore, its framework is useful for understanding the social processes that endow the military with a certain value and that then cause us to take as unquestioned its privileged place in U.S. society, as well as how that privileged position of the military may then impact public policy creation.

Economic Militarization

How do war economies develop, operate, and reinforce war?

Gold, D. (2006). "The Attempt to Regulate Conflict Diamonds." The Economics of Peace and Security Journal **1**(1).

This article outlines the economic motives blamed for armed conflict in weak states with low levels of development but rich in resources, pointing to the role diamonds played in perpetuating the Angolan civil war and the strategies that have been developed to counter this particular form of war economy. For CSM: This article is helpful because it examines both a particular type of war economy and the "demilitarization" process that has been instated to move away from it.

Goodhand, J. (2004). "From War Economy to Peace Economy? Reconstruction and State Building in Afghanistan." Journal of International Affairs **58**.

"Winning the peace in Afghanistan depends in no small part on international and domestic efforts to transform the war economy into a peace economy. Based on international experience, this is unlikely to happen quickly. In other contexts, economic activity generated in conflict has persisted into "peacetime" conditions. (1) This article puts forward a tentative framework for understanding the war economy and explores some of the implications for current efforts to build peace. (2) While it focuses on how the Afghan economy has been "adjusted" by war, this process

can only be understood with reference to the politics of state formation and state crisis in Afghanistan and the wider region. Four interrelated themes are highlighted. First, the war economy has been both a cause and a consequence of state crisis. Second, the war economy has empowered borderlands, transforming the politics of core-periphery relations in Afghanistan. Third, the war economy is part of a regional conflict system, with Afghanistan reverting to its pre-buffer state status of a territory with open borders, crossed by trade routes. Fourth, international actors helped create the war economy by supporting armed groups in the 1980s and adopting a policy of containment in the 1990s." (first paragraph) For CSM: This article analyzes the war economy of Afghanistan and emphasizes its tenacity even after the (supposed) termination of military action. This analysis brings to light the challenges faced by efforts to demilitarize such economies.

Hartung, W. (2001). "The New Business of War: Small Arms and the Proliferation of Conflict." Ethics & International Affairs 15.

"In his "We the Peoples" report issued in conjunction with the September 2000 United Nations Millennium Summit, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan advocated a re-energized worldwide effort to prevent war by promoting democracy, human rights, and "balanced economic development"--and by curbing "illicit transfers of weapons, money, or natural resources" that help fuel ethnic and territorial conflicts. (1)

There's plenty of work to do. As of late 1999, at the end of the most violent century in human history, there were forty armed conflicts under way in thirty-six different countries. (2) The international community has yet to develop reliable mechanisms to thwart the kinds of genocidal attacks that killed 800,000 Rwandans in the mid-1990s, nor has it created a capability for coping with complex, multisided civil wars like the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). (3) And there is troubling evidence to suggest that in many of the world's most intractable conflicts, waging war has become a way of life--a way to generate income, a way to exert political power, and a way to provide "employment" to young people, many no more than children, who have little prospect of securing a decent education or a steady job. (4)

This trend toward global "warlordism" is an incendiary mixture of feudalism and turbo-charged twenty-first-century capitalism. Unless we find a way to curb this new form of warfare, the fragile progress that has been achieved in the past century in promoting democracy and human rights and expanding educational and economic opportunities for a significant share of the world's population could go up in flames, not in an all-consuming nuclear confrontation--as was feared during the Cold War--but through the systematic proliferation of "small wars." " (first few paragraphs)

For CSM: This article investigates how the militarization of economies creates its own incentives for continued war-making, thus erecting a major hurdle in the way of efforts to prevent or end wars.

What are the implications of the increasing privatization of the military? How does military privatization impact the decision to go to war, and what is its effect on democratic accountability?

Michaels, J. D. (2004). "Beyond Accountability: The Constitutional, Democratic, and Strategic Problems with Privatizing War." Washington University Law Quarterly 82.

"[A]lthough the government has subsequently scaled back its ambitious domestic downsizing and privatizing initiatives, it nevertheless has expanded and intensified its military privatization agenda. If he is not a soldier, and instead is a private contractor who "is shot wearing blue jeans,

it's page fifty-three of their hometown newspaper." And, in the subsequent two Parts, I discuss, first in Part IV, how military privatization damages the institutional integrity and effectiveness of the U.S. Armed Forces and, also, how it may threaten the normative standing of the American soldier as an embodiment of the patriot-citizen; and then in Part V, I characterize how military privatization, by undermining the legitimacy and vitality of collective security agreements, provides additional fodder for those already suspicious of American foreign policy. Indeed, it is reported that military contractors have referred to the current administration's reliance on military outsourcing as the "Iraq Gold Mine" and have likewise mused (quite presciently) that the fallout from September 11 would prove to be a privateer's windfall." (excerpt from article) For CSM: This article identifies some of the costs and dangers associated with the ever-increasing privatization of warfare, itself a form of economic militarization. Especially troubling is the fact that military contractors' economic interest might override the public interest in decisions about war and peace.

Singer, P. W. (2001/2002). "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security." International Security 26(3): 186-220.

"A failing government trying to prevent the imminent capture of its capital, a regional power planning for war, a ragtag militia looking to reverse its battlefield losses, a peacekeeping force seeking deployment support, a weak ally attempting to escape its patron's dictates, a multinational corporation hoping to end constant rebel attacks against its facilities, a drug cartel pursuing high-technology military capabilities, a humanitarian aid group requiring protection within conflict zones, and the world's sole remaining superpower searching for ways to limit its military costs and risks. ¹ When thinking in conventional terms, security studies experts would be hard-pressed to find anything that these actors may have in common. They differ in size, relative power, location in the international system, level of wealth, number and type of adversaries, organizational makeup, ideology, legitimacy, objectives, and so on.

There is, however, one unifying link: When faced with such diverse security needs, these actors all sought external military support. Most important is where that support came from: not from a state or even an international organization but rather the global marketplace. It is here that a unique business form has arisen that I term the "privatized military firm" (PMF). PMFs are profit-driven organizations that trade in professional services intricately linked to warfare. They are corporate bodies that specialize in the provision of military skills--including tactical combat operations, strategic planning, intelligence gathering and analysis, operational support, troop training, and military technical assistance. ² With the rise of the privatized military industry, actors in the global system can access capabilities that extend across the entire military spectrum--from a team of commandos to a wing of fighter jets--simply by becoming a business client.

PMFs represent the newest addition to the modern battlefield, and their role in contemporary warfare is becoming increasingly significant. Not since the eighteenth century has there been such reliance on private soldiers to accomplish tasks directly affecting the tactical and strategic success of military engagement. With the continued growth and increasing activity of the privatized military industry, the start of the twenty-first century is witnessing the gradual breakdown of the Weberian monopoly over the forms of violence. ³ PMFs may well portend the new business face of war." (first few paragraphs)

For CSM: This article provides a comprehensive account of the most recent form of economic militarization--the privatization of the military itself. This privatization creates a new category of economic interests that could—and perhaps do—influence decisions about war and peace.

Yeoman, B. (2003). "Soldiers of Good Fortune." Mother Jones.

"[T]he Bush administration's push to privatize war is swiftly turning the military-industrial complex of old into something even more far-reaching: a complex of military industries that do everything but fire weapons. For-profit military companies now enjoy an estimated \$100 billion in business worldwide each year, with much of the money going to Fortune 500 firms like Halliburton, DynCorp, Lockheed Martin, and Raytheon. Secretary of the Army Thomas White, a former vice chairman of Enron, "has really put a mark on the wall for getting government employees out of certain functions in the military," says retired Colonel Tom Sweeney, professor of strategic logistics at the U.S. Army War College. "It allows you to focus your manpower on the battlefield kinds of missions."

Private military companies, for their part, are focusing much of their manpower on Capitol Hill. Many are staffed with retired military officers who are well connected at the Pentagon -- putting them in a prime position to influence government policy and drive more business to their firms. In one instance, private contractors successfully pressured the government to lift a ban on American companies providing military assistance to Equatorial Guinea, a West African nation accused of brutal human-rights violations. Because they operate with little oversight, using contractors also enables the military to skirt troop limits imposed by Congress and to carry out clandestine operations without committing U.S. troops or attracting public attention. "Private military corporations become a way to distance themselves and create what we used to call 'plausible deniability,'" says Daniel Nelson, a former professor of civil-military relations at the Defense Department's Marshall European Center for Security Studies. "It's disastrous for democracy." " (two paragraphs in the middle of article)

For CSM: This investigation into military privatization warns of increased political influence and decreased democratic accountability for these military firms.

How does the military-industrial(-think tank-media-entertainment) complex work? What are its implications, and how might it impact the decision to go to war?

Caldicott, H. (2002). The New Nuclear Danger: George W. Bush's Military-Industrial Complex. New York, New Press.

"For three decades, physician Caldicott, nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize and founder of the Nobel Peace Prize-winning Physicians for Social Responsibility, has tirelessly articulated the drastic consequences of nuclear weapons to a public kept in ignorance by their government. Moved once again by world events to disseminate hard facts in the hope of averting disaster, Caldicott presents a meticulous, urgent, and shocking report on the current state and true nature of America's nuclear weapons program. She explains with chilling precision the medical effects not only of nuclear weapons themselves but also of the carcinogenic nuclear waste that already permeates our environment. Her harrowing descriptions make it abundantly clear that to flirt with the terrible power of uranium and plutonium (which was named after the god of hell for good reason) is to risk the very "death of life." And yet the powers-that-be, an amalgam of arms dealers and politicians, proceed, unchallenged by a distracted and docile citizenry, according to Caldicott. She dexterously exposes the enormous influence that weapons corporations such as Lockheed Martin have on George W. Bush's administration, then illuminates myriad facets of our hubristic and potentially apocalyptic corporate-driven nuclear scheme, from the dogged pursuit of worthless missile defense systems to the real work of the cynically named Stockpile Stewardship and Management Program--the wildly irresponsible creation of new, treaty-breaking nuclear weapons. The Doomsday Clock, the symbol of nuclear danger, has just been set two minutes closer to midnight, so the time to take Caldicott's measured and wise words to heart is now." --
Donna Seaman (Copyright © American Library Association. All rights reserved. This text refers

to the Paperback edition.) For CSM: This book investigates the current incarnation of the U.S. military-industrial complex—whom it hurts and whom it benefits—and, by doing so, illuminates how exactly the militarization of the economy fails to serve the public interest.

Hartung, W. (2001). "Eisenhower's Warning." World Policy Journal **18**(1).

For CSM: This article takes stock of the current status of the military-industrial complex and examines its extent and implications.

Hartung, W., and M. Ciarrocca (2003). "The Military-Industrial-Think Tank Complex: Corporate Think Tanks and the Doctrine of Aggressive Militarism." Multinational Monitor **24**(1/2): 17-20.

"The aggressive first-strike military strategy now animating U.S. policy toward Iraq was developed during the 1990s by a network of corporate-backed conservative think tanks. Each major element of the Bush administration's national security strategy--from the doctrines of preemptive strikes and "regime change" in Iraq, to its aggressive nuclear posture and commitment to deploying a Star Wars-style missile defense system--was developed and refined before the Bush administration took office, at corporate-backed conservative think tanks like the Center for Security Policy, the National Institute for Public Policy and the Project for a New American Century." For CSM: This article makes a useful conceptual contribution to the idea of a military-industrial complex, suggesting that there is another crucial link in maintaining the privileged position of the military and military policy: think tanks and the role of intellectuals.

Hartung, W. (2004). How Much Are You Making on the War Daddy? A Quick and Dirty Guide to War Profiteering in the Bush Administration. New York, Nation Books.

"Columnist Paul Krugman has described Bush's melding of political hardball and economic favoritism as "crony capitalism," while Senator John McCain calls it war profiteering. George W. Bush's approach to military spending is a higher-priced version of what went on under the Suharto regime in Indonesia, when corporations connected to the military and the president's inner circle had the inside track on lucrative government contracts. The military budget has increased from \$300 billion to more than \$400 billion annually since George W. Bush took office. The Iraq invasion and occupation will cost at least another \$200 billion over the next three to five years. U.S. policy is now based on what's good for Chevron, Halliburton, Lockheed Martin, Boeing, and Bechtel, not what's good for the average citizen. Dick Cheney's ties to conglomerate Halliburton are the tip of the iceberg since at least thirty-two top officials in the Bush administration served as executives or paid consultants to top weapons contractors before joining the administration. In George W. Bush's Washington, it has reached the point where you can't tell the generals from the arms lobbyists without a scorecard. This book provides that scorecard, in a style designed to provoke action for change." For CSM: A contemporary look at the U.S. military-industrial complex, this book argues that such economic militarization benefits certain corporations at the expense of the average citizen and the public interest.

Roland, A. (2001). Military-Industrial Complex. Washington, DC, American Historical Association.

"This booklet provides a thorough analysis of a set of relationships central to American history in the latter 20th century, which entered popular discourse in a phrase used by Dwight D. Eisenhower in his farewell address of 1961—the military-industrial complex. Roland begins with an overview of U.S. industry and the military between World War I and the 1990s. He then focuses on five transformations: civil-military relations, relations between industry and the state, among government agencies, between scientific-technical communities and the state, and between technology and society. The booklet concludes with a bibliographic essay that addresses the salient literature and identifies areas of controversy among historians." For CSM: This booklet offers an overview of the military-industrial complex as it has manifested itself in the United States in the past century.

What are the effects of strong militaries—or, simply, military installations--on economic growth and development?

Bowman, K. S. (2002). Militarization, Democracy, and Development: The Perils of Praetorianism in Latin America. University Park, PA, The Pennsylvania State University Press.

"Do Third World countries benefit from having large militaries, or does this impede their development? In the face of conflicting evidence from prior quantitative research and case studies, Kirk Bowman sets out to explore just what effect militarization has had on development in Latin America. Identifying distinctive features of the military as an institution in Latin America, Kirk Bowman uses statistical analysis to demonstrate that militarization has had a particularly malignant impact in this region of the world on three key measures of development: democracy, economic growth, and equity. For this quantitative comparison he draws on longitudinal data for a sample of 76 developing countries and for 18 Latin American nations. To illuminate the causal mechanisms at work -- how agency and sequence operate in the relationship between militarization and these three areas of development -- Bowman offers a detailed comparison of Costa Rica and Honduras between 1948 and 1998. The case studies not only serve to bolster his general argument about the harmful effects of militarization but also provide many new insights into the processes of democratic consolidation and economic transformation in these two Central American countries." For CSM: The relevance of this book to CSM's work is self-evident: it empirically investigates the wider societal impact of militarization (in the most literal sense--a big, strong military), in this case on development.

Hooks, G. (2003). "Military and Civilian Dimensions of America's Regional Policy, 1972-1994." Armed Forces & Society 29(2): 227-251.

"This article examines the impact of federal properties on regional growth in the United States between 1972 and 1994, and provides evidence that these properties influenced and continue to influence regional growth. Documenting the impact of federal facilities (military and civilian) on regional growth from 1972 to 1994 allows examination of the differences among types of such facilities. For understanding regional dynamics, those that play a role in the nation's science and technology program--whether military or civilian--have exerted a much stronger force on regional economies than others. The federal government has allocated a very large share of discretionary spending to national security, and thus there are far more national security facilities than there are civilian ones and their collective impact is significantly higher. Nevertheless, if the comparison is made on a per installation basis, individual civilian installations have made a contribution to local economies that is comparable to that of national security facilities." For CSM: This paper analyzes the local economic effects of military versus civilian installations in regions around the United States and finds that their effects—rather than being strongly in favor of one or the other—are comparable. The implication is that a militarized local economy (the extent to which a local economy is dependent on military installations) may be no worse or no better, in terms of economic growth, than a non-militarized local economy.

Mathur, S. K. (2001). "Casualties of Militarization in the Contemporary World: Democracy and Development." Peace Economics, Peace Science, and Public Policy 7(3).

"[T]he concern of this paper...is to motivate studies which can create sufficient awareness of the destructive effects of militarism around the world and of risk of India itself being caught in the spiral of violence that is sweeping today large parts of Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. The paper is divided in the following sections. Section I is concerned with effects of war on development and democracy. Section II critically discusses the logic of nuclear deterrence in the light of the presence of extremism and terrorism without any leadership and proliferation of

weapons of mass destruction. It also discusses some implications of a world order where nuclear deterrence is considered to be sustainable basis of collective security. Section III describes nature and causes of civil wars and ethnic conflicts in some countries. Section IV gives an account of some urgent tasks which India may like to undertake to demilitarize the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India and particularly areas like Kargil and Siachen for restoring peace in South Asia and to cater to the aspirations of its people for making it a viable democratic state. Section V gives conclusions.

We conclude in our study that war is a major obstacle to development in the contemporary world. Democracy can provide safeguard against rise of militarism. But for this informed discussion on security matters need to take place among the public with transparent and non-influential administrative, political and media establishments. It is argued that the state of Jammu and Kashmir, India and particularly regions like Kargil and Siachen should be demilitarized and the government should address to aspirations of the people of the state to make it a viable democratic state. Ensuring the inviolability of the line of control between India and Pakistan requires two things: political initiative such as honoring the Delhi Agreement of 1952 and the revival of the draft agreement of 1988 that envisaged a pull back and demilitarization of Siachen. It would help seek demilitarization of the Kargil sector too before it turns into another costly year-round presence in disputed and inhospitable territory. The alternative is to be pushed into resuming dialogue under international pressure with all its attendant consequences." (excerpt from introduction)

For CSM: This paper looks at the negative impact of militarization on democracy and development, with a special focus on the effects of militarization in India.

