

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SECURING THE STATE: A THEORY OF MILITARY ARBITRATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

STEPHANIE R. KELLEY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 2018

Copyright © 2018 by Stephanie R. Kelley

All rights reserved

For Greg and Jack—the wonderful men in my life.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
LIST OF TABLES .....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
What is Military Arbitration?.....	6
Key Actors .....	7
Alternate Explanations.....	25
Towards a New Theory of Military Arbitration .....	34
Roadmap Ahead.....	38
Chapter 2 THEORY OF MILITARY ARBITRATION.....	39
Military’s Strategic Calculus .....	45
Military’s Security Imperative.....	47
International Threat.....	56
Domestic Threat.....	68
A Theory of Military Arbitration.....	77
Caveats & Extensions .....	80
Chapter 3 SERBIA’S BULLDOZER REVOLUTION (2000).....	89
Case Summary .....	91

The Order to Repress .....	94
Deployment of Forces.....	94
The Military Shirks .....	96
Military’s Security Imperative.....	98
International Threat.....	108
Domestic Threat.....	111
Military’s Strategic Calculus .....	114
Considering the Alternate Explanations .....	121
Conclusion .....	134
Chapter 4 CHINA’S TIANANMEN SQUARE DEMONSTRATIONS (1989).....	137
Case Summary .....	140
The Order to Repress .....	143
Deployment of Forces.....	147
The Military Obeys .....	149
Military’s Security Imperative.....	152
International Threat.....	164
The Domestic Threat.....	167
Military’s Strategic Calculus .....	176
Considering the Alternate Explanations .....	178
Conclusion .....	186

Chapter 5 EGYPT’S ARAB SPRING (2011) .....	188
Case Summary .....	191
The Order to Repress .....	196
Deployment of Forces .....	200
The Military Shirks .....	202
Military’s Security Imperative .....	205
International Threat .....	217
The Domestic Threat .....	221
Military’s Strategic Calculus .....	225
Considering the Alternate Explanations .....	231
Conclusion .....	241
Chapter 6 CONCLUSION .....	244
Future Research .....	246
Policy Considerations .....	250
REFERENCES .....	253

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Key Actors in Military Arbitrations .....	8
Figure 2.1 Military's Preference for Repression .....	46
Figure 2.2 Security Imperative Causal Mechanism .....	47
Figure 2.3 Thresholds for Repression.....	79
Figure 2.4 Logic of Military Arbitration.....	80
Figure 2.5 Military Obedience & Disobedience .....	88
Figure 3.1 Serbia's Bulldozer Revolution: Timing & Logic Flow (5-6 October 2000) .....	97
Figure 4.1 Tiananmen Square Demonstrations: Timing & Protester Violence .....	151
Figure 5.1 Egyptian Military's Strategic Calculation .....	189
Figure 5.2 Egypt's 2011 Arab Spring: Deaths per Day .....	223

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Vulnerability to International Punishment.....	67
Table 2.2 Levels of Domestic Threat & Protester Violence .....	76
Table 2.3 Potential Domestic Threats by Case Study.....	77
Table 2.4 Typology of Official Nationalisms .....	84

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

This dissertation would have never been started without the faith and opportunity given me by the United States Air Force, the School of Advanced Air and Space Studies (SAASS), and Bob Pape. It never would have been finished without the encouragement, patience, and support of my family and friends. Any goodness in this dissertation is due to the steady flow of advice from my brilliant advisors and cohort—I am humbled to be in your ranks. The many shortfalls are mine alone.

## **ABSTRACT**

Military arbitrations are cases in which armed forces are ordered by civilian rulers to repress their own populations during domestic contentious events, such as protests and demonstrations. In these cases, a regime essentially forces its military to become involved in sovereign power issues; officers can choose to obey and side with the ruler, or disobey and effectively side with the people. This dissertation proposes and develops a theory of military arbitration to explain armed forces' frequently surprising decisions to either stand aside and let a ruler fall, or repress their own civilian populations during these volatile periods. It demonstrates the theory's causal logic at work through process tracing of military arbitrations cases in Serbia, China, and Egypt. Finally, this dissertation examines several existing explanations of military arbitration, highlighting why they are insufficient for explaining military behavior during these unique crisis events.

*“An officer’s ultimate commanding loyalty at all times is to his country,  
and not to his service or his superior.”*<sup>1</sup>  
-- The Armed Forces Officer

## **Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION**

Why do some militaries dutifully follow orders to repress popular uprisings while others—even some that have willingly repressed in the past—disobey? This dissertation explores this important question. It theorizes why militaries obey or disobey orders to repress their own populations during domestic contentious events, or what I call cases of military arbitration.<sup>2</sup> These are cases in which militaries are ordered by civilian rulers to become involved in sovereign power issues; they can choose to obey and side with the ruler, or disobey and effectively side with the people.

This question has not received extensive scholarly attention, but there is a growing body of literature that addresses military arbitration scenarios. The most prevalent explanations come from the civil-military relations and political repression literatures, which draw upon organizational theory to identify preferences that fall into three general categories. The first group of explanations suggest armed forces choose the side that best supports their parochial interests, such as their desire for resources and political power. The second set focuses on efforts to safeguard military cohesion when internal conflicts threaten the organization’s integrity. The last category claims that obedience is determined by regime loyalty, or the strength of personal and/or ideological ties between the military and the ruler. While these preferences are all factors

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in 1950 edition of the Department of Defense Pamphlet promulgated by Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall. Sorley, "Duty, Honor, Country: Practice and Precept," in *War, Morality, and the Military Profession*, ed. Wakin (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), 142.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor introduced the concept of military arbitration in his typology of military involvement in sovereign power issues. He distinguishes between cases of intervention, arbitration and no involvement. Taylor, "Russia's Passive Army: Rethinking Military Coups," *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 8 (2001).

of concern to armed forces, I argue that during the special circumstances of military arbitration, obedience is a function of the military's preference for repression. Arbitration events are states of emergency that threaten the security of the state, which modern militaries have a fundamental duty to protect. As a result, they momentarily put their peacetime preferences aside to determine if security is best served by repressing the current domestic unrest, or by not repressing it. It is the military's security imperative that drives its preference for repression, and ultimately its obedience.

Understanding what drives obedience decisions in military arbitration cases is not only theoretically interesting but it is also politically relevant. First, military disobedience of repression orders invariably come as a surprise to both scholars and policy makers, who commonly view armed forces as machines of the state, readily following orders regardless of how distasteful they might be. Despite assumptions of automatic obedience, however, the empirical record shows that militaries do not always repress on demand.

Second, mass demonstrations, protests, nonviolent revolutions, civil resistance movements and similar contentious events are more prevalent than is often presumed. Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan identified over one hundred major nonviolent resistance campaigns between 1900 and 2006.<sup>3</sup> The number of popular protests during this period that were suppressed before they could attain campaign status is much greater. Moreover, as the Eastern European revolutions and the Arab Spring demonstrate, the frequency of domestic mass movements has exploded over the past 30 years and is unlikely to subside given the relative ease with which they gain international awareness via modern media.

---

<sup>3</sup> They distinguish nonviolent resistance campaigns from intrastate wars, insurgencies, and guerrilla wars. To qualify as a campaign, popular movements must have clearly identifiable leaders and explicit antiregime, antioccupation or secessionist goals. Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 6, 13.

Third, even though the number of domestic contentious events is on the rise, military arbitration is relatively rare. Most cases are handled by local police forces. And yet, there is a common perception that military repression is rampant, particularly in autocratic regimes. This is largely due to the conflation of military and internal security forces in media reporting, academic studies, and among civilian activists. Militarization of police forces, including the adoption of combat uniforms, heavier weapons and offensive tactics, is a growing trend that feeds this misperception. If we want to gain a better understanding of repression we must disaggregate the state and its security forces. There are fundamental differences between national militaries and internal security forces that necessitate keeping them analytically distinct. I argue that the unique responsibilities and worldview of modern armed forces are key in explaining military arbitration decisions.

Fourth, even though most domestic contentious events do not involve military arbitration, those that do are likely to have profound political ramifications. Security force defection is one of the key factors that political scientists and sociologists have identified as necessary for successful civil resistance campaigns.<sup>4</sup> Mass protests fail and regimes remain in power when armed forces are willing and able to repress their own citizens, as occurred in China (1989), Venezuela (1989) and Bahrain (2011). When militaries disobey orders to quell mass protests, however, leaders quickly fall. This pattern has played out in places as far flung as Bangladesh (1990), Serbia (2000), Argentina (2001), and Tunisia (2011). Many cases of military disobedience have also led to broader regional ramifications, such as the wave of color

---

<sup>4</sup> See Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*; Goodwin, "Debate: Why We Were Surprised (Again) by the Arab Spring," *Swiss Political Science Review* 17, no. 4 (2011); Nepstad, *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

revolutions in Eastern Europe and the Arab Spring. Samuel Huntington's advice to democratizers attempting to overthrow authoritarian regimes is telling: cultivate generals! He counseled that while military support could be helpful in a crisis, all activists really need is military unwillingness to defend the regime.<sup>5</sup> Yet despite the military's recognized and pivotal role in determining the outcome of domestic contentious events, insufficient attention has been paid to understanding why armed forces obey or disobey repression orders.

Fifth, while not all successful popular protests result in democratization, Huntington notes that mass demonstrations played a central role in six out of 35 transitions completed or underway by 1990 and were present in at least 11 more.<sup>6</sup> In fact, Chenoweth and Stephan claim that successful nonviolent campaigns increase the probability a country will be democratic five years after a campaign ends by over 50% when compared with successful violent insurgencies.<sup>7</sup> Given the military's instrumental role in determining whether popular protests succeed or fail, insight into why armies obey or disobey orders to repress is essential for democratization efforts.

Finally, in addition to the serious political repercussions, there are also unsettling normative implications no matter what a military decides to do. If it obeys repression orders, it will almost certainly violate civilians' human rights given that armed forces are primarily equipped for combat operations and trained to use overwhelming force. And yet if it disobeys, it violates the norm of civilian control of the military, which the United Nations has identified as crucial for both human development and human security.<sup>8</sup> The principal goal of civil-military

---

<sup>5</sup> Huntington, "How Countries Democratize," *Political Science Quarterly* 124, no. 1 (1991/reprinted in 2009): 60.

<sup>6</sup> *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 146, 53.

<sup>7</sup> Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, 213.

<sup>8</sup> UNDP, "Human Development Report," (2002), 85-100. In rare dissent, Schiff argues against a universal norm of strict civilian control of the military, suggesting that as long as the military, political elites, and society in each state agree on certain core issues, diverse arrangements are equally acceptable. Schiff, *The Military and Domestic Politics: A Concordance Theory of Civil-Military Relations.*, Cass Military Studies (London: Routledge, 2009).

relations policies is to ensure military obedience. Many military assistance programs, in addition to promoting national security interests, are designed to impart the very values that are at odds in military arbitration cases. For instance, the United States' International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs are guided by a vision that promotes human rights awareness, democratic governance, and civilian authority.<sup>9</sup> The United States distributes billions of dollars in military assistance each year—\$15.5 billion to over 150 countries in FY2016 alone, or 31% of all US foreign aid.<sup>10</sup> A better understanding of the mechanisms that lead to obedience or disobedience during internal security situations could substantially reshape how military assistance and training programs address these principles in the future.

It is precisely because cases of military arbitration are so momentous and the decisions armed forces must make are not straightforward or easy, that the dynamics of military obedience during volatile periods of domestic unrest demand closer scrutiny. This dissertation takes up this challenge, proposing a theory of military arbitration that explains armed forces' decisions to obey or disobey orders to repress their own civilian populations. The remainder of this chapter does several things. First, it fleshes out what military arbitration is and why it should be considered a special case in civil-military relations. This requires introducing key components of my theory, to include examining the three main actors of interest—the military, the regime, and society—and their relationships with each other. Second, it explores the existing explanations of military arbitration and demonstrates why they are insufficient for explaining obedience and disobedience in these cases. Third, it previews my theory of military arbitration and addresses potential concerns readers might have with my conceptualization of domestic threat. Finally, it

---

<sup>9</sup> Cope, "International Military Education and Training: An Assessment," in McNair Paper (Washington DC: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1995), 3.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), "U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook)," (2018).

lays out the plan for the rest of the dissertation, to include its methodology, scope conditions, and limitations.

### **What is Military Arbitration?**

Military arbitration refers to the relatively rare, but pivotal event in which civilian leaders order their armed forces to repress their own citizens who are engaged in protests, demonstrations, strikes, riots and similar popular events short of war.<sup>11</sup> It occurs when multiple persons or groups claim to hold legitimate state power or authority, particularly the current regime and citizens exerting their popular sovereignty, and the military is ordered to intervene. These extrajudicial contestations may culminate in demands that a ruler be removed from power, but often the crises begin with demonstrations against specific laws, policies or conditions. Thus, the domestic unrest and associated popular demands can be about almost anything. When a regime orders the army to restore order, it effectively drags the military into politics and forces it to choose sides. At its core, military arbitration is the forced politicization of the armed forces. Regardless of what it chooses to do—obey or disobey the regime’s order—the military’s decision is likely to have significant political implications.

Military arbitration is linked to a specific event as opposed to the campaigns that are the typical focus of civil resistance studies. Campaigns take place over what is often a significant period (months, years or even decades), have clearly identifiable leaders, explicit goals, and fluctuate in intensity. In contrast, events are singular encounters or episodes that may occur within a campaign. As such, it is possible for a single civil resistance campaign to include multiple cases of military arbitration. Likewise, military arbitration may occur in the absence of civil resistance campaigns, particularly if military repression discourages activists from engaging

---

<sup>11</sup> This excludes orders to combat civil and guerrilla wars, insurgencies, terrorism, and criminal activities like drug or human trafficking.

in sustained movements. There is no requirement for protesters to be organized or to have clear demands. The only necessary conditions for military arbitration to occur are (1) a domestic contentious event and (2) an order by the regime for the military to suppress it. These conditions and the military's response to the regime's order may transpire in a single day or take several weeks to fully play out, but there is an immediacy to these events—they are moments of crisis.

### **Key Actors**

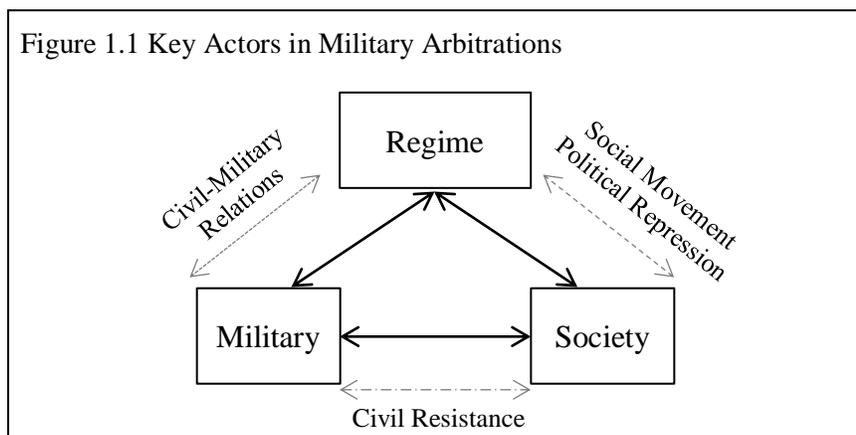
Military arbitration involves three key actors: the military, the regime, and society. Together, along with the land they inhabit, they form a state. Today, most countries are considered nation-states, or the union of a nation with political elements inside a sovereign territory. A nation is a modern, socially constructed community that imagines it shares cultural elements.<sup>12</sup> Nations may be the outgrowth of ethnicity or some other ascriptive trait, but no set criteria for membership exists that can be applied across the board. Some nations are quite homogenous while others are comprised of diverse ethnicities, religions, languages and other factors. In fact, a nation may only be visible through its shared symbols, ceremonies, monuments, land, and borders.<sup>13</sup> The key distinction between a nation-state and other forms of political organization, like the city-state or empire, is the common identification of its people with the polity. Thus, multinational states like Great Britain, or confederations like Switzerland, are still considered nation-states because there is an overarching political culture that binds citizens together. The strength of those bonds certainly varies across countries and time, but they nevertheless exist.

---

<sup>12</sup> I adhere to the modernist school of thought on nationalism represented most notably by Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2 ed. (Blackwell Publishing, 2008); Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006).

<sup>13</sup> Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood* (Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2.

Because all the key actors belong to the same state, military arbitration cases are domestic matters. External actors, to include other countries, international organizations, and multinational corporations, can and I argue do influence internal decisions and behavior but the central dynamics involve the interactions between the regime, society and the military. As Figure 1 illustrates, this multi-actor conceptualization differs from most studies of domestic contentious events found in the social movement and political repression literatures. They focus on the regime and society, treating the armed forces as an obedient appendage of the regime. On the other hand, civil-military relations scholarship tends to look primarily at the relationship between the military and the regime. When society is considered, it is only to assess if there is a divide between civilian and military values, and whether that is a good or bad thing.<sup>14</sup> A handful of peace studies do consider the interactions between society and the military during civil resistance campaigns. However, they are primarily focused on identifying tactics protesters should engage in to encourage individual front-line soldiers to disobey repression orders, such as protester-initiated fraternization.<sup>15</sup> They do not address military organizational decisions and behavior in



<sup>14</sup> For opposing views, see Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957); Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1960).

<sup>15</sup> Opposition strategies are offered by Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*; Nepstad, *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*; Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Dexter, MI: Extending Horizons Books, 2005).

any systematic manner. As I will expand on below, these existing dual-actor conceptualizations may be sufficient for examining general patterns of domestic unrest, coup d'états, and civil-military relations during normal times, but when it comes to military arbitration cases—which necessarily involve the interactions of all three actors—they fall short. To understand why this is so, each actor and the role it plays in a military arbitration must be unpacked.

### ***The Regime***

The regime refers to a state's political leader—whether an individual or a party—that is responsible for governing. This is typically a president, prime minister or monarch, but may also be a ruling political party like the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Leaders often claim to be nationalists who put the interests of the state above all else, but the nature and depth of their nationalism tends to be circumscribed. Following the lead of Bueno de Mesquita, I assume that “everyone in a position of authority wants to keep that authority and that it is the maneuvering to do so that is central to politics in any type of regime.”<sup>16</sup> In other words, regimes are primarily interested in their own political survival, and their actions reflect this desire. This assumption does not mean all leaders are inherently evil, but even the most benevolent leaders believe it is in the best interest of the state for them to remain in power. The extent to which a regime is willing and able to go to preserve its position naturally varies, but few politicians become the head of state by gracefully stepping aside when challenged. It does occasionally happen, as when President Carlos Mesa of Bolivia resigned in 2005 after weeks of escalating street demonstrations demanding the country nationalize its vast natural gas reserves. This was not a case of military arbitration because Mesa never called on the armed forces to disband the protests.

---

<sup>16</sup> Bueno de Mesquita, *The Logic of Political Survival* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), 9.

Whether or not they choose to use it, regimes have the authority to issue orders to their militaries.<sup>17</sup> Some leaders are subject to legal stipulations that restrict the domestic activities they can order their armed forces to engage in, such as the United States' Posse Comitatus Act, which limits the use of federal troops to enforce state laws. However, there are always exemptions to these provisions. Most countries can legally use their national armed forces for domestic purposes when a state of emergency is declared. Emergency situations include armed conflicts, environmental and natural disasters, or any time the life of the nation is threatened, which can include periods of civil and violent unrest.<sup>18</sup>

A state of emergency also allows regimes to derogate certain human rights including detaining citizens, holding them without trial, or prohibiting mass assembly. Since the authority to declare a state of emergency also rests with the regime, these declarations are often viewed as nothing more than a convenient rationale for autocrats to deploy their militaries and violate individuals' rights and freedoms.<sup>19</sup> Contrary to this cynical presumption, Hafner-Burton, Helfer, and Fariss find that stable democracies with strong courts are more likely to declare states of emergency and derogate human rights than other types of regimes.<sup>20</sup> They theorize derogation is a rational response to domestic political uncertainty; it allows regimes to buy time and legal breathing space to confront a crisis while also signaling to domestic audiences that right suspensions are temporary and lawful. Many autocracies, of course, frequently violate human

---

<sup>17</sup> Most presidents, prime ministers and ruling monarchs are the appointed or de facto commanders-in-chief of their armed forces. There are some exceptions, including Germany (the Minister of Defense has the ultimate authority during peacetime) and China (the Chairman of the Central Military Committee, who may or may not also be the president, commands the military).

<sup>18</sup> Human Rights Committee, "General Comment 29, States of Emergency (Article 4)," in U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.11, ed. Nations (2001).

<sup>19</sup> Osse, *Understanding Policing: A Resource for Human Rights Activists* (The Netherlands: Amnesty International, 2006), 70-71.

<sup>20</sup> Hafner-Burton, Helfer, and Fariss, "Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties," *International Organization* 65, no. Fall (2011).

rights agreements but because they are not easily held accountable by domestic constituencies it is not necessary for these regimes to announce and explain derogations. When they do, they are far more likely to enact permanent states of emergency lasting many years and only provide vague rationales and open-ended lists of suspended rights. It is these insincere states of emergency that are particularly dubious. Those put in place at the onset of crises, on the other hand, arguably suggest a real and immediate sense of threat by the regime. The key point for this dissertation is that while the logic and implementation of states of emergency might vary between democratic and autocratic regimes, all types of regimes engage in this behavior.

This finding challenges the practice of limiting studies of military arbitration by regime type instead of focusing on the event itself.<sup>21</sup> Few scholars of durable authoritarianism look at similar patterns of military repression that take place in democratic states. And yet, democratic governments have also ordered their armed forces to subdue domestic dissent. The Bolivian army crushed several protests in 2003, as did the Thai army in 1992, 2009 and 2010, obeying orders the militaries in Argentina (2001), Ecuador (2005) and Lebanon (2005) refused to follow. Much of the civil-military relations literature also shares this undeclared assumption that democratic leaders would never order the violent suppression of civilians.<sup>22</sup> Part of the problem is that much of the foundational civil-military relations literature is based on the United States where the domestic use of federal troops is rare. It is not unheard of, however. The United States has used active duty forces to enforce domestic laws at least 167 times in its history, including against the Bonus Army in Washington DC (1932), the Detroit Riots (1967), and the Los

---

<sup>21</sup> See Svobik, "Contracting on Violence: The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 00, no. 0 (2012); Lee, *Defect or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2015).

<sup>22</sup> Janowitz, for instance, presumes professional militaries and democratically elected governments share society's values, so he does not deal with the scenario of illegitimate or immoral orders. Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*.

Angeles Riots (1992).<sup>23</sup> The field has expanded to examine civil-military relations in autocracies, but scholars consider repression orders in these states as unsurprising and generally expect militaries to obey. The only anticipated exception is when elements of the armed forces exploit civil unrest in opportunistic grabs for power.<sup>24</sup> As a result, observers have repeatedly been caught off guard by cases of military disobedience in authoritarian states as well as by orders to repress civilians in democratic states.

The problem becomes stickier when we consider the difficulty of cleanly and meaningfully categorizing types of governments. The division between democracies and autocracies is often portrayed as straightforward, but there is a blur of imprecise and shifting subtypes.<sup>25</sup> As a result, it is not clear when hypotheses about the behavior of militaries in democratic or authoritarian states are applicable. If we look at events instead of regime types, however, it becomes possible to identify general theoretical explanations for specific behaviors. This dissertation attempts to do just that by treating regime type as immaterial.

The one exception I do make is the exclusion of military regimes from my analysis. This is because there are no longer three actors—the military and the regime are merged. As such, it is not arbitration but a confrontation between two sides. Admittedly, distinguishing military and civilian regimes is not always straightforward. Gandhi and Przeworski, for example, classify all leaders that ever wore a uniform as military regimes, even though many swap their uniforms for

---

<sup>23</sup> I distinguish between active duty forces and the National Guard. Brinkerhoff, "The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Law Enforcement Title," *Center for Army Lessons Learned Newsletter* 10, no. 16 (2009), [http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/10-16/ch\\_11.asp](http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/10-16/ch_11.asp).

<sup>24</sup> Luttwak recommends periods of civil disorder as the ideal time for launching coup d'états. Luttwak, *Coup D'etat: A Practical Handbook*, 2 ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 153.

<sup>25</sup> Collier and Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997); Marshall, Gurr, and Jagers, "Dataset Users' Manual for Polity Iv Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2012," (Center for Systemic Peace, 2013).

business suits.<sup>26</sup> This civilianization inevitably leads to some separation between rulers and the military along with a divergence of interests as leaders expand their base of support. Finer suggests that if a government is either directly in military hands or acts predominantly at their command, then it is a military regime. Unfortunately, he provides no means for assessing how much influence the military actually has in daily governance.<sup>27</sup> To sidestep these limitations I adopt Geddes' criteria for military regimes as those that are ruled by a junta or group of officers.<sup>28</sup> This narrow but straightforward measure eliminates cases in which the regime and military are merged but still provides a more rigorous test of my theory than looser definitions would allow, since it leaves in place regimes led by former military officers even if they still appear to have close ties with their armed forces.

Overall, the regime is an important component of the state since it serves as its political representative, but a state is much more than its regime—it also encompasses society with its shared culture, history and destiny, as well as its territory. As such, a state's survival is not dependent upon a specific regime or leader.<sup>29</sup>

### *Society*

Society refers to the citizens that reside within the state. Citizens of today's modern states are generally referred to as nations, even when one dominant culture is promoted to the detriment of others. While all individuals have multiple identities that shift in importance across different contexts, national identity tends to remain a central and powerful force. This is true even though nationalism is frequently muted or latent in society unless an external threat is present. This

---

<sup>26</sup> Examples include President Mubarak of Egypt, Saddam Hussein of Iraq, and President Eisenhower of the US. Gandhi, "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 11 (2007).

<sup>27</sup> Finer and Stanley, *The Man on Horseback : The Role of the Military in Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 2002).

<sup>28</sup> Geddes, "What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2, no. 1 (1999).

<sup>29</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

shared identity results in members wanting to live together in what is often perceived as sacred territory, and to govern themselves to ensure the perpetuation of their traditions. Consequently, the sovereignty of modern nation states does not reside with specific rulers as it did in the dynastic states of the past, but with the people. Regimes govern in the name of society, or at least give lip service to this ideal.

Popular sovereignty gives society the inherent right to influence policy, even if some regimes do not allow them to exercise this right. Elements of society and the regime are bound to have policy differences, with each state having its own avenues for resolution, such as scheduled elections or other legislative processes. When citizens demand political change outside these routine channels—whether it is because they are not available or because they are perceived as not working—they may engage in protests, demonstrations or even riots to exercise their voice. Because the resort to voice is costly, this is most likely when the contested issue is widely perceived to be important.<sup>30</sup> This is particularly true in states with limited legal mechanisms for demanding change. Military arbitration, therefore, can be viewed as the adjudication between those claiming popular sovereignty on one side, and the regime with the command authority society has granted it, on the other.

Societies participate in domestic contentious events in widely varying degrees. My theory stipulates no minimum threshold of popular participation. Still, the more widespread and inclusive domestic contentious events are, the more likely a regime will feel threatened. The smaller and narrower these events are, the more likely local police can contain the unrest and the less threat they pose to a ruler's hold on power. Nevertheless, every regime has its own unique

---

<sup>30</sup> Aside from the possibility of arrest or physical harm, activists must take time off from work and lose income, or sacrifice their free time to make their voices heard. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 43.

tolerance for public dissent. Some states are accustomed to mass protests and demonstrations provided they remain confined within certain bounds, seeing them as a way for society to let off steam.<sup>31</sup> Others become alarmed at the smallest sign of public disorder. Thus, it is impossible to establish a general rule for the degree of social participation that will prompt a government to call on its armed forces.

While I do not claim members of society speak with one voice or represent the will of the entire nation—even if they themselves make this claim—I treat society as a unitary actor. This is because even when activists make demands that only represent a minority view, the majority rarely turns out into the street to argue with them. They tend to watch silently from their homes, their quiescence leaving the regime to deal with the protesters on its own. When large-scale confrontations among members of society do occur, they may devolve into riots, which remain within the bounds of my theory, or civil war, which falls outside its scope. This is because while riots might involve conflict between elements of society, the aim of military involvement is to suppress all these elements. In civil wars, on the other hand, the military actively sides with one element of society to defeat other elements.

Finally, I require activists' demands be for changes within the existing state as opposed to pursuing separatist goals that would diminish the country's territory. Members of independence movements are essentially renouncing their affiliation with society and would thus constitute a new and separate actor posing an explicit and potentially existential threat to the state.

Otherwise, while the content of protesters' demands may help determine the degree of social participation and the regime's perception of the crisis, their specific demands are not central to my theory. Instead, I argue it is the behavior of those elements of society demanding change that

---

<sup>31</sup> Large demonstrations and worker strikes in China, for instance, are quite common and generally tolerated if they are not held in the capital city.

influences whether armed forces obey or disobey repression orders. It is therefore impossible to understand a military's obedience decision without considering the role society plays in this dynamic interaction.

### ***The Military***

The military is the coercive institution ultimately responsible for defending the state. Some militaries also have internal security missions, but that is not their *raison d'être*. Soldiers fight wars to protect the state and further its interests. Every military has its own distinct culture that causes it to imagine war and how it should be fought in a particular way.<sup>32</sup> However, because they have the same functional imperative of warfighting and defending the state, certain characteristics are present in all modern armed forces, albeit in different mixtures and degree.<sup>33</sup> As Colin Gray points out, "Obviously, it would be absurd to claim that sailors are sailors regardless of national affiliation. But how much, and exactly why and how, does it matter that a sailor is German, rather than British? After all, they must to some degree share the seaman's world-view."<sup>34</sup>

I assume that professional militaries have more in common than not. This assumption is grounded in the new institutionalist school of organizational theory, which recognizes that institutions within the same field of activity tend to develop similar internal structures, cultures and output.<sup>35</sup> New institutionalists claim that the longer organizational fields exist, the more homogenized the organizations within them become, in a process known as institutional isomorphism.<sup>36</sup> Three types of isomorphism exist: coercive, mimetic, and professional. These

---

<sup>32</sup> Kier, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>33</sup> Snider, "An Uninformed Debate on Military Culture," *Orbis* 43, no. 1 (1999).

<sup>34</sup> Gray, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 146.

<sup>35</sup> DiMaggio and Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. April (1983): 147.

<sup>36</sup> An organization field consists of organizations that produce similar products or services.

processes often occur simultaneously and may be difficult to pull apart, but each is arguably present in modern militaries. Coercive isomorphism stems from political and social pressures to adopt certain rules or procedures, even if largely ceremonial, to preserve the legitimacy of the organization. Recognition of the law of armed conflict, which regulates the conduct of war, is a prime example.

Mimetic processes can be thought of as imitating or modeling the practices of organizations in the same field that are perceived as more legitimate or successful. This mirrors the neorealist proposition that competition in the international realm produces a tendency toward the sameness of competitors.<sup>37</sup> For example, many observers attribute the secret of France's *levée en masse*, and thus Napoleon's conquest of much of Europe, to the power of nationalism. Posen suggests that those states that imitated France and built their own mass armies—and to ensure their survival, they had no choice but to do so—also had to instill their own brands of nationalism.<sup>38</sup> The result, aside from far more destructive wars, was a reorientation of the basis for loyalty among those who joined armies. Instead of fighting for money or to escape problems at home, many fought for patriotism.<sup>39</sup> As a result, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century armies increasingly served as the embodiment of the nation, rather than as part of a royal or dynastic household.<sup>40</sup>

Japan's rapid modernization of its armed forces at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is also a dramatic example of modeling behavior; agents were sent to Europe to study France's army and Great Britain's navy to borrow what they learned and apply it to their own armed forces.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc, 1979), 127. Resende-Santos focuses specifically on military emulation from a neorealist perspective. Resende-Santos, "Anarchy and the Emulation of Military Systems: Military Organization and Technology in South America, 1870-1930," *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (1996).

<sup>38</sup> Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," *International Security* 18, no. 2 (1993): 92.

<sup>39</sup> Neiberg, *Warfare in World History*, ed. Stearns, *Themes in World History* (London: Routledge, 2001), 47.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 49; Howard, *War in European History*, Updated ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 110.

<sup>41</sup> Peattie, *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power, 1909-1941* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2001).

Farrell rightfully points out that mimetic behavior does not always lead to better military effectiveness. Focusing on the global norms of conventional warfare, he points to the capital-intensive force structures based around the major military technologies of the day that serve as the template for military organizations. He warns that states pursue these high-tech militaries even though they may lack the resources or external threat profile to warrant the expenditures. As a result, some militaries, like the Irish Army he profiles, may not be prepared to fight the low-intensity wars they are most likely to be involved in.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, formal education and the growth of networks that span organizations in a given field lead to professional isomorphism. All modern militaries incorporate some degree of training and education for their members, particularly their officers. This is not only a practice of western democracies; many authoritarian regimes promote military education as a coup proofing strategy to break down civilian identities and loyalties.<sup>43</sup> Prominent in all military training is the use of symbols and customs that serve to instill qualities of obedience, cooperation, and loyalty to the organization. This indoctrination, together with drill and discipline, is what turns civilians into soldiers.<sup>44</sup> Ackroyd notes how military indoctrination systems have all the elements of the Chinese method of mass behavior modification: isolation, rigorous physical routines, physical punishment, and social pressure.<sup>45</sup> By controlling soldiers' environment and the elements

---

<sup>42</sup> Farrell, "Global Norms and Military Effectiveness: The Army in Early Twentieth-Century Ireland," in *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*, ed. Brooks and Stanley (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 137.

<sup>43</sup> Quinlivan, "Coup-Proofing: Its Practices and Consequences in the Middle East," *International Security* 24, no. 2 (1999).

<sup>44</sup> Barnett, "The Education of Military Elites," *Journal of Contemporary History* 2, no. 3 (1967); Lovell and Stiehm, "Military Service and Political Socialization," in *Political Learning in Adulthood: A Sourcebook of Theory and Research*, ed. Sigel (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989).

<sup>45</sup> Ackroyd, "Military Professionalism, Education, and Political Behavior in Mexico," *Armed Forces & Society* 18, no. 81 (1991): 90.

affecting their self-esteem, the system has the power to modify recruits' values as they seek acceptance by their peers and promote uniformity.

Additionally, militaries frequently take advantage of exchange programs whereby officers attend professional education and skills training in foreign countries. Since 1950, for instance, over half a million foreign officers have been trained or educated in the US—9,000 officers from over 100 countries in the year 2000 alone.<sup>46</sup> The officers sent abroad are often put in strategic leadership positions when they return home so they can impart the knowledge they gained. While the ability of these exchanges to predictably socialize foreign militaries with broad values like democratic ideals, respect for human rights and civilian control is disputed, the diffusion of a general military culture is more evident.<sup>47</sup> In a study of international military education, Moskos notes that the “differences in national cultures while important should not obscure the fact that there is also a military culture common to armed forces around the world, especially Western armed forces, who share similar professional education and social identity.”<sup>48</sup> In an earlier study of the United Nations peacekeeping force in Cyprus, he found that officers who served in the multinational headquarters increasingly identified with fellow officers from other countries, but increasingly held the United Nations civilian staff in low regard. The major line of organizational difference was between military personnel and civilians, not between the different national contingents.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Ruby and Gibler, "Us Professional Military Education and Democratization Abroad," *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 3 (2010): 343; Moskos, "International Military Education and Multinational Military Cooperation," (Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, 2004).

<sup>47</sup> Atkinson, "Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972–2000," *International Studies Quarterly* 50(2006); Pretorius, "The Security Imaginary: Explaining Military Isomorphism," *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 99 (2008); Mendee, "Asymmetrical Military Socialization: Mongolia as a Case Study," *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 2 (2012).

<sup>48</sup> Moskos, "International Military Education and Multinational Military Cooperation," 4.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. It should be noted that the internationalism displayed by military personnel in cooperative environments is not the inverse of nationalism. A high degree of patriotism, or love for one's country, says nothing about how one

Given the powerful effects of institutional isomorphism, I treat armed forces as uniform actors so long as they meet three basic criteria. First, they must be modern militaries, which I define as permanent standing organizations staffed by members of society—volunteers, conscripts, or a combination of the two—as opposed to foreign mercenaries.<sup>50</sup> These are bureaucratic and hierarchical organizations, which implies there are established procedures and facilities for recruitment, training and promotions, and mechanisms to enforce order and discipline exist.

Second, they must promote some form of nationalism, which I argue is a characteristic common to all modern militaries.<sup>51</sup> There are different types of nationalism, which I lay out in the next chapter, but all modern militaries rely on and actively promote some form to inspire soldiers to die for their country—a sacrifice that must be given voluntarily since it is impossible to compel the entire rank and file of an army to put their lives on the line.

Finally, they must be professional militaries. Military professionalism is a hotly debated construct that lacks a common definition or measurement. However, common to all professional militaries is a degree of specialized knowledge or expertise that comes with having advanced weapons. They are also independent organizations with some autonomy in their day-to-day operations. Finally, they must have external defense responsibilities that differentiate them from police, paramilitaries, militias, tribal levies, irregular forces, and warlord armies, all of which are

---

feels towards foreigners. Kosterman and Feshbach, "Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalistic Attitudes," *Political Psychology* 10, no. 2 (1989): 260.

<sup>50</sup> Taylor, "Civil-Military Relations Theory and the State," in *International Studies Association 50th Annual Convention* (New York 2009), 3.

<sup>51</sup> On the ubiquity of nationalism in militaries see Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, 35, 62; Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1972), 71, 78; Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 2002), 207; Janowitz, *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 103-04; Kjellberg, "Some Cultural Aspects of the Military Profession," *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie* 6, no. 2 (1965).

frequently included under the broad security sector umbrella.<sup>52</sup> Once a military is professionalized, there is a powerful impulse not to intervene in politics even when civilians are ordering it to intervene. This dissertation helps explain what it takes to overcome this impulse.

### ***Militaries vs. Internal Security Forces***

Lumping the military in with other internal security agencies can result in misleading and erroneous conclusions about the role and behavior of these separate organizations during domestic contentious events. Aside from the problem of attributing police brutality to the armed forces and vice versa, the mechanisms driving military and police behavior are arguably different. Despite the growing trend of “militarized police forces” and “peacekeeping militaries,” a policeman is not a soldier, and a soldier is not a policeman. The tasks each are trained and organized for are entirely different, and often require exactly opposite orientations and procedures.<sup>53</sup> There are three key differences that are important during domestic contentious events: concepts of discipline, the use of force, and relationships to society.

Regarding discipline, military training is designed to suppress individuality, foster teamwork and reduce individual discretion. Soldiers are expected to operate as part of a unit and do exactly as they are told. Police, on the other hand, often work alone and without direct supervision of their daily activities; they are expected to use their discretionary powers to determine the appropriate course of action. The importance and necessity of discretion in policing is fundamentally at odds with military discipline and hierarchical control.<sup>54</sup> As a result,

---

<sup>52</sup>According to this stipulation, 26 countries do not have national militaries. See APRED, "Countries without Armies," <http://www.demilitarisation.org/spip.php?article51> (=fr. For a discussion of the pros and cons of a broad conceptualization of the security sector see Bruneau and Matei, "Towards a New Conceptualization of Democratization and Civil-Military Relations," *Democratization* 15, no. 5 (2008): 913-14.

<sup>53</sup>Stark, *Police Riots: Collective Violence and Law Enforcement* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co, 1972), 126; Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces*, First edition. ed. (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013), 335; Perito, *Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him? America's Search for a Post-Conflict Stability Force* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2004).

<sup>54</sup>Cockcroft, *Police Culture: Themes and Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2013), 50.

when confronting protests or riots, police are much more likely to break ranks and go into the crowd, a move that frequently leads to the breakdown of police restraint and command authority.<sup>55</sup>

How police and servicemembers view and use force is another key difference. Police are trained to use the minimum level of force necessary to control a situation. This is one area where the militarization of police is producing a worrisome change, with police adopting heavier weapons and employing more aggressive tactics.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the goal remains to use the least amount of force possible to control a situation. Militaries, on the other hand, are trained to employ overwhelming lethal force to ensure the quick defeat of the enemy. Because of this, few militaries are equipped with or trained to use nonlethal weapons for crowd control. As a result, while armed forces might be more disciplined than police about initiating engagements and operating in a coordinated manner, when they do engage they are more likely to use excessive force.

Finally, the police and military have different relationships with society. Members of society staff both organizations but the occupational culture of each tends to produce different attitudes toward the public. Soldiers are conditioned to think in broad terms of friendly and enemy populations, with their own society falling in the friend category. Militaries often see themselves as the protector or guardian of the nation, yet they typically remain detached from the people they protect due to the intentional isolation of military bases. This combination of responsibility and distance enables militaries to preserve the abstract and idealistic feelings about society that are promoted in nationalist ideologies. As a result, when militaries do intervene in

---

<sup>55</sup> Stark, *Police Riots: Collective Violence and Law Enforcement*, 128.

<sup>56</sup> Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces*.

internal security situations, they are more likely to view it in terms of safeguarding the nation-state rather than engaging an enemy.<sup>57</sup>

Police and paramilitary forces, on the other hand, tend to have a more cynical relationship with society, often adopting an “us versus them” mentality.<sup>58</sup> While police also serve society, the primary source of danger they face comes from the same public they are supposed to protect. This blurs the distinction between public and enemy, often producing negative feelings toward society. The mechanisms driving repression by the police and other internal security agencies, therefore, are more likely to be motivated by hostility and self-protection. This does not mean individual police officers cannot also be nationalistic, but unlike militaries, internal security organizations are not defined in terms of nationalism nor do they deliberately inculcate their members in it. Rather, police are socialized to local community dynamics and the specific profiles and cues of homegrown threats. Police officers in Chicago, for instance, develop a much different cognitive map of who constitutes an enemy and what behavior necessitates the use of force than police officers in Fargo, North Dakota. As a result, internal security forces may be more prone to repress members of society they view as dangerous, even when they are not engaging in violence.

None of this is to say that one organization is superior to the other, or that they always behave in certain ways. It is simply to point out that militaries and police forces are fundamentally different. Not only do they have opposing concepts of discipline and views on the use of force, but they are also socialized to think about society differently. Failure to recognize

---

<sup>57</sup> Militaries recruited along sectarian lines (a common coup proofing strategy) may be hostile towards civilians of other sects, but the logic of protecting the nation-state remains—it is their conception of who belongs to the nation-state that differs.

<sup>58</sup> Osse, *Understanding Policing: A Resource for Human Rights Activists*, 246; Cockcroft, *Police Culture: Themes and Concepts*, 55.

these facts, and thus disentangle the security sector when analyzing state repression, distorts and obscures our understanding of what drives military obedience decisions.

In evaluating these decisions, I treat the military as a unitary actor just as I do society and the regime. There are several reasons why this is a reasonable and necessary assumption. First, although no organization is monolithic, modern militaries are classic hierarchies with enough top-down command and control to operate in a unified, if not always effective, manner. Tribes and cliques certainly exist within all armed forces, with membership often based on professional specialties, attendance of certain schools, or allegiance to charismatic commanders. Together these factions represent an array of opinions, interests and preferences that can impinge upon the internal cohesion of the organization. However, once a decision is made—regardless of the level of internal dissent leading up to that decision—militaries tend to speak with one voice. Those individuals or subgroups that do not fall into line are swiftly punished.

Treating the armed forces as a unitary actor also refocuses attention on the dynamics at play between the military, society and the regime, instead of being distracted by petty bureaucratic politics that may appear cutthroat but rarely threaten the organization itself. Pluralist politics tend to be restricted to marginal, narrow and superficial issues, such as budgetary battles or competitions for prestige.<sup>59</sup> Too much emphasis on internal politics overstates the power and importance of individuals and dismisses larger systemic dynamics. Moreover, it can generate so much cynicism, mistrust, and belief in hidden motives that everything a military does is seen as utility maximizing behavior. While pluralist politics are often pervasive in militaries, focusing on this characteristic ignores the deeply ingrained and cultivated duty of armed forces—assuring the security of the state—and presumes its members only pay lip service to their organization's core

---

<sup>59</sup> Morgan, *Images of Organization*, Updated ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 206.

values. I argue, on the other hand, that when it comes to a state's security there are more powerful motives than politics driving a military's behavior.