What are the social and economic costs or benefits of military spending?

Crawford-Browne, T. (2004). "The Arms Deal Scandal." Review of African Political Economy **31**(100): 329-342.

"To people in South Africa and millions around the world who supported the struggle against apartheid, it is incomprehensible that the ANC government's first major decision was to buy warships and warplanes when there is no conceivable foreign military threat and when the real threat to the consolidation of democracy is poverty. Instead of houses, schools and clinics being built, instead of money to tackle AIDS, South Africa bought submarines." For CSM: This article discusses the price paid by South African society for the military expenditures of its post-Apartheid government. This is relevant to the broader consideration of the costs and benefits of a militarized economy.

Dunne, J. P., Ron P. Smith, and Dirk Willenbockel (2005). "Models of Military Expenditure and Growth: A Critical Review." Defence and Peace Economics **16**(6): 449-461.

"This paper reviews some of the theoretical and econometric issues involved in estimating growth models that include military spending. While the mainstream growth literature has not found military expenditure to be a significant determinant of growth, much of the defence economics literature has found significant effects. The paper argues that this is largely the product of the particular specification, the Feder–Ram model, that has been used in the defence economics literature but not in the mainstream literature. The paper critically evaluates this model, detailing its problems and limitations and suggests that it should be avoided. It also critically evaluates two alternative theoretical approaches, the Augmented Solow and the Barro models, suggesting that they provide a more promising avenue for future research. It concludes with some general

comments about modelling the links between military expenditure and growth." For CSM: This article confronts directly the question of whether or not military spending benefits society economically. It concludes that military spending does not have the positive impact on growth that some say it does, thus causing one to question the benefits of economic militarization more generally.

Kelly, T., and Meenakshi Rishi (2003). "An Empirical Study of the Spin-off Effects of Military Spending." *Defence and Peace Economics* 14(1): 1-17.

"The article explores the spin-off effect controversy surrounding the role of military spending in economic development by investigating its impact on output in six industries linked to the military. The article's econometric investigation does not support the case for spin-off effects. The results suggest that military spending's direct impact on output in each industry is negative or insignificant depending on whether adjustments for trade in armaments are made. The results also fail to substantiate physical and human capital spin-off effects. Based on these results, the article concludes that the case for spin-off effects has been exaggerated." For CSM: This article investigates and then disputes the claim that military spending is beneficial for economic development, calling into question the broader benefits of economic militarization.

Scanlan, S. J. (2001). "Guns, Butter, and Development: Security and Military Famine Extensions of the Modernization versus Dependency Debate." *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 29(2).

"The article presents information on a study that expanded the long-running "guns versus butter" debate between modernization and dependency perspectives on development by examining multiple components of militarization and food security and their links to human security and military famines. Militarization and food security are complex processes that demand careful research that adequately addresses the multiple ways these may be conceptualized. Using new measures of food security constructed as relative adequacy of food supply and child nutrition that capture food access, the article reveals that political and social militarization improve food security. Economic militarization and military famines detract from it, thus pointing to mixed consequences for human development and security in these societies. Differences exist between models for each dependent variable, highlighting the importance of considering multiple aspects of food security. This article takes empirical research on food security beyond simple concerns with food availability to more important ideas such as stratification and distribution." For CSM: This article is useful to CSM both methodologically (as it has operationalized and made measurable concepts like political militarization, social militarization, and economic militarization) and substantively (as it finds both costs and benefits associated with militarization, depending on type).

Cultural and Social Militarization

Peguero, V. (2004). *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo*, University of Nebraska Press.

"*The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo* traces the interaction of the military and the civilian population, showing the many ways in which the military ethos has permeated Dominican culture. Valentina Peguero categorizes the Dominican military before 1930 as either protectionists, facilitators, or self-servers, a framework that sheds new light on Dominican civil-military relations. Peguero synchronizes the history of the Dominican military and that of Dominican society from her dual perspectives as a native of the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo era and as a historian who is well acquainted with the country's history and literature. She shows how the brutal Trujillo dictatorship created La Nueva Patria (The New Fatherland) to promote a new order and present the military as a model for

society, imposing military principles on the civil society and mixing military culture with popular culture to reshape the nation. Structured around interviews with former military personnel, scholars, and politicians, this study brings to life documentary information and presents a poignant narrative that describes the unintended consequences that resulted when Trujillo valued arming the nation above meeting the needs of the populace." For CSM: A near-perfect match for CSM's research agenda, this book is a comprehensive study of the militarization of a particular society, as well as the costs and unintended consequences of this militarization.

How are us/them identities enforced, enemies constructed, and human beings dehumanized? How are these processes connected to the use of military force?

Coryn, C. L., James M. Beale, and Krista M. Myers (2004). "Response to September 11: Anxiety, Patriotism, and Prejudice in the Aftermath of Terror." Current Research in Social Psychology 9(12).

"In this study our P211 Methods of Experimental Psychology students and research team specifically examined feelings of personal anxiety created by terrorist attacks and ongoing conflict with the Middle East, patriotic attachment towards the United States, and subtle and blatant prejudicial attitudes toward Arabic people following the events of September 11, 2001... As predicted, anxiety producing events coincided with greater patriotic attachment toward the United States and amplified prejudicial attitudes toward the target group; Arabic people. No significant differences were found for either gender or our experimental condition (support versus protest)." For CSM: This article is relevant insofar as it investigates a key condition for the militarization of a conflict—the construction of us/them identity categories and the identification of an enemy. For further studies along these lines, however, it will be useful to pay closer attention to the precise reasons for heightened patriotism and prejudice against a target group beyond the mere occurrence of a catastrophic event—for instance, the discourses being used to bring meaning to a catastrophic event and the "othering" of the presumed perpetrators they employ.

Hooks, G., and Clayton Mosher (2005). "Outrages against Personal Dignity: Rationalizing Abuse and Torture in the War on Terror." Social Forces 83(4): 1627-1645.

"The outrage over revelations of torture and abuse at Abu Ghraib prison has faded from public discourse, but a number of questions remain unanswered. This paper criticizes official rationalizations offered for the abuse. We make the case that these abuses are systemic, resulting from dehumanization of the enemy and the long reliance on and refinement of torture by the United States national security agencies. We also consider the spread of torture in the current war "on terror," and we call on sociologists to become involved in the study of torture and prisoner abuse." For CSM: By focusing on the part played by dehumanization in the perpetration of torture, this article investigates a key variable that enables the militarization of conflicts and the use of violence more generally.

Robin, R. T. (2001). The making of the Cold War enemy: culture and politics in the military-intellectual complex. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.

"At the height of the Cold War, the U.S. government enlisted the aid of a select group of psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists to blueprint enemy behavior. Not only did these academics bring sophisticated concepts to what became a project of demonizing communist societies, but they influenced decision-making in the map rooms, prison camps, and battlefields of the Korean War and in Vietnam. With verve and insight, Ron Robin tells the intriguing story of the rise of behavioral scientists in government and how their potentially dangerous, "American" assumptions about human behavior would shape U.S. views of domestic disturbances and insurgencies in Third World countries for decades to come.

Based at government-funded think tanks, the experts devised provocative solutions for key Cold War dilemmas, including psychological warfare projects, negotiation strategies during the Korean armistice, and morale studies in the Vietnam era. Robin examines factors that shaped the scientists' thinking and explores their psycho-cultural and rational choice explanations for enemy behavior. He reveals how the academics' intolerance for complexity ultimately reduced the nation's adversaries to borderline psychotics, ignored revolutionary social shifts in post-World War II Asia, and promoted the notion of a maniacal threat facing the United States. Putting the issue of scientific validity aside, Robin presents the first extensive analysis of the intellectual underpinnings of Cold War behavioral sciences in a book that will be indispensable reading for anyone interested in the era and its legacy."

For CSM: This book presents an interesting look at both the process by which others/enemies are constructed (enabling and naturalizing military confrontation) and the implication of intellectuals in the militarization of the Cold War.

How do toys and games transmit military values to children and young adults? What are the implications for how war is understood?

Hall, K. J. (2004). "A Soldier's Body: GI Joe, Hasbro's Great American Hero, and the Symptoms of Empire." *Journal of Popular Culture* **38**(34).

"In much the same manner that baby dolls work to shape girls' conceptualization of themselves and the future, GI Joe led boys to fashion themselves after the same mold that Joe was cast in: militarized, masculinized citizenship, not of woman born but government issued. And not six feet tall, but twelve inches. A friendly one-sixth replica of the soldiers he represented, GI Joe, like the celluloid heroes of so many Hollywood combat films, put a trustworthy, amiable, childlike face on the image of the US military. GI Joe's miniature body serves as an uncanny symbolic replica of the social forces at play during the era of his greatest popularity. In his analysis of the connection between the body and globalization, David Harvey outlines two fundamental propositions: that the body is an unfinished project and, connected to this, that the body is not a closed, self-contained entity but a relational "thing," gathering its meanings from historical, social, and geographical contexts (402). Reading Joe's body and the history of its development and production as an unfinished project and a relational object offers a metaphor for what the embodiment of the oppressive relationship between the US consumer-citizen and Southeast Asia might look like, and how awareness of and experience from such a body might change the image of the US military and the nation's self image." (first few paragraphs) For CSM: Though the focus of this article may be a step removed from CSM's research agenda, the article does offer a look into the way military values are transmitted through pop culture and, more specifically, through toys.

Leonard, D. (2004). "Unsettling the military entertainment complex: Video games and a pedagogy of peace." *Studies in Media & Information Literacy Education* **4**(4).

"Amid the cultural, political, and military shifts of post-9-11 American policy, the video game industry has responded with patriotic fervor and released a series of video war games. Virtual war games elicit support for the War on Terror and United States imperialism, providing space where Americans are able to play through their anxiety, anger, and racialized hatred. While commentators cite a post-September 11th climate as the reason for increasing interest and support for the U.S. military, this article underscores the importance of video games as part of the militarization of everyday life and offers insight into the increasingly close-knit relationship between the U.S. military, universities, and the video game industry. Because video games form

an important pedagogical project of U.S. war practices, they must be critically analyzed." For CSM: This article analyzes video games as a site of militarization in the United States, highlighting their pedagogical significance and the way in which media literacy might therefore be a force for demilitarization.

What are the implications of militarization for social and family relations? How might the violence of the military seep into families and communities?

Adelman, M. (2003). "The Military, Militarism, and the Militarization of Domestic Violence." Violence Against Women 9(9).

"This article moves beyond the discussion of domestic violence in the military to a broader accounting of the militarization of domestic violence in Israel. In contrast to the dominant civilian-military paradigm, which assumes a limit on an army's effect on society, in Israel, boundaries between the military and society are highly permeable, even ambiguous. The civilianization of the army and the militarization of society in Israel render incomplete the research model of domestic violence in the military. Thus, the article explores how the centrality of the military, a pervasive ideology of militarism, and the militarization of society shape perpetration, understandings, and experiences of and responses to domestic violence in Israel. Specifically, four components of the militarization of domestic violence are discussed: causality, competition, critique, and context. The article closes by reflecting on what is gained by shifting the analytical perspective from domestic violence in the military to the militarization of domestic violence." For CSM: This article examines not only how Israeli society is militarized but also what some of the costs of this militarization are, particularly in the domestic sphere where there is usually not much public attention.

Drummet, A. R., Marilyn Coleman, and Susan Cable (2003). "Military Families Under Stress: Implications for Family Life Education." Family Relations 52.

"We provide a summary of the limited research on three uniquely stressful experiences of military families: relocation, separation, and reunion. Using the insights derived from this literature, we identify and discuss interventions to assist and guide military families through these unique events." For CSM: Though less directly relevant to CSM's concerns, this article highlights the special costs borne by military families, which are, of course, a part of the more general costs incurred by a militarized society.

Graham, S., ed. (2003). Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards an Urban Geopolitics. Malden, MA, Blackwell.

"Cities, War, and Terrorism is the first book to look critically at the ways in which warfare, terrorism, and counter-terrorism policies intersect in cities in the post-Cold War period. The book brings together new writing by the world's leading analysts of urban space and military and terrorist violence from the fields of geography, architecture, planning, sociology, critical theory, politics, international relations, and military studies. Arguing that urban spaces are now the critical, strategic sites of geopolitical struggle, the contributors combine cutting-edge theoretical reflections with path-breaking empirical case studies. They provide up-to-date analyses of a range of specific urban sites, including those involved in the Cold War, the Balkan wars, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the 9/11 attacks, the "War on Terror" attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, and urban anti-globalization battles. Taken as a whole, the book offers both specialist and non-specialist readers a sophisticated perspective on the violence that is engulfing our increasingly urbanized world." For CSM: Though a bit removed in its relevance to CSM, this book could prove useful in investigating the domestic, societal implications of war and terrorism in the

concrete, physical spaces of cities, or the organization and use of public spaces for military purposes.

Hammer, R. (2003). "Militarism and Family Terrorism: A Critical Feminist Perspective." The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies 25(3): 231 - 256.

"The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. and the Bush administration's militarist and unilateralist response dramatized the centrality of globalization and the vulnerabilities of the entire world to destructive violence. These events have provoked widespread discussions of terrorism which generally fail to recognize that terrorism and militarism often find their basis in patriarchal codes which permeate a variety of political, social, economic, and cultural relations of everyday life. Here I want to explore the relationship between militarism and what I call "family terrorism" and to further theorize multiple forms of violence in terms of relations between individualized, familial, public, nationalized, and globalized terrains. I will employ critical feminist theories that offer broad perspectives on terrorism and militarism that include in their rudiments patriarchal violence and domination, in order to address dimensions neglected in many current discussions." (excerpt from introduction) For CSM: This article explores the deep connections between multiple forms of violence and uncovers the costs exacted on the private sphere for a militarized foreign policy.

Herzog, H. (2004). "Family-Military Relations in Israel as a Genderizing Social Mechanism." Armed Forces & Society 31(1): 5-30.

"Does a blurring of the boundaries between civil society and the military lead to a redefinition of gender roles? This article examines the social meaning of the practices and rhetoric of parenthood in Israel through the prism of parents' increasing intervention and involvement in the army between 1982 and 1995. The claim is made that parenthood practices have become a reconstituting mechanism of the gendered division of roles. More specifically, the article argues that the separation between military and family, and between public and private-domestic, remains unchanged despite family involvement in the military. The basic interpreting frames in military-family relations are constructed in terms of the family's traditionally defined role. Paradoxically, the entrance of the family into the public sphere reiterates and reinforces basic assumptions about the nature of the family and its discursive boundaries, along with women's taken-for-granted status in the private-domestic sphere, and men's activities as representing the public sphere." For CSM: This article investigates the connection between family involvement in the military and the construction of gender and family roles.

Light, J. S. (2002). "Debates and Developments: Urban security from warfare to welfare." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 26(3).

"Recent mobilization efforts to provide urban security in the American 'War on Terrorism' recall the expanding military-industrial complex during the nation's preparations for the Cold War. This article suggests the current generation of American city leaders can learn much from history. Juxtaposing recent mobilization efforts alongside analogous episodes from the nation's past reminds us that many powerful economic and political interests are well-served by the unbridled expansion of urban fear. This comparison raises important questions to be asked of current and future domestic urban security measures in the 'War on Terrorism'." For CSM: This article draws parallels between post-9/11 militarization and that of the Cold War, calling our attention to the use of fear in urban settings for elites to gain control and reap economic and political benefits.

Wasara, S. S. (2002). "Conflict and State Security in the Horn of Africa: Militarization of Civilian Groups." African Journal of Political Science 7(2): 39-60.

"The Horn of Africa experiences conflicts that set states against states and communities against communities resulting in political turbulence and human tragedy. This situation is connected

with the inability of states to pursue rational policies that call for social cohesion. Governments and dissident political movements induce civilians to become accomplices of senseless wars. Thus, conversion of civilian populations into military and paramilitary groups is a common feature of this region. Some communities take advantage of the proliferation of modern weapons to arm themselves for cattle rustling, banditry and taking revenge. Civilians participate in different capacities in military-like activities in areas affected by armed violence. Prospects for containing civilian militarization depend on concerted pressure of civil societies and the international community on states and armed opposition movements to seek peaceful settlement of disputes. The paper argues that stakeholders in conflict situations should be persuaded to promote dialogue leading to agreements, subsequent demobilization of ex-combatants and disarmament of civilian groups. Therefore, prospects for social stability depend on how communities and states consider that their security is guaranteed.” For CSM: This article looks explicitly at how civilian groups are militarized during armed conflict, particularly in the Horn of Africa.

How might the human psyche become militarized? What are the tools used to accomplish this, and what are the implications?

Esparza, M. (2005). "Post-war Guatemala: long-term effects of psychological and ideological militarization of the K'iche Mayans." Journal of Genocide Research 7(3): 377 - 391.

"In spite of all the negotiations, agreements, and efforts at reconciliation, aimed at reconstructing a just and democratic society, an examination of postwar Guatemala suggests that the genocide imbedded a lasting mindset in indigenous leaders and their communities. This article examines these long-term repercussions and effects. I argue that, although the official story according to the Peace Accords is that the army is no longer present in rural areas, the campaigns of public torture and execution led to the internalization of an ideology of war which continues to bind indigenous leaders and communities to a psychology of militarization and authoritarianism.⁴ Persisting militarization continues the genocidal destruction of indigenous peoples' traditional communal bonds by setting army loyalists against human rights workers and the left-oriented wing of the Catholic Church.