Finally, while a unitary actor assumption limits the ability to explain the internal dynamics of militaries in specific cases, it compensates for this lack of granularity by providing a middle-range theory that can travel. This is a tradeoff that more than compensates for the loss of detail. After all, in the end, every theory or perspective used to study organizations is incomplete, biased, and potentially misleading.<sup>60</sup> There is no right or wrong way to conceptualize an organization, just more or less useful lenses for examining different questions.

In sum, the regime, society and the military comprise the three key actors in military arbitration cases. They each have important ties with the other two actors: the regime governs in the name of society and commands the military; society confers authority to the regime and staffs the armed forces; and the military serves and protects them both through its commitment to the state. Military arbitration cases occur when society demands change, the regime orders the military to quiet their voice, and the military decides whether to obey those orders. I contend that it is impossible to explain military obedience or disobedience without accounting for all three actors and the dynamics that occur between them. In the next sections I review existing explanations that attempt to do this, where they come from, and discuss why they are insufficient for explaining military preferences during arbitration crises.

### **Alternate Explanations**

Although scholars have not focused extensively on military arbitration, a handful of studies have squarely addressed this question. Some simply provide laundry lists of possible reasons for disobedience without offering a clear explanatory theory, but others offer up specific

---

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 5.

variables to account for armed forces' behavior.<sup>61</sup> A few theories on the periphery are also germane to the subject. Several studies of persistent authoritarianism, for instance, acknowledge the armed forces' key role in regime preservation, as well as the dire consequences of military defections during popular uprisings. These studies attribute an army's obedience primarily to its level of institutionalization.<sup>62</sup> This vague measure is based on structural factors that can shift, like the presence of patrimonialism, but are typically quite static. As such, levels of institutionalization do not adequately account for empirical variations in military obedience over time. Theories citing historical patterns of repression as the main determinant of military obedience also reflect this weakness.<sup>63</sup> These theories provide insight into long-term patterns of military behavior but do not adequately explain the empirical surprises of military disobedience.

### ***Organizational Cohesion***

Organizational cohesion is another explanation that is frequently put forth.<sup>64</sup> This is a central theme in military sociology and civil-military relations scholarship, which point to the effects of cohesion on combat performance, military effectiveness, and the proclivity for coups. These explanations suggest military disobedience is driven by commanders' fear that obeying a regime's order to repress will exacerbate internal splits or even spark a civil war. For instance, officers may fear that soldiers will not follow orders because of strong identification or

---

<sup>61</sup> For examples, see Nepstad, *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*; Pion-Berlin, Esparza, and Grisham, "Staying Quartered: Civilian Uprisings and Military Disobedience in the Twenty-First Century," *Comparative Political Studies* (2012).

<sup>62</sup> See Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004); Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings and Armed Forces: Between Openness and Resistance," in *Security Sector Reform Papers*, ed. Bryden and Hänggi (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2011).

<sup>63</sup> Boudreau, *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Callahan, *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

<sup>64</sup> Military cohesion explanations have been offered by Katz, "Democratic Revolutions: Why Some Succeed, Why Others Fail," *World Affairs* 166, no. 3 (2004); Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas, "Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking During Constitutional Crises in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 42, no. 4 (2010); Lehrke, "A Cohesion Model to Assess Military Arbitration of Revolutions," *Armed Forces & Society* 0, no. 00 (2013).

attachments with protesters, or that repression by some units will prompt others to join the opposition. Obedience, on the other hand, indicates military cohesion is strong. The problem with cohesion theories is that all militaries have internal schisms, but they have no way of predicting when cohesion will be a problem and when it will not. The same difficulty occurs when looking for links between society and the armed forces. Since modern militaries are staffed by society, every internal security mission potentially represents a conflict of interest for rank and file soldiers. As a result, it is impossible to determine *a priori* when and if cohesion will be a factor.

The most plausible theories that specifically seek to explain military obedience decisions during domestic contentious events tend to fall into two broad categories: regime loyalty and parochial interests. These explanations draw heavily on the foundational civil-military relations literature even though it does not specifically address military arbitration scenarios. Instead, it focuses almost exclusively on overt military interventions in politics (coup d'états) and on methods for maintaining civilian control during peacetime. The few scholars that examine military arbitration tend to adapt explanations from these two traditional areas of interest. I concur that regime loyalty and parochial interests explain a great deal about military interventions and civil-military relations during normal times, but suggest these explanations do not travel to the unique context of military arbitration as seamlessly as proposed. Military intervention, nonintervention and arbitration are fundamentally different phenomena, not simply gradations along a continuum of civil-military interactions. As such, the logic driving military behavior in each situation is distinct.

Military interventions, or coups d'états, are the actual or threatened use of force by members of the armed forces to extra-judicially change the executive leadership of the state.<sup>65</sup> In coups, militaries proactively insert themselves into politics to either completely take over the government or install a civilian leader they approve of. In other words, the primary goal of the military is to overthrow the regime regardless of society's preferences. Coup leaders often justify their actions by citing problems brought on by the weakness and failures of current leaders, to include economic or national security troubles, but states are not in a sovereignty crisis when coups occur—the intervention itself is the crisis.<sup>66</sup> This is key. It is the armed forces that initiate the military intervention and the emergency, not society or the regime.

Overt signs of public discontent with a regime do make coups more likely, but they are not a necessary condition.<sup>67</sup> Domestic unrest is often just a window of opportunity that militaries take advantage of to remove political leaders, but coups require forethought, planning and coordination to ensure key elements of the armed forces cooperate, or at least accede to the regime's removal. In other words, society might facilitate a coup d'état, but it will occur with or without them. It is the actions of the armed forces and their relationship with the regime that drive military interventions.

The other major area of civil-military relations research has been concerned with establishing and maintaining civilian control over militaries during normal times, or periods of nonintervention. These scholars focus on how much influence militaries have in the political realm, particularly their unsanctioned participation in bureaucratic politics. The level of civil-

---

<sup>65</sup> Prominent examples of studies of military intervention include Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*; Luttwak, *Coup D'etat: A Practical Handbook* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>66</sup> Lehrke, "A Cohesion Model to Assess Military Arbitration of Revolutions," 6.

<sup>67</sup> Powell, "Determinant of the Attempting and Outcome of Coups D'etat," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 6 (2012): 1034.

military friction, or public contestation, that occurs and whose preferences prevail in policy disputes is also of interest. Identifying methods to reduce the ability and/or disposition of armed forces to subvert civilian control are the goals of these studies, which typically recommend some form of professionalization and monitoring.<sup>68</sup> While civil-military relations in normal times are concerned with armed forces' political activities and influence, there is no military involvement in sovereign power issues.<sup>69</sup> The struggles these studies are concerned with may be contentious and the military may overstep its bounds, but it is not threatening the regime's power. Furthermore, the only activities of interest in these cases are those of the military and the regime. Once again, society simply observes their interactions.

In contrast to coups and civil-military relations in normal times, military arbitration is quite distinct. Once again, it involves all three actors; society has just as much influence on the military's behavior as the regime. Second, in military arbitration cases, armed forces are pushed into playing a decisive political role. This contrasts with military interventions and periods of nonintervention, where the focus is on getting the armed forces out of politics. Finally, militaries are thrown into crisis situations in arbitration cases, while regular civil-military relations and decisions to launch coups all take place in normal times. Of course, once launched a coup instigates a crisis, but it is one the armed forces chose and prepared for. In the end, the preferences, time horizons and relationship structures that serve as key explanations for coup d'états and variations in civilian control are contingent in cases of military arbitration.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*; Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*; Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>69</sup> Taylor, "Russia's Passive Army: Rethinking Military Coups," 926.

<sup>70</sup> Lehrke, "A Cohesion Model to Assess Military Arbitration of Revolutions," 6.

### ***Regime Loyalty***

Military loyalty to the regime is one of the main alternate explanations for why armed forces do, or do not, obey civilian leaders. Loyalty, in this context, is different from the abstract values that inform military culture across generations, like those of duty, honor or country. Rather, it is based on a specific relationship with a leader, and encompasses both ideological and personal devotion to him.<sup>71</sup> These bonds can be based upon ascriptive characteristics, religion, political philosophy, family connections, or even shared experiences. When a head of state comes to power, regime loyalty is not automatic. If it is not already present based on preexisting ties, it must be cultivated. According to the logic of regime loyalty, when leaders do not build these relationships, the absence of bonds cast doubt on the military's willingness to follow orders. This suspicion is exacerbated when civilian leaders neglect or mistreat their armed forces. When strong loyalty ties are present, however, militaries are expected to automatically obey the regime, regardless of the order.

This type of loyalty is thought to be particularly prevalent in countries with deep ethnic or religious cleavages or those with strong tribal traditions, especially when the composition of the armed forces heavily favors one faction over another. In fact, coup-proofing strategies purposefully cultivate and exploit these linkages to ensure military compliance.<sup>72</sup> And yet, while observers frequently point to identity politics to predict and explain loyalties and alliances, these factors may be far less sticky than often presumed. Afghanistan and Bosnia, for instance, are two countries thought to have intractable primordial cleavages, which have led to some of the world's most factional interstate conflicts. Christia offers convincing evidence that despite the

---

<sup>71</sup> For example, see Slater, "Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Sociology* 115, no. 1 (2009); Way and Levitsky, "The Dynamics of Autocratic Coercion after the Cold War," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39(2006).

<sup>72</sup> Quinlivan, "Coup-Proofing: It's Practices and Consequences in the Middle East."

rhetoric, balance of power considerations, not identity, have driven the alliance decisions of these warring groups.<sup>73</sup> Pragmatism, not blood, is more often than not the deciding factor.

Similarly, political leaders with military or combat experience are often thought to enter office with the staunch backing of the military and be more likely to retain the loyalty of their fellow soldiers. The solidarity that shared experiences, particularly war, produce can be extremely durable, but it is not clear that it trumps all other considerations.<sup>74</sup> For instance, this logic implies that military regimes should always have the strong backing of their armed forces. And yet, they are notoriously plagued by cycles of coups and countercoups.<sup>75</sup>

All of this suggests that regime loyalty, even when it appears to be based on preexisting and immutable ties, is not a given nor a permanent phenomenon. The unpredictable transience of regime loyalty raises serious questions about its ability to consistently explain military behavior. Regime loyalty may appear to explain a small handful of cases, but when applied on a larger scale it relies on vague, relative measures prone to post hoc analyses.

### ***Parochial Interests***

The other main alternate explanation for military obedience during domestic contentious events claims that armed forces' decisions are based on which side—the regime or the opposition—will best serve the organization's parochial interests.<sup>76</sup> According to this view,

---

<sup>73</sup> Christia's outstanding study challenges the primary role of identity in civil war alliances. Many of her findings, particularly the ease with which individuals and groups emphasize and deemphasize aspects of their identity to support alliances based on pragmatic power politics, call into question the weight some observers give these factors. Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>74</sup> Connor argues that the expectation of something special in the bond of soldiers is nothing more than a powerful myth. Connor, "Military Loyalty: A Functional Vice?," *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 3 (2010): 281.

<sup>75</sup> Geddes, "What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?."

<sup>76</sup> See Svobik, "Contracting on Violence: The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics."; Lee, "The Armed Forces and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Explaining the Role of the Military in 1986 Philippines and 1998 Indonesia," *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 5 (2009); Slater, "Altering Authoritarianism: Institutional Complexity and Autocratic Agency in Indonesia," in *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, ed. Mahoney and Thelen (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

regimes are thought to be able to buy the allegiance of their armed forces. Military leaders select courses of action that bring themselves and the organization the greatest material profit. In other words, pure utility maximization drives obedience decisions. These models consider funding, advanced weapons programs, access to off-budget economic opportunities, and other perquisites the regime makes available (or at least does not interfere with) through patronage relationships. Some of these models emphasize economic interests while others stress access to despotic power or autonomy, but they all concur that military leaders calculate which side will give them the best deal.

Huntington's advice to democratizers trying to curb military power is typical of this view—increase officers' salaries, pensions, benefits, and improve living conditions. Even more bluntly, he advises giving the military toys: “provide them with new and fancy tanks, planes, armored cars, artillery, and sophisticated electronic equipment... New equipment will make them happy and keep them busy trying to learn how to operate it.”<sup>77</sup> Accordingly, military discontent can arise from budget cuts, crackdowns on corruption, civilian meddling in military affairs, or simply the belief that the organization needs or deserves more.

The logic guiding these theories is that if armed forces become dissatisfied with their bargain with the regime—obedience in exchange for satisfying their parochial interests—they are prone to disobedience. As such, these models suggest that well paid and equipped armies should obey while neglected forces should disobey repression orders. The problem with this formulation is that if parochial incentives are driving military behavior, why do neglected forces wait until an arbitration event to make their displeasure known? Why is a lack of material incentives sufficient to produce disobedience in these cases, but insufficient to prompt a military

---

<sup>77</sup> Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, 252.

intervention? It could be argued that disloyal armed forces are simply taking advantage of the opportunity, but if that is the case, why aren't they consistently hijacking these situations to install leaders of their choice?<sup>78</sup>

The alternate explanations of regime loyalty and parochial interests both presume a military's decision to disobey repression orders is the same as its predisposition to launch a coup d'état. They draw on studies that show the more loyal a military is to the regime, regardless of whether that loyalty is fostered by personal bonds or large financial endowments, the less likely a coup will occur. Yet this logic may not even hold up for coups. In testing whether better-funded militaries have a lower disposition to attempt a coup, Powell finds that changes in military funding had no discernable impact on the decision to attempt a coup or on its outcome. He did find that better paid soldiers appear to be more content with the status quo and are less likely to attempt a coup, but organizational perquisites had no effect.<sup>79</sup>

There is also the question of how to accurately measure regime loyalty and material satisfaction *a priori* and how much is enough to ensure military compliance? Egypt is a prime example of what was long characterized as a symbiotic relationship between President Mubarak and the military. Not only did Mubarak rise through the Air Force, he facilitated the military's fiscal activities, which amounted to anywhere from five to forty percent or more of the country's \$180 billion economy.<sup>80</sup> And yet, the army refused to obey the president's order to suppress the 2011 Arab Spring protests. In response, scholars have pointed to cracks in the relationship,

---

<sup>78</sup> Luttwak, *Coup D'etat: A Practical Handbook*, 153; See Finer for a discussion on the necessity of both motive and opportunity for military interventions. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*.

<sup>79</sup> Powell, "Determinant of the Attempting and Outcome of Coups D'etat," 1029.

<sup>80</sup> These numbers are speculative, as information about the military's activities is kept secret. See Marshall and Stacher, "Egypt's Generals and Transnational Capital," *Middle East Report* 262, no. Spring (2012); Sennott, "The Money Behind the Egyptian Military: Exploring the Shadowy Economics of Its Brutal Hold on Power," *GlobalPost*(2012), <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/middle-east/egypt/120122/overview-the-army-the-people>.

particularly due to the grooming of Mubarak's son to take his place. And yet, if the army had repressed the uprising, analysts would just as likely have credited its obedience to longstanding personal loyalty and generous parochial incentives.

In sum, the alternate explanations do explain a great deal about military behavior during normal times, and so they serve as convenient answers for obedience decisions during military arbitration events. However, this dissertation highlights the limitations of their predictive power in these unique crisis situations. It suggests that something else is motivating officers' decisions—the military's security imperative. This does not mean cohesion, regime loyalty, and parochial interests are unimportant, but in the state of emergency inherent in military arbitration cases, these preferences are temporarily relegated to secondary concerns.

### **Towards a New Theory of Military Arbitration**

I argue that it is the balance between the international and domestic threat environments that determine whether a military obeys or disobeys a regime's order to repress protesters. I am not the first to suggest the threat environment influences civil-military relations—or whether civilian leaders can reliably get the military to obey when civilian and military preferences diverge. However, existing theories are contradictory and do not adequately explain, or often even address, military behavior during internal security situations. For instance, Lasswell issued the broad warning that high international threats can lead to a garrison state and impede civil control of the military.<sup>81</sup> Desch argue the opposite—that greater external threats facilitate civilian influence.<sup>82</sup> Unlike Lasswell, Desch also considers the domestic threat environment, finding that when internal threats are high, civilian control is adversely affected. However, he does not

---

<sup>81</sup> Lasswell, "The Garrison State," *American Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 4 (1941).

<sup>82</sup> Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999).

clearly specify what a domestic threat is, only suggesting that it affects militaries' organizational priorities, like the size of the defense budget, autonomy, cohesion, and survival of the institution. In fact, Desch claims, "an internal threat that affects only state and society, not the military, is unlikely to adversely affect civilian control."<sup>83</sup> Disobedience, therefore, is only expected when the armed forces' organizational interests are directly at risk. Problematically, when both external and internal threats are high or low, Desch's theory is indeterminate.

I differ from Desch and others by claiming it is the threat to the security of the state, not to the military's organizational interests, that is key. When dealing with events short of war, threats to state security may seem benign, raising the question of why this would be a predominant concern of the military. I fully address this question in the next chapter, but the short answer is that armed forces have a heightened sensitivity to threats. This sensitivity is the result of both their fundamental professional responsibility to wage war and the powerful nationalism that is pervasive in state militaries. It is compounded by the fact that there is considerable spillover between domestic and international affairs, particularly in the post-Cold War era.

Overall, I hypothesize that when the international threat—or a state's vulnerability to external punishment—poses the greatest risk to security, militaries will disobey repression orders. However, when the domestic threat—operationalized as protester violence—outweighs the international threat, armed forces will repress. The premise that militaries are more likely to repress more violent demonstrations is not particularly surprising but it may be objectionable to those who bristle at a direct linkage between protester and military behavior, seeing it as an attempt to blame the victims of these tragic confrontations. Ideally, leaders would never consider

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

using their armies against their own populations, but the fact remains that sometimes they do. I do not justify a military's use of force against civilians, especially since protester violence may itself be a reaction to prior repression. I simply identify a worldwide pattern of protester violence and military obedience, sidestepping an unhelpful cycle of infinite regress. Variation in obedience suggests factors other than some innate character of soldiers, such as an automatic and sadistic desire to use force, drives military decisions. This dissertation seeks to uncover those explanatory factors. To untangle this puzzle, we must consider the circumstances in which the decision to obey repression orders is made, and the empirical evidence points to protester violence as a key variable. I hypothesize that militaries view protester behavior as a potential threat to the state.

Some may argue that commanders always claim a security imperative whenever their forces employ violence against civilians, and that the vast asymmetry of power between armed soldiers and defenseless citizens belies any real threat. There are certainly instances of wanton abuse of civilians by militaries followed by contrived claims that the civilians posed an imminent danger. To guard against blind acceptance of post hoc rationalizations of atrocities, timing is central in evaluating my theory. I rely heavily on military statements and actions that lead up to these tragic episodes as well as how events unfold. However, it is often only after the fact that participants have the time and ability to reflect on events, either in memoirs, interviews or as part of official investigations. Therefore, although I treat all justifications for violence with a healthy dose of skepticism, I do not fully disregard military statements made in retrospect. Nor do I presume militaries—any more than other organizations or groups—are inherently deceitful. Whether or not one agrees with a military's assessment of a situation does not negate the truth of

its perception. What is key is the congruence between what a military says, what it does, and what is happening on the ground.

Even when there is evidence to support military leaders' accounts, observers often assume, either tacitly or explicitly, that militaries are untrustworthy and prone to cover-ups. Marvin and Ingle suggest this suspicion is due to a powerful social ambivalence towards armed forces. Although the military is essential to a state's survival, civilians often refuse to acknowledge the contribution of violence to the creation and maintenance of their country.<sup>84</sup> This leads to soldiers being simultaneously glorified and vilified; we praise their self-sacrifice but do not want to be reminded of the killing authority we have bestowed upon them. As a result, the military exists on the edge of society; after one enters the armed forces they no longer completely fit in. They are cast as automatons, robots, and soulless conformists. Soldiers are often seen as impure and contagious due to their willingness to shed others' blood, as well as their own.

This is particularly true when a military exercises its killing authority against members of its own society. Soldiers must immediately be recast as primitive and different from normal citizens, otherwise protesters must be classified as corrupt group members, often associated with an external enemy, and thus disowned.<sup>85</sup> The more popular a movement is, the harder it is for society to write off its members and the more likely it will be the military that is vilified. It is particularly easy for outside observers to condemn foreign militaries, since they can readily distance themselves from the army's barbaric violence without having to side with or against the protesters. This social ambivalence to armed forces does not imply that militaries never lie or

---

<sup>84</sup> Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 65, 107.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

behave irresponsibly, only that the presumption of duplicity and the automatic discounting of what officers say can inhibit our understanding of why armed forces make the decisions they do. It also makes it easier to attribute motives to militaries that fit preconceived conceptions rather than the facts on the ground.

## **Roadmap Ahead**

The overarching goal of this dissertation is to build a theory that explains why militaries obey or disobey orders to repress their own populations. The next chapter lays out this theory of military arbitration in much greater depth, illustrating not only the variables involved but also how the causal mechanism—the military’s security imperative—operates. Chapters three through five present qualitative case studies to provide a closer look at the dynamics of military arbitration events. The three cases I examine are Serbia (2000), China (1989), and Egypt (2011). Through process tracing, these comparative case studies demonstrate and disentangle the dynamics of military obedience, and show that it is the balance between international and domestic threats, not changes in regime loyalty or parochial interests, that best explain why militaries obey orders to repress. In other words, the case studies demonstrate the causal mechanism at work. Because the cases are geographically dispersed across three different regions, this sample should also instill confidence that my theory travels well. Additionally, the case studies are distributed across the post-Cold War era, decreasing concerns that an omitted temporal variable or interaction affect is responsible for their outcomes. Finally, chapter six summarizes my findings and offers policy recommendations for dealing with future military arbitration events.

## Chapter 2 THEORY OF MILITARY ARBITRATION

Military arbitration refers to events in which civilian leaders order their armed forces to repress their own citizens who are engaged in protests, demonstrations, strikes, riots and similar popular events short of war.<sup>1</sup> At its core, military arbitration is the forced politicization of the armed forces. By issuing the order to repress, a leader drags the military into domestic politics and forces it to choose between the regime and the people. When confronted with this stark choice, militaries make independent decisions on how to respond to the state of emergency called by civilian leaders. The importance of this decision cannot be overstated, because no matter what the military decides to do—obey or disobey the order—its decision is likely to have far-reaching repercussions for the state's political future.

The proposition that militaries independently decide how to respond to repression orders is often not acknowledged. Most studies of political repression and state violence treat armed forces as an appendage of the regime. In his study of electoral competition and ethnic violence in India, for instance, Wilkinson assumes the government has complete control over the forces of law and order. He claims that whether ethnic violence is bloody or ends quickly only depends on if the regime orders the army or police to intervene; their obedience is given.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, studies of military atrocities point out the challenge of overcoming the almost automatic self-discipline that modern training methods seek to produce in soldiers; they comply with orders so readily and naturally that close supervisory monitoring is not necessary.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This excludes orders to combat civil and guerrilla wars, insurgencies, terrorism, and criminal activities like drug or human trafficking.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Osiel, *Obeying Orders: Atrocity, Military Discipline & the Law of War* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 210.

Yet, the propensity for armed forces to make independent decisions is at the crux of the civil-military problématique, or moral hazard problem: because the army is the repressive agent of last resort, rulers cannot use the threat of violence to ensure its compliance.<sup>4</sup> Early scholars wrestled with how to control this powerful independent actor. Both Huntington and Janowitz theorized that civilian control was ultimately dependent upon a military's professional ethic, differing only over the sources and character of professionalism needed to ensure both a strong and obedient fighting force. Huntington concluded militaries needed autonomy from civilians to foster a warrior ethos, while Janowitz countered that greater civilianization of the military was needed to ensure it upheld society's values and norms.<sup>5</sup> Later theorists countered that professionalism was insufficient. Feaver argued intrusive methods and oversight mechanisms—like audits, third-party monitors, and harsh punishments—are needed to ensure militaries obey civilian directives.<sup>6</sup> The problem of independent militaries is not confined to western democracies. Dictators induce obedience by employing coup proofing strategies that take intrusion to the extreme.<sup>7</sup>

In cases of military arbitration, the armed force's decision is not simply a matter of whether it should obey or disobey a civilian order. While militaries routinely make independent decisions, they generally want to obey unless they have strong incentives to do otherwise. Obedience makes life easier by limiting punishments, justifying privileges, and safeguarding autonomy. Moreover, laws around the world require soldiers to obey orders unless illegality is

---

<sup>4</sup> Feaver, "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control," *Armed Forces & Society* 23, no. 2 (1996); Svolik, "Contracting on Violence: The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 5 (2013).

<sup>5</sup> Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*; Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*.

<sup>6</sup> Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*.

<sup>7</sup> Luttwak, *Coup D'etat: A Practical Handbook*; Quinlivan, "Coup-Proofing: Its Practices and Consequences in the Middle East."

blatant. Until this very high bar is reached, militaries are expected to presume the lawfulness of their orders.<sup>8</sup> Huntington noted the potential conflict between obedience and non-military values like human rights, but still upheld obedience as the supreme military virtue.<sup>9</sup> He warned that if the legality of an order is ambiguous an officer is bound to give considerable presumption of validity to the opinion of the statesman. Huntington even cautioned that there may be *raison d'état* that justifies the violation of civilian norms: “Only rarely will the military man be justified in following the dictates of private conscience against the dual demand of military obedience and state welfare.”<sup>10</sup>

It is precisely the demand of “state welfare” that gives armed forces pause in cases of military arbitration. The military must decide which course of action will best safeguard the state—repression or no repression. The civilian leader wants repression to ensure his continued political survival, otherwise he would not have ordered his “agent of last resort” into the crisis. Regimes only call on their militaries when police or paramilitary units responsible for day-to-day internal security are unable, or unwilling, to subdue civil unrest. The leader’s intent in ordering the military to intervene, therefore, is to repress the civilians causing the disturbance.

Once the order is issued, the military must determine if repression is in the best interest of state security. Feaver cynically advises that in every instance of military disobedience, from shirking the implementation of personnel policies to launching coup d'états, the likely defense is, “We must not do what civilians want because that would be bad for the country.” Yet, he also recognizes that doing what civilians ask is not always synonymous with meeting the security

---

<sup>8</sup> Osiel, *Obedying Orders: Atrocity, Military Discipline & the Law of War*, 54-55; Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*, 301.

<sup>9</sup> Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, 74.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

needs of the polity.<sup>11</sup> Limiting his discussion to unpopular policies, he concludes that civilian leaders have the right to be wrong.

Unfortunately, the civil-military relations literature largely assumes away scenarios in which democratic leaders issue orders that threaten a state's security, falling back on the belief that civilians have a more "national" perspective on defense issues than officers.<sup>12</sup> This assumption perpetuates the split in the civil-military relations literature between liberal democratic and authoritarian regimes, ignoring states in the messy middle and commonalities that exist across the board. Rather than write off a military's concern for national security as a trite excuse, universal insights and predictive power can be achieved when it is acknowledged and theorized up front.

I argue that in cases of military arbitration, it is the security of the state that matters. One of the bedrock assumptions of the international system is that security is the most important objective for every state.<sup>13</sup> At a minimum, state security means survival, which requires preserving territorial integrity and political autonomy. Because states can never be certain about other states' intentions, they must provide for their own security—a duty that ultimately falls to their militaries. Most states want to do more than survive, however. They want to accumulate or preserve power and prestige to ensure other states cannot push them around.<sup>14</sup> As a result, security threats can take the form of conventional attacks by other states, but they can also include acts that decrease a state's relative power.

---

<sup>11</sup> Feaver argues that civilian leaders have the right to be wrong, but does not directly address cases where civilian orders pose serious and imminent national security threats. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*, 299.

<sup>12</sup> Desch draws on the works of Van Evera, Walt, and Brodie to make this point. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*, 6.

<sup>13</sup> These assumptions are clearly laid out in Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 30-32.

<sup>14</sup> Prestige rests on economic and military power, and serves as the "everyday currency" of international relations. Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 30-31.

At their core, arbitration events threaten the security of the state that militaries have a fundamental duty to protect. The state, not the regime. If left unchecked, violent domestic unrest can cause significant economic damage, devolve into internal war, and increase a state's vulnerability to foreign intervention, all of which can threaten a state's relative power. Armed forces must decide if security is best served by repressing the current domestic unrest, or by not repressing it. Therefore, it is the military's preference for repression that determines whether it obeys or disobeys the regime's order, not its preference for obedience.

The literature is replete with convincing explanations for why militaries behave as they do, but their preference for repression is noticeably absent. The most prevalent explanations draw on organizational theory and identify preferences that fall into three general categories: parochial interests, internal cohesion, and personal loyalty to the regime. These preferences explain a great deal about civil-military relations during normal times, but military arbitration does not occur in normal times. It takes place during a state of emergency. When the context of these events is considered, the alternate explanations are far less satisfying.

A crisis raises the stakes of the decision at hand. The civilian leader is not ordering the implementation of an unpopular recruitment policy or the shift of resources to a different branch of service. The order is to open fire on civilians. Because it is a crisis, the timeline to make decisions is also significantly shortened. There is minimal opportunity to build coalitions or broker deals since decisions must be made in a matter of hours or days. As a result, peacetime preferences become secondary concerns in these moments of crisis; they do not disappear, but they are temporarily muted.

In normal times, organizational preferences do fuel the working and shirking dynamics that plague civil-military relations. Militaries slow-roll civilian policies, misrepresent facts, and

misappropriate funds in their pursuit of greater material incentives, pet projects, or to preserve a desired status quo. In extreme cases, if these peacetime preferences flourish unchecked they can damage the military's functional capability—its ability to successfully wage war. Posen points to the interwar pattern of militaries pursuing offensive doctrines, along with the massive resources needed to execute them, instead of adopting more effective but less lucrative defensive or deterrent doctrines. He notes that during times of international calm, civilian intervention was required to overcome a military's entrenched organizational tendencies. However, Posen also recognized that when threats became sufficiently grave—when war or crisis was upon them—soldiers themselves began to reconsider self-serving organizational preferences that did not adequately respond to the state's immediate security problem.<sup>15</sup> In other words, in times of crisis or war, a military's preference structure can change. It is not that organizational preferences are no longer important, but they are overridden by graver, more immediate concerns.

This is what happens during the crisis of military arbitration. The state of emergency triggers and sharpens security threats that compel the military to temporarily diverge from its normal peacetime preferences. In this crisis environment, officers do not obey or disobey repression orders because of the size of their budget or the degree of harmony in their ranks. They select the best response to the immediate security problem. Their preference for repression trumps all others until the state of emergency is over.

The theory of military arbitration is ultimately about the military's calculus during these states of emergency that leads it to obey or disobey a civilian leader's order to repress. I argue that officers assess the level of domestic threat generated by the crisis and weigh it against the

---

<sup>15</sup> In the case of military doctrine, changes in officers' preferences often came too late to effect their battlefield performance. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 239-40.

state's vulnerability to international punishment. If the internal threat posed by the domestic unrest outweighs the potential external repercussions for repression, then they are likely to obey orders. If external punishment poses a greater threat to the state than that posed by protesters, the military will disobey orders and not repress. There are no predetermined outcomes—threats, vulnerabilities, and the relative balance between them vary across arbitration events. In other words, a military's obedience or disobedience of repression orders in the past does not guarantee its future behavior.

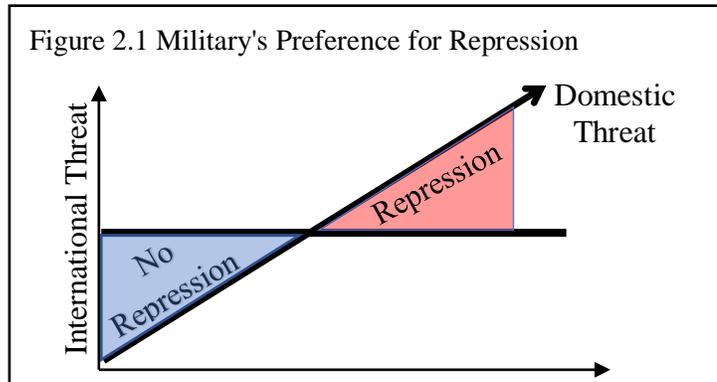
### **Military's Strategic Calculus**

Before a military decides to obey or disobey, it must determine whether repression is in the best interest of the state. The crisis that prompted the civilian leader to order repression indicates there is some level of domestic threat present, although the threat can vary greatly. If this were purely an internal matter, the military's calculus might end here and it would remove the threat. But while military arbitration events are domestic crises, in today's hyperconnected world the potential for domestic events to lead to international consequences is considerable. Sovereignty is not the bulwark against outside interference in internal matters that it once was. Not only do countries and international organizations routinely react to other states' domestic events, but nongovernmental organizations and multinational corporations can also threaten a state's interests. As a result, the threat to state security posed by military arbitration events expands far beyond what is happening on main street.

To determine the military's preference for repression, therefore, officers must consider the second and third order effects of obedience. Their strategic calculations entail weighing the current domestic threat against the potential for international repercussions. If the domestic threat is greater than the international threat, the military's preference will be for repression. If the

domestic threat is lower, their preference will be for no repression. (See Figure 1.) Ultimately, it is the result of this strategic calculation that determines whether militaries repress.

It is impossible to see mental processes but there are observable implications that a military is evaluating and weighing threats during military arbitration events. The most telling indicator is timing. While states



of emergency preclude business as usual and demand swift responses, one would still expect militaries to take some time to assess the situation when they are ordered to intervene. They may change their force posture—such as putting troops on alert, cancelling leave or exercises, and increasing security measures at military installations—before committing to a decision. This may look like hesitant obedience, or suggest internal coordination problems, but it is likely a signal that militaries are still determining their preference for repression. In the interim, officers are likely to express concerns about the domestic unrest, and may even call on others to “do something” to quell the disturbances so they do not have to. These calculations may also manifest in hurried outreach to foreign contacts as militaries try to gauge the potential for international repercussions. What strategic calculations are unlikely to look like is the immediate obedience (or disobedience) that decisions based on long-standing organizational preferences or regime loyalty would predict.

## Military's Security Imperative

The mechanism driving the armed forces' overall strategic calculation is the military's security imperative, which derives from its professional and nationalist values. (See Figure 2.) This is the mechanism that transmits causal forces from the international and domestic threat environments to produce a military's preference for repression. In this mechanistic understanding, a causal mechanism is a system of interlocking parts—the cog and wheels—by which an effect is produced. Each part of a mechanism is necessary, but insufficient by itself, to transmit causal forces. If any part is absent, or equals zero, then the security imperative fails to function. However, when the parts are present and combined, they tend to produce certain predictable outcomes.<sup>16</sup>

Figure 2.2 Security Imperative Causal Mechanism

$$\text{Military's Security Imperative} = \text{Professional Values} \times \text{Nationalist Values}$$

Professionalization constitutes the first element, which enables and reinforces the military's functional specialization—its preoccupation with security—and its organizational independence from the regime. Nationalism is the second element, which holds the state (as opposed to the regime) as the entity that warrants ultimate fidelity. The combination of professional and nationalist worldviews produces a security imperative in modern militaries, which drives them to assess whether domestic or international threats pose the greatest risk to the state. It then demands the military adopt the course of action—repression or no repression—that best serves the interest of state security. While causal mechanisms are analytical constructs and

<sup>16</sup> Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 29-31.

ultimately unobservable processes, there are observable implications of their presence, which are noted below along with explanations of each element.<sup>17</sup>

### ***Military Professionalism***

The profession of arms is more than a line of work. Much like medicine or the law, it is a field of knowledge that is important for the functioning, stability or welfare of societies and individuals. It requires complex, specialized knowledge and skills that are outside the realm ordinarily attained by the average person. Most importantly, its misapplication can cause considerable harm. Its practice, therefore, is subject to controls and those who misuse it, or whose activities reflect negatively on the community, are subject to censure and punishment.<sup>18</sup>

Strategic calculations during military arbitration events require that officers recognize and accept their professional status, even if they sometimes fail to live up to its standards. This is a low bar that most modern militaries easily meet, but it is a necessary hurdle to establish a worldview in which the military is an independent organization with the ultimate responsibility for the management of violence. Modern armed forces, particularly the officers that lead them, share three essential characteristics that distinguish them as military professionals: corporateness, expertise, and responsibility.<sup>19</sup>

Corporateness tends to be particularly strong among servicemembers, who are acutely aware of themselves as a group apart from civilians. They have their own common interests, common values, and common experiences—particularly sharing danger. The evolution of armed forces into corporate organizations stems back to changes in warfare and the resulting

---

<sup>17</sup> George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 4 ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 137; Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, 43-44; Hedstrom and Swedberg, eds., *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> Galvin, "A New Way of Understanding (Military) Professionalism," *Joint Forces Quarterly* 3rd Quarter, no. 62 (2011).

<sup>19</sup> Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, 10-18.

bureaucratization of states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> Larger armies became necessary to conquer and protect territory, which required major reorganizations of government to create, control, and supply them, as well as to collect the revenue to pay for it all. As rationalization and functional division within the state grew, clerical tasks and authority levels through which official business had to pass expanded. The resources used to support militaries no longer came from personal coffers, they came from the bureaucratic state's treasury. As a result, power became centralized in the state instead of residing solely with the regime.

Armed forces also had to adopt more formal bureaucratic methods and develop specialized skills to manage their larger force, execute increasingly complex operations, and employ new military technologies. Greater bureaucratization of the military led to official written regulations; a rationally established hierarchy; the assignment of official duties throughout the organization as well as granting the authority to execute those duties; a regular system of appointments and promotions; and fixed salaries.<sup>21</sup> In other words, militaries became modern organizations governed by internal rules and procedures. They became independent actors within the state. At the same time, militaries developed distinct corporate identities publicly symbolized by uniforms and rank, and constantly reinforced through their official bureaucracy, schools, journals, customs and traditions.

The second characteristic of military professionalism is expertise. To be a professional requires practitioners devote significant time and effort to gain knowledge outside that normally obtained by laypersons. Military officers are experts in the management of violence, which

---

<sup>20</sup> Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, Ad 990-1992* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 29; Parker claims this process began much earlier. Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> Weber, Roth, and Wittich, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 229, 956.

entails translating political goals into coherent strategies and operational plans. Moreover, they must be able to execute those plans by organizing enormous numbers of people and amounts of material, amid chaos and uncertainty, to achieve the desired results. Comprehensive study and training are needed to develop the intellectual skills and theoretical knowledge to do this.

All modern militaries devote a significant amount of time and effort to developing the requisite expertise in their officer corps. To simply gain entry to the profession, officers must prove they have the necessary aptitude by completing intensive commissioning programs. To remain in uniform and progress through the ranks, servicemembers must pass training and education hurdles throughout their careers. These range from the continuous exercising of combat skills, attending progressively difficult technical schools to master advanced weapon systems, and often pausing at several key points in their careers for graduate-level education.

Beyond warfighting, managing a military requires a great deal of organizational expertise due to the sheer size and scope of administrative duties. The complexity of the most basic and mundane tasks—like training thousands of recruits each year; feeding, housing, and paying soldiers; and procuring vast amounts of equipment ranging from rockets to socks—requires an extensive bureaucracy. As a result, not only do modern militaries have deep expertise in warfighting, they are also experts in shaping and running the organization. This permits a great deal of autonomy as well as the ability to significantly influence how the military is employed.

The third characteristic of military professionalism is responsibility, which refers to the obligation to provide security for its client through the sanctioned use of violence. Security is the military's functional imperative; its sole purpose for existing. Yet professional forces accept that they cannot engage in violence unless their client orders them to do so. Because of this responsibility, officers spend a great deal of time thinking about security threats and developing

contingency plans to counter them. As a result, they typically have a heightened understanding and sensitivity to threats compared to most civilians. This is a natural consequence of their preoccupation with security and constant preparation for war.

It is the military's job to recognize and ideally counter threats before the state's security is unduly jeopardized. They must not only look at current threats, but also consider how threats are likely to evolve. As a result, armed forces can appear alarmist, seeing threats where others do not.<sup>22</sup> However, as Desch points out, what really counts with threats is how actors perceive them. If a military defines a threat as real, the threat is real in its consequences.<sup>23</sup> This heightened sensitivity to threats is not merely a contrived pretext to justify repressive behavior. Because of their responsibility for security, militaries do not have the luxury of complacency when the nation is at risk; they are the state's last line of defense.

It is the corporate structure and expertise of the armed forces, the recognition that they are governed by a higher authority, and the preoccupation with state security, that differentiates professional militaries from other security organizations, including militias, tribal levies, irregular forces, and warlord armies. It is the worldview shaped by professional ideals—one in which the military is an independent organization with the ultimate responsibility for security—that serves as the foundation of a military's strategic calculation during arbitration events.

**Observable Implications of Military Professionalism:** Professional militaries are large, hierarchical organizations with established rules, procedures and facilities for recruitment, training and promotions, as well as built-in mechanisms to enforce order and discipline. They have specialized weapons and technical capabilities designed to fight wars that are not available

---

<sup>22</sup> Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power*, 78.

<sup>23</sup> Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*, 13.

to the public. They recognize an authority outside the organization that must sanction their use of violence, which is employed for the sole purpose of providing security for their client.

### *Nationalism*

Nationalism is the second element that informs the military's security imperative.<sup>24</sup> Nationalism has been described as "the most powerful political ideology in the world," yet it is also one of "the most ambiguous concepts in the present-day vocabulary of political and analytical thought."<sup>25</sup> At the most basic level it reflects the tendency to identify personal or institutional interests with those of the state, generating mass loyalty, organized cooperation, and self-sacrifice.<sup>26</sup> Most profoundly, it induces a willingness to fight and die for one's country. It was nationalism that enabled the formation of mass armies and the waging of near total wars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Nationalism reinforces a military's professional responsibility to provide for the state's security. It establishes the state as the military's client, not the regime. A civilian leader is an

---

<sup>24</sup> I use the term nationalism even though it is often associated with pejorative connotations. Some scholars distinguish between nationalism and patriotism, but there is no agreement on how these constructs are conceptualized or operationalized. Nationalism, or blind patriotism, is often characterized as a jingoistic cause of war with adherents perceiving themselves to be superior to others, militaristic, ignorant, and irrational. Constructive patriotism, on the other hands, is used to refer to a healthy love, attachment and pride for one's country. Patriots are genuine, critical, civic, reasonable, and disobedient. These normative binary conceptualizations are theoretically and empirically flawed. Aside from imposing moral judgments, it is difficult to disentangle opposing constructs and identify clear boundaries. For different conceptualizations of nationalism and patriotism, see Schatz, Staub, and Lavine, "On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind Versus Constructive Patriotism," *Political Psychology* 20, no. 1 (1999); Kosterman and Feshbach, "Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalistic Attitudes."; Davidov, "Measurement Equivalence of Nationalism and Constructive Patriotism in the Issp: 34 Countries in a Comparative Perspective," *Political Analysis* 17, no. 1 (2009); Kimmelmeier and Winter, "Sowing Patriotism, but Reaping Nationalism? Consequences of Exposure to the American Flag," *Political Psychology* 29, no. 6 (2008); Williams, Foster, and Krohn, "Relationship of Patriotism Measures to Critical Thinking and Emphasis on Civil Liberties Versus National Security," *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2008); Maxwell, "Typologies and Phases in Nationalism Studies: Hroch's a-B-C Schema as a Basis for Comparative Terminology," *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 6 (2010): 867; Fine, "Benign Nationalism? The Limits of the Civic Ideal," in *People, Nation and State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, ed. Mortimer and Fine (New York: I.B Tauris & Co LTD, 2011); Greenfield and Eastwood, "Nationalism in Comparative Perspective," in *The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization*, ed. Janoski, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 365; Alter, *Nationalism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), 4.