I identify three interrelated post-war outcomes of this polarization and militarization among the K'iche: (i) community conflicts arising from dehumanization of the “other,” (ii) economic breakdown, and (iii) the spreading of a perception of the army as guardian and protector. The destruction of communities' cohesiveness represents the invisible legacy of the war, what the REMHI Report calls “symbolic wounds” (REMHI, 1998, Vol I, p 107).

Extreme polarization is a necessary condition for genocide to take place (Fein, 1979; Kuper, 1981), but in Guatemala the genocide has extended the divide that existed between wealthy, powerful elites and indigenous groups, into the hearts of indigenous communities themselves. I discuss how the “internal enemy” ideology, developed during the Cold War, continues to play a central role in antagonizing neighbors, even after the war has formally ended." (excerpt from introduction)

For CSM: This article examines the lasting effects of psychological and ideological processes that are manipulated to enable the use of military force and violence, and reflects on the impact this lingering psychological and ideological militarization has on a society once the initial purpose for it has disappeared.

Orr, J. (2004). "The Militarization of Inner Space." Critical Sociology 30(2): 451-481.

"This essay considers the contemporary militarization of U.S. civilian psychology in the context of World War II and Cold War efforts to target the psychic and emotional life of civilians as a battlefield component of 'total war.' Selectively tracing the entangled histories of academic social science, the mass media, military technologies, and U.S. government agencies, I suggest that the post-World War II emergence of the U.S. national security state is founded in part on the calculated promotion of civilian insecurity and terror. The militarization of civilian psychology – that is, the psychological re-organization of civil society for the production of violence – becomes historically visible as an administrative imperative of U.S. government. This visibility, I argue, is important in interrogating and intervening in the complex politics and cultures of terrorism today." For CSM: This article deals with a central—if over-looked—aspect of militarization, arguing that the inculcation of fear and insecurity in the individual psyches of civilians is instrumental in enabling the government to pursue militarized policies.

Why is military service often seen as the epitome of good citizenship, service, and patriotism? Why and how is patriotism associated with the military and warfare? What are the consequences of such a conception of patriotism?

Abrams, E., and Andrew Bacevich (2001). "A Symposium on Citizenship and Military Service." Parameters 31: 18-22.

"In October 2000, we served as co-chairs of a conference titled "Citizens and Soldiers: Citizenship, Culture, and Military Service." [1] The inspiration for this event can be stated briefly: a decade after the Cold War, the United States is finding it increasingly difficult to sustain the all-volunteer force, the foundation on which American military power rests. Although problems with recruiting and retention are commonly attributed to a booming economy, it was our belief that other factors could well be of equal or even greater importance. Among the additional factors meriting consideration, in our view, were a narrowing definition of citizenship and its responsibilities, changes in American culture, and changes in the purposes for which the United States employs its military power.

In convening a small group of scholars, military experts, and policy analysts to address these matters, we identified three sets of issues for detailed examination:

- *The American tradition of the citizen-soldier.* What is the essence of that tradition and how has it changed over time? What has been the value of that tradition? How has the establishment of the all-volunteer force affected it? Given the cultural, technological, and geopolitical changes of recent decades, does the tradition retain relevance today?
- *The identity of the all-volunteer force.* Are members of today's military professionals? Are they citizen-soldiers like the G.I.s who fought the major wars of the last century? A hybrid of both? Something altogether different? What are the political and civic implications of "contracting out" national security to a small cadre of long-service volunteers?
- *Prospects for and alternatives to the all-volunteer force.* Apart from the greater economic opportunity currently available in civilian life, what other factors may be contributing to the difficulties that the Pentagon faces in recruiting and retention? What policies should the Administration consider to sustain, modify, or replace the existing all-volunteer force?

The essays that constitute this symposium derive from the presentations made at the conference. In addition to those presentations, the conference featured extensive give-and-take among participants of diverse background, experience, and outlook. Although the conference was not intended to reach a consensus--nor did it do so--the discussion did bring to light certain insights that we offer here as informal "findings." In doing so we emphasize that we speak strictly for ourselves, not for other conference participants." (first few paragraphs of piece)

For CSM: This collection looks into the connections between citizenship and military service, helping us understand how military service is valued in U.S. society and whether it has become essential to what it means to be a good citizen. The focus on the "problem" of not being able to retain an all-volunteer force is useful for examining the costs or benefits of what is perhaps a waning enthusiasm for military service.

Baker, W., and John Oneal (2001). "The Nature and Origins of the "Rally 'Round the Flag Effect"." Journal of Conflict Resolution 45(5).

"In this study, the "rally effect"—the propensity for the American public to put aside political differences and support the president during international crises—is measured by considering the changes in presidential popularity following all 193 Militarized Interstate Disputes (MIDs) between 1933 and 1992 as identified by the Correlates of War project. Summary analyses find minor, statistically insignificant rallies associated with uses of force, although sizable rallies are associated with particular subcategories of military crises. However, larger rallies are associated with the United States as both revisionist and originator of the dispute, with the initiation of a full interstate war, and with prominent headline placement in the *New York Times*. Regression analyses indicate that rallies are more likely when they are associated with White House statements and bipartisan support for the administration's policies. Findings suggest that the size and appearance of a rally depends primarily on how the crisis is presented to the public in terms of media coverage, bipartisan support, and White House spin." For CSM: This is a useful empirical investigation into how unquestioned patriotism and unified support may be related the use of military force.

Frevert, U. (2004). A nation in barracks: modern Germany, military conscription and civil society. New York, Berg.

"A Nation in Barracks shows how military-civil relations have evolved in Germany during the last two hundred years. This book investigates how conscription has contributed to instilling a strong sense of military commitment among the German public. The author looks at its relationship to state citizenship, nation building, gender formation and the concept of violence. She begins with the early nineteenth century, when conscription was first used in Prussia and initially met with harsh criticism from all aspects of society, and continues through the two Germanies of the post-1949 period. The book covers the Prussian model used during World War I, the Weimar Republic when no conscription was enforced, and the mass military mobilization of the Third Reich. Throughout this detailed examination, Ute Frevert examines how civil society deals with institutionalized violence and how this affects models of citizenship and gender relations." For CSM: Although this book is largely historical, it may prove useful for thinking about the relationship between military service and citizenship today.

Hockenos, P. (2003). Homeland Calling: Exile Patriotism and the Balkan Wars. Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press.

"Over the last ten years, many commentators have tried to describe and analyze the bloody conflicts that tore Yugoslavia apart. But in all these attempts to make sense of the wars and ethnic violence, one crucial factor has been overlooked--the major, often decisive, role played by exile groups and emigre communities in fanning the flames of nationalism and territorial ambition. Based in the United States, Canada, Europe, Australia and South America, some groups helped provide the ideologies, the leadership, the money, and in many cases, the military hardware that fueled the violent conflicts. Atypical were the dissenting voices who drew upon their experiences in western democracies to stem the tide of war. In spite of the diasporas' power and influence, however, their story has never before been told, partly because it is so difficult, even dangerous to unravel. Paul Hockenos, a Berlin-based American journalist and political analyst, has traveled

through several continents and interviewed scores of key figures, many of whom had never previously talked about their activities. Hockenos investigates the borderless international networks that diaspora organizations rely on to export political agendas back to their native homelands--agendas that at times blatantly undermined the foreign policy objectives of their adopted countries. Hockenos tells an extraordinary story, with elements of farce as well as tragedy, a story of single-minded obsession and double-dealing, of high aspirations and low cunning. The figures he profiles include individuals as disparate as a Canadian pizza baker and an Albanian urologist who played instrumental roles in the conflicts, as well as other men and women whose boldness to the occasion when their homelands called out for help." For CSM: Though less directly relevant to CSM's research, this book does tell a compelling story about the role of more militant strains of patriotism in fueling military confrontations.

Klosko, G., Michael Keren, and Stacy Nyikos (2003). "Political Obligation and Military Service in Three Countries." Politics, Philosophy & Economics 2(1): 37-62.

"Although questions of political obligation have been much discussed by scholars, little attention has been paid to moral reasons advanced by actual states to justify the compliance of their subjects. We examine the 'self-image of the state' through Supreme Court decisions in the USA, Germany, and Israel. Because moral reasons are expressed especially clearly in cases regarding obligations to provide military service, we focus on these. In spite of their important constitutional and judicial differences, the three states support military obligations along similar lines, though with some differences. In all three countries, appeal is made to obligations of reciprocity. Individuals must serve in order to provide the important benefit of defense. This 'service conception' of political obligation accords norms of fairness or equality a central role, in order to justify the service of particular individuals. Reasons for less emphasis on fairness in Israeli cases are examined, while we claim that the overall similarities of the three countries provide some measure of indirect support to a theory of political obligation based on the principle of fairness." For CSM: This paper empirically investigates states' normative strategies for justifying obligations of military service, thus showing us how militarized conceptions of citizenship emerge and are maintained.

Rippberger, S., and Kathleen Staudt (2003). Pledging Allegiance: Learning Nationalism at the El Paso-Jaurez Border. New York, Routledge Falmer.

"Now that national borders are increasingly being challenged by economic and political globalization, how should we view the patriotic messages sent to our children in public schools? This book offers a unique comparison of how public schools on each side of the U.S.-Mexico border advance cultural and national values. The authors illuminate the contradictions and complexities of culture and learning through the eyes of students, teachers and administrators. Examining topics from nationalism and civic ritual to language and bilingualism, this book will be valuable to all those interested in the teaching and formation of national and cultural identity." For CSM: This article is relevant to CSM insofar as it investigates the militaristic component of nationalism and how it is indoctrinated into school children on either side of the border.

Sperling, V. (2003). "The last refuge of a scoundrel: patriotism, militarism and the Russian national idea." Nations and Nationalism 9(2).

"In a nation-state, where ethnic and territorial borders coincide, patriotism may easily have an exclusivist-nationalist component, and be used to serve the goals of politicians hoping to mobilise the population for destructive goals. In a multinational state like Russia, the militaristic patriotism that Yeltsin's and Putin's administrations promote can also carry that risk. The Russian state leadership's use of a militaristic patriotism as a means to generate popular support risks unleashing ethnic chauvinism and the military domination of civilian institutions. Such phenomena cast doubt on the prospects for Russia's state-building process to proceed along

liberal democratic lines. Non-governmental organisations, such as Russia's Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, however, have devised an alternative vision of patriotism, relying on rule of law and the observance of civil rights, and thereby hold out a slim hope for reframing Russian patriotism and building a peaceful democracy." For CSM: This article examines how a militaristic ideal of patriotism has emerged and operates in Russia, as well as its costs for democracy and ethnic pluralism.

Willis, S. (2002). "Old Glory." *South Atlantic Quarterly* **101**(2).

"Discusses the rapid deployment of the American flag in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Urge to display the flag ignited by the image of three firefighters who raised the flag over the rubble at the site of the World Trade Center in New York City; Designation of a shift in America's interests toward a politics aimed at military operations overseas." For CSM: This article looks deep into the meaning we attach to symbols and the reasons for our need to fly the flag, especially after collective catastrophe. In this way, the article helps us better understand how (a perhaps militaristic) patriotism operates.

How do historical narrative and collective memory shape militarization processes?

Hernandez, C. (2005). *Historia y memoria: Representaciones de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en la ciudad senorial de Ponce*. Rio Piedras, University of Puerto Rico. **PhD**.

"In this doctoral dissertation, supported by written and oral sources, it is possible to study some representatives of WWII and its impact in the people living in the Municipality of Ponce, P.R. The dissertation suggests that the south of the island had been submitted [to] the propaganda and influence of a military discourse with the purpose of ideologically conditioning [i]ts inhabitants in order to assure the benefits of the Defense apparatus of the United States. Finally, the dissertation [urges] people to understand the importan[ce] of rescuing the human dimension taken in account in [the] reconstruction of a historical event." For CSM: This dissertation explores the way in which historical discourse can be mobilized in order to push through preferred military policies, the implication being that regular people are manipulated or taken advantage of for the benefit of the U.S. Department of Defense.

Müller, J.-W., ed. (2002). *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe*. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.

"How has memory - collective and individual - influenced European politics after the Second World War and after 1989 in particular? How has the past been used in domestic struggles for power, and how have 'historical lessons' been applied in foreign policy? While there is now a burgeoning field of social and cultural memory studies, mostly focused on commemorations and monuments, this volume is the first to examine the connection between memory and politics directly. It investigates how memory is officially recast, personally reworked and often violently re-instilled after wars, and, above all, the ways memory shapes present power constellations. The chapters combine theoretical innovation in their approach to the study of memory with deeply historical, empirically based case studies of major European countries. The volume concludes with reflections on the ethics of memory, and the politics of truth, justice and forgetting after 1945 and 1989." For CSM: Though a little less relevant to CSM's concerns, this volume does tell us something important about collective memory and how it is instrumental in shaping our power relations with others. In other words, the way memory and history are constructed—the extent to which a community feels collectively victimized or threatened—is a significant element of most militarization processes.

Theidon, K. (2003). "Disarming the Subject: Remembering War and Imagining Citizenship in Peru." Cultural Critique 54: 67-87.

"War and its aftermath serve as powerful motivators for the elaboration and transmission of individual, communal, and national histories. These histories both reflect *and* constitute human experience as they contour social memory and produce their truth effects. These histories use the past in a creative manner, combining and recombining elements of that past in service to interests in the present. In this sense, the conscious appropriation of history involves both memory and forgetting—both being dynamic processes permeated with intentionality.

In this essay I explore the political use of the narratives being elaborated in rural villages in the department of Ayacucho regarding the internal war that convulsed Peru for some fifteen years. I suggest that each narrative has a political intent and assumes both an internal and external audience. Indeed, the deployment of war narratives has much to do with forging new relations of power, ethnicity, and gender that are integral to the contemporary politics of the region. These new relations impact the construction of democratic practices and the model of citizenship being elaborated in the current context." (first two paragraphs of article)

For CSM: This article looks at how communal narratives and memories are shaped by the experience of war, and how these narratives impact current power relations. This can be interpreted as a process of militarization in cases where communal narratives highlight past victimization and justify current or future military preparations or aggression.

Young, M. B. (2003). "In the Combat Zone." Radical History Review 85: 253-264.

For CSM: This film review (of *Saving Private Ryan*, *Pearl Harbor*, *Black Hawk Down*, and *We Were Soldiers*) is actually a quite substantive account of the way in which Hollywood war films help shape our collective narratives about war—particularly those Americans have fought—and how these relate to and enable our current military endeavors.

Young, M. B. (2005). "Permanent War." Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique 13: 177-193.

"There seem to be only two kinds of war the United States can fight: World War II or Vietnam. The conviction on the part of some Americans and many politicians that the United States could (or should or would) have won the war in Vietnam is a convenient mechanism for getting around a remembered reality of defeat. An alternate strategy is to concentrate the national mind on World War II, skipping not only Vietnam but also Korea. In recent movies and television serials, World War II is depicted as a long, valiant struggle that the United States fought pretty much on its own, winning an exceptionally clean victory that continues to redeem all Americans under arms anywhere, at any point in history.¹ In virtually every military action since 1975, the administration in charge has tried to appropriate the images and language of World War II. Thus, Manuel Noriega, Mohamed Farrah Aidid, Slobodan Milosevic, and Saddam Hussein (twice) were roundly denounced as the Adolph Hitler du jour; September 11, 2001, of course, is the twenty-first-century Pearl Harbor. Nevertheless, in each of these wars or warlike events, some journalist or politician was bound to ask the fearful question: is this another Vietnam?" (first paragraph)

For CSM: This article highlights the importance of how we remember our military past for how we frame our military present, pointing to the ways new military actions can be justified if they're framed appropriately. It also draws our attention to the militarization of media in this framing process.

How are non-military professions (e.g., the police force) militarized, and what are the implications?

Haggerty, K., and Richard Ericson (2001). "The Military Technostructures of Policing" in Militarizing the American Criminal Justice System: The Changing Roles of the Armed Forces and the Police, edited by Peter Kraska. Boston, Northeastern University Press.

"The concept of militarization implies that an organization acquires attributes characteristic of the military. A fairly extensive literature on militarization has explored the extent to which military models, organizational structures, metaphors, personnel and weapons have been embraced in policing and criminal justice more generally. This article suggests that this literature has inexplicably ignored the truly distinctive attribute of the contemporary military: its commitment to developing and deploying advanced computing, visualization and communication technologies. It is the movement of such military technosciences into other organizational spheres that marks a key dimension of contemporary dynamics in militarization. Developments in the United States exemplify this trend. Although the United States is clearly quite distinct militarily and politically, military and policing developments in that country tend to quickly migrate to other nations. As such, this paper is an analysis of contemporary trends in policing as well as a prediction about potential future developments." (first paragraph of essay) For CSM: This article explores the militarization of a non-military profession—the police force—and pays special attention to the technological aspects of this militarization. The authors see this technological militarization as largely beneficial for the police force.

Healy, G. (2003). *Deployed in the USA: The Creeping Militarization of the Home Front*. Washington, DC, Cato Institute.

“As the overwhelming victories in Afghanistan and Iraq have demonstrated, the U.S. military is the most effective fighting force in human history. It is so effective, in fact, that many government officials are now anxious for the military to assume a more active policing role here at home. Deploying troops on the home front is very different from waging war abroad. Soldiers are trained to kill, whereas civilian peace officers are trained to respect constitutional rights and to use force only as a last resort. That fundamental distinction explains why Americans have long resisted the use of standing armies to keep domestic peace.