<sup>26</sup> Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," 81.

important component of a state since she serves as the highest political representative, but a state is much more than its regime. A state encompasses a territory, borders, and resources, as well as a society with its shared culture, history and destiny. As such, a state's security is not dependent on the survival of a specific leader.<sup>27</sup> The military's obligation to protect the state, rather than a civilian leader, is clearly illustrated by the oath American military officers take when they are commissioned, and which they reaffirm at every promotion. Officers swear to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. They do not pledge allegiance or obedience to the president.<sup>28</sup>

All modern militaries foster nationalism to bolster the commitment and efficacy of their fighting forces.<sup>29</sup> This core value is taught by military education systems and influences officers' worldviews, including their perceptions of crises and threats.<sup>30</sup> This is true irrespective of why individuals join the armed forces; they enter as individuals but are quickly molded into units with a common cause. Unlike mercenaries who fight for the highest bidder, modern militaries fight—and have been willing to die in unprecedented numbers—for their country.<sup>31</sup>

The ubiquity of nationalism in modern militaries can be attributed to several factors. Some sociologists claim it is the result of self-selection, suggesting those attracted to military

---

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

<sup>28</sup> "5 U.S.C. § 3331 Oath of Office." Officers in the US National Guard do swear obedience to the President and to the governor of their state, pointing to an important difference between Guard and active duty or reserve officers.

"32 U.S.C. § 312 Appointment Oath."

<sup>29</sup> On the ubiquity of nationalism in militaries, see Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, 35, 62; Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power*, 71, 78; Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, 207; Janowitz, *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations*, 103-04; Kjellberg, "Some Cultural Aspects of the Military Profession."; Ackroyd, "Military Professionalism, Education, and Political Behavior in Mexico."

<sup>30</sup> This is key finding in Ackroyd, "Military Professionalism, Education, and Political Behavior in Mexico."; Fitch, *The Military Coup D'état as a Political Process: Ecuador, 1948-1966* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); "Armies and Politics in Latin America: 1975-1985," in *Armies and Politics in Latin America*, ed. Lowenthal and Fitch (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986).

<sup>31</sup> Cederman, Warren, and Sornette, "Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War," *International Organization* 65, no. Fall (2011).

service are already the most nationalistic members of society.<sup>32</sup> After individuals enter military service, selection effects continue. Those whose personal values align most closely with the service are more likely to pursue a career and get promoted to leadership positions, perpetuating the organization's emphasis on nationalist values.<sup>33</sup>

Other scholars suggest socialization processes are responsible for high levels of nationalism among servicemembers.<sup>34</sup> The prominent use of symbols (flags, anthems, and oaths) and customs (ceremonies and salutes), for example, are designed to provoke reflexive emotional responses that strengthen one's bond to the nation. Because socialization continues throughout servicemembers' careers, it serves to continually reinforce nationalism within military culture. Numerous studies have found that the longer one remains in the military, the more they tend to embrace its core values.<sup>35</sup>

Regardless of how it is instilled, modern militaries serve as a central repository for nationalism. Even in states where nationalistic discourse and symbols are not prevalent among the populace, soldiers are still imbued with a sense of duty to the state. Centeno claims, for example, that Latin America is a prominent exception to the global pattern of nationalism in part because rulers were not interested in purveying it.<sup>36</sup> The feeble attempts that were made to instill nationalism were centered on militaries, but because participation in Latin American armed

---

<sup>32</sup> Krebs, "A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might," *International Security* 28, no. 4 (2004); Lovell and Stiehm, "Military Service and Political Socialization."

<sup>33</sup> Abrahamsson, "Military Professionalization and Political Power," 72-75.

<sup>34</sup> Bachman et al., "Distinctive Military Attitudes among U.S. Enlistees, 1976-1997: Self-Selection Versus Socialization," *Armed Forces & Society* 26, no. 4 (2000).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid; Gage, "Patriotism and Military Discipline as a Function of Degree of Military Training," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 64(1964); Krebs, "A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might."; Little, "Basic Education and Youth Socialization in the Armed Forces," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 38, no. 5 (1968); Lovell, "Military Service, Nationalism, and the Global Community," in *The Military, Militarism, and the Polity*, ed. Martin and McCrate (New York: The Free Press, 1984).

<sup>36</sup> Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2002), 168.

forces has historically been very low, these efforts are viewed as failures. Centeno laments, “Nationalism and patriotism were being taught, but the classrooms were largely empty.”<sup>37</sup> Yet, servicemembers were in the classrooms and were being indoctrinated with nationalist values even if they did not carry those values back to civil society. Because identity is highly contextual, one should not be surprised to see soldiers thinking in national terms while in uniform, but adopting regional, class, gendered, religious, or ethnic perspectives at other times.<sup>38</sup> Centeno later confirms this by noting that institutional islands were created from which militaries became the guardians of abstract notions of patriotic values.<sup>39</sup>

All modern militaries are infused with a high degree of nationalism. This is especially true for senior officers who have chosen the military as a career and spent decades immersed in its culture. Nationalism stresses the imperative of security and inspires servicemembers to lay down their lives for the greater good. Most importantly, it reinforces a military’s responsibility to the state, not the regime. As a result, even the most obedient militaries will privilege the security of the state over the survival of a regime. There are different types of nationalism that are laid out at the end of this chapter, including one that proves an exception to this rule, but as I will show, these represent a small subset of cases.

**Observable Implications of Nationalism in the Military:** The socialization processes that promote nationalism in militaries are similar across states. Patriotic themes are prevalent in training curriculums and education programs; national traditions and symbols are promoted; leaders include nationalist rhetoric in speeches and comments; and doctrine and laws identify the

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 237.

<sup>38</sup> Empirical evidence confirms the military is not an effective school for the nation. Krebs, "A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might."

<sup>39</sup> Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*, 259.

military as the guardian of the nation. The specific content of nationalism differs between states, but the methods of promoting it do not.

Once again, it is the combination of professionalism and nationalism that instills modern militaries with a security imperative to prioritize and safeguard the state during moments of crisis. It is what overrides militaries' normal preference structures that privilege organizational interests, and drives officers' strategic calculations. The military's security imperative colors how officers perceive domestic and international threats and the risks they pose to the state. Ultimately, it is the balance of these threats that form the military's preference for repression.

### **International Threat**

The international threat is the reason militaries do not immediately crush every protest or demonstration. Although military arbitration events are domestic crises, they create opportunities for outside intervention because military repression of civilians falls outside international norms for acceptable behavior. Beginning in the 1970s, and gaining significant steam in the post-Cold War era, Western powers began to condition loans and assistance on recipient countries' respect for human rights and the promotion of democratic practices.<sup>40</sup> This era also saw the proliferation of transnational organizations and international media networks committed to reporting human rights abuses and inducing governments to take punitive action. As a result, the probability of being punished for repression has significantly grown, with consequences ranging from sanctions, withdrawal of investments and aid, diplomatic condemnation or isolation, and even armed intervention.

Economic punishments are almost reflexive responses for penalizing behavior the international community finds objectionable. After the Tiananmen massacre, for instance, the

---

<sup>40</sup> Nelson and Eglinton, *Encouraging Democracy: What Role for Conditioned Aid?* (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1992), 26.

United States and its allies quickly imposed a series of sanctions against China. This included halting development assistance and export credits, prohibiting the sale of military and police equipment, and suspending high-level official visits. The efficacy of economic sanctions is questionable, and there is even evidence that the economic pressure may result in governments increasing repression.<sup>41</sup> However, while enacted sanctions may not compel states to stop undesirable behavior, there is little research on the effectiveness of sanctions as a deterrent. In other words, does the possibility of sanctions prevent states from misbehaving in the first place?<sup>42</sup> States have different vulnerabilities and tolerances for punishment, but, by definition, all sanctions harm a state's economic interests. It follows that states prefer to avoid sanctions unless there is a greater threat or interest driving their behavior.

The use of aid, particularly military assistance, to encourage or punish states' behavior has also received significant academic attention with mixed results. The empirical findings are indeterminate for whether a "carrot or stick" approach to aid reliably produces sustained political cooperation or more democratic behavior.<sup>43</sup> Regardless of whether withholding aid is effective in producing long-term behavioral changes, it is a common response to blatant violations of

---

<sup>41</sup> On the efficacy of sanctions, see Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *International Security* 22, no. 2 (1997); "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work," *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998); On the link between sanctions and repression, see Wood, "'a Hand Upon the Throat of the Nation': Economic Sanctions and State Repression, 1976–2001," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (2008); Peksen and Drury, "Economic Sanctions and Political Repression: Assessing the Impact of Coercive Diplomacy on Political Freedoms," *Human Rights Review* 10, no. 3 (2009); Escribà-Folch, "Authoritarian Responses to Foreign Pressure: Spending, Repression, and Sanctions," *Comparative Political Studies* 45, no. 6 (2012).

<sup>42</sup> Drezner highlights the selection bias in the sanctions literature whereby scholars fail to consider cases where the threat of sanctions deterred targets. Drezner, "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion," *International Organization* 57(2003).

<sup>43</sup> For studies that find evidence of a positive relationship see Cingranelli and Pasquarello, "Human Rights Practices and the Distribution of U.S. Foreign Aid to Latin American Countries," *American Journal of Political Science* 29, no. 3 (1985); Poe, "Human Rights and the Allocation of US Military Assistance," *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no. 2 (1991); Gartner and Regan, "Threat and Repression: The Non-Linear Relationship between Government and Opposition Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 3 (1996); Waggoner, "Military Assistance Conditioned on Justice: An Empirical Study of the Leahy Law and Human Rights Prosecutions," *Florida Journal of International Law* 29, no. 3 (2017). For studies that dispute a relationship see Sullivan, Tessman, and Li, "US Military Aid and Recipient State Cooperation," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7(2011); Sandholtz, "United States Military Assistance and Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (2016).

international norms.<sup>44</sup> Military aid cuts can cause significant hardship and even threaten states' security by reducing their defensive capabilities and combat readiness, particularly for those armed forces that are extremely reliant on assistance. While militaries can replace lost resources by squeezing civilian revenue streams, the more aid that needs to be replaced, the longer this takes, and the greater the impact on military readiness.

In addition to imposing sanctions and cutting aid, governments often prod investors to divest from targeted countries.<sup>45</sup> For example, under pressure from the United States and members of the European Community, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank agreed to halt lending to China in 1989. Private individuals and institutions in Europe, Japan, and the US also withdrew investments and limited travel to the country because of the stigma associated with Tiananmen Square. As a result, China's tourism revenues declined 20% and foreign lending decreased 40% that year, while foreign direct investment declined 22% in the first half of 1990.<sup>46</sup>

Even without governments' urging, global corporations are likely to react negatively to military repression. Conventional wisdom suggests repressive countries present attractive investment and trade opportunities because they tend to be politically stable with low labor costs, but the empirical evidence shows otherwise.<sup>47</sup> Blanton and Blanton found that repression increases the risk investors and trade partners are exposed to, including political instability,

---

<sup>44</sup> Sandholtz argues the US rarely completely cuts military aid (4.5% or 140 times since 1980) or significantly reduces it. He reports the US reduced military aid in 40% of possible country-years (807 times), but major reductions have been rare with 55% of reductions equaling 40% or less of previous aid allocations. However, the remaining 45% of reductions, ranging from 41-99.9%, equates to hundreds of cases, suggesting using aid as leverage is very real threat, it just isn't consistently employed. Sandholtz, "United States Military Assistance and Human Rights," 1086-87.

<sup>45</sup> Lektzian and Biglaiser, "Investment, Opportunity, and Risk: Do Us Sanctions Deter or Encourage Global Investment?," *International Studies Quarterly* 57(2013).

<sup>46</sup> Harding, "The Impact of Tiananmen on China's Foreign Policy," *NBR Analysis*(1990), <http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=73#.UiPiRxbYtoI>.

<sup>47</sup> Hafner-Burton, "Right or Robust? The Sensitive Nature of Repression to Globalization," *Journal of Peace Research* 42, no. 6 (2005). For a study supporting the conventional wisdom, see Sorens and Ruger, "Does Foreign Investment Really Reduce Repression?," *International Studies Quarterly* 56(2012).

violence, an increased potential for capricious state intervention, and audience costs within the global marketplace.<sup>48</sup> Audience costs from the spotlight affect are particularly pertinent in military arbitration events. Corporations are very conscious of their image and if the market perceives they are collaborating with a repressive regime their reputation and stock value can plummet. High profile examples include Levi Strauss, Macy's, Liz Claiborne, and Eddie Bauer all pulling out of Burma in the 1990s due to criticism of their association with the dictatorial junta. Oil giants Texaco and Amoco also pulled out, even though Amoco's president had recently described Burma as one of his firm's most promising new regions for exploration.<sup>49</sup>

Besides driving out investments, repression can also discourage new investors from even entering a foreign market. Firms rely on country risk assessments provided by private evaluation agencies when making international investment decisions. States with a record of repression are associated with higher risk.<sup>50</sup> The "bottom line" is states that engage in repression have a harder time both attracting and keeping foreign investment and trade partners, which can cause significant harm to their markets and overall economic power.

Beyond financial punishments, repression can brand a state as a pariah in the international community, leading to the loss of allies and political prestige. It can also embolden rivals to take advantage of the state's weakened position. In extreme cases, it can result in military intervention. With international norms increasingly stressing human rights and initiatives like the responsibility to protect (R2P) gaining wider acceptance, severe repression of

---

<sup>48</sup> Blanton and Blanton, "Human Rights and Trade: Beyond the "Spotlight"," *International Interactions* 33(2007); "What Attracts Foreign Investors? An Examination of Human Rights and Foreign Direct Investment," *The Journal of Politics* 69, no. 1 (2007).

<sup>49</sup> Spar, "The Spotlight and the Bottom Line: How Multinationals Export Human Rights," *Foreign Affairs* 77(1998).

<sup>50</sup> Egan, "Is Worker Repression Risky? Foreign Direct Investment, Labour Rights and Assessments of Risk in Developing Countries," *Review of International Political Economy* 19, no. 3 (2012).

civilians can lead to the deployment of peacekeeping forces.<sup>51</sup> The threshold for military intervention is generally high, but it can vary greatly depending on the geostrategic importance of the country and other political factors. Aggressor states can also use humanitarian concerns as a rationale for otherwise geopolitically driven interference.<sup>52</sup>

### ***Measuring the International Threat***

All states are vulnerable to some degree of international punishment. The amount of leverage foreign powers or international organizations have over a state is rooted primarily in its relative power. Weak states that are dependent on aid and assistance are more vulnerable to external pressure than those with greater military and economic power.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, states with greater linkage—ties and cross-border flows with other countries and institutions—are exposed to more avenues of punishment.<sup>54</sup> Because the international threat reflects the state's overall vulnerability to external repercussions, it tends to remain stable during arbitration events. A state's vulnerability can fluctuate over time as the balance of power shifts, but it will not change significantly in the short span of a crisis. At most, implicit threats can be made explicit.

While aid dependence does not capture all the potential repercussions a state could be subject to, it does offer an objective measure to assess their strategic vulnerability to international punishment. Military assistance, in particular, is directly related to a state's security. The more reliant a military is on aid for procurement of parts and weapons, as well as mission

---

<sup>51</sup> For a review of R2P see Pape, "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012).

<sup>52</sup> Badescu and Weiss, "Misrepresenting R2p and Advancing Norms: An Alternative Spiral?," *International Studies Perspectives* 11(2010).

<sup>53</sup> Levitsky and Way, "Linkage Versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change," *Comparative Politics* 38, no. 4 (2006): 383.

<sup>54</sup> Linkage can occur via geopolitical, social, communication, and transnational civil society channels. It generates soft power and so the effects are often subtle and diffuse, but it enhances the effectiveness of leverage. *Ibid.*, 383-86. Maoz demonstrates how international networks affect the security-related behavior of states. Maoz, *Networks of Nations: The Evolution, Structure, and Impact of International Networks, 1816-2001* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

critical support functions like maintenance and training, the greater the security threat if that aid is cut off or significantly reduced. Moreover, the greater a military's dependence on aid, the more cognizant officers will be of their strategic vulnerability and the more likely it will factor into their calculations.

Combat readiness is one of the first casualties of fiscal tightening.<sup>55</sup> Unanticipated cuts in defense spending are most likely to be paid out of fungible training and maintenance funds as opposed to salaries that require years of force shaping to significantly reduce. Large, immediate cuts can lead to a vicious downward spiral in operational readiness rates as units are forced to cannibalize equipment for spare parts and cancel training due to a lack of fuel or ammunition. This is compounded by procurement cancellations or delays, leaving militaries with older systems that are less effective, less reliable, and more difficult to maintain. Even small gaps in procurement can have long-term readiness implications due to the extended time horizons of major weapon purchases, and the higher cost and difficulties associated with keeping obsolete systems fielded.

Therefore, as a crude measure a state's vulnerability to international punishment, I use the percentage of a country's military expenditures that are provided by US security assistance the year prior to the military arbitration event.<sup>56</sup> Military expenditures refer to all government spending on current military forces and activities, including salaries and benefits, operational expenses, arms and equipment purchases, military construction, research and development, and

---

<sup>55</sup> Dunn, "The Impact of a Declining Defense Budget on Combat Readiness," (The Heritage Foundation, 2013), 3.

<sup>56</sup> Measures obtained by dividing current year amounts of US military assistance a state received by its annual military expenditure. See Appendix 1. Data from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Sipri Military Expenditure Database," [http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex\\_database](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database); U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), "U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook)."

central administration, command and support. In other words, it includes everything a military spends on security.

The US is the world's largest donor of military assistance, providing aid that has steadily trended up from \$7.7B in 1989, to \$19.9B in 2012.<sup>57</sup> Military assistance is defined as "foreign aid for programs primarily for the benefit of recipient government armed forces, or aid which subsidizes or substantially enhances military capability. It excludes humanitarian and non-military development programs funded by the US Department of Defense."<sup>58</sup> The US has extensive oversight mechanisms to monitor how foreign military aid is spent, minimizing the possibility these funds are simply being syphoned off into generals' pockets, and lending confidence that US military aid goes to fundamental security requirements.<sup>59</sup> While other countries provide some military assistance, most of their aid is directed toward civilian economic development or humanitarian assistance; their contributions to defense tend to be negligible when compared to those of the US. Therefore, US military assistance is a reasonable proxy for a state's vulnerability to international punishment because it is the primary foreign leverage over a state's military power short of going to war.

Recognizing this is only a crude measure, I categorize states as having a high, medium, or low vulnerability to international repercussions. To have a high vulnerability, a state must be dependent on the US for at least 10% of its annual military expenditures, which represents a significant portion of any defense budget. Military spending cuts greater than 10% are usually

---

<sup>57</sup> Amounts are in Constant 2016 \$US. U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), "U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook)."

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>59</sup> The US State Department reports all Foreign Military Training and DoD Engagement Activities of Interest to Congress annually (<https://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/fmtrpt/>). The Defense Security Cooperation Agency monitors the use of defense articles and services provided to foreign governments or international organizations through Foreign Military Sales and DoD-managed other government-to-government programs (<http://www.dsca.mil/about-us/end-use-monitoring-eum>).

related to anticipated drawdowns at the end of a war, planned military reforms, or they are associated with economic crises. An unanticipated loss of this size would be a huge disruption in a military's near-term capability for at least the immediate 1-2 years. While a state can divert other revenue to compensate for cuts in military aid, it would likely take at least 3-5 years to replace 10% or more of these resources assuming there was no concurrent economic crisis. As a result, a cut of this size would likely produce a sizeable dip in a state's military power.

Even when US military assistance is replaced by civilian revenue or donations from other countries, there is an intangible value of US military aid that cannot be substituted. Major recipients of US military aid typically rely on US equipment, support, and training to sustain and modernize its current capabilities, which is likely to be curtailed along with aid. While militaries can turn to other countries for defense contracts, it would take years-to-decades to fully transition. Finally, if US military assistance is cut because of human rights violations, the international community will likely initiate additional economic punishments, compounding the damage and making compensation more difficult. As a result, military aid dependence of 10% or more signifies a significant strategic vulnerability.

Russia provides a cautionary tale of what large, unexpected cuts in military expenditures can do to a state's military power. When the USSR broke apart, the Soviet military was one of the most feared on earth. However, President Yeltsin's economic "shock therapy" included massive budget cuts that resulted in military expenditures decreasing 14% in 1993 and another 6% in 1994.<sup>60</sup> The impact on Russian military effectiveness was dramatic. From 1992-1993, it

---

<sup>60</sup> All figures in current (2016) USD. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Sipri Military Expenditure Database." Defense spending dropped significantly from Soviet expenditures in 1990 to Russian expenditures in 1992 (1991 figures not available). Soviet expenditures are disputed and when combined with the fact that Russia only inherited 70% of the Soviet military and defense industry, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of earlier cuts. Miller, *Moscow's Military Power: Russia's Search for Security in an Age of Transition* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004).

had been able to conduct successful peacekeeping operations in Moldova and Tajikistan, and decisively intervene in Georgia's internal conflicts, forcing Georgia to join the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and grant Russia military bases. Just a year later, however, it was bogged down in Chechnya despite domestic and international expectations of a quick victory. Just prior to the December 1994 invasion, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev reportedly told Yeltsin that a single regiment of Russian paratroopers could stamp out the Chechen separatist movement in two hours.<sup>61</sup> Yet, after 21 months of bloody fighting, the Russian Army was defeated and forced to withdraw.

By all accounts, the First Chechen War signaled Russia's decline as a military power. The army had no money, little support, and trouble adequately feeding and paying its soldiers. Russia inherited 2.7 million military personnel from the Soviet Union in 1992, but by 1994 the size of the force had decreased by almost 25% to 2.1 million in unplanned reductions.<sup>62</sup> Many of its most experienced personnel left, leaving battalions manned at 55% or less.<sup>63</sup> Because of a lack of combat ready forces, to intervene in Chechnya the military had to cobble together units from all over the country that had little or no experience working or training together. To fill out an invasion force of just 40,000 to 60,000 men, it even had to resort to sending naval infantry units into the urban environment.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> "Russian Conventional Armed Forces: On the Verge of Collapse?," in *CRS Issue Brief for Congress* (Congressional Research Service, 1997), 3.

<sup>62</sup> Arbatov, "Military Reform in Russia: Dilemmas, Obstacles, and Prospects," *International Security* 22, no. 4 (1998): 98.

<sup>63</sup> Grau, "Changing Russian Urban Tactics: The Aftermath of the Battle for Grozny," *INSS Strategic Forum*, no. 38 (1995).

<sup>64</sup> "Russian Conventional Armed Forces: On the Verge of Collapse?," 19.

When Russian forces entered Grozny, they did not have proper equipment or even up-to-date maps; occasionally soldiers even sold their weapons to the enemy to raise cash for food.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, in terms of weapons technology and quantity, Russia far outgunned the Chechen forces. Due to the extreme budget cuts, however, no regiment or division-scale field training exercises had been conducted between 1992 and 1994.<sup>66</sup> Cuts in battalion-level training and below meant few troops met the minimum requirements for going into battle. For many, the sole preparation for the urban environment was an instructional pamphlet on urban combat that had been printed in such small numbers that troops had to share.<sup>67</sup> As a result, there were severe deficiencies in both basic tactical skills and equipment proficiency, leaving the rebels better trained in the use of their older, less capable weapons.

Notwithstanding Grachev's optimism about a quick win in Chechnya, a month earlier he reported the serious problems caused by the deep military spending cuts to the Russian Federal Assembly, warning, "An impatient and impoverished Russian military was losing its ability to defend the Motherland. Young officers are leaving in large numbers. Pilots are not flying because of budget cuts in fuel and maintenance, and ships are stuck in port. Military units engage in trade and troops work as laborers to supplement their pay. Not a single other army in the world is in such a catastrophic state."<sup>68</sup> The government, ignoring his warnings and the military's abysmal performance in Chechnya, continued to reduce military expenditures until reversing course at the end of the 1990s.

---

<sup>65</sup> Barany, *Democratic Breakdown and the Decline of the Russian Military* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

<sup>66</sup> Grau, "Changing Russian Urban Tactics: The Aftermath of the Battle for Grozny."

<sup>67</sup> Olikier, *Russia's Chechen Wars 1994-2000: Lessons from Urban Combat* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001), 8-9.

<sup>68</sup> Erlanger, "Russia's Army Seen as Failing Chechnya Test," *The New York Times*, 25 Dec 1994.

The Russian military then benefited from almost a decade of sustained growth in spending that averaged out to roughly 10% per year—effectively doubling its budget—but it still displayed significant shortcomings in hardware and training during its invasion of Georgia in 2007. While the military achieved its objectives, 60 to 70% of its outdated tanks and armored vehicles broke down during the five days of fighting, indicative of the long-term effects of procurement gaps.<sup>69</sup> To return the Russian military to its world power status, President Putin doubled military spending again between 2007 and 2016. By 2014, the military was healthy enough to invade Ukraine and annex Crimea quickly and skillfully—twenty years after the world noted Russia’s military decline in Chechnya. While its decline was exacerbated by the breakup of the Soviet Union, its rough transition from a command economy, and associated fiscal crises, this case highlights both the short and long-term effects of unplanned cuts in military spending and demonstrates the rapid and negative impact it can have on a state’s military power.

States that receive less than 10% of their annual military expenditures in US military assistance are initially categorized as having a medium vulnerability to international punishment. For these states, the withdrawal of military aid will hurt, but they can more easily reallocate resources to minimize the security impact. They are initially categorized as having a medium vulnerability, as opposed to low, even if they do not receive any US military aid, because this is a crude proxy that does not account for other common types of economic and diplomatic punishments.

The full repertoire of potential international repercussions is dependent on the type and density of a state’s linkages, or its integration with the international community. These ties can range from trade agreements, conditioned membership in international organizations, and

---

<sup>69</sup> Daalder, "Responding to Russia's Resurgence: Not Quiet on the Eastern Front," *Foreign Affairs* (2017): 32.

defense pacts. The greater a state’s linkage, the more avenues exist beyond military aid through which it can be punished. Even more than leverage, linkage eludes a single objective measure. I therefore apply another crude measure and qualitatively categorize states as either “linked in”—and they would thus maintain a medium or high vulnerability to external punishment—or internationally isolated, which moves them to a low vulnerability. Isolation implies the international community is already punishing these states with economic and diplomatic sanctions. Moreover, it is highly unlikely they receive any US military aid, leaving no big sticks on the table that provide significant leverage, short of war. While military intervention is possible, it is very unlikely. As a result, the combination of low linkage and medium leverage results in isolated states having a low vulnerability to international punishment. Table 1 summarizes these categories. Most states fall in the medium category, even those that receive no US military assistance. This is because most modern states are linked into the international community enough that they are vulnerable to some type of external punishment, which serves to deter their militaries from engaging in highly visible, wanton repression. As a result, most militaries’ default preference is for no repression.

Table 2.1 Vulnerability to International Punishment		
	US Military Assistance % of Annual Military Expenditures	
	< 10%	>10%
International Linkages Present	Medium	High
International Isolation	Low	n/a

The different levels of vulnerability result in different thresholds at which a military’s preference for repression changes. All militaries have a point at which the domestic threat becomes so great that its preference for repression will flip from its default of no repression and it will obey the regime’s order. Militaries in states with a low vulnerability to international

punishment tend to have very low thresholds, while militaries with high vulnerabilities are likely to endure higher levels of domestic threat before they obey repression orders. In sum, the international threat explains why militaries have different thresholds for repression, but variation in the level of domestic threat is what causes their preferences to change.

### **Domestic Threat**

Key to a military's strategic calculation is the threat that domestic unrest poses to the state's stability and security. A state is unlikely to collapse as a result of a single demonstration. However, mass protests have the potential to impact a state's power, which can both threaten its relative standing in the international community and increase its vulnerability to follow-on threats. Power can be conceived of as a state's economic, demographic and natural resources; the conversion of those resources into national capabilities, including military might and diplomatic prestige; and the ability to use those capabilities to achieve desired outcomes. Generally, the more disruptive and violent protests are, the greater the destruction of infrastructure, production, and human resources, and the higher the cost of recovery. These upfront costs of domestic unrest may require budgetary belt tightening and could even have a small impact on a state's ability to convert resources into national power, particularly if it is relatively weak to begin with. Aside from the immediate damage, however, rampant unrest is a patent sign of instability that can weaken economic and political confidence in a state, leading to more insidious long-term costs not captured in the immediate repair bill or death toll. Violent protests are also more likely to spiral out of control. As a result, the real concern is that if violence is allowed to escalate to too high of a level, it will produce far more perilous threats.

Observers may view the threat of even violent demonstrations as innocuous to a state's security, but militaries—with their heightened sensitivity to threats—are looking at the trajectory of the protests and anticipating what will come next. The three most worrisome threats stemming from

domestic unrest are (1) significant economic damage, (2) devolution into internal war, and (3) increased vulnerability to foreign intervention. The more violent and widespread domestic contentious events are, the more likely they will trigger these second order threats. All three of these outcomes can threaten a state's security by weakening its resource base and/or forcing it to expend its military power. While these are only potential threats to a state's security, the higher the level of protester violence, the greater the potential for harm and the greater the imperative to repress the unrest. Regardless of its normal preferences, at a certain point it becomes reckless for the military to stand aside and do nothing. The bottom line is militaries have to take the domestic threat as seriously as they take the international threat.

The first and most tangible threat stemming from domestic unrest is the economic damage that results from physical destruction of infrastructure, and the loss of productivity and investments. The costs to repair even general damage caused by riots and looting, as well as the recovery time before businesses are back up and running, can be a huge drain on a state's finances. For instance, the August 2011 Blackberry Riots in England only lasted four nights but left 48,000 shops, restaurants, pubs and clubs with financial losses.<sup>70</sup> Insurance companies paid out over £300 million (\$491 million), while the state was left to compensate an untold sum to the uninsured under the Riot (Damages) Act of 1886.<sup>71</sup> The Metropolitan Police spent another £34 million to contain the riots—more than it spent policing public events in the previous year.<sup>72</sup> Besides the cost of containment and repair, England's economy suffered; retail stores alone

---

<sup>70</sup> "Riots in England: The Fire This Time," *The Economist*, 13 Aug 2011.

<sup>71</sup> Lewis et al., "Reading the Riots: Investigating England's Summer of Disorder," (London: The London School of Economics and Political Science and the Guardian, 2011), 28. The 1886 law was replaced by the Riot Compensation Act of 2016 due to problems exposed by the 2011 riots, including the provision for unlimited compensation. The new law caps each claim at £1 million.

<sup>72</sup> This does not include bills from other forces called in to help. Johnson, "Riots to Cost Met Police £34m," *Independent*, 30 Aug 2011.

reported a loss of over 30,000 trading hours or 1,250 days.<sup>73</sup> Finally, images of “London Burning” were broadcast around the world as countries issued travel advisories to tourists.<sup>74</sup> If the riots caused just 1% of potential visitors to cancel their trip, the lost revenue amounts to another £520 million.<sup>75</sup> The immediate costs of demonstrations or riots may not result in a decrease in GDP or other common measures of state power, but . . . Hurricane article

Beyond the immediate financial damage, domestic unrest can do long-term harm a state’s economy. Multinational corporations and foreign factories, common targets of demonstrations, may suspend or move their businesses when faced with potential domestic instability. In Egypt, General Motors and Electrolux, each employing thousands of people, shut down operations due to the political and social unrest following President Morsi’s removal from office.<sup>76</sup> In Kenya, business owners suspended operations two months before the March 2013 presidential election fearing a repeat of the 2007 election violence.<sup>77</sup> Thousands were left without jobs in both countries, doing permanent harm to local economies.

The second significant threat that domestic unrest poses to a state’s security is the potential for it to spiral out of control and devolve into internal war, threatening the physical security of residents and the integrity of the state. During domestic contentious events, grievances are often directed towards scapegoated communities, which can lead to mass violence. For example, in Indonesia (1998), university students’ peaceful demonstrations demanding President Suharto’s resignation amid the Asian Financial Crisis were followed by riots over food shortages and mass unemployment. Rioters targeted ethnic Chinese, attacking

---

<sup>73</sup> Rowley, "Uk Retailers Lost 30,000 Trading Hours Due to Riots," The Telegraph, 24 Aug 2011.

<sup>74</sup> Newton-Small, "After the Riots: The Economic Cost of London’s Mayhem," Time, 12 Aug 2011.

<sup>75</sup> Moore, "Riots Hit Retail Shares ‘at Worst Time’," Financial Times, 12 Aug 2011.

<sup>76</sup> Adams, "Western Businesses Pull out of Egypt," Marketplace, 15 Aug 2013.

<sup>77</sup> "Kenyan Businesses Close in Fear of Electoral Violence," IRIN, 8 Jan 2013.

their homes and shops, raping women, and shooting or beating residents to death; many others died in fires set in malls and supermarkets.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, in Venezuela (1989), looters targeted and viciously attacked shops owned by foreigners after an abrupt rise in bus fares and gas prices. Hundreds were killed and thousands injured in the riots.<sup>79</sup> These kinds of violent episodes—directed toward specific ethnic, religious, class, ideological or other identifiable groups—can quickly escalate into cycles of attack and retaliation.

Unchecked state-directed violence can also encourage activists to adopt more extreme strategies as both their fear of retribution decreases and their perception of the efficacy of violent tactics increases. Cunningham and Beaulieu confirm that protestors are more likely to take greater risks and adopt violence as a protest strategy in response to uncertainty about the state's resolve.<sup>80</sup> This dynamic can lead to a spiral of escalating violence among activists as they compete for recognition and popular support.<sup>81</sup> Whether targeted toward the state or towards residents, domestic unrest can transition from popular demonstrations, to massacres, to full-fledged insurgencies, revolutions, or civil wars.

Finally, a third major threat to state security that can result from domestic unrest is an increased vulnerability to foreign intervention. States that fail to contain unsanctioned violence appear weak. Even if this perception is false, rampant unrest and its aftermath can lead rivals to perceive a momentary decline in a state's military and economic power—a window of opportunity they are prone to exploit. Windows of opportunity encourage aggression because

---

<sup>78</sup> Reuters, "Over 1,000 Killed in Indonesia Riots: Rights Body," 3 Jun 1998.

<sup>79</sup> Márquez, "Venezuela: Wound Still Gaping 20 Years after 'Caracazo'," Inter Press Service, 27 Feb 2009.

<sup>80</sup> Cunningham and Beaulieu, "Dissent, Repression, and Inconsistency," in *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*, ed. Chenoweth and Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2010).

<sup>81</sup> Lawrence, "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," *International Security* 35, no. 2 (2010); Cunningham, Bakke, and Seymour, "Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow: The Effects of Fragmentation on Conflict Processes in Self-Determination Disputes," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 1 (2012).

“war is more likely when states expect better results from a war begun now than a war begun later.”<sup>82</sup> Scholars tend to link windows of opportunity with aggression by declining states, which initiate wars while the balance of power with rising states is still in their favor.<sup>83</sup> However, the logic works both ways; states can also take advantage of a rival’s window of vulnerability. For example, Walt shows that revolutions foster interstate conflict by tempting foreign countries to opportunistically intervene even when a revolutionary state is not regarded as dangerous.<sup>84</sup> Even non-aggressor neighboring states may be tempted to intervene if unchecked domestic unrest has the potential to spill over shared borders or pose a threat to their internal security. Short of war, aggression can take the form of provocative cross-border activity, resource grabs, increased support to proxies, or challenges within the diplomatic sphere—all of which can pose serious threats to a state’s security beyond what is happening in the street. While some of the links between domestic unrest and state security reflect worst-case scenarios, militaries are trained to think and prepare for the worst case. They are highly sensitive to threats that may appear minor or transient to outside observers, but which pose a potential danger to the state.

### *Measuring the Domestic Threat*

Variations in the domestic threat cause a military’s preference for repression to change. As discussed above, this is because the international threat—which reflects the state’s overall vulnerability to external repercussions—tends to remain stable during a crisis. Threat perceptions are inherently subjective. How do we know when the domestic threat becomes significant enough to cause a military to prefer repression and risk international repercussions? A civilian

---

<sup>82</sup> Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 73.

<sup>83</sup> Thucydides argues war between Athens and Sparta was inevitable because of Athens’ rising power. Thucydides, Strassler, and Crawley, *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War* (New York: Free Press, 1996). Also see Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*; Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*.

<sup>84</sup> Walt, *Revolution and War*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

leader's repression order provides a clear marker the regime is threatened by domestic unrest, but that does not mean the military agrees with his assessment. To avoid endogeneity problems or post hoc explanations, we need an indicator of the domestic threat that is distinct from the military's obedience or disobedience.

To measure the domestic threat, I have operationalized it as the level of protester violence. This independent indicator precedes the military's decision to repress and can be objectively evaluated in all cases of military arbitration. Protester violence is the trigger that produces the very threats to the state the military is concerned about—significant economic damage, devolution into internal war, and increased vulnerability to foreign intervention. The more violent demonstrations are, the more likely these threats will be realized. Completely nonviolent protests, on the other hand, are less likely to produce these worrisome effects. Moreover, the type and target of protester violence helps determine which domestic threats pose the greatest risk to the state. Violence that is limited to the physical destruction of property may only threaten economic damage, for instance, while violent attacks on minorities or other subgroups increases the potential of internal war or international intervention. Finally, protester violence is an appropriate proxy because it is an observable manifestation of a state's stability, or lack thereof. Stability reflects a state's ability to avoid crises altogether, not simply its ability to deal with them.<sup>85</sup> The more violent domestic unrest is, the more serious the crisis; the greater the crisis, the more of a security threat the domestic unrest poses.

Protester violence is an improvement upon previous efforts to operationalize threats. In international relations theory, neorealists identify threats as the most crucial independent variable for explaining state behavior, but there is no consensus on how to conceive, assess, and measure

---

<sup>85</sup> Slater and Fenner, "State Power and Staying Power: Infrastructural Mechanisms and Authoritarian Durability," *Journal of International Affairs* 65, no. 1 (2011): 17.

them. Efforts range from looking solely at a state's aggregate resources, to combining capabilities with intentions revealed through the offense-defense balance or costly signaling.<sup>86</sup> Looking inside the black box of the state to explain how threats influence military decisions, scholars have defined threat as the "imminence of war."<sup>87</sup> However, this measure can only be objectively assessed in retrospective, limiting its utility for predictive analyses. Desch considers how domestic threats affect civilian control, but never specifies what a domestic threat is. He only suggests that it affects militaries' priorities, like the size of the defense budget, autonomy, cohesion, and survival of the institution. In other words, Desch's domestic threats are threats to the organization, not internal threats to the state.

While threat perceptions are subjective, protester violence is not. The type and prevalence of violence provide clear markers that are widely available to both militaries and observers. Misperceptions can still color officers' assessments, causing them to see higher or lower levels of violence than there actually are. This is more likely when inaccurate narratives of violence or nonviolence dominate the media. Even then, given the military's extensive sources of information, their assessments are unlikely to vary drastically from the facts on the ground.

Most studies of domestic contentious events classify protests and demonstrations as primarily violent or nonviolent, but do not account for the wide range of behavior within nonviolent cases.<sup>88</sup> Popular protests do tend to be nonviolent when compared to civil wars and

---

<sup>86</sup> On capability-based threats, see Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley Series in Political Science (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979); Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. On offense-defense theory and signaling, see Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (1978); Glaser, "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994/1995); Walt, *Revolution and War*.

<sup>87</sup> Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*; Goldman, "International Competition and Military Effectiveness: Naval Air Power, 1919-1945," in *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*, ed. Brooks and Stanley (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

<sup>88</sup> Cunningham and Beaulieu acknowledge the problem of a dichotomous classification of campaigns, but still classify events within a campaign as violent or nonviolent. Cunningham and Beaulieu, "Dissent, Repression, and

insurgencies, a common distinction in studies of civil resistance movements.<sup>89</sup> Within nonviolent events, however, various levels of physical damage and human harm occur.

In military arbitration events, violence can be the work of large rioting mobs, a small number of protesters, or even criminal elements taking advantage of a chaotic situation.<sup>90</sup> Even when mass demonstrations are preplanned, well organized and committed to nonviolence, fringe or criminal elements can derail their strategy.<sup>91</sup> Some movements adopt intentionally violent strategies, as well. Given the high likelihood that violent events will be repressed, some may wonder why activists would ever intentionally adopt violent strategies. The literature is inconclusive on this matter, showing highly inconsistent influences of repressive behavior on dissent. Davenport calls this the “Punishment Puzzle.”<sup>92</sup> Pearlman argues violent strategies are based more on a lack of cohesion within protest movements, rather than a direct response to government tactics.<sup>93</sup> Regardless of why violence occurs, the main point is a wide spectrum of violent behavior can be present even when events are considered largely nonviolent.

I have identified four levels of domestic threat that correspond with low, medium-low, medium-high, and high levels of protester violence. I only look at violence perpetrated by demonstrators. By the time militaries are ordered to repress domestic events, police or

---

Inconsistency,” 180. For a representative collection of “nonviolent” cases, see Swarthmore College, “Global Nonviolent Action Database,” (2012).

<sup>89</sup> Many datasets classify violent campaigns according to the Correlates of War requirements for internal wars, namely that organized armed forces must be involved and a minimum of 1,000 battle-related fatalities within a twelve-month period must occur. Compared to this high bar, most popular protests would not be considered violent. Chenoweth and Stephan classify nonviolent campaigns as those that are primarily or entirely nonviolent, but do not identify a threshold identifying how much violence is acceptable and how much is too much. Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, 13.

<sup>90</sup> For an interesting look at the relationship between collectivity size and types of targets, see Martin, McCarthy, and McPhail, “Why Targets Matter: Toward a More Inclusive Model of Collective Violence,” *American Sociological Review* 74, no. October (2009).

<sup>91</sup> For the importance of strong organization and internal cohesion in a movement to ensure nonviolent activism, see Pearlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>92</sup> Davenport, “State Repression and Political Order,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10(2007): 8.

<sup>93</sup> Pearlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*.

paramilitary forces have likely already intervened. They may have injured or killed large numbers of people in trying to force the protesters to disband. If these security forces were under the control of the regime, I do not include this violence in my assessment. In determining the threat to the state, I only consider the actions and reactions of civilians. As such, there could be scores of civilian deaths at the hands of security forces during a completely nonviolent event.

As Table 2 outlines, level 1 reflects a low threat consistent with an absence of protester violence or only isolated cases of minor property damage, such as rock throwing or graffiti. Personal injuries caused by protesters are rare, and when they do occur they are minor. Level 2 indicates a medium-low threat, with violence consisting of activities that produce significant but isolated material damage, like looting or setting fires to targeted buildings, but personal injuries remain minor. Level 3 marks a medium-high threat level where there is not only significant damage, but protesters seriously injure or kill a small number of people, usually during direct physical confrontations with police. Finally, level 4 indicates a high threat level, during which there is widespread damage that is often associated with riots, as well as many serious injuries and deaths at the hands of protesters.

Table 2.2 Levels of Domestic Threat & Protester Violence	
<b>(1) Low</b>	Minor and isolated property damage + minor injuries (if any)
<b>(2) Med-Low</b>	Significant damage + minor injuries
<b>(3) Med-High</b>	Significant damage + a few serious injuries or deaths
<b>(4) High</b>	Widespread damage + many serious injuries or deaths

Some degree of ambiguity will always exist when violence falls along the seams of each level, but the threshold between low (1) and high (4) levels of violence is quite distinct. Identifying and differentiating between levels 2 and 3 help refine this critical threshold and further specify variations in the domestic threat.

Once again, protester violence is the trigger that activates the three domestic threats outlined above—significant economic damage, devolution into internal war, and increased vulnerability to foreign intervention. Because states have different vulnerabilities, some domestic threats are more likely to be activated than others. All states are susceptible to some degree of economic damage, but the other threats are dependent on the unique situation of each state. For instance, internal war poses a more realistic threat in states with significant cleavages that are exacerbated by the source of unrest. Similarly, the risk of foreign intervention is more likely when a state is bordered by rivals that have the capability to intervene as well as unresolved issues. As the level of protester violence increases, the probability that these domestic threats will occur also increases. Table 3 identifies the domestic threats most likely to be activated in the case studies examined in this dissertation. Serbia, for instance, was vulnerable to both economic damage and foreign intervention. However, because protester violence was low the risk of these occurring was also low, resulting in a low domestic threat overall.

	<b>Economic Damage</b>	<b>Internal War</b>	<b>Foreign Intervention</b>
<b>Serbia</b>	X		X
<b>China</b>	X		X
<b>Egypt</b>	X	X	X

### **A Theory of Military Arbitration**

A theory that predicts when militaries will obey or disobey orders to repress their domestic population must focus on the military’s decision-making process, or strategic calculation, for determining its preference for repression. Because arbitration events are states of emergency, the military’s calculus differs from normal times. The crisis triggers a military’s security imperative to protect the state, which temporarily dampens peacetime preferences that

guide its day-to-day behavior. Even though these are domestic events, threats can present from both inside and outside the state, putting its security at risk.