Unfortunately, plans are afoot to change that time-honored policy. There have already been temporary troop deployments in the airports and on the Canadian and Mexican borders and calls to make border militarization permanent. The Pentagon has also shown a disturbing interest in high-tech surveillance of American citizens. And key figures in the Bush administration and Congress have considered weakening the Posse Comitatus Act, the federal statute that limits the government’s ability to use the military for domestic police work. The historical record of military involvement in domestic affairs cautions against a more active military presence in the American homeland. If Congress weakens the legal barriers to using soldiers as cops, substantial collateral damage to civilian life and liberty will likely ensue.”

For CSM: This report looks into the potential dangers of the increased use of military forces for domestic U.S. purposes, like policing and border control.

How is the media militarized, and how does its militarization impact public opinion and policy-making? What are the implications of the military-industrial-media-entertainment network, and how does the military use the media to accomplish its goals?

Champenois, J. (2005). "God Bless the Army?" International Feminist Journal of Politics 7(1): 147 - 150.

"Accusing those who denounce the legitimacy of a government in time of war of being anti-patriotic is not a practice limited to the USA. Yet as feminists have long noted, discourses of national pride and patriotism tend to draw implicit support from assumptions made about the necessity to militarize a society in order to provide for a nation's security (Yuval-Navis 1997; Cockburn 1998). Within the logic of militarized national security, the military incarnates the nation and protects it from external threats and danger. The military stands for a nation and the people must stand by it. *Fahrenheit 9/11* does little to disparage these principles. Moore's opponents might claim that he 'hates America' yet Moore's strategy reflects his support for the armed forces of the United States. If the military is questioned at all, it is because American kids have been sent into an unfair war. 'They engaged to protect our country and give their life so we don't have to do it; will they ever trust us again?' asks the Moore's voiceover in the last minutes of the film. Even though Moore criticizes the system that creates poverty for blue-collar workers and immoral profits for firms and the elite in power, he never goes so far as to criticize the principle of militarization in general. As defined by Cheney (2002), 'militarization is a phenomenon where military values, such as the need for force to assert power; the necessity of gender differentiation and hierarchy, dominate society ... all the institutions of society are saturated with violence and ideas of combat, battle fitness, martyrdom, victory, defeat, heroes and traitors and the 'with us' or 'against us' syndrome.' *Fahrenheit 9/11* subscribes to these criteria and participates in nurturing the cult of the warrior and of martyrdom. It does not engage with a critique of a leadership that valorizes toughness nor does it challenge the current culture that perceives militarism as synonymous with patriotism. Moreover, the actual brutality and consequences of the use of force against men and women only play a minor part in this lampoon. The film does not envision other means than military ones to deal with national security and foreign policy. Moore may well disapprove of the Patriot Act, but he still asks for more police and security at the US borders. Overall, *Fahrenheit 9/11* implicitly endorses the same conservative values as that of a patriarchal system which relies for its security on military force and hermetically sealed borders." (one of the first paragraphs of article) For CSM: This article points out how even a film that is critical of the post-9/11 U.S. administration and its policies can employ discourses that reinforce militarized values and assumptions.

Compton, J. R. (2004). Shocked and Awed: The Convergence of Military and Media Discourse. Communication and Democracy: Challenges for a New World, Porto Alegre, Brazil.

"This paper builds on the above research in order to delve into the symbiotic relationship that exists between the media and the military. It argues that the U.S. government exploited a convergence of media and military discourse that is constitutive of the political field. As Paul Rutherford argues, "what contributed to the success of this propaganda was that it used the news media, a more trusted source, and not the normal ad media, often discounted by consumers, to promote the Bush agenda" (Rutherford 2004: 33). I argue that spectacular narrative forms deployed by the U.S. military, such as "Shock and Awe," and the "Saving of Pvt. Jessica Lynch," are constitutive of the mediated political field. That is to say, that these narratives are fully integrated into military and corporate public-relations campaigns along with the daily production regimes of 24-hour cable news channels. I view spectacular media events – such as the invasion of Iraq – as "*hog fuel*" for 24 hour news channels and Web sites. In particular, I believe they are well suited to a global trend toward "*high-volume flexible production systems*" characterized by *flexible forms of management, labour performance and increased intensity* in the speed of production and turnover time (Castells 2000; Harvey 1989)." (excerpt from introduction to paper) For CSM: This paper examines the way in which the media can be used as a tool of militarization, to gain support for military action and to create a political environment where debate around the merits of pursuing such military action are highly constrained.

Der Derian, J. (2001). Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network. Boulder, CO, Westview Press.

"In this book, James Der Derian shows us a world in which CNN and Disney are as much a part of combat as Boeing and the Pentagon. In the future of warfare, will killing become easier? Will peace become more fragile? Virtuous War offers insight into what happens to both civilians and soldiers when killing becomes remote and the distinction between real and simulated war blurs." For CSM: This book both expands our conception of the economic entrenchment of the military (from military-industrial complex to military-industrial-media-entertainment network) and directs our attention to a militarized media's role in enabling military force by numbing our attentiveness to the harm we inflict through such force.

Domke, D., Erica S. Graham, Kevin Coe, Sue Lockett John, and Ted Coopman (2006). "Going Public as Political Strategy: The Bush Administration, an Echoing Press, and Passage of the Patriot Act." Political Communication 23(3): 291-312.

"Research suggests that political elites excel at controlling political and media information environments, particularly in times of national crisis, such as the events and aftermath of September 11. This study examines the creation and passage of the Patriot Act, which was proposed by the Bush administration following the terrorist attacks and quickly passed with strong support by the U.S. Congress. We argue that (a) the public communications of the Bush administration, particularly those by George W. Bush and John Ashcroft, and (b) news coverage about the legislation were instrumental in this outcome. Public communications by Bush and Ashcroft and news coverage about the Act were content analyzed to identify the timing of the messages and the themes and perspectives emphasized, and congressional debates and activities were examined for insight into their relation with administration and press discourse. Findings suggest that Bush and Ashcroft's communications, in combination with a press that largely echoed the administration's messages, created an environment in which Congress faced significant pressure to pass the legislation with remarkable speed." For CSM: This article illustrates the way in which, when a country is in the middle of a security crisis, the discursive context created by the administration and the media can highly constrain the legislative options available to law-makers. This can be seen as one of the costs of the "securitization" of policy issues and the militarization of conflicts: democratic process, as well as individual freedom, can be curtailed in the name of "security."

Hutcheson, J., David Domke, Andre Billeaudeau, and Philip Garland (2004). "U.S. National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11." Political Communication 21(1): 27-50.

"In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001, U.S. government and military leaders often articulated distinctly pro-American themes in their public communications. We argue that this national identity discourse was at the heart of the U.S. government's attempt to unite the American public and to mobilize support for the ensuing "war on terrorism." With this perspective, we content analyzed Time and Newsweek newsmagazines for the five weeks following September 11 to identify potential communication strategies employed by government and military leaders to promote a sense of U.S. national identity. Findings suggest (a) that government and military officials consistently emphasized American core values and themes of U.S. strength and power while simultaneously demonizing the "enemy," and (b) that journalists closely paralleled these nationalist themes in their language." For CSM: This article examines the methods by which government officials and then the media get the public on board for the use of military force, primarily by reinforcing strong us/them differentiation.

Kellner, D. (2004). "Spectacle and Media Propaganda in the War on Iraq: A Critique of U.S. Broadcasting Networks." Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies 4(3): 329-338.

"The author shows how, during the 2003 Iraq war, the U.S. broadcasting network provided a conduit for Bush administration and Pentagon propaganda. Whereas the explicit war aims were to shut down Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction" and thus enforce UN resolutions that mandated that Iraq eliminate its offensive weapons, there were many hidden agendas in the Bush administration offensive against Iraq, such as the promotion of a new doctrine of preemptive strikes, control of Iraqi oil, and producing a major media spectacle that would help Bush win the 2004 presidential election. In this study, the author analyzes the forms of media propaganda promoted by the Bush administration. He argues that the U.S. broadcasting networks helped Bush advance his agenda, but that the media spectacle of a U.S. military triumph is turning into a negative spectacle of a morass that undermines the Bush administration rationale for the invasion." For CSM: This article examines the media as a tool used to gain support for war, and therefore helps us better understand how and why the public might support and sustain a militarized foreign policy.

McMillan, N. (2004). "Beyond Representation: Cultural Understandings of the September 11 Attacks." The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology 37(3).

"*The September 11 attacks changed the world.* This article explores this common assertion by analysing selected Australian and American media and political representations of the September 11 attacks. The aim is two-fold: to explore these representations and to analyse their functions and implications. Three themes that characterise Australian and American understandings of September 11 in the immediate aftermath of the attacks will be discussed. The first theme is that the impact of the attacks was represented differently in each country (but in a way that reaffirms the status quo in both nations). Second, the countries shared an interpretation of the attacks that reflects the characteristics of mainstream terrorism discourse. Third, the attacks were also understood in both countries as a challenge to existing structures of representation. It is argued that the September 11 attacks, therefore, expose and violate the limits of representation. By breaking the rules of representation, the September 11 attacks raise the possibility of alternative understandings and appropriate responses to them." For CSM: This study adds to our understanding of how threats are constructed and publics mobilized to support military action.

Nossek, H., and Yehiel Limor (2001). "Fifty Years In A "Marriage Of Convenience": News Media And Military Censorship In Israel." Communication Law and Policy 6(1): 1-35.

"One of the characteristics of democratic regimes is the absence of censorship and other prepublication control over the content of the news media. Although the state of Israel is considered to be a democratic state, military censorship has been in operation since the nation's establishment in 1948. The central question discussed in this article is: What are the circumstances and processes that began and preserve this anomalous situation, one that has no direct equivalent in any other democratic society? An examination of the reciprocal relations in Israel between the political establishment, with military censorship as its method of media control, and the media, finds that it is not a one-way relationship but a kind of marriage, not a marriage of love, but one of convenience. Marriages of this type last for decades, mainly because all the alternatives available to the couple are worse than that of remaining together. It seems that all parties to the unique Israeli censorship arrangement are reconciled to live in a framework of flexible, loosely defined boundaries." For CSM: By pointing to the censorship control the military exercises over the media in Israel, this article reminds us how militarization can be as much about what is *not* said in public discourse as about what *is*.

Stockwell, S., and Adam Muir (2003). "The Military-Entertainment Complex: A New Facet of Information Warfare." FibreCulture: Internet Theory + Criticism + Research 1(1).

"The second Gulf War will become synonymous with the emergence of fully-fledged information warfare where the military-entertainment complex has so influenced strategic and logistic

possibilities that it becomes apparent that the war was waged as entertainment. This is entertainment not as an amusement or diversion but utilising the techniques and tropes of the burgeoning entertainment industry as a means to achieve military objectives. This paper offers a short history of the military-entertainment complex as reality and simulation become fused in the practices of the US military machine. The paper then briefly explores three central aspects of this phenomenon evident in recent developments: the military function of computer games; the role of the Hollywood scenario; and the blurring between news and reality TV. Finally the suggestion is made that subverting, co-opting and reconstructing the military-entertainment complex provides new possibilities for alternative strategies of information warfare." For CSM: This article provides an informative look into a new wing of the military-industrial complex; entertainment and media are analyzed as tools of the military, which make it easier for soldiers to kill and citizens to support war through the blurring of simulation and reality.

Thussu, D. K., and Des Freedman, eds. (2003). *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*. London, Sage.

"With what new tools do governments manage the news in order to prepare us for conflict? Are the media responsible for turning conflict into infotainment? Is reporting gender specific? How do journalists view their role in covering distant wars? This book critically examines the changing contours of media coverage of war and considers the complexity of the relationship between mass media and governments in wartime. Assessing how far the political, cultural and professional contexts of media coverage have been affected by 9/11 and its aftermath, the volume also explores media representations of the War on Terrorism from regional and international perspectives, including new actors such as the Qatar-based "Al-Jazeera "- the pan-Arabic television network.

One key theme of the book is how new information and communication technologies are influencing the production, distribution and reception of media messages. In an age of instant global communication and round-the-clock news, powerful governments have refined their public relations machinery, particularly in the way warfare is covered on television, to market their version of events effectively to their domestic as well as international viewing public. Transnational in its intellectual scope and in perspectives, *War and the Media* includes essays from internationally known academics along with contributions from media professionals working for leading broadcasters such as BBC World and CNN."

For CSM: This book is a broad investigation of how the media reports on war, useful for any insight it might provide into when and how media discourse is militarized in its representations of violent conflict.

How and why are military metaphors employed to describe non-military phenomena, and what are the implications? Additionally, how is language used to enable the use of military force?

Baehr, P. (2006). "Susan Sontag, battle language, P. and the Hong Kong SARS outbreak of 2003." *Economy and Society* 35(1).

"The widespread use of military language to describe modern epidemics is often attributed to the popularization of the germ theory of disease. Whatever its origins, critics regularly deplore martial imagery in the medical context finding it by turns dangerous, humiliating, and offensive. This article examines the most famous of these critiques, Susan Sontag's rebuttal of disease-as-war language, and finds it problematic in a number of respects. Mass emergency response to the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak in Hong Kong in 2003 offers a cross-cultural case study in the use of representations of war. Key to the argument is the proposition

that disease-as-war language expresses something 'real' not illusory, vital not frivolous, about the community which employs it. The language is a vehicle for articulating social emotions of collective fear, patriotism, homage, and exculpation in conditions that presage collective death." For CSM: Though it looks critically at the use of military language to describe a non-military phenomenon, this article ultimately deems military metaphors as useful for talking about the SARS outbreak. As such, this author analyzes the militarization of language but does not, in the end, find it too harmful.

Cohn, C. (1987). "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society **12**(4).

"My goal is to discuss the nature of nuclear strategic thinking; in particular, my emphasis is on the role of its specialized language, a language that I call "technostrategic." I have come to believe that this language both reflects and shapes the nature of the American nuclear strategic project, that it plays a central role in allowing defense intellectuals to think and act as they do, and that feminists who are concerned about nuclear weaponry and nuclear war must give careful attention to the language we choose to use--whom it allows us to communicate with and what it allows us to think as well as say." (excerpt from introduction of article) For CSM: Though not a piece of scholarship from the past five years or so, this article is an essential foundation for our thinking about how language enables the use of military force—particularly in the case of nuclear weapons—and how such language in the service of militarization is highly gendered.

Marks, D. F., Catherine Marie Sykes, and Carla Willig (2004). "Discourses in the European Commission's 1996–2000 Health Promotion Programme." Journal of Health Psychology **9**(1): 131-141.

"This article is a discourse analysis of 'The Community Action Programme on Health Promotion, Information, Education and Training 1996–2000'. The analysis uses six stages to discourse analysis. A religious discourse is used to construct the Programme and a military discourse is used to construct its implementation. These discourses are embedded in a scientific discourse. This analysis reveals that despite rhetorical endorsement of the concept of empowerment in health promotion, this Programme disempowers through vagueness, clear hierarchies of power and an emphasis on scientific methods of evaluation. The analysis also reveals that there has been a shift in blame in recent health promotion policy, the reflection is now on the collective as opposed to individual behaviour." For CSM: This article is not directly relevant to CSM's research agenda but is included because it provides an example of militarized discourse being used to describe completely non-military phenomena, which in itself is evidence of a militarized culture.

Nelson, D. N. (2002). "Language, Identity and War." Journal of Language and Politics **1**(1).

"How are language, identity and war related? This exploratory essay probes the conceptual and logical connections among these three elemental factors of human existence, offers thoughts about an alternative discourse, and takes a look at suggestive data regarding the tie between violence and identity. I posit that who we are, what we say and when we fight are inseparable from one another. In this argumentative essay, language is seen as forming a nucleus of identity, identity as being forged in conflict, and discourse marking our path to, through and out of war and peace. Abating identity threats through identity-affirming discourse may, I conclude, be the best and most lasting tool towards peace." For CSM: Though not an empirical study, this article does help us think about how discourse and identity-construction may function as tools of militarization. Its core assertion refutes the idea that language is harmless and, instead, forces us to investigate carefully how the language we use may lead us to take certain (militarized) policies and actions as natural or given when they are anything but.

Pingel, T. J. (2004). *The Military Metaphor in Computer Network Defenses*. Geography. Santa Barbara, CA, UC Santa Barbara. **MA**.

"Currently, computer network defense borrows explicit language and concepts from physical security strategies. This thesis examines conceptual links between real-space and computer networks in order to provide justification for thinking of computer networks in traditional military terms. Many possible links are explored, and two factors--cover and concealment--are examined via two controlled experiments measuring firewall presence, number of services offered, and TCP port usage as independent variables and the number and intensity of computer network intrusion events as dependent variables. The empirical results are then compared to a classic study on the impacts of terrain on physical contests of force (Otterbein 1970) to determine whether cover and concealment behave in similar ways in real-space and in computer networks." For CSM: While this thesis does not seem to critically assess the possible costs of using military metaphors for non-military phenomena, it does carefully interrogate the descriptive appropriateness of their use in the domain of computer network defense, providing us with further evidence of militarization's wide reach.

How are gender and militarization related? How does the military as an institution inform gender ideals? And how, in turn, do these gender ideals legitimate the use of military force? Additionally, what are the gendered costs of militarization, and the special costs of militarization for sexual minorities?

Belkin, A., and Geoffrey Bateman, eds. (2003). Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Debating the Gay Ban in the Military. Boulder, CO, Lynne Reiner.