### ***The Logic of Military Repression***

The problem militaries face in arbitration events is how to handle the competing threats coming from the domestic unrest that sparked the event on one side, and the potential international repercussions if it obeys the regime's order to repress on the other. From the military's perspective there are no good options. If it obeys the leader's order, the state will likely be punished for repression. If it disobeys, political turmoil is likely, protester violence could trigger domestic threats the state, or both. The military is left to determine its preference for repression by weighing the domestic and international threats to determine which poses the greatest risk to the state. It is this strategic calculation that informs the military's decision to obey or disobey repression orders.

The logic of repression can be described by a simple equation:

$$S(D - I) = R$$

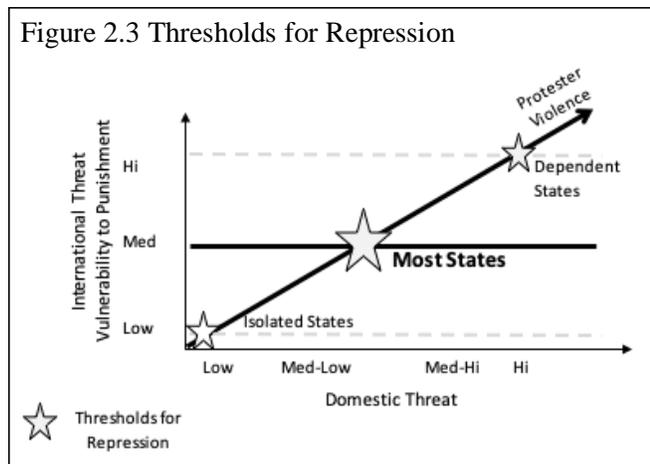
where:      *S* = Security Imperative (*1: present, 0: absent*)  
              *D* = Domestic Threat (*low, medium-low, medium-high, high*)  
              *I* = International Threat (*low, medium, high*)  
              *R* = Preference for Repression

Militaries will prefer repression and obey orders when  $R > 0$ , and they will prefer no repression and disobey orders when  $R < 0$ .

According to the theory of military arbitration, it is the balance between domestic and international threats that determine a military's preference for repression during domestic contentious events. Since all states are vulnerable to some degree of international punishment ( $I > 0$ ), and that value is relatively constant, it is primarily variation in the domestic threat that determines the outcome of a military's strategic calculation. Absent domestic threat ( $D = 0$ ), the

international threat dictates a preference for no repression ( $R < 0$ ), assuming the causal mechanism is present. If one of the elements of the causal mechanism—professionalism or nationalism—is absent ( $S = 0$ ), the security imperative will not function as theorized and the theory of military arbitration is unlikely to hold. When the domestic threat increases there is a point at which it outweighs the international threat and flips the military’s preference to repression ( $R > 0$ ). At this point, officers will begin to obey repression orders regardless of the repercussions, because the domestic unrest poses a greater threat to the security of the state.

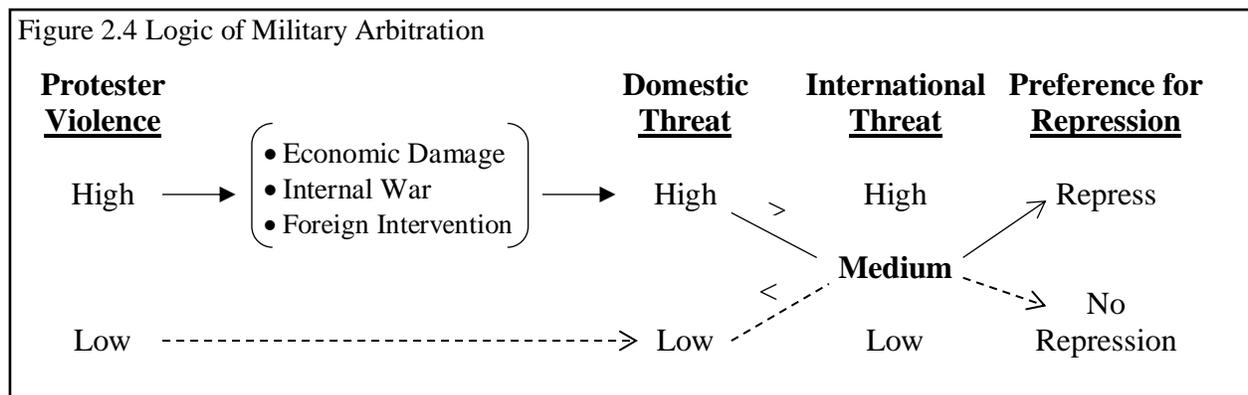
Variation in the international threat determines the point, or threshold, at which the military’s preference for repression changes. (See Figure 3.) Because most states have a medium vulnerability to international punishment, militaries’ preference for repression tends to flip when the domestic threat changes from a medium-low to a medium-high level. However, states with a low vulnerability to international repercussions will engage in repression when protester violence is much lower, and are likely to prefer repression unless the domestic threat is extremely low. States with a high vulnerability, on the other hand, are likely to hold off on repression until the domestic threat reaches a very high level.



Since most states have a medium vulnerability, the threshold between medium-low and medium-high levels of domestic threat offers a useful rule of thumb for predicting military behavior. However, it is necessary to look inside each case to determine its actual vulnerability to international punishment. Chapters 3-5 are in-depth case studies that closely examine the variables to demonstrate the logic of military repression at work. Case studies not only increase

confidence that the theory is operating as expected, but can also explain cases where the threshold, or the point at which the domestic threat outweighs the international threat, varies from the standard mean.

In sum, it is not a military's preference for obedience, loyalty to a leader, or organizational interests that drives its preference for repression in the moments of crisis that characterize arbitration events. It is the military's security imperative and the balance between domestic and international threats. The overall logic of the theory of military arbitration is depicted in Figure 4.



### Caveats & Extensions

**1. A civilian leader's order to repress is a necessary condition for cases of military arbitration; a declared state of emergency is not.** A leader's order to repress can consist of verbal or written directives to military leaders and are often accompanied by the declaration of a state of emergency or martial law. These declarations serve to provide legal justification and cover from domestic and international criticism, but they are not required. Arbitration events are moments of crisis, whether they are officially declared as such or not. The regime's repression order initiates the crisis, and is the only necessary condition for military arbitration.

Most cases of domestic repression do not involve regimes ordering their militaries to intervene, and are therefore not cases of military arbitration. Even when regimes fall due to pressure from protests, the military is rarely involved. Leaders may underestimate the threat until it is too late, overestimate the ability of internal security forces to contain the unrest, or are simply unwilling to order the military to intervene. Suppression of domestic unrest is normally the work of internal security forces, not the military. News sources and official reporting tend to conflate these organizations, using terms like ‘troops, soldiers, officers, security forces, and armed forces’ to refer to the police, especially when specialized paramilitary units are involved. As a result, militaries are presumed to play larger internal security roles than they do.

When regimes do order the military in, they tend to broadcast it to warn civilians to return to their homes, and ideally subdue the unrest with the mere threat of military engagement. Even if there is no public announcement, meetings and appearances with the leader and officers indicate coordination. Military repression is extremely unlikely without orders. Officers that intervene on their own are likely to side with protesters to execute a coup d’état, not quiet the domestic unrest. Conversely, militaries could refuse behind the scene orders, which would result in cases of military arbitration going unreported.

**2. The type of nationalism a country practices determines if the military views the state, or the regime, as its client.** While nationalism is ubiquitous in modern militaries, every society has its own idea of what the state should look like and how it should function. Countries promote different versions of nationalism—what I call official nationalisms—that endorse specific political values and can be used for different political objectives. Official nationalisms endorse idealized versions of the status quo, and can loosely be categorized as majoritarian,

counterrevolutionary, and regime depending on the primary values they promote.<sup>94</sup> Majoritarian and counterrevolutionary nationalisms specify one's duty is to the nation-state, and inform the military's security imperative as outlined above. Regime nationalism views the leader and state as synonymous. As a result, when regime nationalism is present the security imperative does not identify the state as the military's client; it fails to function as described. Therefore, the theory of military arbitration is unlikely to hold in these cases.

***Majoritarian Nationalism:*** Espouses the continued rule or domination by the prevailing cultural group in the state. One dominant culture is promoted to the detriment of others, which minorities may or may not have the option of adopting. This version comes closest to promoting the core definition of a nation-state, or the alignment of political and cultural units. It also embraces a basic precept of democracy—majority rule—although majoritarian nationalism is not confined to a specific type of government. Israel is an example of majoritarian nationalism with its promotion of a Jewish state and culture despite having a population that comes from very diverse backgrounds. Those Jews who submit to the melting pot become part of the accepted and privileged majority while non-Jews are marginalized. Half the country believes this is justifiable, including a growing proportion of the youth.<sup>95</sup>

***Counterrevolutionary Nationalism:*** Promotes the continuation of a current conception of government and set of beliefs about how the country should be run.<sup>96</sup> Adherents may have once been part of a revolutionary vanguard, but once they have consolidated power and reformed the

---

<sup>94</sup> Because I am only dealing with the behavior of state-actors, I do not address “unofficial” nationalism.

<sup>95</sup> 48.9% of Israeli Jews believe they should have more rights than non-Jewish citizens, while only 28.2% of non-Jewish Israeli Arabs feel a sense of belonging to the state. Hermann et al., "The Israeli Democracy Index 2013," (Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute, 2013).

<sup>96</sup>Counterrevolutionary nationalism can be thought of in terms of Edmund Burke's conservative nationalism as opposed to the radical nationalism of the French Revolution. See Furniss, "Cementing the Nation: Burke's Reflections on Nationalism and National Identity," in *Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Whale (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000).

government their goals change to preserving the status quo. Iran is a clear example of this phenomenon; after almost forty years in power, the regime is clearly not interested in change. It has, however, witnessed the orderly turnover of numerous presidents and even a change in Supreme Leaders. It is devotion to the character of the state, not to individual leaders, that matters. At the other end of the religious spectrum is France with its constitutional requirement of *laïcité*, the separation of state and religious activities. This legal mandate has been most notable in the ban on headscarves in French public schools, although it applies to the wearing of any type of conspicuous religious symbol in government-run institutions. While little girls wearing headscarves may appear innocuous to outside observers, within France any effort to infringe upon the secular nature of the state is widely seen as a threat to the country.<sup>97</sup> In both Iran and France, the values counterrevolutionary nationalism endorses are centered on preserving the character of the state.

***Regime Nationalism:*** Supports and extols the values of a specific regime. The status quo, including the prominence of certain demographic groups and the character of the government, is explicitly tied to the survival of the leader and his family. Absolute monarchies, such as the Hashemite's of Jordan or the Saud family in Saudi Arabia, are prime examples. However, other types of regimes also promote regime nationalism, including Syria's Assad family. These personalistic and dynastic regimes justify their authority by promoting immutable ties to the people and territory, like other types of nationalism. For instance, while the Hashemites and Saudis rely on their religious credentials of direct descent from the prophet Muhammad, they also stress their

---

<sup>97</sup> In a March 2013 poll, over 80% of French citizens supported the ban on religious symbols in public and private spheres. AFP, "Voile: Les Français Favorables À Un Renforcement De L'interdiction," *Le Point*(2013), [http://www.lepoint.fr/societe/voile-les-francais-favorables-a-un-renforcement-de-l-interdiction-25-03-2013-1645213\\_23.php](http://www.lepoint.fr/societe/voile-les-francais-favorables-a-un-renforcement-de-l-interdiction-25-03-2013-1645213_23.php); Friedman and Merle, "Veiled Threats: Decentering and Unification in Transnational News Coverage of the French Veil Ban," *Feminist Media Studies* 13, no. 5 (2013).

ties to the tribes that have historically controlled their land. Even personalistic rulers, therefore, adopt the practices of nationalism to support their positions of power. However, because the ruler is central in the discourse of regime nationalism, the threat perceptions of militaries in these states are likely to coincide with those of their leaders.

Table 2.4 Typology of Official Nationalisms		
	Primary Value	Theory of military arbitration explains obedience decisions?
Majoritarian	Dominant Culture	Yes
Counterrevolutionary	Character of State	Yes
Regime	Individual Ruler	No

Table 4 summarizes my typology of official nationalisms. There is often overlap between these categories with states exhibiting more than one type, which can make it difficult to discern the dividing lines, particularly between the majoritarian and counterrevolutionary types. However, the most important and clearest line is the one that differentiates majoritarian and counterrevolutionary nationalisms from regime nationalism. It is this divide that separates those cases that conform to the theory of military arbitration and those that may not. Although imperfect, this typology seeks to avoid the normative bias of dichotomous classifications while acknowledging that militaries are inspired by different shades of nationalism.

**3. There can be international consequences for both repressing and not repressing domestic unrest:** Normally, international repercussions discourage repression. However, when rampant domestic violence goes unchecked it demonstrates state weakness or indifference and provides a rationale for outside involvement. In these situations, the international consequences for not repressing domestic unrest are sometimes greater than those for repression. For example, the failure of a state to subdue civilian violence directed toward minorities or other vulnerable groups can prompt intrusive international peacekeeping operations to prevent or halt genocides. The inability to repress domestic unrest could also trigger concerns about the state’s ability to

safeguard its nuclear weapons, continue production and export of vital natural resources, or prevent unrest from spilling over into a strategic partner's territory. When a contentious event occurs and the domestic threat reaches a level where it demands repression, there is a subsequent point at which the international community reinforces the military's preference for repression and will punish it if it does not intervene. This point entails a very high domestic threat, which should have already mandated repression if the military's security imperative is functioning.

**4. Obedience requires militaries to suppress the behavior the regime finds threatening, but repression does not constitute a specific set of actions.** In cases of military arbitration, the behavior leaders find threatening is the mass congregation of civilians broadcasting demands or criticisms. To determine whether a military obeys or disobeys its repression orders, we must distinguish what repression entails. For some observers, the mere deployment of armed forces into the street is a form of repression given the military's overwhelming lethal advantage. If this persuades protesters to disband, then the military has been obedient. However, this is an unlikely scenario. A military presence alone will rarely influence protesters' behavior, especially if they have already faced down internal security forces. Deployment, therefore, does not automatically equal obedience. I define repression very narrowly as shows or uses of force, including acts of intimidation and direct violence.<sup>98</sup>

Obedience of repression orders normally requires the use of physical force, to include the movement, containment, beating, or even killing of civilians. Failure to suppress domestic unrest does not automatically signify disobedience, however, if armed forces tried to repress but were thwarted by overwhelming opposition or their own ineptitude. While this sort of failure is

---

<sup>98</sup> This definition corresponds with Earl's category of "overt, coercive repression" from her typology that includes twelve distinct types of repression. Earl, "Tanks, Tear Gas and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression," *Sociological Theory* 21, no. 1 (2003): 48.

theoretically possible, it is empirically unlikely given the typical disparity between military and civilian capabilities and resources.

**5. Disobedience can take two forms: defection and shirking.** Defection occurs when military leaders simply refuse to deploy their forces. This occurred in December 2001, when the Argentine military chose to remain garrisoned during mass demonstrations against President Fernando De la Rúa, despite a direct order to intervene.<sup>99</sup> Without the military's support, the president was forced out of office. Defection can also occur when militaries preempt repression orders by announcing they will not intervene. During Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, for instance, the Minister of Defense declared on national television that the army would never act against the people. Actively joining civilian demonstrations or publicly supporting their demands is not necessary for a military to defect, although this would represent an extreme case of disobedience.

Shirking is subtler; militaries deploy but they do not attempt to disband or quiet the protesters' voice. In other words, they are not implementing the intent of the repression orders.<sup>100</sup> Shirking occurs when a military has the manpower and means at its disposal to disrupt protesters but chooses not to utilize them. This scenario played out in Serbia's Bulldozer Revolution, during which the army deployed troops into the outskirts of Belgrade but never made a serious attempt to reach the city center where protesters were gathering.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, during the 2005 Cedar Revolution, the Lebanese army was ordered to stop the demonstrations; they made protesters go through security checks to keep weapons out of the marches, but otherwise ignored

---

<sup>99</sup> Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas, "Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking During Constitutional Crises in Latin America," 402.

<sup>100</sup> Quieting protesters' voice is the aim of repression orders. For more on voice, see Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*.

<sup>101</sup> Binnendijk and Marovic, "Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39(2006): 417.

orders to disband the protesters.<sup>102</sup> The Lebanese case illustrates how militaries might contain demonstrations to limit the potential for violence, but do not otherwise try to suppress the protesters' voice.

Disobedience can also occur if, once deployed, individual soldiers refuse to use force against civilians and this prompts military leaders to command all their units to disengage. This type of troop defection is the goal of civil resistance strategies that emphasize solidarity bonds between soldiers and the populace.<sup>103</sup> However, the wholesale defection of soldiers is not as plausible as activists hope. If military leaders choose to repress, most soldiers are likely to obey their orders. No army can tolerate undisciplined behavior, so a vital facet of soldiers' conditioning revolves around having them fire when and where they are told.<sup>104</sup> In fact, the order to fire was found to be the most critical factor among Vietnam veterans' decisions to use their weapons.<sup>105</sup> This was particularly true in ambiguous situations where it was not immediately clear who the enemy was or where the threat was coming from. In uncertain situations, including domestic contentious events that few soldiers train or prepare for, the order to fire makes sense and offers structure.

Finally, a tremendous volume of research indicates that a powerful sense of accountability to ones comrades, or peer pressure, also encourages obedience.<sup>106</sup> The anonymity that comes from being a member of a military group—or any crowd for that matter—helps diffuse responsibility for acts of violence that individuals would never dream of committing on

---

<sup>102</sup> Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm, "Lebanese Campaign for Democracy (Independence Intifada or Cedar Revolution), 2005," (Global Nonviolent Action Database, 2011).

<sup>103</sup> Nepstad, *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*, 15; Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, 53; Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, 82.

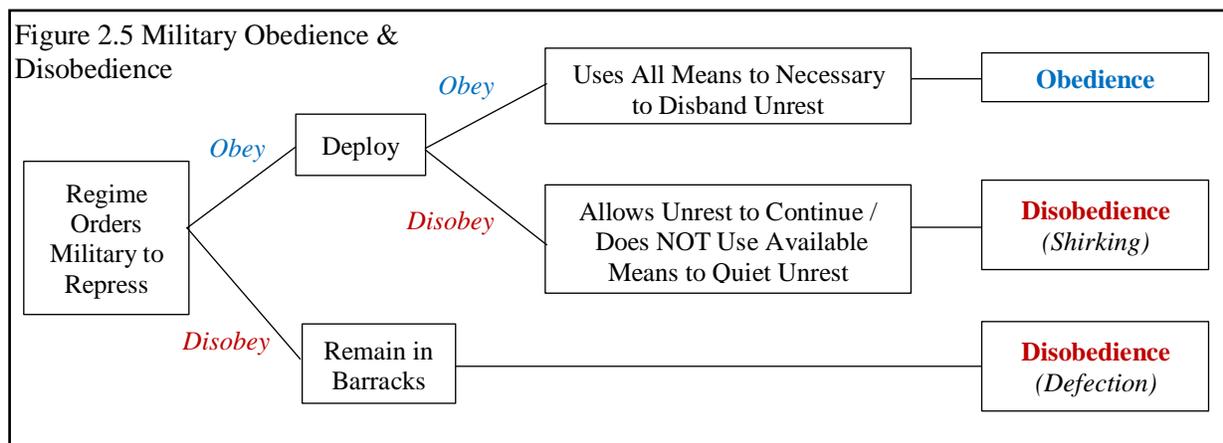
<sup>104</sup> Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* (New York: Bay Back Books, 2009), 262.

<sup>105</sup> Shalit, *The Psychology of Conflict and Combat* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988), 139-40.

<sup>106</sup> Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*, 149-50.

their own.<sup>107</sup> As a result, the confluence of conditioning, orders, corporate responsibilities, and anonymity suggest that if the military determines repression is necessary, soldiers will repress.

Figure 5 outlines the most common scenarios for military obedience and disobedience.



The remainder of this dissertation examines how well the theory of military arbitration explains a diverse set of cases. Chapters 3 through 5 are in-depth analyses of military arbitration events in Serbia, China, Egypt. These case studies assess the full theory by examining all the variables presented in this chapter and demonstrating the causal logic at work.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 151-52.

### Chapter 3 SERBIA'S BULLDOZER REVOLUTION (2000)

This chapter examines the October 2000 Bulldozer Revolution in Serbia. It explains the Yugoslav Army's (VJ) decision to disobey President Slobodan Milošević's orders to repress the popular protests that cemented his removal from office. To do this, it looks at state-military-society interactions in the Republic of Serbia before and during the demonstrations.<sup>1</sup> Process tracing disentangles the dynamics of military obedience and allows us to move beyond the correlation between military obedience and protester violence established in Chapter 3 to reveal the presence of the security imperative causal mechanism. In other words, this case study demonstrates the causal role of the VJ's security imperative in its decision to disobey direct orders from the regime. It also identifies inconsistencies in the ability of the alternate explanations of parochial interests, regime loyalty and cohesion to explain the Serbian case, lending further weight to my theory of military arbitration.

The Bulldozer Revolution is a strong case to demonstrate how low domestic threat levels influence military decisions to disobey repression orders. First, it is frequently held up as a quintessential example of the efficacy of nonviolent civil resistance.<sup>2</sup> "People power" advocates routinely tout the correlation between low levels of protester violence and successful civil resistance movements, but while they may note the necessity of security force defections, they do

---

<sup>1</sup> The republics of Serbia and Montenegro officially formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) until 2003. However, by late 2000, Montenegro was beginning to break away from the federation and did not play a significant role in the Bulldozer Revolution even though Milošević was the FRY president.

<sup>2</sup> For just a few examples, see Paulson, "Case Study: Serbia, 1996-2000," in *Sharp's Dictionary of Power and Struggle: Language of Civil Resistance in Conflicts*, ed. Sharp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Binnendijk and Marovic, "Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)."; Kuzio, "Civil Society, Youth and Societal Mobilization in Democratic Revolutions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39(2006).

not adequately theorize why these defections occur.<sup>3</sup> This chapter lays out evidence that fills the theoretical gap in this important case while also lending support to the overall logic of nonviolent civil resistance.

Secondly, nationalism is a key element in the security imperative causal mechanism and it has had a dominant and pervasive influence in Serbia. While the presence of nationalism in Serbia is not controversial or difficult to demonstrate, most analyses focus on the virulent ethnic nationalism that led to the breakup of Yugoslavia, characterizing all aspects of nationalism as toxic and something that should be completely eradicated. This study moves beyond this normative judgment and promotes a more nuanced understanding of how nationalism influenced perceptions of the state in Serbia. That is, it allows us to zero in on nationalism's multi-dimensional nature and the necessary and desirable role it plays in motivating militaries to secure the state.

Given the presence of these key factors from my theory of military arbitration—an indisputably low level of protester violence and pervasive nationalism—and the high certitude of its prediction of disobedience, Serbia serves as a most-likely case study.”<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it will cast strong doubt on my theory if it does not fit. Two of the three alternate explanations—parochial interests and cohesion—also point towards disobedience and thus covary with the outcome. The third alternate explanation of regime loyalty is indeterminate, meaning it does not make a clear prediction in this case. This chapter uses process tracing to disentangle these competing explanations by looking at the causal process over time to identify which mechanism is doing the work. It calls into question the ability of the alternate explanations to fully explain the VJ's

---

<sup>3</sup> For instance, see Nepstad, *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*; Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*.

<sup>4</sup> George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 121.

behavior and suggests the army's disobedience was not as foreseeable as some studies have implied. In the words of one Belgrade analyst, "Anyone who tells you they know how this will play out is deceived. Nobody knows."<sup>5</sup> Many, in fact, feared that the army would defend the regime.<sup>6</sup>

This chapter summarizes the pertinent events surrounding the Bulldozer Revolution. It looks at each link in the chain of events to demonstrate that they are accurately represented by my theory and to substantiate my measures of the independent and dependent variables. It also provides evidence that each part of the security imperative causal mechanism was present and operated according to the logic of my theory. Finally, it evaluates the alternate explanations and, in the process, considers the Yugoslav Army's record of intervening in internal security matters and what these past events can tell us about the behavior of the regime, the opposition and the armed forces.

### **Case Summary**

In July 2000, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) Assembly amended the Constitution to allow the FRY President to be elected by direct popular vote rather than by the Assembly, as had been the rule, and gave President Milošević the option to run for two more four-year terms. Whether it was because he was confident he had weathered the loss of Kosovo, convinced the opposition was too weak to pose a threat, or hoping to hold the election before economic difficulties worsened, Milošević scheduled elections for 24 September 2000, even though his current term did not end until July 2001.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> "Yugoslav Army Is Key to Fight for Power," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 5 Aug 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Edmunds, "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State," in *Civil-Military Relations in Postcommunist Europe: Reviewing the Transition*, ed. Edmunds, Cottey, and Forster (London: Routledge, 2006), 115.

<sup>7</sup> Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 333.

Competition among the political opposition had hindered previous efforts to oust the regime, but by spring 2000 they managed to achieve enough unity to establish a joint opposition platform. With the instrumental support of the student activist group *Otpor* (Resistance), the challengers formed the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), a broad electoral alliance comprising 18 parties from across the political spectrum. DOS selected Vojislav Koštunica as their candidate, a constitutional lawyer known as “the nonviolent nationalist.”<sup>8</sup>

Voter turnout was extremely high at 70% and according to election monitors who conducted parallel vote tabulations Milošević was decisively defeated. In a five-man race Koštunica took 51% of the votes compared to Milošević’s 38%.<sup>9</sup> Yet Milošević refused to concede. The government-controlled Federal Electoral Committee claimed no candidate won over 50% of the votes and that a second round between Koštunica and Milošević would have to take place on 8 October. Opposition members cried fraud and Koštunica vowed to boycott the runoff declaring, “The victory is obvious, and we will defend it by all nonviolent means. The people have given their political no to Milošević and his policies.”<sup>10</sup>

The opposition pursued two different tracks to enforce the legitimate election results: a legal track challenging the findings of the Federal Election Commission in the courts, and people power—pressuring the regime through a mixture of rallies, strikes and demonstrations.<sup>11</sup> Early protests in Belgrade only drew small crowds but much larger demonstrations took place in other parts of the country. The most notable symbol of dissatisfaction occurred when miners went on

---

<sup>8</sup> Paulson, "Case Study: Serbia, 1996-2000," 19.

<sup>9</sup> International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), "Electionguide," <http://www.electionguide.org/results.php?ID=949>.

<sup>10</sup> Erlanger, "Milosevic Seeking a Runoff Election after His Setback," *The New York Times*, 27 Sept 2000.

<sup>11</sup> "Civil Disobedience Is Planned to Try to Force Milosevic Out," *The New York Times*, 29 Sept 2000.

strike at the Kolubara mine, disrupting the coal production Serbia depended on for over half of its electricity.

On 4 October, the constitutional court acknowledged evidence of fraud during the election, but instead of declaring Koštunica the winner the court ruled that the whole presidential election would have to be run over again at an undetermined future date. Enraged, the opposition gave Milošević until 3pm the next day to resign. On 5 October over half a million protesters from around the country converged on the center of Belgrade. A little after 3pm, demonstrators stormed the Federal Parliament building, the broadcasting studios of Radio Television Serbia, and the town hall—all prominent and hated symbols of the regime. Some police joined the opposition, but others tried to stop the protesters by firing tear gas, rubber bullets and stun grenades, leading to minor clashes. A construction worker named Ljubislav Djokic drove his bulldozer through the barricades in front of the Parliament, creating a path for the protesters and inspiring the “Bulldozer Revolution” moniker. The remaining police soon surrendered or fled, abandoning the buildings to the crowd. The VJ was nowhere to be seen.

That evening Koštunica greeted the jubilant crowd with the words, “Good evening, liberated Serbia!”<sup>12</sup> The next night, Milošević appeared on television and said he had just been informed of the official election results and Koštunica had won. With the announcement of his immediate resignation Milošević’s regime came to an ignominious end. Around the world, activists proclaimed that nonviolent civil resistance had achieved what NATO’s 78-day war could not: the removal of a brutal autocrat. The story would have been much different, however, had the VJ intervened and forced the protesters to disband. Why did the military remain on the sidelines?

---

<sup>12</sup> Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 344.

## **The Order to Repress**

It was not because the armed forces were not ordered to repress the demonstrations. While the details of the military leadership's actions leading up to Milošević's fall are contested, there is agreement that he desperately turned to the VJ to save his regime. Throughout the day on 5 October, the VJ General Staff was in a permanent crisis session at its headquarters, monitoring the flood of protesters convening on Belgrade. During this time the military received constant orders from Milošević to intervene.<sup>13</sup> When the attack on the Parliament began just after 3pm, Milošević personally called General Nebojsa Pavković, the Chief of the General Staff, and ordered him to put in motion plans for suppressing the demonstrations that had been developed a week earlier.<sup>14</sup> Soon after, Milošević called again and demanded, "Pavković, television is falling, have you moved yet?"<sup>15</sup> He continued to frantically call throughout the night, ordering the military to act. Thus, the military was repeatedly ordered to repress the domestic unrest.

## **Deployment of Forces**

There is also evidence that the armed forces prepared to obey the order, both in anticipation and upon its receipt. Two days after the 24 September contested election, army reservists were called up to participate in military exercise maneuvers. Milorad Marjanovic, a lawyer and DOS coordinator, claimed the notices were illegal because such mobilization could only take place during a state of emergency or war.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, "massive numbers" of men, including many in Belgrade and Leskovac, a town in southern Serbia, were told to report for duty. Opposition members claimed it was an obvious attempt by Milošević to intimidate citizens

---

<sup>13</sup> Gow and Zverzhanovski, *Security, Democracy and War Crimes: Security Sector Transformation in Serbia*, ed. Croft, New Security Challenges (Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 32.

<sup>14</sup> Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 349.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Reserve Army Members from Southern Serbian Town Called up for Military Exercises," *Radio B-92 (Internet Version-WWW)*, 1755 GMT 26 Sep 2000.

and “try and remain in power with the help of the army and the police.”<sup>17</sup> In response to the outcry and perhaps in the hope that the opposition would be willing to settle the matter at the polls, General Pavković cancelled the mobilization a week after it was initiated. He announced that the VJ would not call up reservists for military exercises or any other activities during the second round of elections. He went on to authorize conscripts currently serving in VJ units to be temporarily released so they could vote at their polling stations.<sup>18</sup> Importantly, this reversal should not be viewed as a break with the regime. While it may have limited the overall number of soldiers at General Pavković’s disposal, it temporarily removed from the ranks those with the least training and discipline and who were most likely to sympathize with the opposition. It therefore left a stronger, more lethal and obedient force at his disposal.

Furthermore, rather than tacitly supporting the opposition, in early October General Pavković actively worked to end the Kolubara miners’ strike, which was inspiring workers and mobilizing citizens around the country. Accompanied by a small contingent of troops, he tried to coerce the miners to return to work. Warning them to stop the strike for the good of the nation, Pavković yelled and threatened punishment at times and promised the workers a 10 percent raise at others, but the miners would not give up.<sup>19</sup> When thousands of local residents gathered to support the strikers the general and his vastly outnumbered soldiers had little choice but to withdraw.

Finally, when the military received direct orders to repress the massive 5 October demonstrations, the VJ deployed armored vehicles to patrol Milošević’s neighborhood in Dedinje and assembled a column of tanks and a detachment of paratroopers on the outskirts of

---

<sup>17</sup> "Gss Says Army Issuing Mobilization Call-up Notices in Belgrade," *BETA*, 25 Sept 2000.

<sup>18</sup> "Yugoslav Army to Release Conscripts, Not to Call up Reservists for Second Vote," *FoNet*, 29 Sept 2000.

<sup>19</sup> Erlanger, "Striking Serbian Coal Miners Maintain Solidarity," *The New York Times*, 4 Oct 2000.

Belgrade. Alert levels were raised in all the barracks in and around Belgrade as well as with elite units, including the 63<sup>rd</sup> Parachute Regiment in Nis.<sup>20</sup> Despite concerns that some soldiers were sympathetic to the demonstrators' cause, unit commanders signaled their readiness to move.<sup>21</sup> The VJ was prepared to obey repression orders and, upon receipt, it deployed its forces.

### **The Military Shirks**

Despite Milošević's frantic orders to intervene and the VJ's preparations to do so, General Pavković never issued an execute order to his commanders. Instead, the General Staff continued to monitor events from its headquarters in Belgrade. Milošević kept calling but the generals continued to delay. Around 1:30am, long after the demonstrations had evolved into a festival-like street party, Milošević asked Pavković, "Is it still possible to do something?" Pavković responded, "I will do what I can." Yet, he still hesitated. Some of the generals proposed a last-ditch plan to disperse the crowds around 4:30am, but Pavković would not order his commanders to move in.<sup>22</sup>

The next morning, a colonel from the Information Service of the General Staff announced that the VJ would "adhere to its stands and will not interfere in the democratic processes in Serbia."<sup>23</sup> With this public statement, the military unmistakably broke with Milošević and signaled to the opposition that it would not obey the regime's orders. Not surprisingly, Milošević finally stopped calling. Importantly, the colonel added that the Yugoslav Army would only react if its military facilities, personnel, or equipment came under direct threat.<sup>24</sup> In other words, its disobedience was conditional. The VJ would not allow the protesters to jeopardize its ability to

---

<sup>20</sup> Gow and Zverzhanovski, *Security, Democracy and War Crimes: Security Sector Transformation in Serbia*, 32.

<sup>21</sup> Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 349.

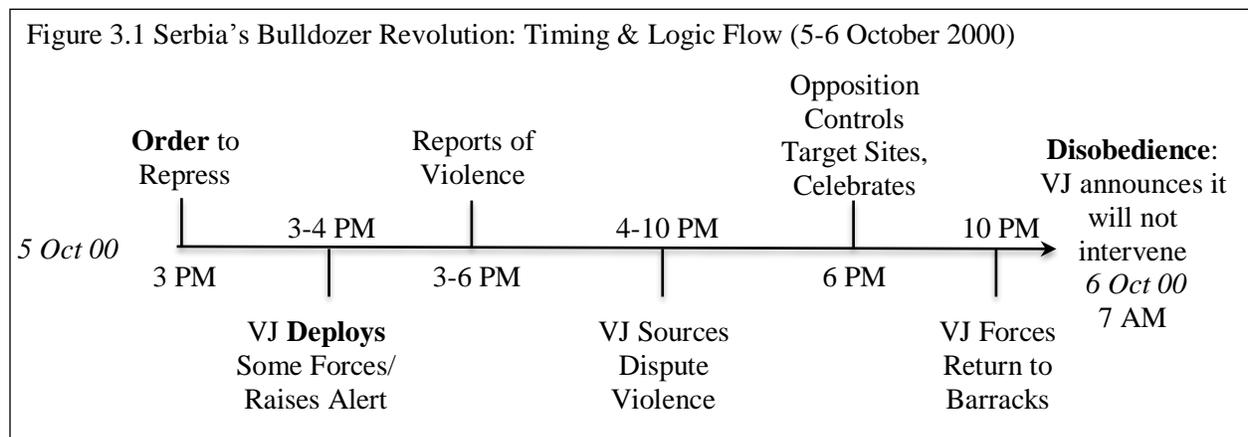
<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 350.

<sup>23</sup> "Yugoslav Army Spokesman Says Army to Respect People's 'Electoral Will'," *BETA*, 6 Oct 2000.

<sup>24</sup> "Yugoslav Army Not to Intervene Unless Attacked," *Tanjug Domestic Service*, 6 Oct 2000.

protect the state. Why did the military shirk from its duty to obey direct orders from Milošević—the FRY President and Supreme Commander of the Yugoslav Army—and thus its legal civilian authority?

Up to this point, all the possible explanations agree over the facts. The disagreement arises over which causal mechanism is responsible for producing the military’s disobedience. Was it concern for the state’s security, as I argue, or was it the VJ’s dissatisfaction with its parochial interests, fear of fracture, or a lack of loyalty to Milošević? To disentangle these competing explanations, it is necessary to look closely at the sequence of events, particularly those on 5 October 2000. Figure 1 depicts the timing on this critical day. If long standing grievances had motivated the military, we would expect to see immediate and decisive disobedience. This is not what happened. Instead, we see hesitation as the VJ General Staff assessed the situation and calculated the best course of action.



Timing alone does not prove the military based its decision on what was best for the state. It is also necessary to demonstrate that each part of the security imperative causal mechanism was present and operated according to the logic of my theory, before moving on to assess the threat environment and how it influenced the military’s strategic calculations.

## **Military's Security Imperative**

The military's security imperative is shaped by professionalism and nationalism, which produce a heightened sensitivity to threats to the state. It is the mechanism that transmitted causal forces from the international and domestic threat environments to produce the military's disobedience. This section presents observable implications, or fingerprints, of each part of the causal mechanism to indicate its presence. First, it establishes the military was a professional force, indicating substantial independence from the regime and the inherent responsibility for security. Second, it demonstrates that the military was infused with a high sense of nationalism, which resulted in it identifying the state, as opposed to the regime, as the military's supreme client.

### ***Military Professionalism***

To have a modern armed force a state must enable a degree of military professionalism. The expertise that forms the backbone of professionalism is necessary to manage the large number of personnel, employ the advanced weaponry, and conduct the complex operations that are the hallmark of modern armed forces. One of the inescapable side effects of this functional specialization is a degree of institutional autonomy; too much interference from the outside and the "machine" cannot function. This in turn, leads to greater professionalization as the more capable military becomes a more corporate organization with the ultimate responsibility for the management of violence. As a result, although modern militaries are responsible to the regime, they are independent actors within the state. Observable implications of professionalism include large, hierarchical organizations with specialized technical capabilities; sophisticated weaponry; internal rules, procedures and facilities for recruitment, training and promotions; and

mechanisms to enforce order and discipline. All these characteristics were present in the VJ long before the October 2000 Bulldozer Revolution.

The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) originated out of the WWII partisan movement that established the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and brought Marshal Tito to power. When the war ended, the fledgling state—itsself rapidly bureaucratizing—had to transform the bands of partisan guerillas into a strong, modern conventional military to ensure its survival from external attacks. From 800,000 partisans serving at the end of the war, the JNA preserved a force of 400,000—far too large of an organization for ad hoc management.<sup>25</sup> Laws were quickly adopted to institute the new army as well as a separate air force and navy, which is indicative of the amount of specialization taking place.

Part of the JNA's reinvention entailed actively seeking and acquiring specialized arms, which further bolstered the impetus to professionalize. Tito fully expected to receive state-of-the-art weaponry from the Soviet Union, and in anticipation of its delivery the partisan officer corps was trained and transformed into a professional cadre that could be given the knowledge and skills to meet the technical demands of the Cold War. When Soviet advisors failed to supply their ideological comrades with modern weapons, Tito prioritized the rapid development of the domestic armaments industry. This in turn required even more intense military education and training as the JNA now had to define requirements, design, and produce its own weapons.<sup>26</sup>

Further evidence of the JNA's successful professionalization is found in its prominent role in the country's post-war development. As the best-organized and technically most advanced element of Yugoslav society, the army became the “school of young Yugoslavs,”

---

<sup>25</sup> Gow, *The Serbian Project and Its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 52.

<sup>26</sup> *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 43.

teaching soldiers technical skills, such as construction, telecommunications and health care, that they could take back to the civilian economy.<sup>27</sup> Its education role began with literacy campaigns for the partisans, but after the war the JNA quickly organized a wide range of schools and academies offering secondary through graduate level instruction.<sup>28</sup> It even established several scientific-research centers to advance the growing expertise within the military. In addition to educational institutions, the military also provided housing for its personnel, its own medical and recreational facilities, and even its own farms. These efforts helped foster a strong corporate military identity.

A civil-military chain of command was also defined—a necessary early step towards institutional independence. Command was no longer coterminous with political leadership as it had been during the war; the military was responsible to the state and party but it was recognized as a separate institution.<sup>29</sup> This ‘divorce’ between the army and the party was emphasized in 1953 when in a self-correcting move the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia introduced the Basic Law, which shrank the massive bureaucratic apparatus of the state.<sup>30</sup> As a result of the party’s reduced influence and reach, the JNA became increasingly autonomous, conventional, and professional.

Finally, guidelines and procedures for recruitment and promotions were established. Given the multinational character of the SFRY, the army deliberately preserved the partisan’s motto of “brotherhood and unity” and actively worked to maintain an officer corps that reflected the national composition. Difficulties stemming from tradition, pay, conditions, language and

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>28</sup> Sikavica, "The Army's Collapse," in *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*, ed. Udovicki and Ridgeway (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 135.

<sup>29</sup> Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis*, 41.

<sup>30</sup> Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 191-92.

education hindered recruiting efforts among some nationalities, particularly Albanians, Croats and Slovenes. Instead, Serbs and Montenegrins were vastly overrepresented, which was attributed to their glorification of “the warrior” and purported belief that the “sword is more honorable than the plowshare.”<sup>31</sup> As a result, the JNA never achieved true representativeness despite extensive campaigns and programs to reach underrepresented communities. However, the composition of the High Command was more representative and serves as a clear signal that institutional policies informed promotions.<sup>32</sup>

By the mid-1960s, the army was irrefutably a professional force. Bureaucratization had instituted all the characteristics peculiar to militaries: organization, hierarchy, discipline, and responsiveness to command. Functional specialization produced the expertise in warfighting that modern forces required. Moreover, it had developed a corporate identity that largely superseded the ethnic or sectarian ties of its members. Finally, the JNA had embraced its responsibility for the management of interstate violence. This worldview is evident in a 1971 statement by General Ivan Miskovic: “Only in cases where the constitutional order was threatened would the army become an instrument for solving internal difficulties.”<sup>33</sup>

In 1992, the VJ inherited the remnants of the JNA due to the disintegration of the SFRY. In addition to the bulk of equipment and officers, the VJ also retained the JNA’s legacy and professional mindset that had been established and reinforced throughout the Cold War.<sup>34</sup> While the breakup of Yugoslavia did create institutional challenges for the VJ—particularly in terms of

---

<sup>31</sup> Remington, "State Cohesion and the Military," in *State-Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945-1992*, ed. Bokovoy, Irvine, and Lilly (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 64; Job, *Yugoslavia's Ruin: The Bloody Lessons of Nationalism, a Patriot's Warning* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 216.

<sup>32</sup> Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis*, 54-55.

<sup>33</sup> *The Serbian Project and Its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes*, 53.

<sup>34</sup> Ejodus, "The Normative Model of the Ideal Type Soldier in Serbia," in *The Image of the Democratic Soldier: Tensions Between the Organisation of Armed Forces and the Principles of Democracy in European Comparison* (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, 2007), 15.

resources—in 1999 it was still considered among the best-trained and organized militaries in Europe, even if it was not the best equipped.<sup>35</sup> Evidence of the VJ's professionalism can be seen in the extensive and meticulous documentation it kept during the 1999 Kosovo War. "Not only was every single bomb explosion recorded, but everything from casualty numbers to air raid siren time intervals was counted and measured in detail."<sup>36</sup> These types of bureaucratic feats are only accomplished by organizations committed to monitoring and perfecting their capabilities.

### ***Military Nationalism***

A comprehensive review of all the facets of nationalism in Serbia is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but this section does present the pertinent characteristics of Serbian nationalism in the military and offers evidence of its prominence in the VJ in 2000. Once again, nationalism refers to the solidarity among citizens and the idea that members of a nation will go to extraordinary lengths to safeguard their independence and sacred land. From the earliest days of the JNA, the military has been committed to the preservation of the state. The failure of Yugoslavism in the early 1990s certainly changed the contours of the country—to the bitter disappointment of many in the officer corps—but the refashioned VJ never stopped seeing its mission in terms of national defense. Instead of basing its duty on a counterrevolutionary nationalism committed to the preservation of a pan-Yugoslav and socialist state, the VJ turned to the 19th century traditions of the Serbian army and the preservation of a Serbian state.<sup>37</sup> Today, for instance, the army's official website identifies only Karadjordje (d.1817), Duke Milos (d.1860), Hajduk-Veljko (d.1813), and Tansko Rajic (d.1815) as leaders that have a prominent place in the tradition of the Serbian Army. The official history of the VJ has essentially excised

---

<sup>35</sup> Fatschel, "Missiles Need Not Be Modern to Hit Their Targets," *Die Presse*, 22 Mar 1999.