"Conservatives and liberals agree that President Bill Clinton's effort to lift the military's gay ban was perhaps one of the greatest blunders of his tenure in office. Conservatives argue that Clinton should have left well enough alone; liberals believe that he should have ordered the military to accept homosexuals rather than agreeing to the compromise "don't ask, don't tell" policy. In this ground-breaking book, experts of both persuasions come together to debate the critical aspects of the gays-in-the-military issue. The participants consider whether homosexuals undermine military performance; whether they threaten heterosexual privacy; and whether the experiences of militaries in other countries have relevance for the United States. They also explore the human, organizational, and dollar costs of the present policy. Belkin and Bateman provide a thorough context for the transcripts of the deliberations, as well as a discussion of the implications of the participants' conclusions for current U.S. policy." For CSM: Though the subject of this book/forum is not militarization per se, the book/forum does explicitly explore the wider societal costs of a *particular* military policy.

Braudy, L. (2003). From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity. New York, Knopf.

"Which comes first—war or masculinity? The complex and shifting relationship between the two is the subject of this provocative selection, which reads as both military history and an exploration of gender. Braudy is interested in what it is to be a man, particularly in wartime, and how the technological evolution of warfare has altered what makes a male a man. Understanding masculine sexual identity is the key, he argues, particularly in the early modern period, when stirrings of female emancipation led to fear of impotence and inadequacy, while gunpowder simultaneously blew battlefield honor into new forms. Pirates, cowboys, adventurers, and sports figures all emerge as the modern world's masculine archetypes, and manliness in combat becomes a new way of coping with the madness of war. Criticizing innate notions of masculinity while praising the nobility of manliness' many mutable forms, Braudy's synthesis is intelligent and wide ranging (T. E. Lawrence and seventeenth-century pornography only rarely appear in the same volume). Its gender-identity-based analysis of present-day wars is also timely and appropriate." --

Brendan Driscoll (Copyright © American Library Association. All rights reserved --This text refers to an out of print or unavailable edition of this title.) For CSM: This book makes a case for war's role in the construction of gender ideals, and thus points out the way in which something as basic as our conception of what it means to be a man is militarized. The author seems to argue, as well, that a militarized masculinity may, in turn, be its own source of military action, fulfilling its own gender ideal and reinforcing the legitimacy of military force.

Cohn, C., and Cynthia Enloe (2003). "A Conversation with Cynthia Enloe: Feminists Look at Masculinity and the Men who Wage War." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 28: 1187–1107.

“Cynthia Enloe and I (Carol Cohn) first met in Finland in the frigid January of 1987. We were among women from more than twenty countries who had gathered for a forum on women and the military system—and we turned out to be sharing the government-run Siuntio Health Spa with a group of World War II veterans and their families. Cynthia's pathbreaking 1983 book on the militarization of women's lives titled *Does Khaki Become You?* illuminated the lives of members of both groups and, in many ways, opened the conceptual space for our international forum to take place. A year later the U.S. edition of Cynthia's *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* came out (Enloe 1990). It turned many of the assumptions in the academic study of international politics on their head, revolutionizing our ideas of what should even "count" as "international politics," illuminating the crucial role played by notions of "masculinity" and "femininity" in international relationships, and sparking a vibrant project of feminist critique, research, and theorizing in the study of international relations.

As colleagues in the small world of feminist international relations theorists, we have had many occasions since 1987 to discuss our overlapping interests in militaries, masculinities, international organizations, and gendered conceptions of security. In the spring of 2002, we sat down at my kitchen table to explore the directions feminist analysis of international politics might take in the changed, and unchanged, post–September 11 world.”

For CSM: This conversation is not exclusively focused on militarization, but it does help clarify a range of conceptual issues dealing with the importance of gender in thinking about international politics and militarization, more specifically.

Cooke, M., and Angela Woollacott, eds. (1993). Gendering War Talk. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University
"In a century torn by violent civil uprisings, civilian bombings, and genocides, war has been an immediate experience for both soldiers and civilians, for both women and men. But has this reality changed our long-held images of the roles women and men play in war, or the emotions we attach to violence, or what we think war can accomplish? This provocative collection addresses such questions in exploring male and female experiences of war--from World War I, to Vietnam, to wars in Latin America and the Middle East--and how this experience has been articulated in literature, film and drama, history, psychology, and philosophy. Together these essays reveal a myth of war that has been upheld throughout history and that depends on the exclusion of "the feminine" in order to survive. The discussions reconsider various existing gender images: Do women really tend to be either pacifists or Patriotic Mothers? Are men essentially aggressive or are they threatened by their lack of aggression? Essays explore how cultural conceptions of gender as well as discursive and iconographic representation reshape the experience and meaning of war. The volume shows war as a terrain in which gender is negotiated. As to whether war produces change for women, some contributors contend that the fluidity of war allows for linguistic and social renegotiations; others find no lasting, positive changes. In an interpretive essay Klaus Theweleit suggests that the only good war is the lost war that is

embraced as a lost war." For CSM: Though this book no longer counts as "recent" scholarship, it is a classic exploration of the relationship between gender constructions and war, helping us to conceptualize the different ways in which a preference for military solutions may be in part sustained both by certain ideals of manhood and by the exclusion of more so-called "feminine" perspectives.

Enloe, C. (2000). Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.

"*Maneuvers* will make it more difficult to claim, as mainstream International Relations theorists do, that gender is marginal to an analysis of international politics and state military policies. While feminists have exposed the patriarchal-masculinist foundations of states and their militaries, this book goes one step further. The author convincingly argues that militaries rely not only on men and ideas about masculinity, but just as much on women and concepts of femininity. This has led to the militarization of women inside and outside the military as soldiers, military wives, prostitutes, nurses, uniform designers, rape victims, school girls, mothers and feminist activists. As Enloe asserts, "[m]ilitarization is the step-by-step process by which something becomes *controlled by, dependent on, or derives its value from* the military as an institution or militaristic criteria" (291; emphasis in the original). Women's militarization is not a natural outcome, it is the consequence of decision makers' manoeuvrings which encourage female soldiers to think of themselves as first-class citizens, or instill a sense of shame in rape victims and patriotism in mothers. These various manoeuvres represent efforts to ensure these different women feel unconnected rather than united against their militarization." --Maya Eichler, York University (in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34, Issue 1)

For CSM: One of the few overviews on the topic, this volume brings in the key dimension of gender, focusing specifically on the process of militarization as it relates to and impacts women, and also on how this process is shaped by our ideas about femininity and masculinity.

Higate, P. R., ed. (2003). Military Masculinities: Identity and the State. Westport, CT, Praeger Publishers.

"In spite of all the attention that has been devoted to men's identity in recent years, the links between men and the military have until now remained unquestioned, and thus unexplored. This groundbreaking volume deconstructs the traditional stereotypes of military identity and makes a strong case for a plurality of identities within a range of theoretical and empirical contexts. The contributors consider the ways in which military masculine identities are created and sustained in the armed forces and the societies in which they operate. Though mainly focused on the British army, this volume explores universal issues such as violence among military communities, the identity of women in the military, and the treatment of conscientious objectors." For CSM: This volume makes a focused contribution to the discussion about the relationship between the military and gender ideals, highlighting the way in which the military both creates and is legitimated by certain conceptions of manhood.

Klein, U. (2002). "The Gender Perspective of Civil-Military Relations in Israeli Society." Current Sociology 50(5).

"The exceptional centrality of security to the national existence of Israel has led scholars to investigate the impact of the military on the political and civil system. Nevertheless, this research had been limited in scope. It has been claimed that the army is a 'citizen army', that Israel is a 'nation in arms', and that therefore the army does not reflect a specific group in society. The newer 'generation' of scholars emphasizes the effect of armed conflict on the larger society, on its attitudes and values. One subject, however, which has been neglected so far is the gender perspective. This is astonishing because Israel is unique in the sense that Jewish Israeli women have been conscripted since the foundation of the state of Israel. In China women are also

conscripted, but as not even 10 percent of each age group are called up this is negligible. Thus - from the perspective of sheer numbers - Israel serves as a very interesting case study of the impact of an advanced integration of female citizens in the defence forces on society and on the defence forces themselves. The article examines whether, although (Jewish) women are conscripted, the military in Israel is the main force in shaping male identity and whether military service can be understood as a rite of passage to male adulthood. It also analyses whether the dominance of security and of the military discourse leads to gender inequality in society at large." For CSM: This article looks into the relationship between gender and the military in the highly militarized society of Israel--namely whether and how near-universal conscription (men and women) impacts the formation of gender ideals and the creation of gender in/equality, with the costs and benefits these entail.

Miedzian, M. (2002). Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence. New York, Lantern Books.

"Miedzian contends that a "masculine mystique" of toughness, dominance and extreme competitiveness contributes greatly to criminal and domestic violence. Furthermore, she argues, adherence to this mystique by men in power creates a militaristic national outlook and diminishes the chances for world peace. In an important, often provocative report, stronger in its diagnoses than its prescriptions, Miedzian cites evidence that a father's nurturant involvement in rearing boys is key in discouraging violence in them. An American Studies scholar at Columbia, the author identifies violence-soaked TV shows, war toys and the machismo of sports as factors encouraging violence in boys and men. Her debatable thesis that homosexuality derives from our society's rigid definitions of "masculine" and "feminine" weakens the thrust of her central argument. Among her controversial recommendations are mandatory public-school classes in conflict resolution and childrearing, and the creation of a "pro-social" Children's Public Broadcasting System complete with mandatory lock-box enabling parents to scramble all adult channels." (Copyright 1991 Reed Business Information, Inc. --*This text refers to an out of print or unavailable edition of this title.*) For CSM: This volume investigates the link between ideals of masculinity and a militarized, violent foreign policy. Its focus on cultural artifacts such as toys and TV shows helps trace the militarization process as it impacts gender constructions.

Turshen, M. (2004). "Militarism and Islamism in Algeria." Journal of Asian and African Studies **39**(1-2): 119-132.

"This article focuses on the combined consequences for women of militarization and pan-Islamism—a particular manifestation of Islam that has spread using some of the mechanisms of globalization, especially global trade and global communications. The empirical data are drawn from the civil conflict of the 1990s in Algeria, where an Islamist movement led by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and several armed Islamist groups (notably the GIA, the Armed Islamic Group) terrorized the population and killed tens of thousands of people in an attempt to seize control of the state. External support from pan-Islamists accounts, in part, for the ability of the FIS and the GIA to gain a foothold in Algeria. The pan-Islamist movement has cells in Europe and the Middle East, some of which were in contact with Algerian Islamists. Armed Islamist groups from Algeria received training from Al Qaeda, combat experience in Afghanistan and Bosnia, and financial support from Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Iran." For CSM: This article focuses on the costs of militarization and pan-Islamism for women in Algeria.

What does it mean for education to be militarized? What are the costs of such militarization? What are the implications of a JROTC presence in schools, and how is its presence viewed by students and administrators?

Armitage, J. (2005). "Beyond Hypermodern Militarized Knowledge Factories." The Review of Education, Pedagogy & Cultural Studies 27(3): 219 - 239.

"This article is an intervention into and examination of hypermodern forms of militarization or what I call 'hypermodern militarized knowledge factories,' exemplified here by the increasingly militarized universities of North America. I specify the important arguments of my intervention into the hypermodern militarization of higher education so as to offer a means of access into the debate and into related discussions for those not accustomed to them. I then consider and analyze the implications of my investigation for contemporary society.

My topic is the hypermodern militarization of higher education in North America at the start of the twenty-first century. What I shall intervene in, then, are hypermodern militarized knowledge factories symbolized by the contemporary North American university and, in particular, how the knowledge bases, social lives, and mentalities of faculty, students, and other concerned civilians are understood by such factories.

My hope is that this work will be perceived as having some sociological, political, and philosophical significance and have a bearing on debates over the hypermodern militarization of knowledge. My aim is to generate discussion with the intention of influencing how social theory carries out its work. Although a number of critical researchers might consult this article for its characterization of hypermodernity in the era of *Empire* and of the multitude (Hardt and Negri 2000; 2005), I do recognize that my descriptions of hypermodern society, politics, and philosophy are susceptible to critique, inclusive of self-critique. Yet I believe that my argument should not be disregarded. Initially, though, it is important to tease out the details of my intervention.

Essentially, what I want to argue is that hypermodernity can in part be described as an escalation of faith in militarized knowledge factories. In order to appreciate hypermodern militarized knowledge factories, let us begin by examining the concepts of intervention, hypermodernity, militarization, and the hypermodern militarized knowledge factory." (introduction of article)

For CSM: This is certainly more of a theoretical exploration of the militarization of education than an empirical one, but it may still prove useful as a conceptual framework.

Finley, L. L. (2003). "Militarism Goes to School." Essays in Education 4.

"While there are many influences that shape how schools are structured one that has been largely ignored is the influence of militarism. Militarism refers to a set of values or ideologies that include hierarchical relationships and domination. This piece discusses the ways that schools are militaristic, including their authority, physical, academic, and athletic structures, the processes used by administrators and in classrooms, and the curriculums taught." For CSM: This article explores in greater detail the militarization of educational structures and processes, outlining the impact this militarization has on students and on society more generally.

Finley, L. L. (2003). "How Can I Teach Peace When the Book Only Covers War?" Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution 5(1): 150-165.

"Unfortunately teaching children military training is precisely what we do in our public schools. One way this is accomplished is through the use of military-style teaching methods. Eisler (2000) calls this dominator processes. She argues that, oftentimes, schools use methods emphasizing competition over cooperation and subordinate whole groups of people, generally girls and

students of color, in the process. As Boulding (1988) says, "Either the school encourages creative mental constructs in children or it insists on formalistic learning of prepared patterns" (90). Even our school structures often utilize this dominator model, which is characterized by hierarchies of power. Boulding (1988) notes, "The obstacles to knowing lie not in our minds but in the structuring of our institutions, the roles we pattern for each succeeding generation, and the way we use tools" (93).

While most educators do advocate teaching children peace, another difficulty, on top of structural and methodological issues, is curricular materials focus primarily on warfare. Specifically, it is estimated that textbooks disproportionately cover war and conflict, while devoting little, if any, attention to peace and peacemakers. McCarthy (1994) describes an activity he often uses at the beginning of his peace studies courses. He lists the following names for students to identify: U.S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, Dwight Eisenhower, George Patton, William Westmoreland, Jane Addams, Jeannette Rankin, A.J. Muste, Adin Ballou, and Dorothy Day. He states, "Everyone can routinely identify the first five: All are generals. It is rare that anyone knows the second five, all believers or practitioners of nonviolence" (14). Yet, "the students aren't to blame for knowing only the first five names. In elementary school and high school, and continuing through college, they are taught the history of America's seven declared wars and a fair portion of the 137 undeclared wars" (14). McCarthy (1994) also says, "Eighteen-year-olds come into college knowing more about the Marine Corps than the Peace Corps, more about the Bataan death march than Ghandi's salt march, more about organized hate than organized cooperation" (6)." (first two paragraphs)

For CSM: This article outlines the challenges teachers must surmount if they are to teach a peace education curriculum; in other words, it examines the extent to which both the structure and content of education today is militarized.

Giroux, H. A. (2001). "Mis/Education and Zero Tolerance: Disposable Youth and the Politics of Domestic Militarization." *Boundary 2* 28(3).

"In what follows, I examine the social and political costs that neoliberal and neoconservative policies are exacting on a generation of youth who increasingly are being framed as a generation of suspects. In addressing the interface between youth and public policy, especially the rapid growth of zero-tolerance policies within public schools, I consider some broader questions about how the growing popular perception of youth as a threat to public life is connected to the collapse of public discourse, the increasing militarization of public space, and the rise of a state apparatus bent on substituting policing functions for social services. I then examine the implications these shifts in public discourse have for rethinking the relationship between pedagogy, political agency, and the imperatives of an energized, vibrant culture and radical democracy." (excerpt from introduction) For CSM: This article explores the costs—for young people and for democracy—of an increasingly militarized education system.

Lewis, T. (2006). "Critical Surveillance Literacy." *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies* 6(2): 263-281.

"In this article, the author provides a theoretical framework for analyzing the complex and contradictory matrix of surveillance technologies being deployed in U.S. schools. Through a review of the extensive literature on surveillance, the author charts the modalities of disciplinary and sovereign power as they relate to the overall social relations of late capitalism. In conclusion, the article offers a tentative reconstructive vision for schools both inside and outside the classroom." For CSM: If surveillance is considered a military tool, then this article provides a useful theoretical framework for understanding one aspect of the contemporary militarization of U.S. education.

Marks, L. (2004). Perceptions of High School Principals and Senior Army Instructors Concerning the Impact of JROTC on Rates of Dropout and Transition to College. Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, East Tennessee State University. **PhD**.

"The purpose of this study was to determine the perceptions of high school principals and their Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) senior Army instructors about the cost effectiveness and value of JROTC in impacting dropout and transition-to-college rates at their schools. The purposeful sample for this study included principals and senior Army instructors at three high schools, two in northwest North Carolina and one in northeast Tennessee. The research investigated the per-student costs for the operation of the JROTC programs; the dropout rates for JROTC and non-JROTC students; the transition-to-college rates for JROTC and non-JROTC students; and the perceptions of the administrators as to the value and cost effectiveness of JROTC in impacting dropout and transition rates." For CSM: This dissertation is useful insofar as it measures the costs and benefits (and/or perceptions of costs and benefits) of participation in JROTC.

Pérez, G. M. (2006). "How a Scholarship Girl Becomes a Soldier: The Militarization of Latina/o Youth in Chicago Public Schools." Global Studies in Culture and Power **13**(1): 53-72.

"Like many working-class communities, Chicago Puerto Ricans have a complicated relationship with the United States military. This article explores ethnographically how Latina/o youth in Chicago public schools come to decisions regarding their participation in Junior Reserve Officer Training Programs. While limited economic opportunities certainly inform these decisions, Latina/o youth and their parents are also influenced by gendered understandings of autonomy, kinwork, honor, and respectability in turning to military programs while in high school. This article explores the experiences of Latina/o youth in an increasingly militarized educational context." For CSM: This article is just the type of research CSM will want to support; it examines one area where cultural and economic militarization intersect, investigating the meaning students and their families attach to military service, as well as the economic constraints and benefits that may make military service a more enticing prospect.

Saltman, K., and David Gabbard (2003). Education as Enforcement: The Militarization and Corporatization of Schools. London, RoutledgeFalmer.

"With surveillance cameras, chainlink fences, surprise searches and metal detectors our public schools increasingly resemble the military and prisons. The first book to focus on the intersections of militarization, corporations and education, *Education as Enforcement* shows how schooling has become the means through which the expansion of global corporate power is enforced. Whether through accountability and standards, school security, or other discipline based reforms, militarized education in the U.S. needs to be understood in relation to the enforcement of corporate economic imperatives and to a sense of "law and order" that pervades our popular culture. Such an understanding will enable the conception of strategies for renewing a spirit of public civic engagement and democratic responsibility." For CSM: This book is a comprehensive account of the militarization of public education in the United States, and, as such, is clearly relevant to CSM's research.

Stein, S. J. (2004). The Culture of Education Policy. New York, Teachers College Press.

"This book shows the many unintended ways in which social and educational policy can shape the work of educating students. Assessing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), Stein shows how underlying assumptions of policymakers and bureaucracy actually interfere with both educational practice and the goals of the legislation itself." For CSM: This is another volume that provides a framework for understanding how cultural and social assumptions impact policy-making, here in the realm of education. While it does not necessarily address

militarization, militarization—more specifically, in this case, policymakers' valuation of the military—could easily fit within this framework.

Demilitarization

Overview

Christie, D. J., Richard V. Wagner, and Deborah DuNann Winter (2001). Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century. Upper Saddle River, NJ, Prentice Hall.

"*Peace, Conflict, and Violence* brings together the key concepts, themes, theories, and practices that are defining peace psychology as we begin the 21st century. This comprehensive book is rooted in psychology, but includes a wide range of interpersonal, community, national and international contexts, multiple levels of analysis from micro to macro, and multi-disciplinary perspectives. It reflects the breadth of the field and captures the main intellectual currents in peace psychology. [It] [p]resents [four] main currents: violence, social inequalities, peacemaking, and the pursuit of social justice. [It] [c]ontains a wide range of topics, including ethnic conflict, family violence, hate crimes, militarism, conflict management, social justice, nonviolent approaches to peace, and peace education. [The volume is] [i]deal for readers interested in peace education, international studies, psychology, political science, anthropology, and sociology." For CSM: Rather than present a particular empirically-grounded argument about demilitarization, this volume gives us a broad look at the field of peace psychology and thus offers CSM a range of conceptual tools for thinking about demilitarization.

Political Demilitarization

How can war and militarism be resisted? How do antiwar movements work, and what are their consequences? What are the challenges faced by conscientious objectors or those who refuse military service?

Atack, I. (2001). "From Pacifism to War Resistance." *Peace & Change* 26(2).

"Pacifism is often interpreted as an absolute moral position that claims it is always wrong to go to war. As such, it is often rejected on the grounds that it excludes or overlooks other moral considerations, such as an obligation to resist aggression or defend fundamental human rights. Vocational pacifism, restricted to those who choose nonviolence as a way of life, is one version of pacifism that might overcome some of the objections connected to its moral absolutism. Contingent pacifism, on the other hand, acknowledges the complexities of moral reasoning connected to decisions concerning the use of armed force while retaining pacifist objections to war and preparations for war. Even contingent pacifism is limited by its individualism or voluntarism as a moral position, however. War resistance contributes its analysis of the political or structural factors responsible for war or preparations for war while retaining pacifism's moral impetus for action." For CSM: This piece clarifies some of the different moral positions one can occupy when engaging in broader processes of demilitarization.

Aviram, H. (2005). Managing disobedience as crime: Legal and extra-legal discourse in addressing unauthorized absences and conscientious objection to military service in Israel. Berkeley, CA, University of California, Berkeley. **PhD:** 378.

"Socio-legal literature traditionally juxtaposes the doctrinal 'law in the books' model to the sociological perception of 'law in action'. Building on Foucault's governmentality framework and on Luhmann's systems theory, this project moves beyond the dichotomy to conceptualize law as an entity with its own thought patterns and knowledge-production mechanisms, and asks how this entity perceives and addresses social problems. The case study is the Israeli military justice system and the way it thinks about desertion and conscientious objection. While both phenomena constitute disobedience to the military service duty and resistance to the ethos of compulsory and egalitarian military service, they differ in the offenders' demographics and motivations: desertion is characterized and motivated by socio-economic difficulties, and conscientious objection is politically-motivated and related to the Israeli activist-intellectual elite. The study examines the system's approach to the two problems through a multi-method research design including an analysis of policy documentation, a multivariate regression sentencing model of cases, courtroom observations, content analysis of verdicts, in-depth interviews with legal officers and a media analysis of newspaper articles. The findings confirm the importance of the formal legal paradigm for creating and organizing knowledge about social problems. Although courtroom dynamics differ for the two problems, both types of offenders are perceived, classified and eventually convicted and punished based on formalistic legal categories. Conscientious objectors, who are respected and listened to throughout the legal process, present alternative, political and philosophical frameworks for perceiving their agenda, which award them advantages in the extra-legal arena of public opinion, albeit not within the legal realm. In contrast, deserters remain voiceless and are framed and treated as offenders in both legal and extra-legal settings. The findings illuminate the importance of legal formality within criminal justice systems; law maintains varying degrees of 'cognitive openness' toward alternative, socio-political frameworks of social problems, based on power and social structures; however, the assimilation of such frameworks occurs in accordance to law's inner vocabulary and logic, making the legal system 'normatively closed' to alternative perceptions of problems and resulting in a prevalence of the formal legal model." For CSM: Although this dissertation is primarily about the law and how it operates, its investigation into the legal and extra-legal distinctions made between conscientious objection and desertion (from the Israeli military) help us better understand contemporary forms of "demilitarization," understood here as resistance both to the militarization of conflicts and to military service as the unquestioned epitome of citizenship and patriotism.

Breyman, S. (2001). Why Movements Matter: The West German Peace Movement and U.S. Arms Control Policy. Albany, NY, SUNY Press.

"A provocative account of how the Reagan administration relented to pressures created by international peace movements during one of the most dangerous episodes of the Cold War. Breyman provides the first systematic account of the West German anti-missile movement, among the most important citizen mobilizations of postwar Western history." For CSM: Demilitarization is in process whenever people resist the militarization that surrounds them; as such, this investigation of a particular antiwar movement and its important effects is an empirical example of demilitarization at work and therefore relevant to CSM's research.

Conway, D. (2004). "Every coward's choice'? Political objection to military service in apartheid South Africa as sexual citizenship." Citizenship Studies 8(1): 25-45.

"Sexuality was articulated by the apartheid state as a means of disciplining the white population and marginalizing white opponents of apartheid. As such, homophobia was a recurrent feature of political and legal discourse. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) opposed compulsory conscription for all white men in the apartheid era South African Defence Force (SADF). Its challenge was a potentially radical and profoundly destabilizing one and it articulated a competing definition of citizenship to that offered by the state. The pro- and anti-conscription discourse was inherently gendered and overtly sexualized. The South African government

regularly associated men who objected to military service with effeminacy, cowardice and sexual 'deviance'. The case of Dr Ivan Toms' objection, a gay objector who wished to cite his sexuality as a primary motivation for his objection, reveals the unwillingness of the ECC to engage in sexual politics. Using Shane Phelan's and Zygmunt Bauman's concept of friends, enemies and strangers, this paper investigates the construction of both white gay men and white people who opposed apartheid as 'strangers' and suggests that the deployment of homophobia by the state was a stigmatizing discourse aimed at purging the ECC's political message from the public realm. In this context the ECC adopted an assimilatory discursive strategy, whereby they attempted to be 'respectable whites', negotiating over shared republican territory. This populist strategy, arguably safer in the short term, avoided issues of sexuality and the fundamental conflation of sexuality and citizenship in apartheid South Africa. The ECC thus circumscribed its radical and deconstructive political potential and did not offer a 'radical democratic' message in opposition to apartheid." For CSM: This piece is helpful as an exploration of one specific attempt at demilitarization (in this case meaning resistance to a militarized ideal of citizenship)—conscientious objection—and the challenges met in such an attempt.

Epstein, A. D. (2002). "The freedom of conscience and sociological perspectives on dilemmas of collective secular disobedience: the case of Israel." *Journal of Human Rights* 1(3): 305 - 320.

"This paper analyses the transformation of the conscientious objection patterns that occur in a large number of countries, and Israel (discussed in this paper more profoundly) is one of them. Paradoxically, pacifist conscientious objection, which often lacks acknowledgement by the civil society, has received legal recognition in various countries, whereas conscientious disobedience, which is usually justified by a large number of 'legitimate' civil society organizations and groups, as a rule is not assigned any recognized status by the legal authorities. The broadening of conscientious disobedience and the rise in a number of civil society groups that evidently express their disagreement with the state authorities' current policy certainly demonstrate a decline in the extent of the legitimacy of the state and its institutions. The changing sociopolitical reality and the transformation of conscientious objection require a redefinition of the phenomenon of conscientious disobedience by the legal and legislative authorities." For CSM: This article inquires into the legal ramifications of conscientious disobedience, one form of demilitarization--again, if we see resistance to obligatory military service as a type of demilitarization.

Fendrich, J. M. (2003). "The Forgotten Movement: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement." *Sociological Inquiry* 73.

"Utilizing recent research and monographs from participants and observers, this paper reports on the underanalyzed Vietnam antiwar movement. Key events are placed in a historical context that help to explain the origins of the movement. Particular attention is given to the various responses of the state to the challengers and the complex interrelationships with the media. As the antiwar movement grew and developed, there were multiple factors that contributed to solidarity and factionalism within the movement. Despite state repressive actions and internal factionalism, the movement was successful in helping to end the war. The effects on U.S. policies were more indirect than direct. The antiwar movement mobilized millions of citizens to public protest. The demonstrations helped to shift public opinion away from supporting the war and activated third parties to question and demand an end to war policies. The political system did respond to the antiwar movement's demands." For CSM: Antiwar movements are another form of demilitarization, insofar as they challenge the intelligence and morality of militarized policies and attempt to make visible the processes of militarization that are often taken as natural. This look at the Vietnam antiwar movement explores how it evolved, what challenges it faced, and what effects it may have had.

Mirra, C. (2006). "Conscientious Objection in Operation Desert Storm." Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice 18(2): 199-205.

In this piece, a conscientious objector from the first Gulf War discusses the challenges confronted by those seeking C.O. status, as well as his own experiences doing so. For CSM: This article reveals the costs in place for those who wish to go against the grain and contest their military service in a system where the "good" of military service is deeply engrained.

Reznik, S. (2002). "Political Culture in Israel in the Era of Peace: The Jewish Underground Organization and the Conscientious Objection Movement, 1979–1984." Peace & Change 27(3).

"The Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty signed in Washington on March 26, 1979, created a new reality in the entire Middle East, particularly in Israel. The element of war in the Arab-Jewish conflict has been studied in depth, but scant research attention has been devoted to the subject of peace and its ramifications. Thus, even though the peace process with Egypt fomented a change in many spheres of life, people took its impact for granted and paid little attention to its implications for Israeli society and politics. This article addresses part of the influence exerted by the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty on one sphere of life: political culture in Israel, and more particularly political discourse and patterns of political participation. The discussion will focus on two phenomena of the early 1980s that were defined as political deviance: the Jewish underground organization that operated in the territories occupied by Israel (1979-1984); and the movement of conscientious objection that sprang up against the Lebanon War, which began in 1982.

The groups chosen represent two forms of political participation that have emerged in Israel since the first half of the 1980s, which Israeli decision-makers ignore at their peril. The first is the threat of violence liable to be perpetrated by underground groups; the second is the refusal to serve in the army for reasons of conscience." (excerpt from the introduction)

For CSM: This article is valuable for two reasons: first, it examines one conscientious objection movement, thus helping us better understand how this form of resistance to militarization works; second, it looks more broadly at the political ramifications (costs and benefits?) of a particular demilitarized policy, the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

What alternatives exist to military action? What is nonviolent action, and how does it work? Is it effective and, if so, under what circumstances?

Ackerman, P., and Jack DuVall (2000). A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict. New York, Palgrave.

"In this tour de force, Ackerman, a respected authority on nonviolent conflict, and DuVall, a veteran writer, explore the ideas lying at the root of how popular movements have used nonviolent action to overthrow dictators, frustrate military invaders, and secure human rights in country after country and decade after decade. A gripping story, the book focuses on movements built from the ground up, including India's movement toward independence under Gandhi; Poland's Solidarity strikes, which laid the foundation for the fall of communism; and the lunch counter sit-ins in Nashville, which turned our attention toward the beginnings of the civil rights movement." For CSM: This book examines several cases of successful nonviolent action in the twentieth century, increasing our understanding of how nonviolence works and under what conditions it is effective. Such a focus on the effectiveness of nonviolent action is key to conceptualizing what demilitarization on a grand scale would look like and how it might be possible.

Martin, B. (2001). *Technology for Nonviolent Struggle*. London, War Resisters International.
"Organised nonviolent struggle, using methods such as strikes, boycotts and noncooperation, is a possible alternative to military methods. However, compared to military funding, there has been hardly any financial and organisational support for nonviolent struggle. Putting a priority on nonviolent struggle would lead to significant differences in technological development and scientific method. Research and development relevant to a number of areas—especially communication and survival—are assessed in terms of their relevance to nonviolent struggle. The findings are used to suggest how science and technology used for the purposes of war and repression can be converted most effectively to serve the purposes of nonviolent struggle." For CSM: Though this article does not present findings from an actual process of demilitarization, it examines the practical potentials of such a shift from technological and economic support for war to technological and economic support for nonviolent struggle.

Martin, B., Wendy Varney, and Adrian Vickers (2001). "Political Jiu-Jitsu against Indonesian Repression: Studying Lower-Profile Nonviolent Resistance." *Pacifica Review: peace, security & global change* **13**(2): 143-156.

"Most case studies of nonviolent action have focused on prominent instances of open resistance to repression, especially successful resistance. Additional insight into the dynamics of nonviolent action can be gained by studying cases where resistance has been less widespread, less visible or less effective. The value of looking at such cases is illustrated by an examination of the toppling of Indonesian President Suharto in 1998—a prominent and successful exercise of nonviolent action—and, for comparison, the Indonesian anti-communist massacres from 1965 to 1966 and repression in East Timor in the decade from 1975, two cases where nonviolent resistance was less visible and less effective. These cases reaffirm the crucial role of 'political jiu-jitsu', namely the process by which repression can stimulate greater support for the resistance." For CSM: This article provides a useful empirical analysis of successful and unsuccessful nonviolent struggles in order to come to some conclusion about what makes nonviolent action (a kind of demilitarization insofar as it moves away from reliance on military means) effective.

Mattaini, M. A. (2003). "Constructing Nonviolent Alternatives to Collective Violence: A Scientific Strategy." *Behavior and Social Issues* **12**(2): 148-163.

"Collective violence (including terrorism, gang violence, civil war, separatist ethnic and religious conflicts, and government sponsored wars) is a central concern of the 21st century. This analysis suggests a scientific strategy for reducing such violence by constructing functionally equivalent and highly effective nonviolent collective alternatives. This general approach is the heart of most effective programs of behavior change, but has not yet been used to address terrorism and other forms of collective violence. The paper briefly traces the history of effective nonviolent action, including both strategies to confront and reduce oppression as well as strategies for defending persons, peoples, and social institutions against attack. It then turns to an examination of cultural practices on which successful nonviolent actions have relied, emphasizing a scientific analysis of the behavioral dynamics involved. Both practices directed toward opposition groups and practices that maintain the commitment and action of group members are investigated. The paper concludes with an outline of a program of research for taking these analyses to deeper and more comprehensive levels." For CSM: This article examines the plausibility of finding effective nonviolent equivalents to military or violent action. As such, its findings underpin any attempts to radically demilitarize society.

Presbey, G. M. (2006). "Evaluating the Legacy of Nonviolence in South Africa." *Peace & Change* **31**(2).
"Nelson Mandela departed from Gandhian nonviolence when he asserted that apartheid rule made resort to violence by the African National Congress necessary. Mandela claimed that the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa was strengthened by including both violence and

nonviolence. This paper investigates the claims of several authors who claim that South Africa would have gained freedom from apartheid more quickly if it had remained purely nonviolent. It finds the claims plausible, when argued carefully. But some historians and nonviolence advocates have oversimplified the story of the anti-apartheid struggle and give the impression that the struggle was more nonviolent than it was." For CSM: This article takes one specific case where both nonviolent and violent strategies were employed and grapples directly with the question of which strategies (or combination of strategies) were or would have been more effective. As such, it is a useful contribution to the discussion about what non-military options might underpin a demilitarized society.