<sup>36</sup> Mandic, "Myths and Bombs: War, State Popularity and the Collapse of National Mythology," *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 1 (2008): 33.

<sup>37</sup> Hadžić, "Civil-Military Features of the Fry," (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, 2002).

the SFRY experiment and those associated with it, referring to it only as “periods marked by the domination of political factors over the army and its needs.”<sup>38</sup>

Official Serbian nationalism is built upon the core myth of a six-hundred-year struggle for emancipation from foreign conquerors and empires, including the Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, German Third Reich, and EU/US hegemony. A collective memory of victimhood and defiance has fostered the belief that national independence from great powers is priceless and should be pursued at any cost. As Karadjordje (Black George), the founder of modern Serbia and military commander of the first Serbian uprising against the Ottoman Empire (1804-1813) famously stated, “It is better to die and even sacrifice one's own children, if needed in the defense of liberty.”<sup>39</sup>

Defiance and human sacrifice continue to resonate among Serbs, with thousands visiting Kosovo Field every year on Vidovdan to celebrate the anniversary of a battle in which the Serbian Army was annihilated and which led to the eventual defeat of their medieval kingdom. In fact, Milošević's popularity peaked in 1989 when he used the highly symbolic celebration of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kosovo battle to mobilize political support.<sup>40</sup> This is not to suggest a caricature of Serbs obsessed with the 1389 Battle of Kosovo, but like the Alamo or Gettysburg, these medieval events inform Serb's national mythology and thus their perceptions of, and reactions to, contemporary events. For example, during the 1999 Kosovo war, thousands of civilians in stubborn defiance of NATO—the most recent imperial aggressor—routinely congregated around potential targets and dared NATO to bomb them. Instead of hiding in

---

<sup>38</sup> Serbian Armed Forces Official Website, "Military History," <http://www.vs.rs/index.php?content=2fd8a63b-f712-102b-bdc2-a0672172d7df>.

<sup>39</sup> Ejodus, "The Normative Model of the Ideal Type Soldier in Serbia," 8-9.

<sup>40</sup> Vujacic, "Perceptions of the State in Russia and Serbia: The Role of Ideas in the Soviet and Yugoslav Collapse," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 20, no. 2 (2004): 181.

shelters or rebelling against Milošević, Serbs were on the streets singing patriotic songs, wearing medieval Serbian military uniforms and carrying signs equating Bill Clinton to Ottoman emperors, Croatian fascists and Napoleon.<sup>41</sup>

Nationalism, of course, is amplified in times of external threat but that is not when it is created. These examples simply serve to illustrate its pervasiveness in Serbian society and to support the proposal that those entering the armed forces are already socialized to think of the nation-state in a positive manner. Boro Kitanoski, for instance, recalls how in the 1980s and early 1990s he was actively fed a diet of patriotism in school—past wars were celebrated and visits to army barracks were frequent.<sup>42</sup> There was a high level of respect towards soldiers and feelings of nationalism boosted support for those choosing a military career. As a result, interest in joining the armed forces was huge. According to Kitanoski, “They don't even have to make commercials.”

This anecdotal evidence is confirmed by an academic study in which Serbian soldiers were asked what motivated their decision to make the military a career. Almost all identified patriotic objectives—including strengthening the state, national security, or loyalty to their community—as one of their main reasons.<sup>43</sup> These results correspond with a military survey conducted among 1st Army officers, which reported that the largest number of young men choose that occupation because of love for the officer's vocation, patriotism, and status and respect in society.<sup>44</sup> Given Serbia's deep tradition of reverence for soldiers as the “sacred and

---

<sup>41</sup> Mandić, "Myths and Bombs: War, State Popularity and the Collapse of National Mythology," 25, 45.

<sup>42</sup> Kitanoski, "Monuments and Memory in Former Yugoslavia," (2013), <https://www.wri-irg.org/node/22075>.

<sup>43</sup> Ejdus, "State Building and Images of the Democratic Soldier in Serbia," in *Democratic Civil-Military Relations: Soldiering in the 21st Century Europe*, ed. Mannitz (London: Routledge, 2012), 239.

<sup>44</sup> Minic, "Main Support of the Army," *Vojska*, 4 Nov 1999.

untouchable saviors and guarantors of the nation's and state's security," volunteers for military service are likely to be among the most nationalistic members of society.<sup>45</sup>

Even conscripts are likely to enter the VJ predisposed towards nationalist values. This can be inferred from the stable support in Serbia for obligatory military service. According to a 2001 opinion poll, 63% of citizens thought Serbia should preserve conscription with 20% of those citing tradition as the main reason. Only 28% thought Serbia should move to a completely voluntary army.<sup>46</sup> These findings are quite striking given the VJ's controversial role in the 1990s, including the loss of four consecutive wars. Ejodus suggests widespread public support for conscription, and the military in general, is likely due to the national norm that healthy Serbs should serve in the army.<sup>47</sup> A popular Serbian proverb captures this sentiment nicely: *A Serb goes to the Army with joy.*<sup>48</sup>

Once within the ranks, military socialization actively reinforces and deepens these nationalist values. Education has been a key mechanism for socializing Serbian officers, who then oversee the socialization of all other soldiers to strengthen their "martial morale."<sup>49</sup> In early 2000, the VJ General Staff unveiled a new advanced course for officers assigned to the battalion through brigade levels and who oversaw their unit's morale. The course stressed the importance of psychological activities and considered the ways in which "cultural activities and traditions of our nation and military can be used more efficiently to influence morale."<sup>50</sup> Examples of these

---

<sup>45</sup> Job, *Yugoslavia's Ruin: The Bloody Lessons of Nationalism, a Patriot's Warning*, 216.

<sup>46</sup> Timotić, "The Attitudes of Serbian Public toward the Army and Defence," (Belgrade: Centre for Civil-Military Relations, 2002).

<sup>47</sup> Ejodus, "The Normative Model of the Ideal Type Soldier in Serbia," 26-27.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>49</sup> "State Building and Images of the Democratic Soldier in Serbia," 234-36.

<sup>50</sup> Pesic, "Training of Assistant Commanders in Charge of Morale in Combined Tactical Units: Inexhaustible Fountainhead of Strength," *Belgrade Vojska*, 6 April 2000.

activities include the solemn observation of military and political traditions as well as the collective celebration of important dates and events in Serbia's nation-building history.

Fostering nationalism within the Serbian ranks has retained priority even when the exceptional circumstances of war mandated accelerated training. Colonel Milan Miletic noted that during the recent wars the content of military and technical instruction had to be considerably reduced. Nevertheless, moral education was preserved and "focused on fostering traditions and patriotism, along with formal duty and respect for the flag."<sup>51</sup> In other words, the VJ prioritized training that was deliberately designed to promote nationalism at the expense of some technical proficiency.

Nationalism permeates the Serbian army beyond formal education and training; it colors all aspects of military life. For instance, after administering the oath of loyalty a commander told his young soldiers, "Today you have become sworn defenders of the fatherland, and guardians of its honor, dignity, and freedom. Today more than ever, you need to prove your patriotism in action. There is no greater honor and pride than one's fatherland, and no greater shame than betraying one's own people."<sup>52</sup> Likewise, while celebrating the 85th anniversary of the legendary Battle of Cer, the VJ 1st Army commander stressed the essential patriotic sacrifices of soldiers. He reminded his troops, "The defense of our country is not only a military conflict, but a conflict between civilization values, between good and bad in defending the right to existence. We have invested all of our cultural, spiritual, and material values in order to defend our sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence."<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Miletic, "Accelerated Training of Artillerymen," *Novi Glasnik* (1999).

<sup>52</sup> "Young Soldiers Have Sworn an Oath," *Pobjeda*, 18 Apr 1999.

<sup>53</sup> "1st Army Commander: Fry Never to Give up Kosovo," *Tanjug Domestic Service*, 29 Aug 1999.

Nationalism was even drawn upon to inspire perseverance and temper the sting of military defeat. During the NATO bombings, Defense Minister Major General Dragoljub Ojdanic addressed his “dear soldiers, VJ officers, and defenders of our country: We have shown that we are worthy descendants of our ancestors, who, unfortunately were also in a position to defend their country against formidable conquering forces. We have shown once again that bravery, patriotism, and limitless love of our country and its freedom are the primary factors of victory in war.”<sup>54</sup> After the war, General Pavković commended a recipient of the National Hero Medal, "You showed your nation, your parents, all of Yugoslavia, and the world how ordinary men, inspired by patriotism and determination, become heroes in defense of their country. We are proud and grateful for all you have done in defense of the fatherland and the Serbian people."<sup>55</sup>

The VJ itself collected data to document the influence of nationalism, operationalized as the strength of morale, during and after the Kosovo war. After conducting comprehensive surveys, military psychologists and other experts reported that 96% of the soldiers and commanders demonstrated a high readiness to defend the FRY's freedom, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity during the war. They noted that in July 2000, on the heels of defeat, readiness continued to be at a very high level with 9 out of 10 respondents opting for the defense of freedom at any cost.<sup>56</sup>

There are countless examples of the prominent influence of nationalism in the VJ prior to October 2000, yet General Pavković may have summed up the patriotic duty and mindset of the Serbian Army best. He was asked about a statement made by opposition member and former

---

<sup>54</sup> "Exceptionally High Morale in the Yugoslav Army," *Politika*, 29 Apr 1999.

<sup>55</sup> Danilovic, "Support of People and Army," *Vojska*, 8 Jul 1999.

<sup>56</sup> "Army Spokesman Presents 'Concrete Data' on Troops' High Morale," *Radio Beograd*, 29 Aug 2000.

Chief of the General Staff, General Momcilo Perisic, who publicly stated, "We cannot fight a war against the whole world." Pavković responded:

"I am sorry that I was not present when he said that so that I could have seen the faces of the officers who listened to him. They were surely wondering what their general was talking about. A real soldier, an officer, a real professional and a patriot can expect anything from his commanding officer, anything but surrender without putting up a fight. Why else did these people go to military schools and academies for all these years if not to defend their country no matter who is jeopardizing it or how strong the enemy may be? If we were to go by his ideas, then we, or any other small country, would not even need an army."<sup>57</sup>

What do all these illustrations tell us? In October 2000—and long before—the VJ was a highly nationalistic force in which bravery and sacrifice were exalted. The duty to defend and preserve the state above all else infused the organization and its people. As a result, one can only conclude that nationalism influenced the VJ's perceptions and decisions during the Bulldozer Revolution, just as it regularly inspired the VJ's behavior during war and normal times.

In sum, professionalism and nationalism were both present in the VJ. These elements came together to form the Serbian military's security imperative, which drove its overriding concern for security and its assessment of the threat environment to determine what posed the biggest threat to the state. The next sections provide evidence that the military evaluated the likely international consequences of repression against the internal risk to the state, weighing them against each other. Because of these strategic calculations, it determined that the best way to ensure the security of the state was to disobey Milošević's orders.

### **International Threat**

It is unimaginable that the VJ General Staff was not cognizant of potential external repercussions if they forcefully repressed the Bulldozer Revolution demonstrators given the string of wars associated with the breakup of the SFRY and the recent Kosovo war. Serbia was

---

<sup>57</sup> "Perisic--a General Who Takes Pride in Talking with the Enemy," *Politika*, 9 Dec 1999.

already subject to intense international pressure and scrutiny, and it would have been relatively easy to ratchet up that pressure in the event of a significant human rights violation. The international community still had enough economic, diplomatic, and military leverage to leave Serbia with a medium vulnerability to international repercussions. Further punishment, however, would push Serbia towards a true pariah status.

While sanctions had never deterred Serbia from pursuing what it believed to be in its national interest, they were damaging enough that senior military leaders could not be indifferent to inviting further punishment upon the country. Serbia first came under an arms embargo and economic sanctions in 1991 due to its involvement in the Bosnian war. The economic sanctions were lifted in late 1996, but new ones were put in place during 1998 and 1999 due to the escalating violence in Kosovo. These new rounds of economic sanctions included bans on air travel from Serbia into European Union airports, private foreign investment and oil exports to Serbia, restrictions on reconstruction aid, as well as access to World Bank and International Monetary Fund credits. The military was acutely aware of the sanctions' punitive effect on society and its own ability to maintain a modern force. Between 1989 and 1999, per capita income declined from US\$3,240 to US\$1,450; unemployment skyrocketed from 14% to 39%; and Serbia's GDP fell by US\$165 billion.<sup>58</sup> All of these factors contributed to the VJ's inadequate and unreliable defense budget as well as to the huge drop in the standard of living for both civilians and military personnel.

Things were so bad that immediately after the Kosovo war, Serbian opposition members urged the United States and its Western allies to remove the sanctions on the country, citing the harm they were causing ordinary citizens. US officials refused. They were convinced and openly

---

<sup>58</sup> Jovanovic and Sukovic, "A Decade under Sanctions," <http://www.transparentnost.org.rs/dokumenti/d012.html>.

stated that the only hope of ousting Milošević was a massive popular uprising caused by severe deprivation in the winter.<sup>59</sup> The European Union went along, with its foreign ministers offering Serbian voters an inducement to vote for the opposition. They announced just before the election that the sanctions would be lifted if there was "democratic change" in Serbia.<sup>60</sup> Given the West's eager anticipation of Milošević's ousting, whether accomplished at the polls or on the street, the VJ leadership had scant hope that any repressive action on its part that thwarted this goal would go unnoticed. Furthermore, *Otpor* and the DOS had been receiving extensive foreign support for more than a year, particularly from pro-democracy organizations paying close attention to the contested elections. If the VJ stepped in and repressed the demonstrations, the outcry from nongovernmental organizations for the international community to act would have been massive.

The risk of foreign military intervention also appeared very real to the VJ. In the fall of 2000, relations between Serbia and NATO remained tense.<sup>61</sup> NATO-led forces were already deployed along Serbia's borders. There were 50,000 Kosovo Forces (KFOR) in Kosovo and between 20,000 and 30,000 Stabilization Forces (SFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Not to mention the possibility of air strikes originating from around Europe and beyond. A week before the election, General Pavković expressed the military's concern about foreign intervention, claiming he had received reports that NATO countries planned to send in Special Forces to help the opposition seize power. He said they would dress in Yugoslav army and police uniforms and would stage provocations "under the guise of extending aid to the 'victors' – the opposition." He

---

<sup>59</sup> Drozdiak, "Us Urged to Remove Sanctions on Yugoslavia," *Washington Post*, 26 Oct 1999. Sanctions started to be withdrawn after Kostunica came to power with the majority eliminated by 19 January 2001.

<sup>60</sup> Steele, "How Milosevic Can Ensure He's an Each-Way Winner," *The Guardian*, 22 Sep 2000.

<sup>61</sup> Janković and Gligorijević, "Burying the Hatchet," *NATO Review* 1 April(2004).

added, "Threats are being addressed to our country at the moment and as a serious army it is our duty to make all the preparations to prevent any surprises."<sup>62</sup>

The opposition interpreted Pavković's assertions as a pretext to clamp down on protesters or declare a state of emergency if Milošević lost. It is feasible, however, that the military's concerns were genuine. This could explain why the VJ called up so many reservists before the election, particularly in the southern town of Leskovac, which was at least a three to four-hour drive from Belgrade but only an hour from the border. In fact, during this period two-thirds of the VJ's 125,000 forces were securing the state's borders "in order to thwart any possible action."<sup>63</sup> Even after the Bulldozer Revolution, Pavković continued to claim, "there were many stories during the campaign that pressures would be exerted from outside to sway the election process, that various terrorist and diversionist groups would be infiltrated, and masked groups would produce instability in the country."<sup>64</sup> Assuming these stories were circulating—and there is no indication that the military itself fabricated them—the evidence suggests that the VJ believed there was a very real possibility of external military intervention.

Because of the state's medium vulnerability to international punishment, the military's default preference was for no repression. Whether it maintained this preference, or flipped to a preference for repression, depended on the level of domestic threat.

### **Domestic Threat**

The level of protester violence during the Bulldozer Revolution was notoriously low, which is widely credited to the efforts of *Otpor*. This student organization, formed in late 1998 and committed to the removal of Milošević from power, had a network of over 70,000 members

---

<sup>62</sup> Steele, "How Milosevic Can Ensure He's an Each-Way Winner."

<sup>63</sup> Pantelic, "General Pavkovic on Changes, Kostunica, Milosevic, and Himself," *Politika*, 1 Nov 2000.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

throughout Serbia by October 2000. Based on lessons learned from failed civil resistance attempts, *Otpor* members believed the only effective path to change was through nonviolent activism. Violence, they believed, would only play into Milošević's hands.<sup>65</sup>

Part of *Otpor*'s success is due to the enormous technical and financial assistance it received from external sources, especially democracy promotion organizations based in the United States. For instance, in September 1999, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, a book written by Gene Sharp—the father of nonviolent resistance—was translated and 5,500 copies distributed to *Otpor* members who treated it as their bible.<sup>66</sup> The following spring, 30 activists attended a workshop in Budapest, receiving practical training on nonviolent methods. They returned home and produced a manual called “*Resistance in Your Neighborhood: How to Resolve the Serbian Crisis Peacefully*,” developed their own workshops and trained over 1,000 activist leaders in 42 cities throughout Serbia.<sup>67</sup>

Foreign support, particularly from the United States, was a point of contention with some DOS members, including Koštunica, who hated Milošević but was explicitly anti-American as well. Nevertheless, DOS coordinated its strategies and tactics with *Otpor*, which in turn supplied tons of posters, stickers and other campaign resources paid for with financial assistance from abroad. According to a close advisor to Koštunica, however, the most important thing *Otpor* brought to the campaign was the enormous psychological role it played in dispelling fear. “If their children were courageous enough to suffer police beatings for their beliefs then it would be shameful for their parents not to be willing to face the same thing.”<sup>68</sup> By October 2000, *Otpor*

---

<sup>65</sup> See the alternate explanations section below for more on previous civil resistance efforts. Paulson, "Case Study: Serbia, 1996-2000," 12.

<sup>66</sup> Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 342.

<sup>67</sup> Paulson, "Case Study: Serbia, 1996-2000," 16.

<sup>68</sup> Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 340.

and DOS had hundreds of thousands of supporters from all walks of life, many of whom were trained and committed to nonviolent resistance.

Part of the opposition's nonviolent strategy on 5 October was to clog the narrow streets of Belgrade with protesters, hindering the rapid movement of security forces or vehicles. The sheer size of the crowds would make it difficult for the regime to disband the protesters without engaging in "high risk" activities, considerably raising the stakes of issuing, or obeying, orders to crack down.<sup>69</sup> Still, maintaining strict discipline over such a large crowd was difficult and risky. When the crowds wanted to march on Milošević's home and office in the Dedinje suburb, for instance, opposition leaders had to remind them, "Answer their violence with nonviolence. Answer their lies with the truth."<sup>70</sup>

The targets of the demonstration were meticulously planned and all represented hated aspects of the regime. Throughout the day protesters moved towards the Federal Parliament building, the broadcasting studios of Radio Television Serbia (RTS), and the town hall. Not all the protesters that came were committed to strict nonviolence. Just after 3pm, some began throwing rocks at police guarding the parliament.<sup>71</sup> The police responded by firing hundreds of rounds of tear gas into the crowd but the protesters continued to push forward to take over the heavily guarded building. The police tried to stop them using batons and stun grenades, but were quickly overwhelmed by the crowd. The demonstrators broke some windows, set a few rooms on fire, and some began to loot offices, taking chairs, hat racks and leather briefcases used by

---

<sup>69</sup> Binnendijk and Marovic, "Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)," 414.

<sup>70</sup> Erlanger, "Showdown in Yugoslavia: The Overview," *The New York Times*, 6 Oct 2000.

<sup>71</sup> Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 344; Paulson, "Case Study: Serbia, 1996-2000," 29.

Parliament members. Portraits of Milošević and ballot papers reportedly already marked for him were dumped out the windows.<sup>72</sup>

Similar scenes played out at the other targeted locations. And yet, while there was some property damage to these political symbols as well as a couple of police stations, protesters did not attack other offices, stores or homes, nor did they engage in physical violence against regime supporters other than in self-defense. When the demonstrators took over the RTS building, for example, they let the television news anchors and personalities leave unscathed, although some protesters did spit on them as they left the building. At a nearby police station, the crowd even gave exiting policemen civilian clothes to ensure their safety. Remarkably, with over half a million people crammed into the streets, only one person was killed—a woman who was accidentally run over by an opposition bulldozer. By 6pm, the protesters had gained control over their political targets and the demonstrations turned into a massive street party that lasted throughout the night.<sup>73</sup> By all accounts the domestic threat, operationalized as protester violence, was very low.

### **Military's Strategic Calculus**

Despite civil-military ideals, professional militaries do not blindly follow orders; the VJ is no exception. Rather, they assess complex situations to determine the military strategy and tactics that will best serve the desired ends. The question then becomes what are the desired ends and what preferences influence this assessment? There is no doubt that militaries are concerned about their institutional well-being, both in terms of their parochial interests and preserving a cohesive organization, but I argue that in the special circumstances of military arbitration, these

---

<sup>72</sup> Erlanger, "Showdown in Yugoslavia: The Overview."

<sup>73</sup> Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 348-49; Erlanger, "Showdown in Yugoslavia: The Overview."

professional and nationalistic organizations are conditioned to prioritize the security of the state. This section presents evidence that the VJ did just that by engaging in strategic calculations that placed the well-being of the state above its own organizational preferences. It demonstrates that the military leadership was concerned about the impact of the domestic unrest, and that their ongoing calculations explain the timing of protester, regime and army behavior.

First, the VJ leadership made numerous public statements prior to both the 24 September election and the 5 October demonstration indicating that it was concerned unrest would pose a serious domestic threat and could undermine the state's security. It also specified the type of behavior that would prompt its intervention. As early as August 1999, General Pavković was asked if the VJ would defend the regime if protesters demanded Milošević's resignation. Pavković replied, "I have always maintained that the regime cannot be replaced in the streets. For one reason alone: it cannot occur peacefully. And that would be the start of another fratricidal, that is, civil war in the country. The security forces and the army are there to prevent something like that." He went on to say, "We in the army have no objection to a change of regime taking place in a peaceful manner, legally, through elections. ... Everyone must understand that the streets are no place in which to replace the regime."<sup>74</sup>

When specifically asked in a later interview if the VJ would turn its weapons on demonstrators if some became more violent in their demands for political change Pavković answered, "I would stress that our Army is a national one. Nobody teaches officers to turn their weapons on their own people. Our tradition binds us to this notion." However, he added, "I do not understand the part of the question where you anticipate some sort of "violence." What is this violence like? One should not incite armed conflict. This is a matter that is dangerous to society.

---

<sup>74</sup> Antic, "Gentlemen, Leave Kosovo," *Nedeljni Telegraf*, 25 Aug 1999.

Nobody, including the Army, will tolerate armed violence in our state.”<sup>75</sup> In other words, long before the contested elections or the Bulldozer Revolution, the military identified the level of protester violence as a key determinant of how the VJ would respond to mass demonstrations.

While Pavković assured audiences that the military would respect the will of the people and never turn on its own citizens, he implied that those who engaged in violence would no longer be considered part of the people—they would be viewed as enemies of the state. “The enemy within is anyone who turns against the people, who attempts to destroy the state, who destroys its stability, and who wants to use force to change the constitutional order.”<sup>76</sup>

Opposition members, of course, interpreted these statements as direct threats and evidence of the military’s loyalty to the regime. Nevertheless, Pavković and the rest of the army leadership consistently maintained that the VJ’s concern stemmed from its duty to prevent a repeat of the scenario in the republics of the former Yugoslavia. Their response was always, “We will prevent civil war at any price.”<sup>77</sup> For them, it was the security of the state, not the survival of the regime that was at stake.

Even months after the Bulldozer Revolution, when the VJ could be expected to ingratiate itself with the new government by insinuating it remained on the sidelines out of support for the opposition, General Pavković stubbornly maintained that had violence broken out, the military would have intervened. In a January 2001 interview he stated:

“We have said before, and recently, that the Army will definitely oppose any attempt to provoke a civil war; and as a champion of stability and unity, as a champion of the security and defense of all citizens, it will engage neutrally in order to guarantee that such conflicts do not occur. If it were to happen that the Army came out on the streets, it would not be in order to defend the regime. In no circumstances would the Army oppose the electoral will of the citizens, and neither would it protect any particular individual. *Its*

---

<sup>75</sup> “We Proposed a New Military Doctrine at a Meeting of the Council of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army,” *Nedeljni Telegraf*, 26 Apr 2000.

<sup>76</sup> “Interview with General Pavkovic,” *Blic*, 1 Aug 1999.

<sup>77</sup> “Gen Pavkovic Says Army ‘Will Prevent Civil War at Any Price,’” *Tanjug*, 10 Jun 2000.

*involvement would be in order to prevent unrest or civil war; we know how far those could take us [emphasis added].*<sup>78</sup>

Finally, the most telling indicator that strategic calculations were driving behavior rather than predetermined interests or loyalty was timing. One would expect military leaders weighing the costs of repression against the risk a domestic threat poses to state security to take some time to assess the situation before they act and to adjust their behavior as new information becomes available. This is exactly what took place in Serbia on 5 October. The General Staff knew what was supposed to happen that day: “Like any army, we too were constantly assessing the possible course of events, in view of the fact that a huge mass of people was expected in Belgrade. We had assessments telling us that the demonstration would be peaceful—that is what the organizers of the rally had said.”<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, the military leadership also considered the possibility that counter rallies might influence the behavior of the crowds.

Throughout the morning and early afternoon, therefore, the VJ monitored the arrival of protesters. The only forces they had in the streets at this time were soldiers on joint patrols with the police so they could adequately intervene in case uniformed military personnel were among the demonstrators.<sup>80</sup> Had the VJ been firmly committed to preserving the regime, this would have been the time to act—before the streets became congested, the situation escalated and cameras were everywhere. In fact, the police had set up numerous roadblocks on the outskirts of the city to do just that, but they were ultimately convinced to let the demonstrators through. The VJ never attempted to reinforce these roadblocks or set up their own.

---

<sup>78</sup> Scekcic and Pesic, "Unity and the Army's Combat Strength Preserved," *Vojska*, 18 Jan 2001.

<sup>79</sup> "Vj Chief Pavkovic Answers Questions on Belgrade Tv Call-in Show," *RTS Television First Program*, 20 Oct 2000.

<sup>80</sup> This was reportedly standard operating procedure during any mass protest. *Ibid.*

The army's early inaction should not be taken as a sign of indifference or defection, however. The evening of 5 October was quite stressful in the General Staff headquarters as the situation in the city became more uncertain. "Throughout Serbia, reports kept pouring in from both sides." General Pavković explained, "That was a sign that we are following the situation, because when conflicts break out and begin to expand, then everyone wonders what the Army is going to do."<sup>81</sup> If the military had made a deal with the DOS prior to 5 October, then there would have been no "wondering" about the army's reaction—the opposition would not have felt the need to provide these frequent status updates.<sup>82</sup>

Instead of sitting back and waiting for the regime to fall, Pavković noted that he and his staff were together all the time so they could keep track of what was happening. The military leaders were increasingly concerned that large-scale clashes might be set off and turn into "uncontrollable chaos," especially when it was learned that some police had surrendered their weapons.<sup>83</sup> "There were many dramatic reports, completely uncorroborated, incorrect," reported Pavković. "For example, I was informed by very official sources that bloody battles were being fought in the RTS building, that dozens of people were killed on both sides, that the police units defending the RTS building were surrounded and were about to be annihilated, and so on."<sup>84</sup>

These updates were coming in around the time Milošević contacted General Pavković directly and ordered the military to put a stop to it all.<sup>85</sup> A "loyal" military would have used the incendiary reports, coupled with the order to "do something," as justification to repress the

---

<sup>81</sup> Pantelic, "General Pavkovic on Changes, Kostunica, Milosevic, and Himself."

<sup>82</sup> Some interpretations of this period suggest that police and army non-intervention was bought with the promise of a soft approach to military and police reform. Edmunds, "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State," in *Civil-Military Relations in Postcommunist Europe: Reviewing the Transition*, ed. Edmunds, Cotter, and Forster (London: Routledge, 2006), 118.

<sup>83</sup> Vlahovic, "The People Beat Milosevic to It," *Glas Javnosti*, 13 Dec 2000.

<sup>84</sup> "Vj Chief Pavkovic Answers Questions on Belgrade Tv Call-in Show."

<sup>85</sup> "The People Beat Milosevic to It."

demonstrations. On the other hand, if the VJ had already decided to defect, it might be expected to refuse the orders outright and encourage Milošević to step down. Instead, Pavković hesitated. According to him, “All these (conflicting reports) were signs that required us to take the appropriate measures.” The VJ deployed some forces “in order to follow what was going on in the city” and put some units on alert so they would be prepared to respond to provocations if necessary, but they did not engage the protesters.<sup>86</sup> If the VJ had no intention of obeying Milošević, or was unconcerned about protester violence, then these initial deployments would have been unnecessary. Moreover, if a deal had already been made with Koštunica, the deployments could have cast doubt on the army’s commitment and jeopardized its relationship with the opposition.

These initial deployments enabled the VJ’s own operatives in the field to certify that the alarming reports were not true.<sup>87</sup> Still, the General Staff continued to monitor the situation throughout the evening and remained prepared to respond if there were any attacks, especially on military facilities and personnel. It was not until the last of the police surrendered or fled and it became evident that no counterdemonstrations were taking place that the army began to relax. Pavković recalled, “I think that we were relieved the moment the celebration in the streets started, when speakers started addressing the crowd.”<sup>88</sup> Soon after—around 10pm—he ordered the armored unit deployed on the outskirts of Belgrade to return to the barracks. The fact that tanks had been sitting at the ready serve as an indicator that while the military did not obey Milošević’s orders to repress the demonstrations, it had been prepared to do so.

---

<sup>86</sup> Pantelic, "General Pavkovic on Changes, Kostunica, Milosevic, and Himself."

<sup>87</sup> "Vj Chief Pavkovic Answers Questions on Belgrade Tv Call-in Show."

<sup>88</sup> Vlahovic, "The People Beat Milosevic to It."

In sum, the best explanation for the timing of the VJ's actions and its public statements on 5 October was that the General Staff did not know how it would have to respond to the demonstrations. Instead, it was strategically assessing the situation to ascertain the best course of action to protect the state. If its ultimate disobedience had been due to a lack of loyalty to Milošević or the pursuit of greater parochial rewards from the opposition, then it repeatedly squandered opportunities to endear itself to Koštunica and the people. For instance, even when it became clear that the army had disobeyed the regime's orders, the generals did not embrace the opposition but instead continued to warn everyone, "We want to help; clashes must not break out."<sup>89</sup> Pavković even admitted later on, "If only a single gun had fired, had there been a single casualty, it would have had a domino effect on all the people and who knows how things might have turned out. And if the Army had intervened, who knows how things would have evolved. That is why we were careful."<sup>90</sup>

Long before the Bulldozer Revolution the VJ leadership maintained that while it did not want to use force against its own people, it would do whatever was necessary to prevent violent unrest or civil war. Its actions on 5 October did not deviate from these pronouncements and should be understood in the professional and nationalist context in which they were based. Afterwards, General Pavković reaffirmed that it was the security of the state that was the VJ's primary concern: "Of course, there were some minor incidents in connection with the Federal Assembly and the RTS building, but those were not reason enough for the army to intervene...the country was not in danger, nor was the constitutional order, nor any military institution or unit, and in that sense there was no need."<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> Pantelic, "General Pavkovic on Changes, Kostunica, Milosevic, and Himself."

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> "Vj Chief Pavkovic Answers Questions on Belgrade Tv Call-in Show."

## **Considering the Alternate Explanations**

Despite the evidence pointing to the military's security imperative as the primary driver of the VJ's disobedience, existing accounts of the army's behavior during the Bulldozer Revolution have stubbornly clung to the same conventional explanations put forth for all types of civil-military relations. Was the VJ disobedient because the army leadership did not like Milošević? Was it afraid the rank and file would fracture if ordered to repress fellow citizens? Or was it disgruntled over a meager defense budget, shoddy equipment or a lack of military perks? This section looks at each of these alternate explanations, highlighting inconsistencies and shortfalls in their ability to predict and explain the VJ's decision to disobey. To do this, it also looks at state-society-military interactions in previous cases of domestic unrest to help shed light on these motivating factors.

### ***Regime Loyalty***

The general indicators of regime loyalty used in this study were indeterminate in their prediction of military obedience in October 2000. There were no ascriptive, family, or ideological ties between the regime and the armed forces that distinguished their relationship. Nor were there any obvious experiences that might have created a strong bond of loyalty; Milošević had never served in the military nor fought in any of Serbia's wars. While the absence of pre-existing personal or ideological ties casts doubt on the presence of a deep bond between the VJ and the regime, this does not automatically suggest the army would be disloyal. However, Milošević's role in the breakup of the SFRY and the military's repeated war losses likely led to some hostility towards the regime. Some military leaders were reportedly also upset about his circumvention of the army's chain of command during the Kosovo war.<sup>92</sup> Finally, many in the

---

<sup>92</sup> IHS Jane's, "Jane's Military & Security Assessments Intelligence Centre," <http://www.ihs.com/products/janes/index.aspx>.

army viewed Milošević's favoritism towards Serbia's Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) over the VJ as a humiliation. All these factors suggest disloyalty may have been an issue. On the other hand, the upper tiers of the army were filled with Milošević's handpicked cronies. There were no signs of competing loyalty either, as relations between senior military leaders and the opposition were antagonistic, at best. With all these conflicting indicators, it is not possible to confidently predict the army's behavior based on regime loyalty.

There is also no indication that regime loyalty—or a lack thereof—has ever driven the military's behavior. The army and Milošević had a complex relationship that could not be described as definitively loyal or hostile. Milošević had never shown any interest in the military until he consolidated political power in the late 1980s. He then began a discreet courtship with the army: he avoided criticizing the JNA, he always spoke favorably of the Ministry of Defense, and he echoed the army's positions on all issues.<sup>93</sup> As a result, the JNA slowly began to support him on issues critical to his ambitions, but there were limits to its loyalty. For example, in 1991, tens of thousands of demonstrators poured into the streets calling for the liberalization of the media and Milošević's resignation as President of the Serb Republic.<sup>94</sup> Milošević dispatched riot police to repress the crowds, but the protesters responded violently, overturning buses and trams and attacking police with pavement slabs, rocks, and metal pipes.<sup>95</sup> Two people—one student and one police officer—were killed and hundreds of others were injured. Milošević called in the army. For the first time since WWII, the JNA sent tanks into the streets of Belgrade, but they did not engage the protesters.<sup>96</sup> As the President of Serbia, Milošević did not have the authority to

---

<sup>93</sup> Sikavica, "The Army's Collapse," 137.

<sup>94</sup> Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis*, 56-57.

<sup>95</sup> Milosevic, "The Media Wars: 1987-1997," in *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*, ed. Udovicki and Ridgeway (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 122.

<sup>96</sup> Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005*, 384.

order the federal military to do anything, and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces—the collective presidency of the SFRY—refused to approve his request for military assistance. Despite Milošević's demands that they remain, the JNA returned to its barracks within 24 hours.<sup>97</sup> The protesters, on the other hand, stayed in the streets for ten more days, although there was no resumption of violence. Unable to rely on the army, Milošević had no choice but to give into some of the protesters' demands.

The army's refusal to repress the 1991 protests was a huge blow to Milošević, who undoubtedly viewed it as a sign of disloyalty. In actuality, it signaled the army's reluctance to act unlawfully. Immediately after the JNA's withdrawal, the Defense Minister and JNA commander, General Veljko Kadijević—in support of Milošević—demanded that the collective presidency proclaim a state of emergency and grant the army special police powers so they could return to the streets and deal with the ongoing unrest. The eight-member federal presidency deadlocked on the proposal. The army command reluctantly accepted the situation and said its forces would remain in the barracks unless otherwise ordered by a majority of the collective presidency as was required by the Constitution.<sup>98</sup> In the end, despite Milošević's purposeful and successful fostering of allegiance within the army, loyalty did not drive the military's behavior.

Because of the army's perceived defection, Milošević began to marginalize the military and subjugate it to his control. First, he undermined the army's influence by cultivating institutional competitors, particularly the MUP, and forced the military to compete for favor.<sup>99</sup> He also pushed for and took advantage of a new chain of command set forth in the 1992 FRY

---

<sup>97</sup> The deployment of tanks can be seen as preparation in anticipation of an order, but since a legal order never came and the army did not engage the protesters this is not a case of military arbitration. Doder, "Yugoslavia Protests Draw Tanks," *Chicago Tribune*, 10 Mar 1991.

<sup>98</sup> Gow, *The Serbian Project and Its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes*, 55.

<sup>99</sup> Edmunds, "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State," 116.

constitution, which formed a Supreme Defense Council comprised of the presidents of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Republic. This gave Milošević a mechanism for exercising direct influence over the newly established VJ. Finally, he instituted a series of purges to remove officers and civilian employees of the military who were of questionable loyalty. Within the first year of the VJ's establishment, 170 generals were dismissed or forced to retire, leaving only nine former JNA generals in the entire army.<sup>100</sup> Observers saw these moves as so effective in promoting regime loyalty that IHS Jane's, the world's leading defense and security information provider, assessed that by 1992 the VJ had become "a willing tool of Milošević and the ruling socialist party."<sup>101</sup>

However, this did not appear to be the case in the winter of 1996-97 when Milošević tried to annul municipal elections won by the opposition. Around the country hundreds of thousands of peaceful protesters braved the harsh winter weather for 88 days demanding the elections be allowed to stand.<sup>102</sup> The VJ was never ordered to intervene because Milošević was not confident it would obey. When the demonstrations began, the socialist party pressured VJ General Staff members and other high-ranking officers to publicly declare themselves against the protests, but they refused to do so. Confronted once again with the VJ's uncertain loyalty, the president discarded the idea of using it to repress the demonstrations and demanded that, at the very least, the VJ remain on the sidelines. With the police unable to disband the protesters, Milošević was forced to give into their demands yet again. It was no surprise, therefore, when Milošević launched another round of purges in 1998. He removed all the army leaders who "showed a

---

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 117; Sikavica, "The Army's Collapse," 149.

<sup>101</sup> Jane's, "The Balkans: Armed Forces," in *Sentinel Security Assessment* (1999).

<sup>102</sup> Binder, "Yugoslav Army Emerges, Ambiguously," *The New York Times*, 20 Mar 1991.

measure of independence,” including General Momčilo Perišić, the Chief of the VJ General Staff, and replaced them with die-hard loyalists.<sup>103</sup>

By 2000, observers were once again convinced that the VJ leadership was completely co-opted and loyal to Milošević. He had consolidated his personal control over the upper tiers of the army by appointing hardcore loyalists, including General Ojdanić as Defense Minister and General Pavković as Chief of the VJ General Staff.<sup>104</sup> One commentator wryly noted, “The shelf life of every general depends strictly on Milošević, who alone knows the required criteria. Such a degree of dependence of ranking officers produces loyalty as a Pavlovian reflex and that is the end of the story as far as the ranking military are concerned.”<sup>105</sup> Pavković himself acknowledged this perception, pointing to “rumors...claiming that (the VJ) was politicized and belonged to governing parties, and that the military leadership and most of the Army was linked with the (Milošević) regime.” Pointing to the military’s defection during the Bulldozer Revolution he chided, “There were various public analyses and claims, most often alleging that the Army would align itself with the regime and would defend it.”<sup>106</sup> Obviously, these predictions of automatic regime loyalty turned out to be false.

No clear pattern of regime loyalty was evident to predict how the VJ would act in October 2000. Milošević had spent a decade consolidating control over the senior military leadership—using both sticks and carrots—and by most accounts had been successful. While former officers may have had cause to dislike the president, particularly those that had been cast aside, those still in uniform owed their positions and livelihood to Milošević. And yet, the army

---

<sup>103</sup> Gow, *The Serbian Project and Its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes*, 72-73; “Yugoslav Army Is Key to Fight for Power.”

<sup>104</sup> Edmunds, “Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State,” 115-16; Ejodus, “The Normative Model of the Ideal Type Soldier in Serbia,” 16.

<sup>105</sup> Stojadinovic, “Defense of Country or Milosevic,” *Glas Javnosti*, 6 April 2000.

<sup>106</sup> Scekcic and Pesic, “Unity and the Army’s Combat Strength Preserved.”

had consistently refused to abandon its values or violate the constitution out of blind obedience to the man. Additionally, there were no indications that the opposition had swayed the VJ's loyalty. Consequently, there is no reliable basis to claim that regime loyalty, or a lack thereof, had any significant impact on the VJ leadership's decision to disobey Milošević during the Bulldozer Revolution.

### ***Organizational Cohesion***

Theories suggesting the VJ's disobedience was due to concerns about organizational cohesion predict disobedience in the Serbian case. According to this logic, the General Staff did not order in the troops because they were afraid the military would fracture if it did. Signs that cohesion may have been a concern in the VJ include the large number of conscripts and the occurrence of cohesion problems in the past, including a history of reservists ignoring call up notices, conscientious objectors, and even some wartime desertions. Cohesion is also thought to be a concern in Serbia due to the presence of political cleavages within the ranks. Finally, many observers simply did not believe the soldiers would be willing to turn their guns on their fellow Serbs. While these factors were present in October 2000, they were probably not as detrimental to the VJ's cohesion as presumed.

As far as conscription and retention issues are concerned, every country has individuals who do not want to serve in the army or change their mind once there, particularly when conscription is enforced. This does not necessarily mean that the military is fragile or undisciplined, however. Indoctrination and training are intentionally designed to counter these impulses, and is effective for most recruits. For instance, while it is estimated that at times only 50% of men reported to draft calls in Serbia, most of those who did subsequently described their

military involvement in nationalist terms: they fulfilled their duty to the homeland.<sup>107</sup> And despite the 500-2,000 desertions that reportedly occurred during the Kosovo war (approximately 0.4%-1.6% of the force) this period saw a sharp increase in the willingness of recruits to serve in the military.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, the VJ leadership had long recognized and anticipated these weaknesses, concentrating the bulk of its efforts and resources on its large number of professional volunteers who were quite reliable.<sup>109</sup> In fact, by 1997, only 40 percent of the VJ's forces were conscripts.<sup>110</sup> The CIA even assessed that while the JNA had been a tightknit group, the cohesion and efficiency of the VJ's officer and NCO corps had probably improved since the breakup of Yugoslavia.<sup>111</sup>

Concerns about cohesion also stemmed from the presence of political cleavages within the ranks. General Pavković liked to claim that as soon as one joins the Yugoslav Army they ceased being members of any political party, noting, "I am not a politician. I am a soldier."<sup>112</sup> This may be the ideal, but in reality there were certainly political differences within the VJ as there are in any large organization. Some estimates suggested that at least half the army had anti-regime attitudes.<sup>113</sup> The most prominent rift was between senior officers who were thought to be more conservative and supportive of the regime, and junior officers and soldiers who were viewed as more radical and sympathetic to the opposition. However, it is debatable whether this political divide was deep enough, and opposing political allegiances were strong enough, to

---

<sup>107</sup> Berdak, "You're in the Army, Now...", *The Europeanisation of Citizenship in the Successor States of the Former Yugoslavia (CITSEE)*(2012), <http://www.citsee.eu/citsee-story/youre-army-now>.

<sup>108</sup> Alschen, "Damage to the Yugoslav Army," in *Selected Research Findings* (New York: Independent Commission of Inquiry to Investigate U.S./NATO War Crimes Against the People of Yugoslavia, 2000).

<sup>109</sup> Fatschel, "Missiles Need Not Be Modern to Hit Their Targets."

<sup>110</sup> "Globalsecurity.Org," <http://www.globalsecurity.org/>.

<sup>111</sup> DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force, "The "Yugoslav" Army: Flawed but No Paper Tiger," (Washington, DC: CIA Historical Collections Division (Approved for Release 2013), 1995).

<sup>112</sup> Antic, "We Proposed a New Military Doctrine at a Meeting of the Council of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army."

<sup>113</sup> "Globalsecurity.Org."

cause leaders to disobey orders out of fear that the force would fracture. The VJ, after all, had remained cohesive through numerous wars and engagements in the 1990s.

It is one thing to sympathize with the opposition and voice political differences, it is quite another to act on those beliefs and mutiny. For instance, a group of junior officers wrote an open letter voicing their support for the 1996-97 protesters. In it they warned Milošević, "We shall not allow Serbia to fall; we shall not be against our own people. We fully support only one policy, and that is Serbia." They challenged General Perišić, "Muster your courage...and tell us where we should stand, namely, behind the people, the young generations, the future." And to the country they proclaimed, "We, pilots, artillery units, tank units, men and officers of the Serbian nation, salute our people and hail: Long live Serbia, Long Live the Serbian People, we are firmly behind and with the people."<sup>114</sup> Despite these brave and nationalistic words, none of the 80 officers that allegedly signed this petition would admit to having any knowledge of it or part in writing it, let alone act on their convictions.<sup>115</sup> In other words, talk is often cheap.

As for political differences during the Bulldozer Revolution, Pavković acknowledged that there were "individual cases of siding with one or the other camp," but claimed, "They did not have any significant influence on the behavior of the army units." It is natural for Pavković to downplay cohesion problems, but he also explained, "The Army is a complex organization with a long tradition, which is not very simple to become a part of so that it could be destroyed from the inside."<sup>116</sup> This resilience of the VJ's unity is evident in its record of obedience and discipline prior to October 2000. If political cleavages had been so severe as to deter using the army, how

---

<sup>114</sup> "Officers Support Students, Demand Country's 'Salvation'," *BETA*, 29 Dec 1996.

<sup>115</sup> "Milosevic: The Stand of the Yugoslav Army toward the Demonstrations in Serbia Is Inadmissible--It Should Be Cut Down at the Roots; Bulatovic: Do Not Abuse the Army as You Did in 1991," *Nedeljni Telegraf*, 22 Jan 1997.

<sup>116</sup> "Vj Chief Pavkovic Answers Questions on Belgrade Tv Call-in Show."

were commanders able to trust their soldiers to fight in Kosovo the previous year? Moreover, why were there no previous coups attempts or military rebellions?

Concerns about cohesion also stem from the belief that soldiers will simply not turn their guns on their own people. This is a powerful argument and one that is often put forth by soldiers themselves. During the 1996-97 protests, mid-level commanders reportedly told General Perišić that they rejected any military involvement in the civil unrest because “the soldiers told them openly that they had no intention of shooting at their brothers and parents.”<sup>117</sup> It is impossible to know what would have happened had repression orders come down, but General Perišić’s response is noteworthy given the soldiers’ blunt objections. After personally inspecting garrisons in the areas where the opposition had won he reported to the Supreme Defense Council that there was a high-level of combat readiness and that “subordination from the top down was almost completely ensured.”<sup>118</sup> In other words, he was not swayed by the threats to the military’s cohesion and was confident that the troops would do as they were told.

Finally, just because protesters are co-nationals does not mean that soldiers will necessarily agree or identify with them. While defending the possibility of VJ involvement in internal security operations, General Pavković challenged, “There are 10 million people in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A very small portion is politically active, either on the left or the right. That is both a statistical and a political minority. Does the entire nation think like the minority? On whose side should the Yugoslav Army be? Is it 30,000, or is it 50,000, perhaps half a million, two million, four million?”<sup>119</sup> It is true that the Yugoslav Army had never opened fire on Serbian protesters but that does not mean it had been unwilling to do so. Its preliminary

---

<sup>117</sup> "Soldiers Say They Will Not Shoot at Protesting Citizens," *Nedeljni Telegraf*, 29 Dec 1996.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> "We Proposed a New Military Doctrine at a Meeting of the Council of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army," *Ibid.*, 26 Apr 2000.

deployments during the 1991 and 2000 demonstrations suggest otherwise. Arguably, in both cases soldiers and unit commanders were prepared to act and the only reason they did not was because they were not given the final order to engage.

In sum, cohesion theories accurately predict the VJ's disobedience in the Bulldozer Revolution, but the indicators are not clear-cut. Many factors, like the presence of political cleavages, occur in practically all organizations and it is impossible to know *a priori* if and when they will influence leadership decisions. Similarly, indicators like conscription do not automatically suggest disgruntled or unreliable rank and file, and moral qualms are unconvincing given militaries' emphasis on discipline. Overall, while cohesion is an important organizational concern, particularly during peacetime and war, the certainty of these theories' predictions, and their ability to explain military arbitration cases, is questionable. In this case, the indicators appear more circumstantial than causal.

### ***Parochial Interests***

The third alternate explanation claims that the VJ disobeyed Milošević's repression orders because its parochial interests were not satisfactorily met. Most analyses point to the armed forces' low salaries, poor living conditions, its outdated equipment and Milošević's favoritism towards the MUP at the military's expense. These are all valid indicators that correctly predict the VJ's disobedience. Once again, however, the certainty of this prediction may not be as robust as parochial interest theories suggest.

It was widely recognized that the VJ was under-resourced and lacked funds for operating costs and new equipment. In its 1998 budget, for instance, the military only received 60% of the funds it deemed necessary.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, wages were low and not paid out regularly, with

---

<sup>120</sup> Fatschel, "Missiles Need Not Be Modern to Hit Their Targets."

norms of two and three-month delays in soldiers' pay. Military perks were also marginal at best. Since the early 1990s, a lack of housing had forced some 11,000 officers and NCOs with 30,000 family members to live inside military barracks.<sup>121</sup> In fact, by 1999 the VJ was reporting that the three basic reasons for the premature departure of officers from the army was financial insecurity, living standards, and the impossibility of forming and planning families under such conditions.<sup>122</sup>

Discontent among soldiers was certainly prevalent, but it is important to consider the context of the VJ's material situation and how its position during the heyday of the Cold War influenced perceptions of deprivation. In the 1980s, the army was in a privileged world unto itself. There was a widening gap between the standard of living of civilians and that of army personnel of all ranks.<sup>123</sup> In fact, the high rate and lack of external oversight over military spending was a significant factor in the breakup of Yugoslavia.

The military's material situation deteriorated rapidly when Slovenia and Croatia, the two richest republics and largest financial contributors, declared independence. In addition to losing these significant tax bases, the defense industry essentially disintegrated due to the arms embargo and international sanctions imposed on Serbia in 1991. Yugoslavia had exported large quantities of small arms, guns, aircraft, surface warships and midget submarines to many Third World countries, bringing in about \$7.5 billion—including \$2.5 billion in hard currency—a year.<sup>124</sup> That external revenue was suddenly lost.

---

<sup>121</sup> IHS Jane's, "Jane's Military & Security Assessments Intelligence Centre."; Edmunds, "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State," 126.

<sup>122</sup> Minic, "Main Support of the Army."

<sup>123</sup> Sikavica, "The Army's Collapse," 136.

<sup>124</sup> IHS Jane's, "Jane's Military & Security Assessments Intelligence Centre."

The situation became even worse after the army's refusal to defy the collective presidency during the 1991 demonstrations and keep its tanks in the street. As punishment for its perceived disloyalty, Milošević starved the VJ during the first half of the 1990s, slashing its funding in order to bolster spending on the MUP.<sup>125</sup> The higher status of the police was a major source of tension for army personnel who complained that a regular cop on the street had a better salary than a major in the Yugoslav Army, and the special police forces had better salaries than VJ colonels who had completed all the required military schools.<sup>126</sup>

There is no question that the rapidly deteriorating quality of military life due to both internal and external factors was a major shock and source of discontent among soldiers. But why then, if parochial interests were the primary driver of military behavior, did it not intervene in politics sooner to reverse the VJ's declining fortunes? The MUP was gaining paramilitary capabilities, but the VJ still outnumbered and outgunned it. Moreover, there was already a significant political opposition in the country that would have likely supported—or at least acquiesced to—a military coup.

The claim that parochial interests drove the VJ to disobey Milošević also loses strength given some of the reforms in the late 1990s. The military's position began to improve after the 1997 demonstrations. In the same speech in which he had scolded the military for its unwillingness to renounce the protests, Milošević promised to allocate a huge amount of money to the VJ in a blatant attempt to secure the army's allegiance. He said Serbia would pay to equip

---

<sup>125</sup> DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force, "The "Yugoslav" Army: Flawed but No Paper Tiger."

<sup>126</sup> "Milosevic: The Stand of the Yugoslav Army toward the Demonstrations in Serbia Is Inadmissible--It Should Be Cut Down at the Roots; Bulatovic: Do Not Abuse the Army as You Did in 1991."

the army so it would not fall behind the armies of neighboring countries.<sup>127</sup> As a result, defense spending reportedly increased and was sustained at around 4.5% of GDP from 1997-1999.<sup>128</sup>

This did not return the VJ to its former privileged status, but it must be recognized that the entire country was suffering economically due to prolonged sanctions and years of war. Although the military remained in an inferior position compared to the MUP, its personnel were better off than most Serbs. For instance, in 1999, professional officers earned 1.77 times the average earnings in Serbia. This was less than the 3-5 coefficient mandated by law, but still better than most civilians.<sup>129</sup>

In early 2000, Milošević rewarded the VJ again, increasing the defense budget to 5.5% of GDP and significantly raising salaries. Senior officers received the highest increase, ranging from \$123 a month for captains to \$542 a month for generals, while the VJ's civilian employees received the lowest raises.<sup>130</sup> Allowances were also adjusted upwards, including those for food and housing expenses and official travel.<sup>131</sup> These are substantial increases given the average Serbian salary at the time was only \$329.<sup>132</sup> And while the Kosovo war highlighted the dismal state of the VJ's equipment and the highest ranks of the army continued to call for additional reforms—including modernization, weapons acquisition, and improved living standards—there

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> There is no reliable data on FRY defense spending prior to 1997, however there is a consensus that it increased at this time. To maintain consistency, I use SIPRI's conservative estimate of 4.5%, although several other sources suggest spending levels reached 8% of GDP. International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Military Balance," (1998); "Globalsecurity.Org."; Edmunds, "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State," 126.

<sup>129</sup> Minic, "Main Support of the Army."; Fatschel, "Missiles Need Not Be Modern to Hit Their Targets."

<sup>130</sup> Stojadinovic, "Defense of Country or Milosevic."

<sup>131</sup> Scekcic, "Army Combat Readiness and Morale Guarantee of Successful Defense," *Vojska*, 9 Mar 2000.

<sup>132</sup> "Trading Economics," <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/serbia/wages>.

was clear recognition by soldiers that the whole country was in a precarious economic situation.<sup>133</sup>

Overall, while the VJ complained about its material conditions, a closer look at the indicators cast doubt on the certainty of the prediction of disobedience based on this factor. After all, although inadequate the defense budget represented a larger share of GDP than the average European country spent on military expenditures. In fact, in terms of dollars spent the FRY was ranked a respectable 66th in the world for defense spending prior to the Bulldozer Revolution. Nor is there any evidence that the VJ thought its material situation would improve if the opposition won. Instead, it experienced sweeping cuts after October 2000, with the defense budget falling to 2.5% of GDP by 2005.<sup>134</sup> In sum, based on soldiers' positive economic situation compared with most civilians, and the army's lack of intervention over financial grievances in the past, it is dubious that the military's decision to disobey was based primarily on its parochial interests.

## **Conclusion**

The mass demonstrations in the 1990s served as misleading lessons for Milošević. After the army refused to disobey the SFRY presidency and support him in 1991, he marginalized the military and privileged the internal security forces at its expense. The 1996-97 demonstrations were a reminder that the military was still the regime's agent of last resort, but Milošević was hesitant to call upon it due to the suspect nature of the VJ's loyalty, its neglected parochial interests, and questionable cohesion. This suggests that, at most, a regime is unlikely to issue an

---

<sup>133</sup> Antic, "We Proposed a New Military Doctrine at a Meeting of the Council of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army."

<sup>134</sup> Edmunds, "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State," 125; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Sipri Military Expenditure Database," [http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex\\_database](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database).

order for the military to repress domestic unrest when these factors are present. In other words, they may help predict whether a military arbitration event occurs, but they do not necessarily determine its outcome.

Over the next few years Milošević initiated numerous reforms to ensure he could count on the army the next time he needed it. Unable and unwilling to elevate the VJ back to its Cold War privilege, he nevertheless increased defense spending and put hard-core loyalists in positions of authority. Political differences continued to exist within the armed forces, as they do in all modern militaries, but there was no significant difference between soldiers' behavior in the 1990s and in October 2000. This case study therefore casts doubt on the role these alternate factors played in determining the army's behavior.

Instead, the Serbia case clearly demonstrates the priority militaries give state security over all other considerations. This position was not manufactured to justify behavior in a single incident. Over the years the VJ leadership had repeatedly expressed its concerns about domestic unrest and the impact it could have on the survival of the state. Days before the Bulldozer Revolution the General Staff continued to warn the opposition against engaging in violence. They echoed the JNA during the Cold War, which recognized that countries were most vulnerable to attack and invasion when internal stability was disturbed.<sup>135</sup> Nor were the army's concerns about the threat of external intervention inflated. The previous decade was replete with debilitating economic, political and military punishments for Serbia's domestic behavior. In the end, the VJ weighed the threat to the country posed by the demonstrators against potential international repercussions and chose the path that was in the best interest of state security—it disobeyed Milošević's orders to repress.

---

<sup>135</sup> Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis*, 148-49.

This case also provides evidence against the common claim that protester violence is simply an excuse for militaries to repress. The VJ received numerous reports that the demonstrations had turned extremely violent and the police were under brutal attack. Instead of grasping onto these allegations to justify repressive behavior, the General Staff took the time to verify their accuracy against its own intelligence reports. It was this assessment process that explains the gap between Milošević's initial order to repress at 3pm on 5 October and the VJ's declared disobedience 15 hours later. If the VJ had never intended to obey due to alternate long-standing preferences, it would not have waited this long to defect.

In cases like Serbia, in which the regime is lionized and demonized, it is easy to assume that civil-military relations influence all military behavior. As a professional and nationalistic force, however, the VJ had to consider more than just its rocky relationship with Milošević or its own organizational interests. It had to think about its sworn duty to the state—as it always had. In 1939, the historian Dragoslav Stranjakovic noted the colossal price and sacrifices Serbs had paid for their own state. He claimed this was the main reason why they always separated the regime from the state. "The regime will come and go, but the state must be preserved."<sup>136</sup> In October 2000, the VJ stayed true to this tradition.

---

<sup>136</sup> Vujacic, "Perceptions of the State in Russia and Serbia: The Role of Ideas in the Soviet and Yugoslav Collapse," 183.

## **Chapter 4 CHINA'S TIANANMEN SQUARE DEMONSTRATIONS (1989)**

This chapter examines the 1989 Tiananmen Square Demonstrations in China. It explains the People's Liberation Army (PLA) decision to obey the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) order to repress demonstrations that had filled the square for almost two months. Process tracing allows us to disentangle state-military-society interactions in China before and during the demonstrations as well as the dynamics of military obedience. It reveals the presence of the security imperative causal mechanism and demonstrates the pivotal role the PLA's threat perception played in its decision to obey the regime. The ability of the alternate explanations of parochial interests, regime loyalty and cohesion to explain the China case is also examined.

Tiananmen Square is a tough case for showing how high domestic threat levels influence military decisions to obey repression orders. The student-led demonstrations are universally characterized as a campaign of nonviolent resistance and to suggest that protester violence may have influenced the PLA's decision to use lethal repression is counterintuitive. The narrative told by protesters and foreign eyewitnesses was one of unarmed innocents brutally assaulted by tanks and guns—a massacre. The only other narrative to emerge was that of the Chinese government, which claimed the protests had devolved into counterrevolutionary riots. The international community widely dismissed the CCP's story as a self-serving fabrication to justify its abhorrent behavior, while the protesters' version appeared to be a straightforward statement of fact and thus received uncritical acceptance.<sup>1</sup> As this case study demonstrates, however, events were not so clear-cut; journalists also created myths, even if their distortions were unintentional.

---

<sup>1</sup> Wasserstrom, "History, Myth, and the Tales of Tiananmen," in *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China*, ed. Wasserstrom and Perry (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 273-74.

Under scrutiny, the prevailing picture of student nonviolence is correct but incomplete; it ignores the actions of the wider population. Beijing's citizens came out in force to support and protect the student movement. As the weeks wore on, many of these citizens engaged in violent behavior. Although this violence was documented by independent sources, it is rarely emphasized. As a result, while the dominant narrative accurately captures the nonviolent nature of the students, it omits elements of the broader context that fundamentally shaped the military's threat perceptions. One of the primary tasks of this chapter, therefore, is to fill in this contextual gap and demonstrate that there was, in fact, a high level of protester violence.

Another challenge for this case study is the prevalent characterization of the PLA as a party-army as opposed to a national army.<sup>2</sup> I counter this conventional wisdom, claiming the critical elements of the security imperative causal mechanism were present even if only to a low degree. First, although it was widely seen as an innate part of the regime, the PLA was a professional organization in 1989. The military was actively modernizing in the 1980s, with heightened awareness of its distinct organizational interests and responsibilities. As a result, it was becoming increasingly independent from the regime, even if the process was far from complete.

Second, although nationalism was not emphasized in China during this period, it was hardly absent. Observers began to take real notice of Chinese nationalism in the 1990s when the CCP itself began to promote nationalist rhetoric, but this rhetorical surge was built on—and required—a long-standing foundation of national sentiment. This foundation was evident in the

---

<sup>2</sup> Examples include Shambaugh, "The Soldier and the State in China: The Political Work System in the People's Liberation Army," *The China Quarterly* 127, no. Special Issue: The Individual and State in China (1991); Scobell, "Seventy-Five Years of Civil-Military Relations: Lessons Learned," in *The Lessons of History: The Chinese People's Liberation Army at 75*, ed. Burkitt, Scobell, and Wortzel (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2003); Fravel, "China's Search for Military Power," *The Washington Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2008); Blasko, "Always Faithful: The PLA from 1949-1989," in *A Military History of China*, ed. Graff and Higham (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2012).

military in the 1980s, even though manifestations of concern for the state that were distinct from the party were muted and often intentionally blurred. In the end, this case study will demonstrate that despite its publicly declared devotion to the party, the increasingly professional military enjoyed some independence from the regime, and nationalism did influence its perceptions and behavior during the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations.

Given these challenges, China is a least-likely case for my theory of military arbitration. There is a low probability that the hypothesized security imperative causal mechanism is present and thus the risk of the theory failing is high. However, if this chapter demonstrates that the causal mechanism was present and operated as I hypothesize, it will provide strong confirmatory power for my theory. Moreover, it will significantly increase confidence in the existence of the security imperative causal mechanism in a wider population of cases.<sup>3</sup>

The China case is a stronger test for discrediting alternate theories than the Serbia case presented in chapter 4. Two of the three primary alternate explanations fail to accurately predict the PLA decision to obey repression orders. Indicators for parochial interest theories point in the opposite direction towards disobedience while those for organizational cohesion do not make a clear prediction—they are indeterminate. Only the alternate explanation of regime loyalty covaries with the observed outcome of obedience. Key to making my case, therefore, is demonstrating that the level of protester violence reached a high level prior to military repression and it was the PLA's concern for the state, not loyalty to the CCP, that was the decisive factor in the army's obedience. Once again, this chapter uses time-slice analysis to disentangle the

---

<sup>3</sup> George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 121; Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, 150-52.

competing preferences by tracing the causal process over time to identify which of these two mechanisms was doing the heavy lifting.<sup>4</sup>

The rest of this chapter summarizes the pertinent events surrounding the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. It looks at each link in the chain of events to demonstrate that they are accurately represented by my theory and to substantiate my measures of the independent and dependent variables. It also provides evidence that each element of the security imperative causal mechanism was present and operated according to the logic of my theory. Finally, it examines each of the alternate explanations and identifies where their explanatory power falls short.

### **Case Summary**

The Tiananmen Square demonstrations were sparked by the death of Hu Yaobang, a former General Secretary of the CCP who died of a heart attack on 15 April 1989. Hu had been removed as General Secretary in 1987 due in part to his unwillingness to deal harshly with student protests the previous year. Grief over the death of a senior Party member was a politically permissible reason for mass mobilization, so over the next few days thousands of students gathered in the square and on university campuses across China. While many came out to mourn Hu, who they hailed as a liberal reformer, some students took advantage of the situation to voice pent up frustrations and to rally their fellow students.<sup>5</sup> The vigils quickly evolved into protests with activists calling for a mix of political liberalization, an end to official corruption, and democratic reforms. Although typically cast as a student movement, the demonstrations attracted broad public support and Beijing residents came out in droves to

---

<sup>4</sup> Examples of other studies that use time-slice analysis include Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*.

<sup>5</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 284.

encourage the students. They also inspired other groups to act. Most significantly, workers began to organize and openly challenge the central government.<sup>6</sup>

Initially, the Chinese authorities tolerated the protests and did not try to force the students out of the square, but by 26 April they were clearly losing patience. An editorial was published in the *People's Daily*, the official CCP newspaper, entitled “We Must Take a Firm Stand Against Turmoil.” It reportedly reflected comments made by Deng Xiaoping, the paramount leader of China—unofficially the highest leader of the party and state—claiming that “a handful of people with ulterior motives have continued to use the grief of students to create turmoil... Their purpose is to poison the people’s minds, create national turmoil, and sabotage the nation’s political stability.”<sup>7</sup> Repeated use of the word ‘turmoil’ was intentional and significant; it was the official term for the decried and tragic Cultural Revolution.<sup>8</sup> Students and residents were infuriated, particularly when it was rumored that Deng had remarked, “What do we have to fear? ... We have several million army troops!”<sup>9</sup>

The students called for a mass march the next day to protest the editorial. Tens of thousands of students marched through Beijing, breaking through 18 police lines in the process, as more than a million citizens cheered them on. With the police unable to control the protests the government switched tactics. They began making minor concessions to include meeting with student leaders. However, the subsequent dialogues did not satisfy the activists; they refused to

---

<sup>6</sup> Walder and Xiaoxia, “Workers in the Tiananmen Protests: The Politics of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation,” *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 29(1993).

<sup>7</sup> Zi and Zhou, *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1989), 24; Han and Hua, eds., *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 83.

<sup>8</sup> The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76) was a violent class struggle launched by Mao Zedong aimed at cleansing ‘bourgeois’ elements from society. China’s youth formed Red Guard groups and led many of the attacks. Millions were displaced, forced into manual labor and tens of thousands were executed, resulting in massive civil unrest and economic damage.

<sup>9</sup> According to Han and Hua, this comment was likely taken out of context. Han and Hua, eds., *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*, 87, n.8.

back down and leave the square. Frustrated by the government's refusal to meet their demands, the students organized a second mass rally to commemorate the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement.<sup>10</sup> Hundreds of thousands of students in more than five cities staged the largest demonstrations in Communist China's history. Journalists calling for freedom of the press and workers openly joined them.

Despite this powerful showing, the protests began to wane in the following days as many students lost interest and returned to class. Activists maintained a constant presence in Tiananmen Square but they no longer attracted the enormous crowds of the previous weeks. To reinvigorate the campaign and force the government to make larger concessions, hardcore students began a hunger strike on 13 May, two days before a highly publicized state visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The hunger strike—a tactic popularized during the Cultural Revolution—garnered the sympathy of millions around the world and stoked so much fear among senior Party officials that scholars have argued it was the single most important form of protest during the 1989 movement.<sup>11</sup> Within days the number of fasting students grew to over 3,000 and drew hundreds of thousands of additional students from around the country to Beijing. Government leaders tried to persuade them to stop the strike and go home but by the day of Gorbachev's arrival the crowd had swelled to more than a million. The CCP was humiliated. The students had stolen the international media's attention away from this historic meeting and forced them to cancel Gorbachev's visit to the Forbidden City.

---

<sup>10</sup> On 4 May 1919, thousands of students protested the 'spineless' Chinese government and demanded it assert a stronger nationalist stance after its weak response to the Treaty of Versailles. The protests spread to over 100 cities and resulted in China's refusal to sign the treaty, although this did not change the concessions that incited the protests.

<sup>11</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 274.

Party elites believed they had to regain control, with PRC President Yang Shangkun claiming, “The government would collapse if we make further concessions.”<sup>12</sup> On 20 May, martial law was declared and the demonstrators were ordered to vacate the square. Deng Xiaoping, who was also the Chairman of the Central Military Commission (CMC), ordered over 100,000 troops into Beijing. Tens of thousands of residents blocked their entry, so convoys stood at a standstill for four days until the soldiers pulled back to the outskirts of the city. Jubilant demonstrations continued with almost no visible security presence.<sup>13</sup> Ten days later, on 3 June, the PLA launched a second assault on Beijing. This time, they engaged in numerous deadly clashes with residents as they made their way to the city center. By 5am the next morning, the last few thousand students left the square at gunpoint.

No one knows how many people died and were injured during what became known as the Tiananmen Square Massacre. Estimates range from the Chinese government’s official statistic of nearly 300 killed (including both protesters and soldiers), the Chinese Red Cross’ estimate of 3,000 deaths, and some protesters’ claims of over 10,000 killed.<sup>14</sup> Regardless of the actual figure, this was indisputably a tragic event for which the PLA bears heavy responsibility. In addition to the physical casualties, the military was also guilty of breaking the people’s trust. Why was the “People’s Army” willing to fire upon its own citizens? The next sections examine each step of the PLA’s involvement and demonstrate that its obedience was far from automatic.

### **The Order to Repress**

After weeks of tolerance, ineffective verbal threats, and limited concessions, the regime’s

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>13</sup> BBC News, "Timeline: The Tiananmen Protests," <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8057148.stm>.

<sup>14</sup> For in-depth analyses of the conflicting reports and reasons the true casualty figures will never be known, see Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 151-69; Chang, "Revisiting the Tiananmen Square Incident: A Distorted Image from Both Sides of the Lens " *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* 5, no. 1 (2005).

restraint had worn thin. Perhaps the last straw was when workers began to openly organize in mid-May. The students were an embarrassment but workers could disrupt China's economy. They were also the ones that had brought the CCP to power and, if mobilized and united, they posed the greatest threat to the regime's survival. On 18 May, the Party elders met with the Politburo Standing Committee and formally agreed to declare martial law. They ordered the army into the capital to put an end to the demonstrations. Indicative of how serious the CCP viewed the threat, this would be the first time martial law had ever been imposed in Beijing under Communist rule. Explaining why this unprecedented step was necessary, Deng said, "At bottom [our opponents] want to overthrow our state and overthrow our Party—that's what's really going on here." Li Xiannian, another Party elder, chimed in, "What's the difference between what we're seeing all across the country and the Cultural Revolution? It's not just Beijing; all the cities are in chaos. ...If we don't put Beijing under martial law, we'll all end up under house arrest."<sup>15</sup>

The next evening, Premier Li Peng made the public announcement on television, ordering the Beijing municipal government to take whatever measures it felt necessary to restore order. President Yang then stated that PLA units were being ordered into the capital.<sup>16</sup> These speeches were also broadcast over loudspeakers in Tiananmen Square at 9:40am on 20 May, twenty minutes before martial law officially went into effect. The Beijing municipal government published orders demanding the immediate cessation of all protest activity and warned that security forces had the right to employ any means, including the use of force, to stop violators.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, ed. Nathan and Link (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001), 204-05.

<sup>16</sup> Scobell, "The Meaning of Martial Law for the PLA and Internal Security in China after Deng" (paper presented at the A Poverty of Riches: New Challenges and Opportunities in PLA Research, 2003), 179.

<sup>17</sup> Zi and Zhou, *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising*, 97.

Party elders grew anxious when it became apparent that the mere threat of martial law was not enough to intimidate the demonstrators. Their unease increased exponentially when they learned that the military was not implementing the order as planned.<sup>18</sup> Soldiers were blocked from entering the city for days and the PLA did not attempt to break through. The CCP concluded that despite its order to disband the protesters, the army was not mentally or physically prepared to follow through with the crackdown. As a result, Yang ordered the military to rest, regroup and revise their strategies as additional units were brought in from other regions. He also ordered the troops to undergo special political instruction, emphasizing that “no one in the military could be allowed to disobey orders.”<sup>19</sup>

Some scholars suggest the Party originally ordered the PLA *not* to engage the demonstrators. Accordingly, the army held back because it was following President Yang’s direction to refrain from using force and that the initial declaration of martial law was simply a psychological device intended to intimidate protesters into going home.<sup>20</sup> While Party members likely hoped the army could gain control peacefully and preferred to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, the evidence suggests the PLA’s passivity was not what the regime had intended and came as an unwelcome surprise.

Deng Xiaoping certainly expected the military to enforce martial law. As early as 25 April, he told Li Peng and Yang, “We must do our best to avoid bloodshed, but we should foresee that it might not be possible to completely avoid it.”<sup>21</sup> The following day he said that the student unrest must be crushed “by any means.”<sup>22</sup> On 17 May, the day Deng decided the PLA

---

<sup>18</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 239.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.

<sup>20</sup> Scobell, “The Meaning of Martial Law for the PLA and Internal Security in China after Deng”, 187; Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 223.

<sup>21</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1990), 204.

<sup>22</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 30.

should be brought in, he announced, “The aim of martial law will be to suppress the turmoil once and for all and to return things quickly to normal.”<sup>23</sup> His expectations were likely influenced by China’s only other use of martial law since the Cultural Revolution; less than three months earlier martial law had been declared in Lhasa, the administrative capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region.<sup>24</sup> The PLA’s success in putting down those demonstrations—success that was only achieved with the use of force—undoubtedly served as a model for the Party’s decision to impose martial law in Beijing.<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, if the regime had not intended for the army to physically remove the protesters, it is doubtful that Zhao Ziyang, the General Secretary of the CCP, would have attempted to resign over the initial decision to impose martial law. Zhao repeatedly tried to convince Deng to change his mind and ultimately refused to carry out the policy.<sup>26</sup> As a result, he was blamed for the students’ behavior and purged from the party. It is highly unlikely he would sacrifice his political career and personal freedom (he spent his last fifteen years under house arrest) to oppose a deliberately “phony” martial law.<sup>27</sup>

During the first days of martial law, President Yang did instruct the soldiers to maintain absolute control over their weapons, to use them with great restraint, and to defend themselves with nonlethal methods, but he did not contradict the paramount leader’s intentions and tell them to refrain from engaging the protesters at all. In fact, Yang advised the army that clubs should be the major weapon of self-defense.<sup>28</sup> In other words, he—like most other Party leaders—preferred to avoid a bloodbath but ultimately wanted to get the job done.

---

<sup>23</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 189.

<sup>24</sup> Lhasa does not fit the scope conditions of this study given the protesters’ separatist goals.

<sup>25</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, “A Struggle of Blood and Fire: The Imposition of Martial Law in 1989 and the Lhasa Uprising in 1959,” (1999).

<sup>26</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 200-01.

<sup>27</sup> Scobell, “The Meaning of Martial Law for the PLA and Internal Security in China after Deng”, 182.

<sup>28</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 241-42.

The regime issued a second order to repress the protests on 3 June. Demonstrations had been reinvigorated by the raising of the Goddess of Democracy statue as well as several newspaper articles calling for the students to go home. Some of these articles were influenced by a report ordered by Li Peng called, "On the True Nature of the Turmoil." It referred to the protestors as terrorists and counterrevolutionaries who were preparing an armed seizure of power.<sup>29</sup> Martial law troops were once again ordered to move into the city that evening and advance toward designated security targets. They were "to clear all the obstacles by force," reach Tiananmen Square at 1am, and clear it of protesters by 6am.<sup>30</sup> Party leaders knew what they were ordering. Wang Zhen pronounced, "Those goddamn bastards! ... Anybody who tries to overthrow the Communist Party deserves death and no burial!" Deng Xiaoping agreed with the decision, stating, "If they refuse to leave, they will be responsible for the consequences."<sup>31</sup> The military had clear orders to end the demonstrations once and for all, and it was expected to use any means necessary to do so.

### **Deployment of Forces**

By all appearances, the PLA prepared to obey its orders. During the early weeks of the protests, about five hundred soldiers were moved into the capital due to heightened security concerns. President Yang requested this additional manning after the 27 April demonstration, to help protect the Great Hall and serve as a reserve force for the police. At the same time, all military leaves were cancelled and the PLA was put on standby notice.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>30</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 203.

<sup>31</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 357, 62.

<sup>32</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 33-34.

The day before martial law was formally declared, troops from 22 divisions of 13 Group Armies were rushed to Beijing.<sup>33</sup> At least seven divisions tried to enter the capital during the night of 19 May, followed by a second wave the following morning. They came from all directions, attempting to move into position before the official declaration of martial law, but tens of thousands of citizens poured into the streets to stop them. In some areas military convoys were backed up for more than three kilometers. Unable to reach their assigned destinations, the soldiers were stuck on the road for several days with no provisions. Trying to regain control of the huge deployment operation, the Martial Law Command sent helicopters out to conduct aerial reconnaissance and found the army literally immobilized. With no viable plan to reverse the situation, on 22 May it finally ordered the troops to redeploy to temporary barracks on the outskirts of the city.<sup>34</sup> Due to all the roadblocks and congestion, it took another two days to complete the withdrawal.

Over the next ten days the military continued its deployment preparations. It established two concentric rings around the capital, set up logistics centers, moved gas and water cannons to the suburbs and accessible points in the city, relocated tanks and tightened security around all of these areas.<sup>35</sup> Unable to openly deploy forces into the city, the army sent small, undercover groups of soldiers into Beijing to secure important government buildings and monitor events on the ground. Finally, additional forces and armor arrived from distant regions, increasing the number of soldiers to at least 150,000.

---

<sup>33</sup> The armies were the 15<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup>, 38<sup>th</sup>, 39<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, 54<sup>th</sup>, 63<sup>rd</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, and 67<sup>th</sup>. Full divisions (12-15,000 soldiers) were not deployed in all cases. Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 239.

<sup>34</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 68.

<sup>35</sup> Cheng, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), 135.

Despite these preparations, the PLA's ultimate obedience was far from guaranteed. In fact, most citizens presumed the military would *not* "invade" Beijing a second time.<sup>36</sup> If it did, they did not believe the "People's Army" would fire on the people. This line of thinking led many to ignore the harsh warnings from the regime and Martial Law Command and to fearlessly confront the troops. As Zhao points out, throughout the demonstrations every time the people had stood their ground the government and the military had backed down.<sup>37</sup> The expectation that the PLA would play the "chicken" once again may even have encouraged bolder forms of resistance. Cunningham and Beaulieu's theory of inconsistency predicts this pattern of behavior—when state repression of protest is inconsistent it encourages dissent that is more violent regardless of the protesters' initial level of violence.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Military Obeys**

The PLA ultimately obeyed the CCP's orders to put an end to the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, but not until the level of protester violence had escalated. During the army's first attempt to impose martial law, when violence was low, it never tried to push through the residents and their barricades to reach the square. This was despite the open language of General Order No. 1, which permitted them to use any means necessary to deal with violators. While the military initially shirked in its duty to enforce martial law and allowed the protests to persist, it never blatantly disobeyed the regime's orders.

The Party, seeing the military's hesitancy, did not insist the soldiers advance and instead allowed the army to pull back and regroup. The military's unwillingness to repress the protesters was evident.<sup>39</sup> One lieutenant vowed to the crowds, "On no account will we fire on the people.

---

<sup>36</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 84.

<sup>37</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 236.

<sup>38</sup> Cunningham and Beaulieu, "Dissent, Repression, and Inconsistency."

<sup>39</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 235.

Even if we are ordered to shoot.”<sup>40</sup> In another part of town a regimental political commissar assured student representatives, “The troops will not fire on the students.” However, he added, “We will by no means be soft on those evil elements who are bent on opposing the government with sabotage activities.”<sup>41</sup> In other words, their restraint was dependent on the people’s behavior.

When the PLA was ordered to repress the demonstrations a second time the situation was different. The discovery of soldiers attempting to sneak into the city on 2-3 June and rumors of military violence had pushed some citizens over the edge and they began to attack the soldiers. The US Embassy in Beijing reported how these early waves of soldiers were repeatedly turned back. An American Defense Attaché described the unorganized retreat as “a Chinese version of Napoleon’s retreat from Moscow.”<sup>42</sup> Faced with a high level of violence, the army finally obeyed the intent of the regime’s orders and they moved to disband the crowds. On the evening of 3 June, the PLA began forcing its way to the square with advancing troops chanting, “If no one attacks me, I attack no one; but if people attack me, I must attack them.”<sup>43</sup> Outraged residents continued to confront the troops. The PLA fired the first warning shots around 10pm that night and within the hour soldiers were shooting at the thousands of citizens that blocked the roads; those who threw rocks, bottles and Molotov cocktails at the troops; and those who swarmed around their vehicles and set many of them on fire.<sup>44</sup> A former soldier described his unit’s

---

<sup>40</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 56.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>42</sup> AMEMBASSY BEIJING, "Sitrep No. 27: Martial Law with Chinese Characteristics (030515z Jun1989)," in *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 16*, ed. Richelson and Evans (Washington DC: George Washington University, 1999).

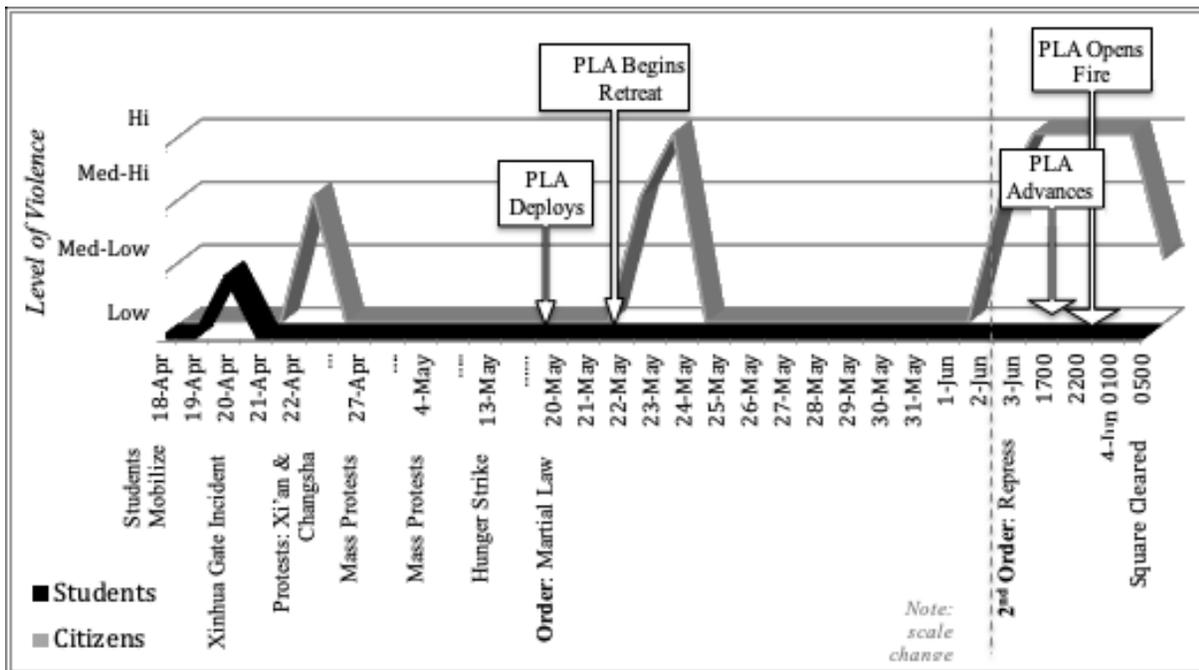
<sup>43</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 374.

<sup>44</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 121.

reaction to the civilian attacks: “The soldiers, shaking with fear and rage, first shot into the air, but at some point, the rifle sights were aimed at the crowds.”<sup>45</sup>

Why did the military finally obey the regime’s order to repress the Tiananmen Square demonstrations? Was it concern for the state’s security, as I argue, or was it out of loyalty to the Communist regime? To disentangle these competing mechanisms, the timing of the PLA’s actions must be compared to the evolution of protester violence. (See Figure 1.) If blind allegiance motivated the PLA we would expect to see immediate and decisive obedience on 20 May when the first order to repress the demonstrations was issued, but this did not occur. Instead, the army shirked in its duties. The PLA deployed but it did not attempt to disband the protesters or silence their voice. Despite days of being trapped in convoys and subject to sweltering heat, severe supply shortages and a litany of humiliating lectures, the military did not repress the crowds. It just sat there until it was given permission to retreat. During its

Figure 4.1 Tiananmen Square Demonstrations: Timing & Protester Violence



<sup>45</sup> Jacobs and Buckley, "Tales of Army Discord Show Tiananmen Square in a New Light," *The New York Times*, 2 June 2014.

withdrawal, the army did sustain a casualty, raising the level of violence to high, but this appears to have been an isolated case and when it occurred the military was no longer positioned to engage in repression. However, the death undoubtedly sensitized the PLA leadership to the potential threat of the domestic unrest. In early June, the military began infiltrating forces into the city to gather intelligence and guard key sites, but once again, they did not attempt to engage the residents or students. It was only after protester violence escalated, when the crowds attacked these soldiers, did the military obey the Party's orders and repress the demonstrations.

Of course, timing alone does not prove the military based its decision on what was best for the state. It is also necessary to demonstrate that each part of the security imperative causal mechanism was present and operated according to the logic of my theory. The next section does just that; it provides evidence that the Chinese military was a professional and nationalistic organization, before moving on to assess the international and domestic threat environments and how they entered into the PLA's strategic calculations.

### **Military's Security Imperative**

The PLA's security imperative, shaped by professionalism and nationalism, transmitted causal forces from the international and domestic threat environments that first led it to shirk when given the order to repress the popular demonstrations, but ultimately led to its obedience. This section presents observable implications, or fingerprints, of each part of the causal mechanism to indicate its presence. First, it establishes that the military was a professional force, indicating a degree of independence from the regime and the inherent responsibility for security. Second, it demonstrates that the military was infused with nationalism, which caused it to identify the state, as opposed to the Party, as the military's supreme client.

### *Military Professionalism*

Chinese civil-military relations are often reduced to Mao Zedong's famous dictum, "The party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the party."<sup>46</sup> Put another way, the army is nothing but a tool of the regime. The conventional wisdom upholds this characterization, portraying the PLA as a party-army vice a national one. It is true that the CCP and the military were intimately intertwined in their early years. After China's Kuomintang government violently expelled the Communist Party from its ranks in 1927, the survivors joined forces under Mao Zedong and founded the military arm of the CCP—the Red Army. Renamed the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) after World War II, it went on to win the Chinese Civil War by 1950. Throughout this period there was a significant overlap in membership, leadership, and interests between the PLA and the ruling Communist regime.

However, I argue that by 1989, the PLA had begun its transition to a modern, professional military and that distinct organizational interests were apparent within the army. Observers of the PLA concur that this shift occurred but typically mark its starting point in the mid-1990s, when manifestations of modernization were more pronounced.<sup>47</sup> However, observable implications of professionalization were already emerging in the 1980s, to include the presence of large, hierarchical military organizations with specialized technical capabilities; internal rules, procedures and facilities for recruitment, training and promotions; and mechanisms to enforce order and discipline. More sophisticated weaponry requiring specialized

---

<sup>46</sup> Scobell, "China's Evolving Civil-Military Relations: Creeping Guojiahua," *Armed Forces & Society* 31, no. 2 (2005): 229.

<sup>47</sup> Various starting points can be used to assess the PLA's transformation, including the period after China's 1979 war with Vietnam, Deng Xiaoping's 1985 reassessment of the international situation, the 1991 Gulf War and China's military strategic guidelines published in 1993, defense spending increases in the 1990s, the 1995–1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis, and the May 1999 bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade during Operation Allied Force. Chase et al., "China's Incomplete Military Transformation: Assessing the Weaknesses of the People's Liberation Army (PLA)," (Santa Monica, CA RAND Corporation, 2015), n2, 13-14.

training and management was also in use, such as advanced tanks, armored vehicles, rockets, missiles and helicopters.<sup>48</sup> In short, the characteristics of military professionalism were present in the PLA in 1989—some more entrenched than others.