Satterwhite, J. (2002). "Forestalling War in Kosovo: Opportunities Missed." Peace & Change 27(4). "From the end of the 1980s until the late 1990s the main form of response on the part of the Kosovar Albanians to the Serbian repression initiated by Milošević was a campaign of nonviolent resistance. This campaign ultimately gave way to a more violent form of resistance when the Albanians became disillusioned by its lack of success, which in turn provoked a more violent Serbian response. This article assesses whether concrete initiatives by international organizations in the period from 1989 to 1999 could have helped support the nonviolent resistance to Serb repression and concludes that there were many ways in which more international support for this strategy could have helped avert the war in 1999 by strengthening nonviolent options." For CSM: By conducting an incredibly interesting counterfactual experiment, this article investigates the potential effectiveness of local nonviolent action enabled by international support. It therefore contributes to the discussion about what non-military alternatives may exist for waging conflict in a demilitarized society.

Schell, J. (2003). The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People. New York, Metropolitan Books.

"At times of global crisis, Jonathan Schell's writings have presented influential alternatives to conventional, dead-end thinking. His classic bestseller, *The Fate of the Earth*, was hailed by The New York Times as 'an event of profound historical moment.' Now as the world stands once more on the brink of upheaval, Schell reenters the fray with a lucid, impassioned, and provocative book that points the way out of the unparalleled devastation of the twentieth century toward another, more peaceful path. Tracing the relentless expansion of violence to its culmination in nuclear stalemate, Schell uncovers a simultaneous but little-noted history of nonviolent action at every level of political life. His historical journey turns up seeds of nonviolence even in the bloody revolutions of America, France, and Russia, as well as in the people's wars of China and Vietnam. And his investigations into the great nonviolent events of modern times—from Gandhi's independence movement in India to the explosion of civic activity that brought about the surprising collapse of the Soviet Union—suggest foundations of an entirely new kind on which to construct an enduring peace. As Schell makes clear, all-out war, with its risk of human extinction, must cease to play the role of final arbiter. *The Unconquerable World* is a bold book of global significance; far from being utopian, it offers the only realistic hope of safety." For CSM: As an empirical and conceptual investigation into the mechanisms of nonviolent action, this book presents this form of political action as a realistic and effective alternative to war—a necessary component of any broader project of demilitarization.

Schock, K. (2005). Unarmed insurrections: people power movements in nondemocracies. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press.

This book analyzes several campaigns of nonviolent action empirically, making real progress in assessing which particular attributes or conditions make nonviolent action more (rather than less) effective. For CSM: Again, this type of study is useful to CSM because showing that effective

nonviolent alternatives to military action exist helps ground the claim that a radically demilitarized society is possible.

Sharp, G. (1973). The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Boston, MA, Porter Sargent Publishers.

More than anyone else, Gene Sharp has blazed the path of studying nonviolence as strategic action and focusing on its effectiveness rather than its moral status. This is his three-volume classic work on strategic nonviolence, which elucidates the conceptual grounding, varied forms, and dynamics of nonviolent action. For CSM: Sharp's findings and analysis lend credence to the assertion that a demilitarized society is possible, as he posits that nonviolent action can produce change and defend communities even more effectively than military action can.

Sharp, G. (2005). Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential. Boston, MA, Porter Sargent Publishers.

"For more than three decades Sharp's work has been indispensable reading for scholars of and activists for nonviolent social change. His books and pamphlets have been translated into dozens of languages, and have served as "how to" manuals in many recent nonviolent struggles. This book summarizes his long path-breaking career. Twenty-seven case studies of twentieth-century nonviolent movements, with all degrees of success and failure, illustrate the breadth of the use of nonviolent tactics: the Indian independence movement; resistance to Nazi rule; opposition to dictatorships in Latin America, Europe, Asia, and Africa; the American civil rights movement; and the breakup of Communist rule in Eastern Europe. In most cases the use of nonviolent means was almost accidental. Sharp argues for the potential of nonviolent strategies and tactics to change dramatically how people struggle for justice, and thereby change social and political relationships and structures, if they are studied and analyzed at the same depth military strategists such as Sun Tzu, Clausewitz and L. Hart have studied how to wage violent war. Although he mentions it only in passing toward the end of this masterful book, key to Sharp's argument is that he discusses nonviolent struggle, *not* the moral or religious justifications for nonviolence. One need not have an ideological or theological commitment to "nonviolence" in the abstract to use nonviolent tactics in one's work for social change. Thus this book will be a useful addition to courses that do have such a philosophical or theological focus, as well as serving as a practical bible for the next generation of nonviolent activists." -- *John Cort, Religious Studies Review* For CSM: This volume adds to Sharp's previous work in that it analyzes empirical cases where nonviolent action has been effective; as such, this book tells us something about how demilitarization (in the larger sense) works.

Stephan, M. J. (2003). "People Power in the Holy Land: How Popular Nonviolent Struggle Can Transform the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." Journal of Public and International Affairs **14**: 164-183.

"The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a human tragedy that has defied political settlement for more than 50 years. Official negotiations have neither ended Israeli occupation of the Palestinian Territories nor fostered the development of a viable Palestinian state, both prerequisites for a secure peace. This article argues that an alternative strategy based on civilian-led, nonviolent struggle, or "people power," is needed to transform the conflict. It analyzes tactics and strategies of collective nonviolent direct action and their relevance to ending a situation of occupation. Conflict theory and principles of nonviolent action are applied to a case-study analysis of the 1987 *Intifada*, a mostly nonviolent popular uprising that forced the issue of Palestinian statehood to the forefront. A central conclusion is that official-level negotiations are insufficient; a strategy of sustained, nonviolent direct action involving all parties, with adequate moral and material support from the international community, can help break the cycle of violence and pave the way to a just peace." For CSM: This is another article that looks into the effectiveness of nonviolent action and its potential use as a source of demilitarization—here, in the specific case of Israel/Palestine.

How might disarmament come about, and what would its implications be?

Schell, J. (2006). "Proliferation and Possession, Nonproliferation and Disarmament." Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice 18(3): 349-352.

"My plea is to respect the essential unity of developments in the nuclear age. We cannot understand what is happening in 2005 without remembering what happened in 1945, and indeed, listening to the voices of that period, especially those of scientists, who understood and foresaw so much of what we face today. We need to look at the threat of terrorist use in isolation from the wider picture. We will not understand how or why we are in danger if we do not understand why or how Mr. A.Q. Khan got and sold his nuclear materials; we cannot understand the Khan program without understanding Pakistan's proliferation; we cannot understand Pakistan without understanding India, or understand India without looking at China, and so forth in the long chain that leads back to ourselves and our own arsenals and policies that guide them. The cost of protecting ourselves from the nuclear weapons of others is to get rid of our own. The days of the double standard are over. We need a single standard, and it must be the elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere." (excerpt) For CSM: This article weaves together the disparate strands of issues surrounding nuclear weapon proliferation and possession and highlights the United States' own responsibility for the nuclear threats that now endanger its security. By connecting "our" security with "their" sense of security, Schell offers us a view of how nuclear disarmament may in fact work to make everyone safer.

How do states or communities recently engaged in violent conflict demilitarize and, if possible, become reconciled? How do peacebuilding processes work, and what do they need to be successful?

Bederman, D. J. (2002). "Collective Security, Demilitarization and 'Pariah' States." European Journal of International Law 13(1): 121-138.

"Demilitarization regimes under international law pose special challenges. Often the result of the retributive politics of post-war diplomatic adjustment, legal attempts to ensure that formerly aggressive states do not acquire the military establishments, logistics or weaponry to threaten their neighbours or international peace and security, are often doomed to failure. This article considers the demilitarization sanctions imposed against Iraq in the aftermath of the Gulf War of 1991 in the historic context of other such efforts, most notably the sanctions imposed against Germany under the 1919 Treaty of Versailles (and subsequently enforced by the League of Nations). The primary elements shared by most demilitarization regimes are: (1) qualitative and quantitative restrictions on weapons systems; (2) control and monitoring mechanisms; (3) the rhetorical ambition of global and regional disarmament; (4) unrealistic deadlines for compliance; and (5) the implied threat of resumption of hostilities if disarmament is not achieved. Aside from the political reality that 'pariah' states can rarely be isolated for long, the chief reason for the failure of demilitarization is the weakness of institutional mechanisms to effectively encourage and monitor compliance, as well as to punish transgressions." For CSM: This article investigates demilitarization in the political sense of the word--how a state might be made to relinquish its weapons and, less tangibly, its reliance on militaristic policies. Such political demilitarization would be a central component of demilitarization more generally, as it would take away the initial impetus for the existence of the cultural and economic institutions of militarization that function to hold political militarization in place.

Fischer, M. (2004). *Recovering from Violent Conflict: Regeneration and (Re-)Integration as Elements of Peacebuilding*. Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation. Berlin, Berghof Center for Constructive Conflict Management.

“In the last decade of the 20th century 43 countries have been considered as countries emerging from violent conflicts. Most of them were affected by intra-state wars and civil wars, and most of these belong to the category of the poorest (“less developed countries” according to criteria of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]). An extraordinary[il]y high percentage was located in the African continent. The international community pledged more than one hundred billion dollars in aid to war-torn societies (Forman, Patrick and Salomons 2000, p1). These were designed to build up infrastructure, to persuade formerly warring parties to resolve conflict in a non-violent way and to contribute to economic development and participatory governance.

Experts and political actors have stated that international agencies often used too narrow-minded a concept in the past, reducing their activities to technical reconstruction after the end of violent conflict. A broader conceptualization is needed to support the difficult long-term process of transformation from war to peace. This chapter gives an overview of the variety of tasks required to make post-conflict recovery successful in the sense of preventing further conflict and some tensions and dilemmas are identified and discussed.” (first two paragraphs)

For CSM: This piece brings together some of the lessons learned about demilitarization and peacebuilding in societies that have recently experienced violent conflict, perhaps pointing to ways that the United States—or other highly militarized societies—could demilitarize.

Harris, G. (2006). "The military as a resource for peace-building: time for reconsideration?" Conflict, Security and Development **6**(2): 241 - 252.

"The use of the military for development purposes in the 1960s fell out of fashion following its involvement in human rights abuses in many countries. This article examines whether it is now appropriate to welcome back the military as an agent of peacebuilding. Two arguments in favour—the economic and the Gandhian—are considered and then compared with some arguments against. While there is an obvious role for the military in peacekeeping, the article concludes that the military's emphasis on the use of force renders it unsuitable, by comparison with civilian bodies, for the tasks of peacebuilding." For CSM: This article addresses the appropriateness of military involvement in both peacekeeping and peacebuilding by weighing the costs and benefits associated with its role in each. Though the article is not an empirical study, it is useful to CSM insofar as it assesses the paradoxical role of the military in demilitarization processes.

Smyth, M. (2004). "The Process of Demilitarization and the Reversibility of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland." Terrorism and Political Violence **16**(3): 544-566.

"The process of militarization has permeated Northern Ireland society both overtly and in more subtle and pervasive ways. Since the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, reductions in state military personnel and infrastructure have been made and several acts of paramilitary decommissioning of weapons carried out. However, the political culture and discourse remains combative and bifurcated as the democratic institutions and processes struggle to achieve viability. Support for the Agreement has faltered as the raised expectations of improvements in quality of life, particularly in communities worst affected by the Troubles, have not been met. Vacuums such as the rolelessness amongst former combatants and gaps in policing have contributed to internecine conflict. As in South Africa, there has been a transition from political to criminal violence in local communities. A formal process of demobilization, demilitarization and reintegration of former paramilitary actors, combined with training in political skills would resolve some of these issues

and ensure the irreversibility of the peace process itself." For CSM: This article provides a detailed analysis of the multiple and tenacious forms of militarization—cultural, economic, and political—that still plague Northern Ireland, even several years after the Good Friday Agreement. It is especially useful as an example of how militarization evolves in the context of an inter-communal war. In addition, it gives a rare glimpse into an actual process of demilitarization, even if this process is rife with challenges.

Theidon, K. (2006). "Justice in Transition: The Micropolitics of Reconciliation in Postwar Peru." Journal of Conflict Resolution 50(3): 433-457.

"This article draws on anthropological research conducted with communities in Ayacucho, the region of Peru that suffered the greatest loss of life during the internal armed conflict of the 1980s and 1990s. One particularity of internal wars, such as Peru's, is that foreign armies do not wage the attacks: frequently, the enemy is a son-in-law, a godfather, an old schoolmate, or the community that lies just across the valley. The charged social landscape of the present reflects the lasting damage done by a recent past in which people saw just what their neighbors could do. The author contributes to the literature on transitional justice by examining the construction and deconstruction of lethal violence among "intimate enemies" and by analyzing how the concepts and practices of communal justice have permitted the development of a micropolitics of reconciliation in which *campesinos* administer both retributive and restorative forms of justice." For CSM: This article investigates how communities deeply militarized and polarized by violence can move towards reconciliation (a form of demilitarization in a broader sense)—a process that would, ideally, transform the enemy relationships that make further violence possible.

Tschirgi, N. (2005). "Peacebuilding through Global Peace and Justice." Development 48: 50-56.

"International peacebuilding since the early 1990s faces a dual challenge: how to make sense of the many fragmented (and often contradictory) goals that are now part of international peacebuilding, and how to contribute meaningfully to shaping the re-energized peacebuilding agenda. Necla Tschirgi proposes that the current focus on peacebuilding in conflict-prone or post-conflict countries is a necessary but ultimately insufficient approach in an international system that is deeply divided and increasingly militarized. She argues that it is imperative to take advantage of the renewed interest in peacebuilding to call for international policies and institutions based on peace, social justice and collective security rather than narrowly cast strategies of stabilization, containment and military interventions in 'zones of conflict'. Peacebuilding is a powerful agenda through which deep-seated inequities and vulnerabilities at both the national and international levels can be underscored and addressed." For CSM: This article highlights the systemic challenges faced by demilitarization processes in discrete, bounded conflict areas and therefore calls for the wider demilitarization of international policies in order to create an international system where peacebuilding is the norm.

What possibilities exist for an alternative security policy that does not depend heavily or at all on military force? What do such policies look like?

FCNL If War Is Not the Answer, What Is? Peaceful Prevention of Deadly Conflict. Washington, DC, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

"In the fall of 2002, the Bush Administration enshrined in U.S. policy a unilateral right to take military action against "emerging threats before they are fully formed." ¹ Months later, in March 2003, against widespread global protest and without United Nations Security Council authorization, the Administration put its new policy of "preemptive" war into practice by invading and occupying Iraq. The costs of the war, the path of fractured alliances left in its wake, the ongoing crisis with North Korea, and the growing realization that the war may have fueled the

very threats it was intended to thwart, have demonstrated that the Bush Doctrine is far from a complete success in forging peace and security. In fact, military force and unilateralism are tragically ineffective instruments against the current threats facing the U.S. and the global community. But, if war is not the answer, then what is?" (from introduction) For CSM: If we are to speak of demilitarization on any grand scale, we must have some idea of the policy instruments we might employ in lieu of war. This document attempts to answer the call for an alternative security policy.

Jordaan, E., and Abel Esterhuysen (2004). "South African Defence since 1994: The Influence of Non-Offensive Defence." *African Security Review* 13(1): 59-71.

"Since 1994, South African defence posture changed from a strategically offensive, pre-emptive approach to a defensive approach. While the *apartheid* model of security militarised all aspects of national policy, the new security approach sought to demilitarise the concept of security. Anti-militarist sentiments, post-conflict fatigue, human security concerns and a need to improve relations with other states in Southern Africa underpinned defence thinking in the post-*apartheid* era. Another, but rather unknown influence on South African defence thinking was the concept 'non-offensive defence' (NOD), which was a prominent conventional military concept during the nuclear arms debate of the early 1980's in Europe. During the defence debates and the policy-making process in South Africa after 1994, NOD featured prominently and several principles of NOD have been accepted into existing defence policy. The concept 'non-offensive defence' is however not mentioned in any defence policy documents. The paper identifies the prominence of NOD in South African defence policy and explains why it is not explicitly used in policy documents. It is argued that NOD was advocated by certain interest groups during the defence policy-making process and that prominent elements of this concept were accepted despite resistance towards the concept from senior military officers." For CSM: This article explores one conceptualization of an alternative, demilitarized security policy and how it gained acceptance in the mainstream defense establishment in South Africa.

Summy, R. (2002). *A Nonviolent Response to September 11th*. Lund, Sweden, Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research.

"The question presented to the United States (and the rest of the world) is how to respond [to 9/11] without committing more terror and exacerbating the problem. The US Administration has been right to demand of its critics how they would have reacted differently. To only denounce the US response may help to shed light on the problem but it provides little in the way of an enlightened solution. For valid criticism to gain substantive meaning it needs to be followed up with a proposal for an alternative course of action.

Thus within a framework of criticism and counter proposal, this article attempts to explore a nonviolent strategy that offers a more humane and arguably more successful outcome than the action hitherto taken by President George W. Bush and his aides and followed by satraps like Australia's John Howard. After pointing out the mistakes compounded by US policymakers, the article suggests how a short term and long term strategy might have been woven together and successfully implemented to counter the threat of terrorism and usher in the prospect of security for everyone." (first few paragraphs)

For CSM: This article presents alternatives for a demilitarized security policy that might take the place of military action and thus enable the creation of a demilitarized society.

What do peace economies look like, and how do we create them? What are the economic implications of demilitarization?

Fischer, M., and Beatrix Schmelzle, eds. (2005). *Transforming War Economies - Dilemmas and Strategies*. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series. Berlin, Berghof Center for Constructive Conflict Management.