The Chinese state itself began to transform from an ideology-based revolutionary regime under Mao into a performance-based authoritarian regime in 1978.<sup>49</sup> The impetus to reform the PLA began even earlier, as evidenced by Deng Xiaoping's 1975 speech to the PLA General Staff, of which he had recently been named head. In the speech he laid out a blueprint for the military of the future.<sup>50</sup> He warned that a highly politicized, low-tech military force and the corresponding doctrine of People's War were no longer appropriate for a nation responsible for cities and industrial centers.<sup>51</sup> Deng delineated why transformation of the PLA was needed: bloated staffs, over-manned headquarters, redundant offices lacking both authority and responsibility, promotions based on personal connections rather than qualifications, and the lack of a retirement system or other separation mechanism, which resulted in officers remaining in the PLA far too long. He concluded with the recommendation that membership of the officer corps should be clearly differentiated from that of Party and government bureaucrats.

In 1978, Deng became head of the CMC and PLA and began implementing reforms to develop a younger, better-educated force with skilled soldiers focused on the core competencies

---

<sup>48</sup> Li, "The Central Military Commission and Military Policy in China," in *The People's Liberation Army as Organization*, ed. Mulvenon and Yang (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002), 11.

<sup>49</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 8; Cheng, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China*, 97.

<sup>50</sup> Deng's speech was not made public until 1983 and there is some skepticism to its authenticity. Nevertheless, the ideas were openly attributed and discussed by 1978, indicating the recognized need and desire for military reform. Dreyer, "Deng Xiaoping: The Soldier," *The China Quarterly* 135, no. Special Issue: Deng Xiaoping: An Assessment (1993): 540.

<sup>51</sup> Henley, "China's Military Modernization: A Ten Year Assessment," in *China's Military Modernization: International Implications*, ed. Wortzel (NY: Greenwood Press, 1988), 99-100, 11.

of warfighting.<sup>52</sup> Stringent educational qualifications were introduced with more attention devoted to training and less time spent on political studies. A three-tier system was created to educate junior, mid-level and senior officers in the serious study of foreign armies; strategy and tactics; and the role of technology in modern war.<sup>53</sup> Improving military skills and raising the education levels of both officers and troops were recognized as necessary prerequisites for the utilization of more advanced weaponry and the conduct of combined-arms operations. In other words, in the late 1970s the PLA implemented serious efforts to professionalize.

By 1985, there were over 100 military academies operating, including the newly established National Defense University (NDU), where American and European military scholars were routinely invited to lecture. The same year, the Institute for Strategic Studies was formed to foster the exchange of ideas between Chinese and foreign military experts. These educational reforms exposed the PLA to doctrinal ideas from abroad and created avenues that fostered institutional isomorphism. Reform of the senior military corps was so rapid that by 1988, 58% of all high-ranking officers at the district level or above had graduated from military academies or other colleges compared to only 4% in 1982.<sup>54</sup> That same year, the PLA restored its formal rank system, which had been suspended during the Cultural Revolution. Combined with the new military uniforms fielded a few years earlier, which made it easier to distinguish between officers and soldiers, the PLA publicly embraced the essential hierarchy of a modern military and the corporate identity that came with it.

---

<sup>52</sup> Dreyer, "Deng Xiaoping: The Soldier," 542; Chinese People's Liberation Army, *China's Army: Ready for Modernization*, ed. Wenming (Beijing: Beijing Review, 1985), 8.

<sup>53</sup> Blasko, "The Chinese Military: An Assessment," *Currents in Modern Thought* 14, no. 10 (1999).

<sup>54</sup> Cheng and White, "The Army in the Succession to Deng Xiaoping: Familiar Fealties and Technocratic Trends," *Asian Survey* 33, no. 8 (1993): 760.

At the same time, the PLA was reorganizing into a smaller, more responsive force. In 1978, the “Decision on the Issue of Military Service System” formally established the PLA’s force structure as one that combines conscripts with volunteers. One million soldiers—almost 25% of the army—were cut, including many older officers that were forced to retire due to new mandatory retirement rules.<sup>55</sup> This not only drove out committed Maoist leftists who were most resistant to Deng’s reforms—particularly the growing emphasis on military professionalism over political rectitude—but it also resulted in a younger force more amenable to change.<sup>56</sup> By 1987, only a few elderly leaders remained in service and in the spring of 1989, impressed foreign military attachés were commenting about the youthfulness of the Chinese military commanders exercising responsibility.<sup>57</sup>

Efforts to reduce military participation in politics were also implemented. In 1980, CCP membership was limited to 20% of total army personnel; all of whom had to be military academy graduates to ensure new party recruits had gone through Deng’s military education system. The portion of Central Committee and Politburo members held by those with military backgrounds also declined from its peak of 50% in 1969 to 25% in 1982, dropping again in 1985.<sup>58</sup> The result of these de-politicization efforts was a marked decrease in the number of dual-hatted leaders in the 1980s; military professionals, as opposed to political officers, increasingly held the top military positions while civilian politicians headed the government.

The 1980s also introduced significant changes in the PLA’s structure and mission. The number of military area commands was reduced from eleven to seven, and over 5,900 units

---

<sup>55</sup> By 1987, the PLA went from 4.2 to 3.2 million personnel. Dreyer, "Deng Xiaoping: The Soldier," 546.

<sup>56</sup> Yoon, "Problems of Modernizing the PLA: Domestic Constraints," in *China's Military Modernization: International Implications*, ed. Wortzel (NY: Greenwood Press, 1988), 92.

<sup>57</sup> Henley, "China's Military Modernization: A Ten Year Assessment," *Ibid.*, 101; Dreyer, "The New Officer Corps: Implications for the Future," in *China's Military in Transition*, ed. Shambaugh and Yang (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 53.

<sup>58</sup> Cheng, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China*, 102-08.

above the regimental level were dismantled, merged, demoted or reformed.<sup>59</sup> Functionally specialized career paths and technical units were established to encourage greater professional expertise.<sup>60</sup> The 1982 Military System Reform and Reorganization Plan established the Artillery Department, the Department of Armored Force and the Department of Engineer Corps under the General Staff Headquarters. In 1986, Army Aviation—the newest, most technical arm of the PLA—was formally stood up. Non-warfighting activities were removed from the PLA, including responsibility for the country's railway and defense industries. A civil service system was also established, reclassifying active duty officers who worked in scientific research, engineering, education, literature, arts and public health as civilians. Most critically, in 1982, the People's Armed Police (PAP) was revived after being abolished during the Cultural Revolution, relieving the PLA of day-to-day internal security duties.

All these reform efforts gradually instilled the PLA with universally recognizable elements of military professionalism, an increasing sense of autonomy, a separate and distinct corporate identity, and its own institutional interests.<sup>61</sup> While professionalization, and the independence associated with it, was far from complete in 1989, it was certainly present. In fact, the regime used it to explain why some PLA units hesitated to enforce marital law. Many officers, it was alleged, had become infected with bourgeois liberal views that the army must be separated from politics and that Deng's efforts to differentiate Party, government and army had gone too far.<sup>62</sup> In other words, the military had become too professional.

---

<sup>59</sup> "Regulations of the Chinese PLA on Military Service of Officers in Active Service," (PRC: Ministry of National Defense, 1995).

<sup>60</sup> Chinese People's Liberation Army, *China's Army: Ready for Modernization*, 17.

<sup>61</sup> Miller, "The Political Implications of PLA Professionalism," in *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*, ed. Finkelstein and Gunness (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 133; Scobell, "China's Evolving Civil-Military Relations: Creeping Guojiahua," 236; Joffe, "Party-Army Relations in China: Retrospect and Prospect," *The China Quarterly* 146, no. Special Issue: China's Military in Transition (1996): 304.

<sup>62</sup> Dreyer, "Deng Xiaoping: The Soldier," 549-50.

Evidence of the PLA's growing independence from the regime was widespread during the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. On 17 May, over 1,000 men from the PLA's General Logistics Department marched in uniform to Tiananmen Square chanting "Down with corruption!" and "We demand democracy!"<sup>63</sup> The following day a number of PLA officers wrote a letter to the CMC stating, "We absolutely cannot suppress the students and the masses by armed force."<sup>64</sup> Even more indicative was the open pushback from the military after the CCP decided to declare martial law. On 20 May, eight senior PLA officers signed a one-sentence letter to Deng: "We request that troops not enter the city and that martial law not be carried out in Beijing." When Deng received the letter, he sent two top military leaders to pay personal visits to the generals, one by one, to explain the situation and President Yang had to personally telephone some of them before the "mini-revolt" was pacified.<sup>65</sup>

The most famous example of the military exerting its independence was General Xu Qinxian, commander of the elite 38<sup>th</sup> Army, who refused to deploy his troops. Xu was committed to the PLA—he had reportedly written a letter in blood during the Korean War begging to join the army as an underage youth. Having witnessed the student protests during a visit to Beijing for medical care, he warned that sending in soldiers trained to fight foreign invaders would risk indiscriminate bloodshed and stain the reputation of the PLA.<sup>66</sup> Xu was stripped of his command, court martialed, and spent the next four years in prison.

General Xu was the most prominent conscientious objector, but he was not the only one. In the weeks following the demonstrations, 3,500 officers were investigated and a total of 111

---

<sup>63</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 206.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>65</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 282-83.

<sup>66</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 265.

were charged with breaching discipline in a “serious way.”<sup>67</sup> Party elders were so alarmed by the military’s dissent that they reportedly disconnected many of the red phones that allowed senior officers to speak with one another and pulled troops from 22 different divisions of 13 armies to head off a possible coup.<sup>68</sup> These actions would not have been deemed necessary if the PLA had purely been a party-army. To the contrary, by 1989 the PLA clearly displayed characteristics of a modern, professional, and independent force.

### ***Military Nationalism***

In addition to the military exhibiting professional independence from the regime, the security imperative causal mechanism requires nationalistic armies. The role of nationalism in the PLA is now a popular theme in security studies, but much like professionalism, the emergence of nationalism as a driving force within the military was rarely commented on before the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Scholars have focused primarily on intellectuals’ conceptions of nationalism since their writings are more readily available. PLA officers came from many of the same social circles and had similar influences, but open military debate was rare since Chinese leadership was apt to interpret any questions about patriotism as unpatriotic. I argue that the PLA was increasingly nationalistic during the 1980s, and the evolution of its nationalism paralleled and was heavily influenced by the redefinition of nationalism taking place in society during this period.

Chinese nationalism dates to at least the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when foreign imperial powers repeatedly threatened the empire. Frequent defeats and unequal treaties spurred waves of

---

<sup>67</sup> Jacobs and Buckley, "Tales of Army Discord Show Tiananmen Square in a New Light."; Li, *A History of the Modern Chinese Army* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 268.

<sup>68</sup> Li, *A History of the Modern Chinese Army*, 268.

patriotic reflection while each new humiliation exposed the weakness of the Chinese state.<sup>69</sup> Mao, along with other founding members of the CCP, were members of the May 4<sup>th</sup> generation—the anti-imperialist, cultural, and political movement that emerged out of student demonstrations protesting the Chinese government's weak response to the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Founding a new state—the People's Republic of China—meant the realization of long-held patriotic aspirations. As a result, nationalism was particularly strong among intellectuals and government officials in the early Cold War era, when carrying out one's patriotic duty meant serving the CCP.<sup>70</sup> However, the bonds between intellectuals and the party-state slowly deteriorated during the Great Leap Forward (1958-61) and Cultural Revolution (1966-76), which resulted in the death and persecution of millions as well as the state's economic decline.

By the 1980s, despite the CCP's claim of being the exclusive representative of state and nation, as well as “the mother on whom all citizens depended for everything they had,” intellectuals increasingly distinguished between party, state and people. A popular slogan during the Tiananmen Square demonstrations underscored this shift: “We love our country, but we hate our government.”<sup>71</sup> Patriotism progressively came to be defined as loyalty to one's society and country instead of loyalty to the party and its leadership.

Under Deng's leadership, the CCP tried to repair the bond between party and nation. Party leaders consistently expressed their pride in China's national heritage and their desire to transform the country into a major world actor. In fact, nationalism was the leading ideological

---

<sup>69</sup> Hunt, "Chinese National Identity and the Strong State: The Late Qing-Republican Crisis," in *China's Quest for National Identity*, ed. Dittmer and Kim (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 63-64.

<sup>70</sup> Zhao, "China's Foreign Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region: Modernization, Nationalism and Regionalism," *China Review* (1995).

<sup>71</sup> Goldman, Link, and Wei, "China's Intellectuals in the Deng Era: Loss of Identity with the State," in *China's Quest for National Identity*, ed. Dittmer and Kim (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 125-27; 53.

current behind the Four Modernizations and China's efforts to rejuvenate the economy in the 1980s. Modernization was designed to boost the state's wealth and power by strengthening its industrial base and increasing its involvement in world affairs, all the while preserving its national essence.<sup>72</sup> Although Deng's modernization efforts were incredibly successful, intellectuals continued to distinguish between party and state.

For the PLA, modernization "required it to withdraw from the societal politics of the Cultural Revolution and concentrate on peacetime army building and national defense."<sup>73</sup> As a result, it is not surprising that the military increasingly emphasized nationalist ideals among its forces during this period. For instance, in 1981, the PLA—like modern militaries around the world—began requiring new recruits to take an oath of service. The Servicemen's Pledge declared four loyalties: the Party, the Motherland, the Chinese people, and the military profession.<sup>74</sup> While the PLA officially pledged its allegiance to both, it differentiated between the party and state. Moreover, it emphasized its roots as a people's army, which served as the foundation for the military's tradition and mystique.<sup>75</sup> By pledging four loyalties, the military implicitly acknowledged its responsibilities beyond the party. The bottom line is most PLA officers were nationalistic in the sense of revering their country.<sup>76</sup> The PLA's own publications highlight how its "officers and men, lion-hearted as ever, somehow managed to safeguard the security of the nation" during the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution—a tragedy instigated by Mao and the Party.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> The Four Modernizations (industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense) were enacted in 1978. Oksenberg, "China's Confident Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs* 65, no. 3 (1986): 502-05.

<sup>73</sup> Li, "The Central Military Commission and Military Policy in China," 50.

<sup>74</sup> "China's Army Plans an Oath of Loyalty," *New York Times*, 4 Mar 1981.

<sup>75</sup> Trainor, "Crackdown in Beijing: Civil War for Army?," *Ibid.*, 6 Jun 1989.

<sup>76</sup> Scobell, "China's Evolving Civil-Military Relations: Creeping Guojiahua," 231; Dreyer, "The New Officer Corps: Implications for the Future," 60.

<sup>77</sup> Chinese People's Liberation Army, *China's Army: Ready for Modernization*, 8.

Another example of the PLA adopting nationalist rituals is its 1988 ratification of *The March of the Chinese People's Liberation Army* as its official military anthem. The lyrics of this patriotic song, which dates to the Second Sino-Japanese War, repeatedly reference the motherland and identify the military as “the arms of the People.” It never mentions the Communist Party. Similarly, *March of the Volunteers* was made the country's official national anthem in 1982, but only after its original lyrics were restored and references to Mao and the CCP were eliminated. Instead of promoting the Party, the song glorifies the unity and defiance of the Chinese people. During the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, it was suggested that officers sing the army and national anthems with the soldiers to strengthen the PLA's revolutionary heroism and spirit of collectivism.<sup>78</sup> No recommendations were made to highlight their loyalty to the Party.

Nationalist inclinations were also evident in the PLA's regulations. In 1988, the Regulation for Military Service of Officers in Active Duty was adopted. It stipulated that the first requirement officers must meet is “being loyal to the motherland, serving the people wholeheartedly, and devoting themselves to the cause of national defense.”<sup>79</sup> Second to this requirement is observing the Constitution and implementing State principles and policies—the closest the regulation comes to referencing the CCP.

There are also more subtle indications that Chinese soldiers distinguished between the party and state. In 1979, for instance, a PLA soldier named Bai Hua published a film script entitled “Unrequited Love.” This was the story of an intellectual who devoted himself to his country because of his strong sense of patriotism only to be subjected to continual repression and cruelty. When talking about patriotism, the script uses the term *zuguo*, which means people,

---

<sup>78</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*.

<sup>79</sup> “Regulations of the Chinese Pla on Military Service of Officers in Active Service.”

motherland, or country, but not necessarily government or party.<sup>80</sup> The script became an object of criticism in a 1981 campaign against bourgeois liberalization, in which Bai was charged with lacking a sense of patriotism. Nevertheless, Bai—who illustrates that members of the PLA did in fact share and promote intellectual views—received over a thousand letters of appreciation and wall posters were put up in his defense.

Another controversial literary work was published by Liu Binyan in 1985, and portrayed a former PLA officer who challenged the Party because he thought it was harmful to the people. In “The Second Kind of Loyalty,” Liu distinguished between loyalty to one’s country, society, and party from loyalty to the party leadership and its shifting political line.<sup>81</sup> Although this example is fictitious, art imitates life. It is unlikely these works would have gained such traction and been so contentious had they not reflected ongoing debates and struggles within the military and society.

While these examples do not offer definitive evidence that the PLA consistently differentiated between the CCP and the state—and I am certainly not arguing that the military always made this distinction—the examples do suggest that officers and soldiers thought about and struggled with questions of nationalism. At the very least, there was recognition that allegiance to the state was not always the same as allegiance to the CCP. In an authoritarian regime where public debate of where the military’s loyalty should reside was forbidden, this evidence demonstrates the existence, if not the scope and depth, of nationalist tendencies in the PLA. As such, the presence of nationalism in combination with the PLA’s burgeoning professionalism, indicates the security imperative causal mechanism was present and influenced the PLA’s perceptions and decisions during the Tiananmen Square demonstrations.

---

<sup>80</sup> Goldman, Link, and Wei, “China’s Intellectuals in the Deng Era: Loss of Identity with the State,” 132-35.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 141-43.

## International Threat

During arbitration events, the military's security imperative causes it to assess all threats to the state, including the country's vulnerabilities to international punishment. Like all professional militaries, the PLA is conditioned to define threats broadly and think in terms of worst-case scenarios. Thus, credible threats can range from negative effects and harm done to the state's national interests and development, all the way to dangers to its sovereignty, security and very survival.<sup>82</sup> This section examines the Chinese state's vulnerabilities to international repercussions and the external threats posed by the Tiananmen Square demonstrations.

In 1989, China was rapidly modernizing in a concerted effort to move past the damage caused by the Cultural Revolution, spur economic development, and increase its international prestige. However, efforts to open its economy created new linkages and vulnerabilities to external repercussions, many of which the international community leveraged to punish the state after the PLA repressed the demonstrations. On the economic front, China was increasingly dependent on foreign loans to fuel its development programs, including the Third Yen Loan package worth ¥810 billion yen (\$6B) that it was in the process of negotiating with Japan. As punishment for the massacre, Japan terminated these negotiations and the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank halted lending to China, resulting in a 40% decrease in foreign lending. The country also received a significant amount of foreign assistance; Tiananmen is estimated to have cost China \$11B in bilateral aid in the first four years after the crisis.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Whiting, "The PLA and China's Threat Perceptions," in *China's Military in Transition*, ed. Shambaugh and Yang (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 335-36.

<sup>83</sup> Foot, *Rights Beyond Borders: The Global Community and the Struggle over Human Rights in China* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 117.

Moreover, China benefited from foreign direct investment more than any other developing country in the 1980s, opening it up to the potential loss of commercial funds.<sup>84</sup> In early 1989, the US Embassy predicted that US investments alone would grow another \$300M that year. Instead of realizing this gain, foreign direct investment declined 22% in the first half of 1990. Hundreds of foreign companies viewed the CCP's "erratic response to the demonstrations as a serious threat to the future of foreign investment and China's economy." Major corporate executives cancelled visits and postponed business negotiations out of concern that China was no longer "a predictable environment where investment capital would be safe." An American banker even likened foreign investors in China to people building houses on the side of a dormant volcano that suddenly begins to erupt.<sup>85</sup> Economic liberalization also made China vulnerable to the sentiments of export markets and tourists; tourism revenues declined 20% in 1989.<sup>86</sup> In sum, there was a significant risk of economic repercussions if the PLA repressed.

On the political front, China had made significant strides to improve its international stature after its diplomatic isolation during the Cultural Revolution. In the summer of 1989, it was hosting the first Asian Development Bank meeting as well as Mikhail Gorbachev's historic visit to seal the reconciliation of the world's largest two Communist states. Both events were supposed to signify the state's growing international prestige and influence. Their disruption by the protests not only highlighted China's domestic failings in front of a global audience, but also served as a test for whether the regime had really reformed. The PLA, along with the rest of the country, was fully aware the world was watching and judging China. Deng's counsel to military leaders supports this assertion. He felt the need to tell them that they must not be afraid of any

---

<sup>84</sup> FDI in China increased from \$15B in 1977 to \$70B in 1985. Oksenberg, "China's Confident Nationalism," 513.

<sup>85</sup> Mathews, "Beijing Turmoil Shakes Investors' Confidence," *Washington Post*, 29 May 1989.

<sup>86</sup> Harding, "The Impact of Tiananmen on China's Foreign Policy."

international reaction that spilling blood might provoke, “Only if China truly develops, and implements the four modernizations, can we have a real reputation.”<sup>87</sup> Yet, military repression of unarmed, peaceful students would undoubtedly lead to international condemnation and political fallout. In fact, after the massacre the US and several European states suspended high-level diplomatic engagements.

Finally, China’s military capabilities were also vulnerable to international punishment. PLA enforcement of martial law gave the world a rare chance to see how outdated some of the military’s equipment was; many of its trucks, for instance, still had to be started with cranks.<sup>88</sup> This underscored the PLA’s need for foreign military sales to feed its modernization efforts. At the time, it was pursuing several agreements with the US, including a \$550 million “Peace Pearl” project designed to upgrade the avionics of 50 Chinese F-8 fighters, the purchase of four counter-battery radar systems worth \$62 million, and the \$8 million sale of four anti-submarine torpedoes. PLA repression could—and did—jeopardize these and similar programs.<sup>89</sup>

Overall, China had a medium vulnerability to international repercussions. This was enough to deter the PLA from repressing the demonstrations when the domestic threat was low, but not enough to stop the military from obeying repression orders when the domestic threat reached a high level. In fact, the escalation of protester violence raised the specter of additional external threats that reinforced its decision to repress. Most worrisome was the potential for adversaries to assume the military was incapable of quelling the violence, which could incite them to take advantage of this “window of opportunity” under the guise of preventing the

---

<sup>87</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 204; Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 29.

<sup>88</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 323.

<sup>89</sup> On 5 June 1989, the Bush administration suspended all government-to-government sales and commercial exports of weapons, and suspended visits between US and Chinese military leaders. Wilborn, "Security Cooperation with China: Analysis and a Proposal," (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1994), 5-6.

domestic unrest from spilling over the border. This worry may seem far-fetched, but once again, militaries are conditioned to consider worst-case scenarios.

In the 1960-70s, tensions between China and the USSR peaked as the Soviets, concerned with the mounting disorder and radicalism under Mao, built up hundreds of thousands of troops along their common border. Clashes between patrols along the eastern Sino-Soviet border broke out in March 1969, leading to three days of armed conflict on Zhenbao Island, where scores were killed and wounded. Additional border clashes occurred along the western border in Xinjiang as both countries massed their military forces in preparation for full-blown combat. War was avoided only when the countries' Premiers entered into negotiations.

It was not until 1985 that Gorbachev initiated efforts to restore political relations with China by reducing the Soviet Army garrisons on the border and in Mongolia, resuming trade, and dropping the 1969 border-demarcation dispute. Despite his visit in May 1989 to mark their reconciliation, Sino-Soviet diplomacy was still relatively cool. While the likelihood of cross-border disputes or war breaking out was lower than it had been just a few years earlier, the possibility of foreign opportunism could not be discounted. It is quite reasonable for officers to be concerned about dire consequences, particularly when they have historical precedent and parallels like the Cultural Revolution to draw upon.

### **The Domestic Threat**

Key to explaining the PLA's behavior is establishing that protester violence moved from a low to high level before the military began to actively repress the population. This contradicts conventional wisdom that the demonstrations were nonviolent. This impression was correct for certain periods of time and if one only considers the behavior of the students inside Tiananmen Square, which is where international media attention was focused. However, the PLA's

perception of the domestic threat was influenced by broader events. To achieve a more accurate depiction of the level of violence we must expand our focus and look at related behavior that occurred outside the square, particularly the behavior of Beijing's residents. We must also consider the role rumors played in provoking protester violence to ascertain the actual chain of events.

Participants in the Tiananmen Square demonstrations can broadly be divided into two groups: students and citizens. Overall the students in Beijing were remarkably disciplined and peaceful, as the common narrative portrays, although they did engage in some incidents characterized by a medium-low level of violence. On 20 April, for example, students and police clashed at the Xinhua Gate, beyond which the CCP Central Committee and State Council were located. For several days the students had gathered at the gate demanding to speak directly to Premier Li Peng and shouting slogans attacking government leaders. The situation escalated when some students began to throw bottles and shoes at policemen and repeatedly tried to push their way through the gate.<sup>90</sup> More than one hundred students and four policemen were injured before most of the students dispersed. Later that day, the police put the few hundred stragglers on buses and removed them from the area.

Around this time, the student movement began to organize and foster a more concerted strategy, providing classmates with much needed leadership and direction. Immediately after the Xinhua Gate incident, the newly formed Solidarity Student Union in Beijing declared that it would only “employ peaceful methods, such as sit-down protests, demonstrations, boycott of classes, and hunger strikes.”<sup>91</sup> Student leaders promoted a strategy of nonviolence throughout the subsequent demonstrations and implemented tactics designed to preserve the movement's image

---

<sup>90</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 25.

<sup>91</sup> Zi and Zhou, *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising*, 9-10.

and purity, such as marching with hands linked to prevent others from joining in. In the square they set up a series of concentric security circles that protected the inner circle of hunger strikers and top leaders from potentially disruptive groups.<sup>92</sup> They immediately turned violators into the police, including men who threw ink-filled eggs at Mao's portrait on the Gate of Heavenly Peace.<sup>93</sup> To preserve their image of nonviolence, they even grabbed a foreign reporter's camera to prevent him from taking a picture of the defaced portrait, telling him that it would not be in the interests of the student movement to have it taken.<sup>94</sup>

Moreover, when residents and soldiers confronted each other, the students actively worked to maintain calm and order. On several occasions they formed a human fence to protect the Party leaders' compound from angry workers.<sup>95</sup> Thus, the 26 April editorial and other officials' comments accusing the students of causing turmoil produced such a strong negative reaction not only because they insinuated parallels with the Cultural Revolution, but because the students were going to great lengths to be peaceful and orderly.<sup>96</sup>

The other broad group involved in the protests was ordinary citizens. The students feared that the citizens—particularly the workers—were less disciplined and more prone to violence.<sup>97</sup> This fear was confirmed during the early days of the protests when higher levels of violence broke out in other parts of China. On 22 April, demonstrations spiraled out of control in Changsha in Hunan Province, and Xi'an in Shaanxi Province. Large-scale rioting broke out during which vehicles were set on fire, public buildings were damaged and shops were looted.

---

<sup>92</sup> Walder and Xiaoxia, "Workers in the Tiananmen Protests: The Politics of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation."

<sup>93</sup> Zi and Zhou, *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising*, 112.

<sup>94</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 284.

<sup>95</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 130.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxi.

<sup>97</sup> Han and Hua, eds., *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*, 280.

The crowds clashed with police for seven hours in Changsha and twelve hours in Xi'an before order was restored. In Xi'an alone more than thirty protesters and a hundred policemen were injured.<sup>98</sup> These early riots provided a glimpse of the “turmoil” that could result from mass demonstrations and likely influenced senior military leaders’ concerns about state security.

In Beijing, the residents were primarily observers during the early weeks of the demonstrations. During the 27 April and 4 May marches, for instance, they stood on the sidelines cheering the students and giving them food and drinks. Some journalists and workers marched on 4 May, but it was not until 19 May that the mass mobilization of citizens truly occurred. That evening, news spread that martial law would be declared the next morning. Hundreds of thousands of citizens poured into the streets of Beijing to prevent the military from reaching Tiananmen Square. They acted as if their city was under siege, but for the most part they refrained from engaging in violence during these early days. Resistance was generally limited to parking buses and trucks across primary access routes into the city, dragging traffic dividers onto the roads, shutting down the subway system to prevent troops from sneaking in underground, and congregating in the streets to block the military’s advance.

The residents generally treated the soldiers stuck at their blockades nicely, giving gifts of food and drink to troops cut off from their supplies, although they did subject them to a constant stream of lectures. In fact, on the first official day of martial law, the PLA issued a notice stating that while troops were encountering some difficulties—including traffic jams, food shortages and some criminal activity—they had received the cooperation of the local people.<sup>99</sup> As the days progressed, however, the residents were not able to maintain this level of self-control.

---

<sup>98</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 227; Cheng, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China*, 125; Zi and Zhou, *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising*, 19.

<sup>99</sup> Zi and Zhou, *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising*, 104.

Many observers acknowledge the escalation of violence once the PLA began its second attempt to enter Beijing, but the change in the crowd's mood and behavior occurred earlier than most realize.<sup>100</sup> On the evening of 22 May, residents threw bricks at a PLA convoy at Dajing in the Fengtai District, injuring 116 officers and soldiers—29 seriously enough that they had to be admitted into the hospital. The troops had been ordered to withdraw from Beijing that morning but the crowds would not let them leave with their trucks and supplies. The commander in charge refused to leave the equipment and ordered the soldiers to lock arms and push their way towards a nearby depot. The protesters thought they were trying to head into the city instead of out, and began throwing bricks at them. A few people in the crowd shouted, "Beat them, beat these soldiers to death!" "Do not let them enter the city!"<sup>101</sup> The soldiers did not fight back.<sup>102</sup>

The next day, 23 May, the first military casualty occurred. A PLA officer was killed as his unit tried to withdraw from the crowded streets; he either fell off a moving truck or was pushed under the wheels of an oncoming vehicle. The army reported that the death was caused by mob violence and declared the officer a revolutionary hero.<sup>103</sup> While his death was likely an accident, its portrayal as a casualty of the unrest certainly influenced the military's threat perception. When coupled with the dehydration, heat stroke, and exhaustion that characterized the soldiers' experience so far, the concern and frustration of the PLA was undoubtedly mounting.

The level of protester violence increased noticeably on 2 June when residents caught soldiers trying to sneak into the city. The soldiers were unarmed and did not engage the crowd,

---

<sup>100</sup> Scobell, "Why the People's Army Fired on the People: The Chinese Military and Tiananmen," *Armed Forces & Society* 18, no. 2 (1992): 202.

<sup>101</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 185.

<sup>102</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 68; Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 273.

<sup>103</sup> Scobell, "Why the People's Army Fired on the People: The Chinese Military and Tiananmen," 203; Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 92.

but many were treated as prisoners while others were simply beaten up. Many of those able to return to their units had their clothes torn and were crying. Others were less fortunate. Late Friday night, an infantry battalion was discovered and stopped 2 km away from Tiananmen Square on Dongjing Street. The crowd attacked them, injuring 24 of the 340 soldiers so severely that they had to be treated in a nearby hospital.<sup>104</sup>

The next morning, the PLA was confronted with even more anger and violence. Residents were once again blocking army vehicles, puncturing tires, tearing apart engines, or overturning them so they could not move. Some citizens threw rocks, seized munitions and military provisions while others cursed and spit at soldiers, stripping some of their shirts and beating them.<sup>105</sup> It was not until 2:30pm on Saturday that security forces responded to the violence by firing tear gas to disband crowds surrounding the Xinhua Gate. They misjudged the wind, however, and the tear gas blew back into their own faces. The demonstrators reacted angrily, counterattacking with rocks and bottles. While riot police tried to subdue the crowd, an eyewitness reported that the soldiers guarding the gate “were not responding; they didn’t use their batons or throw anything back, but the crowd was beginning to take it out on them.”<sup>106</sup> At 4:30pm, loudspeakers in the square controlled by the Workers’ Autonomous Union began to hysterically call to “fight counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.”<sup>107</sup> It broadcast how to make and use Molotov cocktails and how to wreck and burn military vehicles.<sup>108</sup> A half hour later workers began issuing “self-defense weapons” to citizens. In addition to bricks and steel beams, they were given “cleavers, clubs, steel chains, and sharpened

---

<sup>104</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 97-100.

<sup>105</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 367; Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 201; Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 82.

<sup>106</sup> Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 104.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>108</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*.

bamboo poles.”<sup>109</sup> It was three hours later that the PLA began a concerted advance on Beijing, and it was not until 10pm—after hours of fierce opposition at roadblocks—that the military resorted to violent repression.<sup>110</sup>

At that point, violence spiraled out of control and both the army and people committed deplorable atrocities. One of Zhao’s student informants described some of the highly charged interactions that night:

“People were stoning the soldiers and trying to get closer to the truck. The soldiers on the truck shot at the ground to create distance between the truck and the chasing crowd. From time to time, however, there were people wounded by the rebounding bullets. Both sides were unspeakably emotional. Once a soldier threw his helmet and rifle on the ground and cried: “I am not going to do this anymore!” and jumped off the truck. As soon as he reached the ground, however, people ran over and beat him to death.”<sup>111</sup>

In another tragic example, the US Embassy Beijing relayed a report from a Chinese-American who got caught in the violence at Tiananmen Square in the early morning of 4 June. The source reported that both soldiers and students initially attempted to show restraint, but the “city people” refused to follow student orders. According to the source, the beating to death of a PLA soldier who was in the first armored personnel carrier (APC) to enter Tiananmen Square, in full view of the other waiting PLA troops, appeared to have sparked the shooting that followed.<sup>112</sup>

While the violence committed by the PLA is widely cited, that perpetrated by citizens is rarely acknowledged. Overall, residents wrecked, burned or otherwise damaged more than 1,000

---

<sup>109</sup> Zhang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, 367; Brook claims this was government propaganda and evidentiary video actually depicted citizens throwing weapons belonging to an undercover police unit to the crowd to destroy. However, he then cites a foreign journalist who recalled seeing old women handing out 5-6 foot long sharpened sticks to students later that evening. Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 114-15; Paulson confirms that citizens used these types of weapons. Paulson, "Uprising and Repression in China - 1989," in *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, ed. Sharp (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 2005), 266.

<sup>110</sup> Han and Hua, eds., *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*, 360.

<sup>111</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 203.n169

<sup>112</sup> AMEMBASSY BEIJING, "Sitrep No. 33: June 4 Afternoon And ... (042057z Jun1989)," in *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 47*, ed. Evans (Washington DC: George Washington University, 2001).

military vehicles and 60 APCs. More than 6,000 soldiers, police, and public security officers were injured and dozens were killed. Many of the soldiers that died were burned or beaten to death with several of their bodies strung up for all to see.<sup>113</sup>

Why did the citizens resort to such violence after weeks of self-control? Rumors of regime violence, which were endemic throughout the demonstrations, played a significant role in the escalation. The government claims these rumors were intentionally promulgated to incite anger. More likely they were the natural result of a stressful, uncertain situation and a lack of trust in the official sources that repeatedly tried to deny them. Regardless, there is no evidence of their veracity despite their repetition and subsequent entry into historical memory.<sup>114</sup> Yet, the rampant rumors of military and police violence made the crowds increasingly angry.

One of the most formative stories occurred on 20 April after the protests at Xinhua Gate, which became known as the infamous “Bloody Incident.”<sup>115</sup> After the police put the 200 students who refused to leave the area on a bus, they sent them back to Beijing University. When they arrived some waved bloodstained clothing and shouted angry slogans about police brutality, inciting a class boycott in several major universities. The government claimed the students were cut by glass while trying to break the bus windows. They then got off the bus and stopped a truck, which took them away. Zhao meticulously uncovered an account by a student leader who was present when the students returned to the school—on a big truck. When the student leader asked what happened he was shown a big piece of glass with blood on it, and told it was evidence of police brutality. The student leader’s account, given to explain why the class boycott began, was nearly identical with the governments.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, rumors spread that the police

---

<sup>113</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 85.

<sup>114</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 33.

<sup>115</sup> See page 12.

<sup>116</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 33-35.

had not only beaten students at the gate but also workers, women and children, and that “more than 1,000 scientists and technicians were lying in pools of blood.”<sup>117</sup>

The same day it was rumored that a police car had intentionally run over and killed a student from Beijing Normal University. The student, Guo Ziangdong, was hit and killed by a vehicle, but it was an inadvertent traffic accident involving a city bus.<sup>118</sup> Other rumors inspiring anger and the desire for revenge began when martial law was first declared in May and it was alleged that army units would be “air-dropped” and use “gas weapons” in the square. As a result, frightened students flew homemade kites in the hope that the lines would entangle parachutes carrying tear gas canisters or soldiers.<sup>119</sup> As more and more of these rumors spread, the citizens became increasingly agitated and worried about the students’ well-being.

Many residents were pushed over the edge by reports of an accident at the Muxidi intersection on the evening of 2 June, triggering their violent reactions to the army’s second attempt to enter the city. A jeep had run up onto a sidewalk killing three pedestrians and seriously injuring another. Hundreds of people gathered around the site and accused the passengers of being soldiers in plainclothes. Although none of the victims were students, the accident was depicted as a provocation by the military. In fact, it was not an army vehicle but a police jeep on loan to the Chinese Central Television Station.<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, word spread quickly and emergency broadcasts were issued for citizens to mobilize and set up roadblocks. From then on, residents not only verbally insulted soldiers but also beat them up.

---

<sup>117</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 347.

<sup>118</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 223-24.

<sup>119</sup> Han and Hua, eds., *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*, 266; Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 57.

<sup>120</sup> Oksenberg et al., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*, 81; Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 96.

The power of these rumors was amplified by their broadcast over loudspeakers and on huge posters in Tiananmen Square, adding to their perceived credibility. The rumors not only implicated military forces, they also worked to absolve students and residents of responsibility for any violence. Brook notes, for instance, that when workers hysterically called for revolutionary violence “it struck many that government agents had taken over the union in the hope of goading workers into violence and thereby subverting the Movement.”<sup>121</sup> Conspiracy theories such as this encourage the belief that governments, especially authoritarian regimes, are omniscient, powerful and coordinated enough to devise and execute Machiavellian plans on the fly. Even if the CCP was this adept, it is unlikely the regime attempted—or would have wanted—to manipulate the crowds into engaging in a high level of violence. After all, the Party had no guarantee the PLA would follow through with its repression orders, especially since it had failed to do so just two weeks earlier.

Regardless of why Beijing’s citizens engaged in a high level of violence, the fact remains that they did. Once events took this dark turn, the PLA fully obeyed the CCP’s order to repress the demonstrations, after shirking in its duties when protester violence was low.

### **Military’s Strategic Calculus**

Even the most transparent militaries rarely disclose the inner workings and debates that influence their behavior, and the PLA is far from transparent. Nevertheless, analysts can identify risks that officers are likely to consider by looking at historical precedents, current events and how the officers, themselves, contextualize situations. The most relevant and instructive analogy for PLA officers viewing the events in 1989 was the Cultural Revolution—Mao’s mobilization of the nation’s youth to purge the “impure” elements of Chinese society in 1966—and the decade

---

<sup>121</sup> See page 17. Brook, *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, 119.

of brutal extremes that followed. The country bore staggering domestic costs of over a million dead and the imprisonment, torture and humiliation of millions more. In the first two years alone, the economy plummeted with industrial production dropping 13.8% in 1967 and another 5% in 1968.<sup>122</sup> The chaos of the Cultural Revolution set China's development back decades and had a decidedly negative impact on the overall security of the state.

The lessons of the Cultural Revolution shaped the PLA's framing of both domestic and international threats, influencing its strategic calculations in 1989. It figured prominently in senior officers' public statements, possibly even triggering flashbacks in the minds of those who had experienced the chaos first hand.<sup>123</sup> For instance, when a western journalist asked Major General Zhu Zengquan, a PLA commander poised on the outskirts of Beijing, about the state of emergency he responded, "The Chinese people had to endure a lot of hardships in the past because of unrest and chaos. We want to prevent another big chaotic scene in China." He went on to say, "China still is a developing country with many contradictions, controversies, and problems. The party and government have also made mistakes. However, if we allow unrest, we would have to bury China, a country with so many problems."<sup>124</sup> General Zhu clearly identified the threat of disorder, not obedience to the CCP, as the military's primary concern.

In addition to recognizing the country's development needs, and thus its vulnerability to international punishment, his comments indicate the PLA was ultimately influenced by the broader domestic threat and concern about what would come next, not just what was happening in Tiananmen Square. In the same interview General Zhu asserted, "it is not only this square that was affected. There was also unrest in Changsha, Xian, Chongqing, and Wuhan. Railroad lines

---

<sup>122</sup> Arnoldy, "The Cultural Revolution and How It Shaped China," *Christian Science Monitor*, 29 Aug 2006.

<sup>123</sup> Chang, "Revisiting the Tiananmen Square Incident: A Distorted Image from Both Sides of the Lens".

<sup>124</sup> Lorenz, "General Discusses Use of Army against Students (Fbis-Chi-89-108)," *Der Spiegel*, 5 Jun 1989.

were blocked. There were tumultuous scenes everywhere in front of government and party buildings. If this had continued, the consequences would have been unforeseeable.”

The PLA leadership had to base its strategic calculations on the range of “most likely” and “most dangerous” scenarios, weighing the potential international consequences of repression against the security of the state. Although the international repercussions for repression could—and did—damage China’s economy, international standing, and military modernization efforts, the rising level of protester violence and fears of a Cultural Revolution-like scenario with its unchecked domestic chaos ultimately posed a far greater threat to the state.

The most telling indicator that strategic calculations were driving the PLA’s behavior rather than predetermined parochial interests or loyalty was timing. If the military had initially shirked due to displeasure with the regime, it would have capitalized on the CCP’s vulnerable position and asserted its demands. On the other hand, if the PLA was truly a party-army it would have immediately obeyed its repression orders. The fact that the military first shirked and then obeyed suggests its strategic calculus had changed. The only variable that shifted during the brief interlude between shirking and obedience was the situation on the ground—the level of protester violence and the domestic threat it represented. The best explanation of the PLA’s ultimate decision to repress, therefore, is that the security imperative causal mechanism was at work.

### **Considering the Alternate Explanations**

Despite indications that the military’s preference for repression—determined by the balance of domestic and international threats—drove the PLA’s obedience, most observers attribute the army’s behavior to regime loyalty. Some also point to factionalism within the Party and suggest concerns about cohesion explain the military’s initial hesitation to repress the demonstrations. Parochial interests are largely ignored in the China case since they clearly

indicate the PLA should have been disobedient. This section looks at each of these alternate explanations, highlighting inconsistencies and shortfalls in their ability to predict and explain the PLA's decision to obey.

### ***Parochial Interests***

There is little support suggesting parochial interests influenced the PLA's behavior during the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. The military was the lowest priority of Deng's Four Modernizations and had yet to be implemented. Throughout the 1980s, the military budget shrank as the CCP focused resources on modernizing the country's agricultural, industrial, and technological capabilities. The defense budget was so inadequate, in fact, that the PLA was forced to supplement it by operating businesses for profit and growing its own food just to supply and equip its soldiers.<sup>125</sup> Rather than foster obedience, this worked to decrease the military's dependence on the regime.

The situation was no better for individual military members. Chinese soldiers had never made a lot of money, given the Maoist doctrine that the army should be the model of self-sacrifice. However, prior to Deng's agricultural reforms, their families were assured some economic security with guaranteed income and food supplies from the commune. The new system of contract responsibility changed all that by disadvantaging families with less labor power and thus lower production capacity, particularly those whose most able-bodied members were away in the army. The reforms meant that peasants could now get rich but also that disparities in income distribution were rising. Military families were likely to be on the losing side, creating deep hostility among soldiers from rural areas.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Scobell, "China's Evolving Civil-Military Relations: Creeping Guojiahua," 235.

<sup>126</sup> Cheng, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China*, 111.