For CSM: This collection of articles looks specifically at the issue of how to demilitarize economies after violent conflict as part of a larger peacebuilding process—the idea being that a society whose people are less dependent on soldiering, weapons-trading, extortion, and the like to make a living will be less likely to lapse back into violent conflict. Rather, a society whose economy is more dependent on peaceful pursuits is more apt to maintain peace.

Hellman, C. (2001). *New Beginnings: How Base Closures can Improve Local Economies and Transform America's Military*. Report: Taxpayers for Common Sense and CDI, CDI and Taxpayers for Common Sense.

"The Pentagon estimates it could save over \$3 billion annually if it closed unneeded military bases, and Congress has agreed to authorize an additional round of base closures in 2005. "New Beginnings," a report by CDI Senior Analyst Christopher Hellman and Taxpayers for Common Sense provides a clear analysis of the necessity of base closures and examines the economic impacts of closures on communities." For CSM: This report investigates the impact one form of demilitarization—base closures—would have on local economies.

Hooks, G., and Linda Lobao (2003). "Public Employment, Welfare Transfers, and Economic Well-Being across Local Populations: Does a Lean and Mean Government Benefit the Masses?" Social Forces **82**(2): 519-556.

"This study examines state provisioning of social welfare and employment and its consequences for local economic well-being. Do a larger public sector and more generous social welfare transfers help or harm local populations? To address this question, we derive hypotheses from two competing social policy schools, neoliberal and radical political economy. We assess how claims from both schools operate on the ground, through an empirical test using data for county populations for Keynesian (1970-80) and post-Keynesian(1980-90) decades. Findings do not support neoliberal views that a leaner and meaner government benefits U.S. populations. Rather, economic well-being of the population at large declines where social programs are less generous to poor residents. In both Keynesian and post-Keynesian periods, the state remains important in reducing income inequality and, to some degree, in promoting income growth. Finally, we find important differences within public employment, with state and local government having less beneficial effects." For CSM: This study speaks to what the U.S. government could do with money that is currently being spent on the military; in other words, it highlights the opportunity costs of high defense spending.

Madlala-Routledge, N., and Sybert Liebenberg (2004). "Developmental Peacekeeping: What are the Advantages for Africa?" African Security Review **13**(2).

"This paper seeks to address and explain the failures of current peacekeeping interventions to resolve resource-based conflicts on the African Continent. It will argue that the main drivers for conflict in Africa are resource-based. Whether it is a struggle to control, to access or directly exploit scarce resources, Africa's conflicts are inherently economic by nature. If this holds true then current military focused approaches ignore the developmental and economic nature of not only the source of conflict, but also its

resolution." (first paragraph) For CSM: This article highlights the importance of focusing on economic factors in the transition from war to peace in Africa, arguing that demilitarizing the economy is an integral part of demilitarizing politics.

Nitzschke, H., and Kaysie Studdard (2005). "The legacies of war economies: challenges and options for peacemaking and peacebuilding." *International Peacekeeping* 12(2): 222-239.

"Research and policy analyses have produced important findings on the political economy of contemporary armed conflicts, which not only challenge some core assumptions of contemporary peace operations but also highlight possible avenues for improved policy intervention. Yet the extent to which economic dimensions, including natural resource predation and economic criminalization, have distinct legacies for peacemaking and peacebuilding remains an ongoing question. This article discerns key operational challenges for policy makers in governments, international organizations and civil society, and identifies policy mechanisms and strategies to deal more effectively with the economics of war and peace. These include: increased attention to the role of economic agendas in peace processes, the political economy of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; efforts to address the informal economy and crime in post-conflict peacebuilding; and the transformation of resource-based rentier-states." For CSM: This article is more prescriptive than descriptive, but it does elucidate the current challenges encountered by those working on demilitarization in "post-conflict" situations. Its focus on the transformation of war economies into peace economies is useful for conceptualizing the many aspects of a comprehensive demilitarization process.

Spear, J. (2006). "From political economies of war to political economies of peace: The contribution of DDR after wars of predation." *Contemporary Security Policy* 27(1): 168-189.

"Can disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) be a means to 'jump start' a transition to a political economy for peace? This essay considers the key groups targeted in DDR – individual fighters, middle-level officers and leaderships – and each element of a DDR campaign with a focus on political economy issues. This leads to suggestions for reorienting some elements of DDR campaigns to place more emphasis on looking after middle-ranked officers, for the international community to place much emphasis on an often under-resourced part of the process, reintegration, and for more parallel attention to dealing with illicit economic activities." For CSM: This article addresses a very particular process of demilitarization in "post-conflict" situations—DDR—and considers whether and how it might help transform war economies into peace economies.

Cultural and Social Demilitarization

What alternatives exist to military service? How might we reconceptualize what it means to be a good citizen, or a patriot?

Perry, J. L., and Ann Marie Thomson (2003). *Civic Service: What Difference Does it Make?* Armonk, NY, M.E. Sharpe.

"The concept and practice of civic service is deeply rooted in America's past, present, and future, and has been a featured component of recent presidential agendas. Yet despite ongoing debates about the methods and values of civic service, no recent book has systematically analyzed the effectiveness and outcomes of service programs in America. *Civic Service: What Difference Does It Make?* presents a thorough, research-based evaluation of public service programs in the United States. Divided into four key parts, this groundbreaking volume presents original information not found anywhere else." For CSM: This book examines the practice and outcomes of civic service,

which can be seen as one form of demilitarization, insofar as an emphasis on civic service pulls us away from a strictly military conceptualization of public service, patriotism, and citizenship.

What is peace education? How can it be and how has it been implemented? What are its effects, especially on deeply-divided and/or militarized communities? And what role can counter-recruitment play in the demilitarization of education?

Harris, I. M. (2004). "Peace Education Theory." Journal of Peace Education 1(1).

"During this past century there has been growth in social concern about horrific forms of violence, like ecocide, genocide, modern warfare, ethnic hatred, racism, sexual abuse and domestic violence, and a corresponding growth in the field of peace education where educators, from early child care to adult, use their professional skills to warn fellow citizens about imminent dangers and advise them about paths to peace. This paper traces the evolution of peace education theory from its roots in international concerns about the dangers of war to modern theories based on reducing the threats of interpersonal and environmental violence. This paper reviews ways that peace education has become diversified and examines theoretical assumptions behind five different ways in which it is being carried out at the beginning of the twenty-first century: international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education and conflict resolution education." For CSM: This article is more useful as a theoretical tool for those interested in demilitarizing education than as an empirical study of such processes of demilitarization.

Harris, I. M., Mary Lee Morrison, and Timothy Reagan (2002). Peace Education. Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Company.

"New to this edition are additional discussions of the contributions of feminist theorists to the understanding of peacemaking, the role of the family in peace education, and the creation of visions and hope for the future. The present volume begins with a discussion of the concepts of peace and peace education. It then considers religious and historical concepts of war, peace and peace education, describes how peace education can move people to work for social change and look for alternatives to violence, and discusses ways to begin implementing peace education in schools, churches and other community settings such as youth groups. It goes on to address sensitive issues in peace education, key concepts and topics, important biological and cultural factors, and barriers facing those who teach peace. It provides the "how" of peace education by examining optimal pedagogy and practices." For CSM: This volume is helpful as a resource for those wishing to demilitarize education (and culture and society, more generally); it does not, however, offer us an empirical study of how that demilitarization process has worked.

Reardon, B. (2001). Education for a Culture of Peace in a Gender Perspective. Paris, UNESCO.

"The goal of this study unit on education for a culture of peace in a gender perspective is to assist teachers in their efforts to educate caring and responsible citizens, open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent conflicts or resolve them by nonviolent means. Designed as a resource for teacher education, the manual is relevant for secondary schools and can also be used for secondary school teacher preparation and for facilitators of non-formal adult education. It responds to the demands of a growing number of educators who want to be part of a global movement toward a culture of peace and to provide their students with learning experiences in holistic and gender-sensitive human rights and peace education. The manual is divided in two parts: Part 1, the social foundations component, offers an overview of the developing field of education for a culture of peace, its purposes, the issues it addresses, and the rationale for its development. Part 2 focuses on the practical and deals specifically with the professional and methodological necessities of the

field. Each topical section is preceded by a box with a list of preparatory readings for background. Suggested readings follow the learning processes and projects to extend and further enrich study. Every component of the manual has a particular pedagogical purpose and is intended to introduce the modes of inquiry and forms of thinking most conducive to learning for a culture of peace." For CSM: Like other work on peace education in this bibliography, this volume is less empirical study and more practical guide for the implementation of peace education programs as a form of demilitarization.

Salomon, G. (2004). "Does Peace Education Make a Difference in the Context of an Intractable Conflict?" Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology **10**(3): 257-274.

"Peace education in regions of intractable conflict faces a number of severe challenges, such as conflicting collective narratives, shared histories and beliefs, grave inequalities, excessive emotionality, and unsupportive social climates. In this light, the chances of success for peace education programs are rather slim. A series of quasi-experimental studies carried out with Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian youngsters revealed that despite the ongoing violence, participation in various programs yields positive attitudinal, perceptual, and relational changes manifested in, for example, more positive views of "peace," better ability to see the other side's perspective, and greater willingness for contact. These changes depend on participants' initial political views, and thus, as found in one study, play an attitude-reinforcing function, but, as found in another study, prevent the worsening of perceptions of and attribution to the other side, thereby serving in a preventive capacity." For CSM: This article represents one of the few works on peace education to actually assess its impact empirically, thus helping us better understand how this form of demilitarization might work.

Salomon, G., Alexander Von Eye, and Baruch Nevo (2002). Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers.

"*Peace Education* presents views on the nature of peace education, its history, and relationships to neighboring fields; examines relevant psychological and pedagogical principles, such as the contact experience, conciliation through personal story telling, reckoning with traumatic memories, body-work, and the socio-emotional aspects of reconciliation; and introduces an array of international examples from countries, such as Croatia, Northern Ireland, Israel, South Africa, Rwanda, and the United States in order to generalize lessons learned. A "must have" for all those thinking, planning, conducting, and studying peace education programs, it is intended for scholars, students, and researchers interested in peace and conflict resolution in higher education and volunteer and public organizations. Its cross disciplinary approach will appeal to those in social and political psychology, communication, education, religion, political science, sociology, and philosophy." For CSM: This is yet another volume that serves as a practical resource for those interested in peace education as a form of demilitarization.

Sommers, M. (2001). Peace Education and Refugee Youth. Refugee Education in Developing Countries: Policy and Practice, Washington, DC.

"In a world where attempts at cultivating cultures of peace are confronted by the fact that "it is a small step from the culture of violence to its actual practice" (El-Kenz, 1996: 55), refugees and other forced migrants, most of them victims of violence, struggle to re-establish peaceful lives. It is not an easy task, particularly for youth, who are frequently drawn into violent activities. Many aid agencies have responded by offering peace education programming. Examining some of these initiatives and considering the context of violence in refugee youth lives will be the subject of this report." (excerpt) For CSM: This report examines the role peace education might play in actively demilitarizing a sector of society that has often been highly militarized.

Tannock, S. (2005). "Is "Opting Out" Really an Answer? Schools, Militarism & the Counter-Recruitment Movement in Post-September 11 United States at War." Social Justice **32**(3): 163-178.

"The article focuses on the counter-recruitment movement in the U.S. after the September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks. Many antiwar activists consider counter-recruitment [] a more effective weapon of the antiwar movement as compared to antiwar marching and demonstrating. The aim of the counter-recruitment movement is to question the dependence of the U.S. Government o[n] recruiting from within its domestic population. The movement has grown considerably as a result of the difficulties faced by the U.S. military to meet its recruiting targets. The methods employed by counter-recruiters include putting up tables providing counter-recruitment information at events where the U.S. military makes its sales pitch to the attract the country's young population. The counter-recruiters also call for banning military recruiters from entering school and colleges. In spring 2005, many of the country's antiwar groups joined hands to launch a nationwide "Opt Out Campaign" to challenge the military recruitment policy as envisaged in the No Child Left Behind Act." For CSM: In the face of on-campus military recruiters and JROTC programs—as well as the broader militarization of education discussed in many other articles and books in this bibliography—the counter-recruitment movement represents one form of demilitarization; it questions the naturalness of this military presence in education and suggests alternative forms of work and service to youth being courted by the military.

Tidwell, A. (2004). "Conflict, peace, and education: A tangled web." Conflict Resolution Quarterly **21**(4): 463-470.

"In this article the author examines peace education in zones of conflict. Central to his thesis is that peace education, though returning valuable service to a conflict-affected community, must take into account the local conflict conditions. It is important to understand the range of ways in which conflict can affect provision of education; many of these ways are identified." For CSM: This article looks at the real obstacles peace education (a form of demilitarization in a broader sense) confronts when implemented in conflict areas.

Wintersteiner, W., Vedrana Spajic-Vrkas, and Rüdiger Teutsch, eds. (2003). Peace Education in Europe: Visions and Experiences. New York, Waxmann Publishing Company.

"Europe is now at the crossroads. It has to decide: Is it going to become a second superpower? Or, and this is our vision, European integration could be the start of a long lasting peace within the continent as well as for a peaceful behaviour with its neighbours. If Europe wants to become a force of peace it is necessary to develop a culture of peace with peace education as a cornerstone. With this publication, we want to stimulate the discussion on peace education in Europe and to open a debate on the European dimension of this goal. In the first part, various approaches to peace education are discussed. In the second part we present eight case studies from selected European countries, from "Eastern" and "Western" Europe: Italy, Hungary, Germany, The Netherlands, France, Croatia, Spain and Austria, preceded by a comparative introduction." For CSM: This volume examines actual cases where peace education has been implemented, paying special attention to its operation and implications.

Yablon, Y. B., and Yaacov J. Katz (2001). "Internet-Based Group Relations: A High School Peace Education Project in Israel." Educational Media International **38**(2/3).

"This study describes how the Internet-based group communications was used as the major strategy to promote the societal values of understanding, equality, tolerance and peace between Israeli Jewish and Bedouin high school students. The Internetbased communications project formed the backbone of a project designed to confront one of the major conflicts in Israeli society, which focuses on the Jewish-Arab axis. Israeli Jews and Arabs are wary of each other and latent hostility permeates the atmosphere between the two societal groups and is directly related to the Israeli-Arab conflict. In the project the societal values of understanding, equality,

tolerance and peace were intensely promoted through the medium of three different complementary educational strategies. Students participated in workshops conducted by experts trained in the art of mediation and bridge building, and participated in two day-long face-to-face meetings. The major strategy was an Internet-based weekly chat-room and e-mail session which lasted for the full length of the project. All three strategies were specially designed to complementarily promote understanding, equality, tolerance and peace between Jewish and Bedouin Arab students. The results of the project indicate that Jewish students adopted more favourable attitudes toward Bedouins and that Bedouin students' attitudes towards Jewish students remained positive throughout the duration of the project. The prognosis for long-term change and cooperation between the Jewish and Bedouin students who participated in the project is discussed." For CSM: This is an empirical study of the effects of one particular peace education program and thus is a useful example of demilitarization for CSM.

How can the media be demilitarized?

Shinar, D. (2004). "Media Peace Discourse: Constraints, Concepts and Building Blocks." Conflict and Communication Online 3(1/2).

"Normative, professional, and academic premises steer the discussion [towards] the importance and the absence of a peace discourse in the media, and of the need and possibility to invent one. Among the possible points of departure are that the media should be involved in the promotion of peace; that peace coverage is hindered by the absence of a peace discourse in the professional media repertoire; and that the creation, development, and marketing of a media peace discourse should be included in the current research agenda. The development of a peace-oriented media discourse can be assisted by three conceptual elements, namely, the existing strategies employed by the media to cover peace; the competition in the media among dominant and alternative frames, in which news-value is the measure of success; and the concept of "constitutive rhetoric"—the creation, change and legitimization of realities through texts, rhetorical constructs and the manipulation of symbols—as a discourse-building device." For CSM: This article looks into a "demilitarization" strategy for the media, though it is more prescriptive than descriptive in its discussion of such demilitarization processes.

How are gender and demilitarization related? What experience or perspective might women bring to peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes?

Cockburn, C., and Dubravka Zarkov, eds. (2002). The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities, and International Peacekeeping. London, Lawrence And Wishart Ltd.

"This feminist analysis of the postwar [moment] in Bosnia argues that a crucial but often overlooked factor in the successful reconstruction of societies after conflict is the level of importance accorded to transforming gender power relations. Focusing on two countries, Bosnia and the Netherlands, linked through a "peacekeeping operation," the contributors illuminate the many ways in which processes of demilitarization and peacekeeping are structured by notions of masculinity and femininity. Several chapters also analyze the self-questioning provoked in the Netherlands after the Dutch contingent of the UN peacekeeping forces was widely held responsible for failing to prevent the Srebrenica massacre; these provide a rich source of insights into relationships between soldiering and masculinities, war-fighting, and peacekeeping." For CSM: This book helps us understand the demilitarization processes particular to societies emerging from war and draws our attention to the role transformed gender relations may play in sustaining such demilitarization processes.

Cohn, C., Helen Kinsella, and Sheri Gibbings (2004). "Women, Peace and Security." International Feminist Journal of Politics 6(1): 130-140.

This piece is a roundtable discussion between six women active in the push for passage and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, a resolution that would mainstream gender in peace and security policies, recognizing the special impact of armed conflicts on women and urging a greater inclusion of women in peacekeeping negotiations and operations. For CSM: This article is useful for CSM, because it documents a kind of demilitarization process: the building of momentum around a resolution that aims at the more successful resolution of military conflicts and the challenges that are still faced in its implementation.