Military members from urban areas fared no better. Military pay was not keeping pace with rising prices; soldiers earned a meager 16 Yuan, or less than five dollars, a month. By 1988, a PLA officer earned just half the salary of the average urban worker, and often their wives earned more than they did.<sup>127</sup> Due to low salaries and poor benefits, many were leaving the military in the 1980s.<sup>128</sup>

Overall, parochial interest indicators suggest that the PLA should have disobeyed the regime's orders to repress the demonstrations. Rather than tying the military to the CCP, the declining defense budget and dismal benefits were undermining the Party's supremacy. Nor were there indications that the army's leadership thought their material situation would worsen if they disobeyed the repression orders. There was no opposition group threatening the military's budget if it came to power, and it would have been self-defeating for the CCP to issue such threats. In sum, parochial interests do not explain the PLA's decision to obey the regime's repression order.

### ***Organizational Cohesion***

The alternate explanation of organizational cohesion is also insufficient for explaining the China case. Indicators point towards both obedience and disobedience and are therefore indeterminate. According to this line of argument, the PLA's initial hesitation to repress the demonstrations was due to factionalism within the CCP and the competing ties of senior military officers to their political benefactors. Army leaders were purportedly divided as a power struggle raged within the CCP, where hardliners, including Deng Xiaoping and Premier Li Peng, wanted to decisively crush the students while reformists, primarily General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, preferred to negotiate. The risk of intra-army fighting and civil war effectively paralyzed the military as it waited to see which political faction would come out on top. As evidence, observers

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>128</sup> Li, *A History of the Modern Chinese Army*, 268-72.

point to the PLA's initial shirking, "units' lackadaisical response, and senior commanders' prevarication" when martial law was first declared.<sup>129</sup>

Accordingly, it was not until Deng consolidated control by stepping in to rally the old guard and purge the reformists that the military reversed course and obeyed the CCP's repression orders.<sup>130</sup> Jencks posits that because some commanders were still opposed to bloodshed, there was still a brief danger of an intra-PLA split, but military leaders obeyed the repression orders to preserve unity. "They believed a country and army unified behind bad policy was better than civil war for any reason."<sup>131</sup>

At first glance organizational cohesion appears to explain both the army's shirking and subsequent obedience, but the explanation falls short when the case is examined closely. First, although there were competing views on how to best handle the student demonstrations, the various control measures attempted by the government did not correspond to a tug-of-war between diametrically opposed factions. Instead, the CCP moved logically and concertedly from tolerance, verbal threats, limited concessions, intimidation and ultimately to repression.<sup>132</sup> This is not to say that there were no differences of opinion within the CCP, but the conflict was almost exclusively between Zhao Ziyang and the rest of the top elites, not between major factions.<sup>133</sup>

Nor could the implementation of different tactics be associated with the influence of a specific leader. For instance, the 26 April *People's Daily* editorial is cited as a hardline statement engineered by Li Peng and made possible only because Zhao Ziyang was on a state visit in North Korea. Yet, Zhao sent a telegram from Pyongyang endorsing the editorial. It was only later, in

---

<sup>129</sup> Joffe, "Party-Army Relations in China: Retrospect and Prospect," 307.

<sup>130</sup> Thompson, "To Shoot or Not to Shoot: Posttotalitarianism in China and Eastern Europe," *Comparative Politics* 34, no. 1 (2001): 33.

<sup>131</sup> Jencks, "The Military in China," *Current History* 88, no. 539 (1989): 267.

<sup>132</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 212.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

his 2009 memoirs, that Zhao lamented his endorsement.<sup>134</sup> Conversely, after mass demonstrations broke out across the country in response to the editorial, the CCP shifted to a concession strategy with the first student-government dialogue held on 29 April. This soft approach was attributed to Zhao, but he did not return from North Korea until 30 April and thus cannot be credited with this effort.<sup>135</sup> Rather than a tug-of-war, the evidence points to the CCP's incremental movement from one strategy to the next in a search for something that worked.

Finally, if the PLA was waiting to see who would win, they got their answer days before martial law was first declared. On 16 May, Zhao openly deferred to Deng stating, "All of us in the Central Committee have agreed that all the important decisions in the government should be made by Deng Xiaoping."<sup>136</sup> This quote ran in the 18 May edition of the *China Daily*, one of the most important newspapers in China. Zhao's last public appearance was on 19 May, when he visited Tiananmen Square to persuade the hunger-striking students to end the protests. He resigned the same day, ostensibly signifying the hardliner's victory. Martial law was not implemented until the following morning, yet the PLA still shirked. In other words, the army's initial disobedience was not linked to ongoing factional politics and concerns about military cohesion.

### ***Regime Loyalty***

The strongest and most prevalent alternate explanation of the PLA's behavior during the Tiananmen Square demonstrations is regime loyalty. The CCP and PLA were tied together by a shared Communist ideology as well as relatively recent experiences of defeating foreign invaders (1945) and winning a civil war (1950). Based on these general indicators, regime loyalty is the

---

<sup>134</sup> Buckley, "People's Daily Editorial Fanned Flames of 1989 Protest," *New York Times*, 25 Apr 2014.

<sup>135</sup> Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 211.

<sup>136</sup> Deng, *Unintended Outcomes of Social Movements: The 1989 Chinese Student Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

only alternate explanation that clearly and accurately predicts the PLA's ultimate obedience. It does not, however, explain why the military initially shirked when ordered to enforce martial law. I argue that the PLA's loyalty to the regime was not as absolute as the conventional wisdom suggests.

The CCP cultivated the PLA as a party-army in the same manner all Communist parties try to control their militaries—through political commissars. Since the 1930s, political commissars had been embedded in the PLA to conduct ideological campaigns and ensure commanders yielded to the CCP's control. After 1949, however, commissars were increasingly drawn from military ranks and less often from civilian cadres. This had a profound effect on the relationship between the party and army given the different mentalities, functions and goals of civilians and soldiers.<sup>137</sup> Civilian commissars monitored PLA activities on behalf of the party and were primarily concerned with the political correctness of soldiers. As such, they worked to radicalize the PLA to deepen its revolutionary spirit and bind it to the regime. Military commissars, on the other hand, were typically indoctrinated into the PLA first, trained as officers, and only later assigned to political affairs jobs. As a result, they were soldiers first and foremost. Their goal was winning the next war, so the purpose of political work was to help achieve military victory. Given their background and training, the military commissars' loyalty to the armed forces likely came before their loyalty to the party.<sup>138</sup>

By the mid-1980s, additional safeguards were in place to prevent civilians from intruding in the daily administration of the PLA. The number of political positions in the military was substantially reduced and civilian party secretaries were no longer given the title of First Political

---

<sup>137</sup> You, "Unravelling the Myths About Political Commissars," in *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*, ed. Finkelstein and Gunness (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 146-48.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

Commissar of local PLA commands. They could still attend party committee meetings and retained access to major decisions of local units, but they had no direct control over the daily management of soldiers.<sup>139</sup> These reforms allowed commanders even greater autonomy and control over the military, further challenging the party-army axiom.

Greater autonomy, however, does not say anything about the strength of the PLA's loyalty to the CCP. Perhaps regime loyalty was so ingrained in the military by the 1980s that tight political controls were no longer deemed necessary? Blasko argues that evidence of the army's discipline and loyalty to the party was reflected in its acceptance of being the lowest priority in Deng's modernization efforts.<sup>140</sup> This conclusion is problematic since senior officers did quietly protest the meager military spending while many others left the service. The army's ultimate tolerance of low defense budgets might be better explained by its recognition that the national goal of building China's economic strength was a prerequisite for building its military power. There is a qualitative difference between automatic loyalty and shared interests, even if they produce similar results. The former dictates that the gun will save the party no matter what. The latter creates a situation in which military obedience is no longer guaranteed.<sup>141</sup>

Lending credence to the prospect that shared interests better explain the army's cooperative behavior is evidence that the CCP was concerned about the PLA's loyalty prior to the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. In 1988, a two-year study of young, mid-ranking officers was initiated to determine just where their loyalties lay.<sup>142</sup> This study would not have been deemed necessary if the military's loyalty to the regime was thought to be guaranteed. Even if there had not been early doubts, the PLA's loyalty to the party was called into question by its

---

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 151-54.

<sup>140</sup> Blasko, "Always Faithful: The Pla from 1949-1989," 260.

<sup>141</sup> You, "Unravelling the Myths About Political Commissars," 163.

<sup>142</sup> Dreyer, "The New Officer Corps: Implications for the Future," 63.

initial shirking of the CCP's repression orders. According to Hassan, "martial law is a political weapon to show that no matter how unpopular the regime in power, it still has the support of the army."<sup>143</sup> The PLA's unwillingness to use all means necessary to push its way into the center of the city on 20 May signaled that the army's support was conditional.

Subsequent justifications for the army's reluctance to use force suggest the party ordered the military *not* to engage in violent repression. If this were the case and the army had been wholly obedient, there is no rationale for the extensive investigations, purges and indoctrination campaigns the PLA was subjected to in the months following the protests. More than 3,500 PLA officers were investigated for activities related to the demonstrations, 19 were sentenced to prison, and 1,323 were discharged. For those that remained in the military, all units were required to spend 50% of their time in political study while new inductees and those attending military academies spent 70% of their time on political studies.<sup>144</sup> Had the army's obedience been immediate and absolute, these remedial actions would not have been necessary.

In sum, regime loyalty is the only alternate explanation that predicts the PLA's actions during the Tiananmen Square demonstrations based on the crude measures used to test it in this dissertation. Upon closer inspection, however, its explanatory power is limited. If the military were truly an army-party then it would have immediately obeyed orders to enforce martial law and repress the protesters on 20 May. Conversely, if it had been obeying orders by not engaging the protesters, then there was no reason for the subsequent purges and re-indoctrination efforts. Finally, although the PLA and CCP are often in lockstep during normal times, one should not jump to the conclusion that peacetime preferences drive military behavior during crises.

---

<sup>143</sup> Hassan, "An Outbreak of Martial Law," *Time Magazine*, 25 Sep 1978; quoted in Scobell, "The Meaning of Martial Law for the PLA and Internal Security in China after Deng".

<sup>144</sup> Shambaugh, "China in 1990: The Year of Damage Control," *Asian Survey* 31, no. 1 (1991): 39-40; Dreyer, "The New Officer Corps: Implications for the Future," 63-64.

## Conclusion

The Tiananmen Square massacre was an undisputed tragedy and the PLA bears a great deal of responsibility for those killed during the crackdown. Charges that troops made no distinction between unarmed protesters, innocent bystanders and “the small number who hurled stones, rocks and Molotov cocktails, or set fire to vehicles” are valid. The CCP should have never put soldiers trained for conventional war in this position, considering few, if any, had been trained or equipped for internal security operations. That the military was heavy handed and brutal should come as no surprise. When put in threatening situations, soldiers’ intense feelings of fear and duty combine with training that promotes the use of overwhelming force—a lethal combination that can lead to victory in war but catastrophe at home. As tragic as the military’s repression was, however, it does not negate the need to explore why the PLA ultimately obeyed the regime’s orders to repress the demonstrations.

The China case demonstrates that even militaries that appear tightly bound to their regimes prioritize state security over other considerations. By 1989, the PLA was an increasingly professional and nationalistic force focused on emulating modern military practices to improve its own lethal capabilities. Although defense spending was meager, the army was establishing the foundation to become a great military power by concentrating on the professional and technical education of its soldiers. It had quietly moved away from the 1960-70s preoccupation with political reliability, focusing instead on the core tasks of warfighting. The unintended consequence of this professionalization, especially when combined with nationalism, was the growing distinction between the state and the regime. For most situations, this distinction was irrelevant given the overlapping interests of the CCP and PLA. Those interests diverged during the crisis of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations; the CCP prioritized its own survival while

the PLA prioritized state security. In the end, the army obeyed the party's repression orders but only after protester violence escalated to a high level, posing a greater threat to the state than the international repercussions that followed.

The Tiananmen Square demonstrations taught the CCP a valuable lesson. Despite the army's ultimate obedience, the regime recognized that it could not rely on the military to safeguard its hold on power during times of domestic unrest. As a result, the Chinese People's Armed Police (PAP) underwent a comprehensive overhaul and expansion after the 1989 crackdown, taking over primary responsibility for quelling "sudden incidents."<sup>145</sup> If the army had demonstrated unquestioning loyalty to the regime, the reallocation of responsibilities and expansion of domestic security apparatus would not have been warranted.

---

<sup>145</sup> Cheung, "Guarding China's Domestic Front Line: The People's Armed Police and China's Stability," *The China Quarterly* 146, no. Special Issue: China's Military in Transition (1996): 527.

## Chapter 5 EGYPT'S ARAB SPRING (2011)

This chapter examines the 2011 Arab Spring uprising in Egypt. It explains the Egyptian army's disobedience of President Mubarak's order to repress demonstrators demanding his ouster. Clashes between protesters and security forces resulted in deaths on both sides, categorizing the demonstrations as having a high level of protester violence. If one only considers this high domestic threat—as does the parsimonious version of the military arbitration theory—the army should have repressed. Yet, it disobeyed, so Egypt appears to be an outlier or deviant case. However, as this chapter demonstrates, it does fit the full logic of the theory. Unlike the majority of cases that present a medium vulnerability to international punishment, Egypt's vulnerability was high, which resulted in the military having a much higher threshold for repression. One of the primary tasks of this chapter is to demonstrate that this was, in fact, the case.

Egypt is an important case because it allows me to examine the theoretical proposition that a state's vulnerability to international punishment influences its military's strategic calculations in arbitration cases. Due to low variation of this independent variable in my universe of cases, I was not able to quantitatively test the significance of its effect in the medium-N analysis. However, if this chapter demonstrates that Egypt did have a high vulnerability to external punishment, and it factored into the military's calculations as such, it will provide strong confirmatory power for my theory.

The Egyptian army's disobedience highlights the central role a military's strategic calculations have on its behavior. As Figure 1 reminds us, the threshold at which military preferences switch from their default of no repression to repression occur when protester

violence moves from a medium-low to a medium-high level. In Egypt, however, the state's vulnerability to international repercussions was much higher than most states, shifting the army's calculus so that it was willing to tolerate higher levels of domestic violence to avoid



external punishment. This does not mean the military will never repress—it repeatedly demonstrated it would after Mubarak's fall—but while the domestic threat approached the army's threshold for repression, it did not cross it during this crisis event. Egyptian officers ultimately calculated that repressing the protesters, in what was popularly characterized as nonviolent demonstrations, posed a greater threat to the state than allowing the demonstrations to continue or the regime to fall.

Despite the objectively high domestic threat, the army disobeyed the regime's order to repress because the international threat to the nation was greater. From the first days of the protests, senior Egyptian officers were under enormous international pressure to refrain from using force against the protesters. Most ominous were the threats made in public and private to freeze the \$1.3B in annual US military aid to Egypt, which represented an extraordinary one third of its annual defense expenditures. The US' ability to degrade Egypt's military power posed a real and significant threat to the state, especially given Egypt's cold peace with Israel. As a result, unlike 93% of the cases in this dataset that present a medium vulnerability to international repercussions, and thus a medium threshold for repression, the Egyptian military's threshold was much higher. In the end, this chapter will show that the Egypt case is completely

consistent with the theory's causal logic, which looks at the balance between international and domestic threats to state security.

The rest of this chapter summarizes the pertinent events surrounding Egypt's Arab Spring demonstrations. It relies on process tracing to look at each link in the chain of events to demonstrate that they are accurately represented by my theory. Most importantly, it examines measures of the independent and dependent variables and provides evidence that the security imperative causal mechanism was present and operated according to the logic of my theory.

This chapter also examines the ability of alternate explanations to accurately predict and explain the Egyptian army's behavior. The Egypt case is a strong test for discrediting alternate theories because none of them accurately predict the Egyptian military's disobedience. Two of the three primary alternate explanations fail to accurately predict the military's decision to disobey repression orders. Indicators for parochial interest and organizational cohesion theories point in the opposite direction towards obedience while those for regime loyalty are indeterminate.

Nevertheless, the most common explanations for the Egyptian military's behavior cite President Mubarak's efforts to marginalize the military and position his son—a businessman with no service credentials—as his successor. According to these parochial interest explanations, Egyptian generals took advantage of the demonstrations to protect the army's access to resources by securing the presidency for one of their own. However, if the military was engaged in a power grab, its behavior following Mubarak's ouster does not make sense. Specifically, the SCAF held elections after Mubarak's fall and did not field a military candidate, it refused to publicly support former Air Force officer Ahmed Shafiq's campaign, and it willingly handed over the government to the Muslim Brotherhood after the transition period.

Others look toward regime loyalty explanations, suggesting the army, no longer honor-bound to support Mubarak, was ambivalent about his fate and so stood aside. These arguments fall apart upon inspection of the military's efforts to end the protests by facilitating compromises to keep Mubarak in power, and its widely recognized hesitancy to embrace the uprising and thus ensure its success. The flip side of regime loyalty explanations is that the military's disobedience was due to its overriding loyalty to the Egyptian people. This line of argument suggests the bond between military and civilians was so strong that it was unfathomable for soldiers to turn and open fire on them.

Organizational cohesion explanations also rely upon this bond but suggest that military leaders did not order their troops to repress out of fear the force would fracture if soldiers refused to repress. The military's willing and successful repression of Egypt's civilians with no discernable effect on cohesion, both before and after the Arab Spring demonstrations, discredits these lines of reasoning as well. As the rest of this chapter shows, only the theory of military arbitration fully accounts for the Egyptian military's behavior. All these arguments are unpacked and examined more thoroughly in the sections below using time-slice analysis to disentangle competing preferences and trace the causal process.

### **Case Summary**

Emboldened by the successful Tunisian demonstrations that ousted President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali in mid-January 2011, a small group of Egyptian activists took advantage of an annual rally protesting police brutality to demand sweeping reforms.<sup>1</sup> Unlike previous years' demonstrations, which were only attended by dozens of protesters, more than 80,000 Facebook

---

<sup>1</sup> Tunisia's "Arab Spring" protests took place 18 Dec 2010 - 14 Jan 2011. Egyptian activists expanded their demands for the annual 25 January protest to include the Egyptian Interior Minister's resignation, an end to the thirty-year emergency laws, a fair minimum wage, and a two-term limit on the presidency.

users said they would participate. On 25 January, tens of thousands of Egyptians flocked to Tahrir Square in the center of Cairo. Thousands also gathered in Alexandria, Sinai, the Nile Delta cities of Mansura and Tanta, and the southern cities of Aswan and Asyut.<sup>2</sup> Almost immediately, the organizers' already ambitious demands were outstripped by the crowd's call for President Hosni Mubarak's immediate resignation. Despite foreknowledge of the demonstration, weeks of turmoil in neighboring Tunisia and rumblings of discontent throughout the region, the Egyptian government was caught off guard. The regime's standard procedures for containing or disbanding demonstrations failed because for the first time in decades, protesters significantly outnumbered security forces.

The next day the government prohibited all public gatherings and ordered the police and Central Security Forces (CSF) to disperse or detain any protesters who defied the ban.<sup>3</sup> Hundreds were arrested but Egyptians continued to fill the streets. Plans circulated on social media for larger protests on Friday, 28 January. The night before the event, the Muslim Brotherhood, the country's largest and most organized opposition group, declared its full support of the protests. Twenty senior Muslim Brotherhood leaders were immediately arrested, but the preemptive crackdown backfired. It spurred hundreds of thousands of their members to join the demonstrations in what became known as Egypt's "Day of Rage."<sup>4</sup>

The regime responded by cutting Internet access and cell networks in a futile attempt to inhibit the protesters' ability to coordinate.<sup>5</sup> However, momentum of the protests had moved beyond reliance on social media and mobile phones. Cutting Internet access may have even

---

<sup>2</sup> "Egyptians Test Tunisia's Twitter Revolution," *Vancouver Sun*, 26 Jan 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Fahim and Stack, "Protesters in Egypt Defy Ban as Government Cracks Down," *The New York Times*, 26 Jan 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Hellyer, "Faking Egypt's Past: The Brotherhood and Jan. 25," *Al Arabiya*, 20 Jan 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Richtel, "Egypt Cuts Off Most Internet and Cell Services," *The New York Times*, 28 Jan 2011.

contributed to the regime's problems by incentivizing Egyptians to leave their homes to find out what was going on and ensure loved ones were safe.<sup>6</sup> Once outside, it was easy for those who would have otherwise stayed home to join the marches, gather in public spaces, and vent long-held grievances.

The police and CSF tried to disband the protests, but they were once again caught off-guard and eventually overwhelmed by the sheer size of the crowd. By late afternoon, the Interior Ministry began a chaotic and piecemeal withdrawal, with many security forces simply abandoning their posts.<sup>7</sup> With the police routed and the fear of chaos growing, Mubarak ordered the military into the streets and warned that life would not return to normal until the protests ended.

Shortly after midnight, President Mubarak made his first public address to the nation since the demonstrations began. He defiantly refused to step down from office but did offer limited concessions to appease the protesters, including firing his entire cabinet and pursuing economic reforms to help the poor. The next day, Mubarak swore in his Intelligence Chief, Omar Suleiman, as his first-ever Vice President, suggesting a possible succession plan that did not include his son Gamal.<sup>8</sup> Mubarak also appointed a new Prime Minister, Ahmed Shafiq, who was charged with addressing the people's demands. These moves did not satisfy the crowds, and the protests continued.

Activists called for a "Million Man March" from Tahrir Square to Mubarak's presidential palace on 1 February. To prevent protesters from converging on the capital, the regime closed

---

<sup>6</sup> "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?," (International Crisis Group, 2011), 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 n47.

<sup>8</sup> There was widespread speculation that President Mubarak was grooming his son Gamal to take his place. Owen, *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

roads, shut down public transportation and suspended all train connections to Cairo, but hundreds of thousands of people in Cairo and tens of thousands more around the country still poured into the streets.<sup>9</sup> Late that night, President Mubarak addressed the nation again. This time he announced he would not run for a sixth presidential term, but to ensure a peaceful transition he would remain in office until an elected president took power in September. Once again, the protesters did not accept his offer.

The next day, thousands of pro-Mubarak demonstrators pushed their way into Tahrir Square in what became known as the Battle of the Camel. *Baltagiyya*—thugs who engage in regime-sanctioned violence and intimidation—rode horses and camels as they attacked protesters with swords, whips, clubs, and Molotov cocktails.<sup>10</sup> Anti-regime protesters fought back and ultimately repelled the assaults.

These attacks incited worldwide condemnation, which prompted President Mubarak to hold his first international interview since the protests began. He blamed the violence on the Muslim Brotherhood, implying the regime bore no responsibility. During a subsequent interview, Prime Minister Shafiq was more forthright in the regime's complicity and acknowledged, "I admit there was a mistake that caused the clashes between anti-government protesters and Mubarak supporters." He vowed that those responsible would be punished and that the square would not be cleared by force.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Numbers of protesters are impossible to gauge accurately, but range from 250,000 to more than a million. Al Hussaini, "Egypt: Cheering on the Million Man March," *Global Voices*(2011), <https://globalvoices.org/2011/02/01/egypt-cheering-on-the-million-man-march/>; Shadid, "Obama Urges Faster Shift of Power in Egypt," *The New York Times*, 1 Feb 2011.

<sup>10</sup> "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?," 7 n68.

<sup>11</sup> "Mubarak Unlikely to Give Power to Vp: Egypt's Pm," *Al Arabiya*, 4 Feb 2011. On 14 July 2011, the former speaker of the upper house of the Egyptian parliament, Safwat al-Sharif, was found guilty of masterminding the 'battle of the camel.' Investigators accused him of giving orders to the armed thugs to attack the protesters on the square and kill them if they had to.

With the threat of repression diminished, the number of protesters swelled over the next week and a festival-like atmosphere took hold of the square. President Mubarak clung stubbornly to power while continuing to offer piecemeal concessions to little effect. On 5 February, the six-member Political Steering Committee of the National Democratic Party (NDP)—Egypt's de facto single party in what was nominally a multi-party system—resigned, including Gamal Mubarak.<sup>12</sup> The next day, the government invited representatives from the protesters and marginalized opposition parties to engage in a national dialogue.<sup>13</sup> On 7 February, the regime announced a 15% increase in public sector salaries and pensions. Signaling that these concessions were too little, too late, workers staged strikes throughout the country over the next two days, crippling transportation and major industries.<sup>14</sup>

On 10 February, President Mubarak addressed the country for the last time. Hundreds of thousands gathered outside to listen to his anticipated farewell speech and celebrate his departure. Instead, an obstinate Mubarak announced he would delegate authority to Vice President Omar Suleiman but he would remain President until the end of his term.<sup>15</sup> Enraged protesters yelled, waved their shoes in the air, and called on the army to help them oust Mubarak. Thousands moved toward the presidential palace and the Radio and Television building, the symbol of regime propaganda. By the next day, more than a million people were in the streets of Cairo and in cities around the country. On the evening of 11 February—18 days after the Egyptian protests began—Vice President Suleiman announced in a brief televised statement that Mubarak had decided to leave the post of president and had tasked the Supreme Council of the

---

<sup>12</sup> "Top Leadership in President Mubarak's Party Resigns," *The Telegraph*, 5 Feb 2011.

<sup>13</sup> "Egypt Remains at an Impasse," *Al Jazeera*, 6 Feb 2011.

<sup>14</sup> Adams, Weaver, and Siddique to Egypt Protests - Monday 7 February, 7 Feb, 2011; Fahim and Kirkpatrick, "Labor Actions in Egypt Boost Protests," *The New York Times*, 9 Feb 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Shadid and Kirkpatrick, "Mubarak Refuses to Step Down, Stoking Revolt's Fury and Resolve," *International New York Times*, 10 Feb 2011.

Armed Forces (SCAF) to manage the state's affairs. Crowds throughout the country erupted in cheers, dancing as they shouted, "The people, at last, have brought down the regime."<sup>16</sup>

### **The Order to Repress**

Despite the unprecedented size of the Egyptian demonstrations, the regime initially saw little cause for concern, as evidenced by Mubarak's dismissive quip, "Let them entertain themselves."<sup>17</sup> The Egyptian opposition was weak and marginalized with only a small number of loosely organized platforms.<sup>18</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood—the largest, oldest and best organized—had been successfully repressed and co-opted by the regime for decades, and had not yet mobilized its members for the protests. The regime's indifference quickly shifted to concern when the Muslim Brotherhood declared its support for the protesters, and directed its members to join the "Day of Rage" demonstrations. The same day, Mohamed El Baradei—the former Director General of the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and Nobel Peace Prize winner—arrived in Cairo, prepared to unite and lead the opposition. Both were signs that the opposition was quickly becoming more organized, more popular, and more of a threat to the regime.

By the early afternoon of 28 January, the sheer number of protesters had overwhelmed the police and CSF, who, along with traffic police and prison guards, completely withdrew from Alexandria, Cairo and Suez.<sup>19</sup> It is unclear whether the Ministry of Interior issued the initial order for its personnel to pull back or if units initiated their own retreat. Regardless, the resulting security vacuum enabled a spike in looting and vandalism, with public buildings and state

---

<sup>16</sup> Kirkpatrick, "Egypt Erupts in Jubilation as Mubarak Steps Down," *Ibid.*, 11 Feb.

<sup>17</sup> Kandil, *Soldiers, Spies, and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt* (London: Verso, 2014), 223.

<sup>18</sup> The most prominent opposition groups were: Kefaya, National Association for Change, Muslim Brotherhood, April 6 Youth Movement, and We Are All Khaled Said Facebook page.

<sup>19</sup> Ketchley, "'the Army and the People Are One Hand!' Fraternization and the 25th January Egyptian Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56, no. 1 (2014).

property being the primary targets, setting conditions for the regime to order a “justifiable” crackdown to restore control. That is exactly what happened. Egyptian state TV announced a nationwide curfew of 6pm. It then reported that President Mubarak, in his capacity as the commander in chief, had ordered the military to aid security forces in controlling the protests.<sup>20</sup>

There is strong evidence, including statements by service members during and after the demonstrations, that Mubarak did not just order the military into the streets, he ordered it to violently repress the protesters. Immediately after Mubarak left office, the SCAF posted on its Facebook page, “The Armed Forces took the side of the revolution since its beginning and all the members of SCAF *refused to open fire* [emphasis added] on the sons of the great Egyptian people.”<sup>21</sup> Similarly, in March 2011, Lieutenant General Sami Anan, Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces, told a group of opposition youth that SCAF had rejected presidential orders “to crush protesters and destroy Tahrir Square.”<sup>22</sup> There is also video footage of a soldier in Tahrir Square telling protestors that his unit had disobeyed an order to attack.<sup>23</sup>

Since then, however, former regime officials have disputed claims that the army was ordered to use violence against civilians, raising questions about the exact nature of the order. Senior army officers have added to the uncertainty by issuing a series of contradictory statements. Months after his earlier statements, Lt Gen Anan denied them and said no orders were issued to the SCAF to shoot protesters.<sup>24</sup> During closed testimony in the September 2011 Mubarak trial, Field Marshall Hussein Tantawi also purportedly denied receiving orders to kill

---

<sup>20</sup> "Egyptian Military Deploys in Streets under Curfew," *Al Arabiya News*, 28 Jan 2011; Kirkpatrick, "Mubarak Orders Crackdown, with Revolt Sweeping Egypt," *The New York Times*, 28 Jan 2011.

<sup>21</sup> "Anan Denies Claim Military Was Ordered to Kill Protesters," *Egypt Independent*, 10 Aug 2011.

<sup>22</sup> "رفضنا أوامر رئاسية بسحق المتظاهرين ومحو ميدان التحرير" (Sami Annan: We Refused Presidential Orders to Crush Demonstrators and Erase Tahrir Square)," *الأخبار* (Al-Kuwaiti News) 15 Mar 2011.

<sup>23</sup> See footage at: <http://youtu.be/hRHnX6CcbAw>. Ketchley, "“the Army and the People Are One Hand!” Fraternalism and the 25th January Egyptian Revolution," 182n46.

<sup>24</sup> "Anan Denies Claim Military Was Ordered to Kill Protesters."

protesters. One lawyer countered, however, that Tantawi could not provide evidence one way or the other about Mubarak's role in the crackdown since he was not present during key meetings when the order to repress was issued. Similarly, five police officers recanted statements that they had been ordered to use live ammunition or other force against the demonstrators.<sup>25</sup> The wholesale nature of these retractions, rather than seriously challenge the nature of Mubarak's repression order, indicate that former regime officials were trying to acquit Mubarak of more serious charges and avoid their own incrimination.

Despite Mubarak's denial of issuing orders to kill protesters, "cause chaos," or "create a security vacuum," the court found him guilty of these charges in 2012. He was sentenced to life in prison for complicity in the deaths of demonstrators and the breakdown of law and order during the 18-day revolt. The sentence was overturned in 2013; however, the appeals court ordered a retrial.<sup>26</sup> The retrial was postponed numerous times until the Court of Cassation found Mubarak innocent after a one-day hearing in March 2017.<sup>27</sup> Despite this perfunctory verdict, the evidence points to Mubarak issuing an order to end the protests using any means necessary.

Notwithstanding Mubarak's claims to the contrary, an order to violently repress protesters is entirely plausible. This would not be the first time the Egyptian army was ordered to suppress domestic unrest, even if the military had always been reserved as a last resort. In the 50 years prior to the Arab Spring, the military had been ordered to intervene in domestic security issues on at least two other occasions. The first was in 1977, when spontaneous uprisings broke

---

<sup>25</sup> Shadid and Afify, "Egypt's Military Leader Testifies at Mubarak Trial," *The New York Times*, 24 Sep 2011.

<sup>26</sup> Noueihad, "Egypt's Mubarak Denies Ordering Killing of Protesters," *Reuters*, 13 Aug 2014; EuroNews, "Anger in Egypt Court as Mubarak Trial Postponed Again," (2016), <http://www.euronews.com/2016/04/07/anger-in-egypt-court-as-mubarak-retrial-postponed-again>.

<sup>27</sup> Reuters, "In Final Ruling, Egypt Court Finds Mubarak Innocent in Killing of Protesters," *The New York Times*, 2 Mar 2017.

out across Egypt after the Sadat government eliminated food subsidies.<sup>28</sup> With police forces overwhelmed, President Sadat ordered the army to suppress the riots. Military commanders agreed to intervene, but only on the condition that Sadat rescind the economic austerity measures.<sup>29</sup> Sadat agreed and the army crushed the two-day bread riot, during which 79 people were killed and 566 others injured.<sup>30</sup>

In the wake of the bread riots, Sadat established the CSF to serve as riot police so he would not have to order (and compromise with) the armed forces to intervene in future domestic disturbances. Mubarak built up the CSF even more, using the internal security forces to counterbalance the military.<sup>31</sup> Made up of uneducated and poorly compensated peasant conscripts who failed to meet the standards for military service, the CSF was treated harshly. In 1986, key CSF units in Cairo rioted upon hearing rumors that their term of service would be extended. Over the next four days, the riots spread to other cities. Mubarak had no option except the military to suppress the CSF, and so he ordered the army to intervene. Three divisions of regular troops—approximately one quarter of the army—backed by air force helicopters, put down the rebellion in which 107 people were killed and 715 wounded.<sup>32</sup> In the early days of the Arab Spring demonstrations, protesters remembered and referenced these events, highlighting

---

<sup>28</sup> Food subsidies were eliminated as part of Sadat's economic liberalization policy, or *Infitah*. AFP, "Cairo Calm," *Daily Report. Middle East & North Africa, FBIS-MEA-77-01-21*, 19 Jan 1977.

<sup>29</sup> Cook, "The Unspoken Power: Civil-Military Relations and the Prospects for Reform," (The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, 2004), 9.

<sup>30</sup> AFP, "Egypt, Situation Returns to Normal in Wake of Price Demonstrations," *Daily Report. Middle East & North Africa, FBIS-MEA-77-015*, 24 Jan 1977.

<sup>31</sup> Frisch, "Guns and Butter in the Egyptian Army," in *Armed Forces in the Middle East*, ed. Rubin and Keaney (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002), 104.

<sup>32</sup> Springboard suggests the military did not want to get involved, but nor did it want government resources diverted to better compensate the CSF. Springborg, "The President and the Field Marshal: Civil-Military Relations in Egypt Today," *MERIP Middle East Report* 147, no. Jul-Aug (1987): 7; Cassandra, "The Impending Crisis in Egypt," *The Middle East Journal* 49, no. 1 (1995): 22; Ryan, "Political Strategies and Regime Survival in Egypt," *Journal of Third World Studies* XVIII, no. 2 (2001): 33.

the credibility of military intervention and the real threat of soldiers attacking civilians.<sup>33</sup>

In the end, there is no dispute that Mubarak ordered the Egyptian military into the streets. The question is whether he ordered the army to provide defensive security or if he ordered it to go on the offense and crush the demonstrations, as the military had reliably done in the past. Senior officers' original statements, soldiers' public testimonials, and historic precedence all indicate that the regime ordered and expected the army to decisively end the protests using any means necessary. That Mubarak and regime officials later denied this is hardly surprising.

### **Deployment of Forces**

Within hours of President Mubarak's order, the army began deploying its forces. Tanks and armored personnel carriers rolled into the streets of Cairo, Alexandria, Ismailia and Suez as soldiers took up positions to reinforce the police. Troops and military vehicles moved to guard government buildings, banks and other key locations. Fighter jets flew low over Tahrir Square while military helicopters regularly circled above to monitor the protests. Senior military leaders rushed to the capital to command operations, including Lt General Anan, who cut short his visit to Washington where he was leading a delegation in talks.<sup>34</sup>

Throughout the day protesters had discussed the military's eventual deployment, treating it as a foregone conclusion given the scale of the uprising. Some welcomed the soldiers, expressing hope that the military itself would oust Mubarak. "Where is the army? Come and see what the police are doing to us. We want the army," shouted protesters in central Cairo as the police fired teargas on them.<sup>35</sup> As the military's presence grew, chants of "the people and the

---

<sup>33</sup> Ketchley, "'the Army and the People Are One Hand!'" Fraternization and the 25th January Egyptian Revolution," 167.

<sup>34</sup> "Egyptian Military Deploys in Streets under Curfew."

<sup>35</sup> Zayed and Blair, "Egyptians Chant for Army Help after Police Action," *Reuters*, 28 Jan 2011.

army are one” were increasingly heard. However, other Egyptians despaired, presuming the military’s primary loyalty lay with its own institution and alumni, including Mubarak.<sup>36</sup>

The locations the military initially deployed to suggest its intent was to secure the state, not to influence the outcome of the protests. The army immediately sealed off the road leading to parliament and cabinet buildings and deployed forces to guard the country’s financial centers. In one case, it used tanks and fired shots in the air to force back hundreds of protesters trying to break into a Central Bank building where money was printed.<sup>37</sup> In addition to government and economic institutions, the military prioritized security of the nation’s renowned cultural sites. Upon receiving reports of looting, army commandos secured the Egyptian Museum and cut off access to the normally tourist-packed pyramids of Giza. Finally, the military focused on protecting foreign visitors and expatriates to prevent the domestic uprising from sparking international incidents. Army vehicles deployed to protect five-star hotels, wealthy residential compounds, as well as Cairo International Airport, where thousands of foreigners frantically tried to leave the country. Flights were available, including those chartered by countries to evacuate their citizens, but schedules were erratic.<sup>38</sup>

By all accounts, the Egyptian army’s deployment was rapid, orderly and professional. There were no indications that military officers or rank and file soldiers hesitated or resisted moving into the streets. Rather, they moved decisively and cohesively into positions that best protected the interests of the state.

---

<sup>36</sup> Kirkpatrick, "Mubarak Orders Crackdown, with Revolt Sweeping Egypt."

<sup>37</sup> Batty and Olorenshaw, "Egypt Protests--as They Happened," *The Guardian*, 29 Jan 2011.

<sup>38</sup> "Egypt Army: We Recognize Legitimacy of Protests," *CBS*, 31 Jan 2011.

## **The Military Shirks**

While the Egyptian military immediately obeyed Mubarak's order to deploy, it did nothing to hold back the hundreds of thousands of curfew-defying protesters. Nor did the army join ranks with protesters and forcefully remove the regime. The military attempted to secure the state without overtly picking a political winner. However, because it was the regime's agent of last resort, the army's refusal to crush the protests had the same effect as outright disobedience. In the end, the military shirked.

After its swift and skillful deployment, the military vacillated between supporting the regime and protecting the people. On the one hand, it appeared to side with Mubarak, echoing the regime's calls for the protesters to go home. It warned people not to gather in groups and to abide by the curfew, threatening punishment for violators.<sup>39</sup> Soldiers also refused to actively defend the protesters from police and other pro-regime attacks, ignoring pleas to fire on the police who were battering the protesters with tear gas, shotguns and rubber bullets.<sup>40</sup> And days after its deployment, senior military leaders continued to be televised meeting with Mubarak, signifying their support for the regime and business as usual.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, the military displayed some solidarity with the people. It consistently positioned armored vehicles between the protesters and police in efforts to passively separate the two sides, while officers advised groups of armed young men on how to set up checkpoints to protect their neighborhoods.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, countless soldiers and protesters hugged and snapped pictures together on top of tanks, many of which were scrawled with graffiti denouncing

---

<sup>39</sup> "Egypt Protests--as They Happened."

<sup>40</sup> Kirkpatrick, "Egyptians Defiant as Military Does Little to Quash Protests," *The New York Times*, 29 Jan 2011.

<sup>41</sup> Shadid and Kirkpatrick, "Opposition Rallies to Elbaradei as Military Reinforces in Cairo," *Ibid.*, 30 Jan.

<sup>42</sup> "Egypt Army: We Recognize Legitimacy of Protests."

Mubarak.<sup>43</sup> One uniformed Captain was even lofted on protesters' shoulders and marched through the crowds.<sup>44</sup>

These early inconsistencies created confusion over the military's stance and led to erratic protester behavior. Crowds alternately cheered soldiers or berated them and threw rocks at their tanks. For instance, as a tank moved into position outside the Egyptian Museum, one man shouted, "We should welcome them. They stopped the violence." Another responded, "Welcome them? We should beat them!"<sup>45</sup> Despite signs of hostility, the military limited its action to cordoning off public buildings and separating anti- and pro-regime demonstrations.<sup>46</sup>

For three days soldiers observed the protests on the ground, while military helicopters regularly circled over the crowds and monitored them from the air. Around the world, spectators held their breaths and wondered what the army would do.<sup>47</sup> Finally, on the evening of 31 January, the military publicly and explicitly disobeyed Mubarak, declaring on state television that it would not use force to put down the demonstrations. The uniformed spokesman, Major General Ismail Etman, added that the military understood the legitimacy of the protesters' demands and their right to express them through peaceful means.<sup>48</sup>

Recognizing the perilous implications of the military's disobedience, the regime sent Vice President Suleiman out an hour later to announce it would hold a political dialogue with all opposition forces to discuss reforms. The protesters recognized this as a capitulation due to the army's shirking and chanted, "The army and the people want the collapse of the government!"<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Kirkpatrick, "Egyptians Defiant as Military Does Little to Quash Protests."

<sup>44</sup> Shadid and Kirkpatrick, "Opposition Rallies to Elbaradei as Military Reinforces in Cairo," *Ibid.*, 30 Jan.

<sup>45</sup> Khalil, "Egypt's Military in the Crosshairs," *Foreign Policy* (2011).

<sup>46</sup> Droz-Vincent, "Authoritarianism, Revolutions, Armies and Arab Regime Transitions," *The International Spectator* 46, no. 2 (2011): 19.

<sup>47</sup> Hanna, "Will Egypt's Military Officers Free the Revolution?," *The Atlantic* (2011).

<sup>48</sup> "Egypt Army: We Recognize Legitimacy of Protests."

<sup>49</sup> Kirkpatrick, "Mubarak's Grip on Power Is Shaken," *The New York Times*, 31 Jan 2011.

However, the military did not wholly defect and join forces with the protesters. Over the next three days, the army continued to stand by while pro-regime demonstrators attacked protesters in Alexandria and Cairo. Soldiers fired warning shots to try and separate the groups, but nothing more.<sup>50</sup> During the Battle of the Camel, they watched events unfold from behind the iron fence of the Egyptian Museum or took shelter inside armored vehicles, but they did not intervene. Soldiers occasionally used their water cannons, but only to extinguish flames ignited by firebombs. Troops remained on the sidelines, telling protesters who begged them to engage that they had no orders. As a result, confusion over the military's stance grew along with concern that the army would use the public disorder as an excuse to clear the streets.<sup>51</sup> Speaking on behalf of the protesters on 2 February, Mohamed El Baradei demanded the military's protection, "The army has to take a stand. I expect the Egyptian Army to interfere today."<sup>52</sup>

The next day, the military began to actively protect the protestors in Tahrir Square, but they did not join their calls for Mubarak to step down. Instead, the army set up checkpoints to keep weapons out of the square as high-ranking officers visited the protesters. They continued to urge everyone to go home or at least get out of the way. Attempting to negotiate with protesters near the museum, Brigadier General Hassan al-Rawaini offered, "We're trying to remove the barricades and return the streets to normal. If you want to protest, you can go back to the square." A protester shouted back, "General, we're not going to walk away from here until Hosni Mubarak leaves!"<sup>53</sup> For the next week, the protesters remained in the streets, celebrating under the military's protection and continuing to voice their demands.

---

<sup>50</sup> Shadid, "Obama Urges Faster Shift of Power in Egypt," *Ibid.*, 1 Feb.

<sup>51</sup> Batty and Olorenshaw, "Egypt Protests--as They Happened."

<sup>52</sup> Kirkpatrick and Fahim, "Mubarak's Allies and Foes Clash in Egypt," *The New York Times*, 2 Feb 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Fahim, Landler, and Shadid, "West Back Gradual Egyptian Transition," *Ibid.*, 5 Feb.

In the end, the military shirked by refusing to obey Mubarak's order to forcefully end the demonstrations. It never openly sided with the protesters to pressure Mubarak to step down; the closest it came was acknowledging the protesters' demands as legitimate. However, the results were the same—without the military's full obedience, the regime could not retain its grip on power. Because of the military's unwillingness to quickly and clearly pick sides, it has been characterized as indecisive and hesitant.<sup>54</sup> The next sections demonstrates that the military was simply taking time to evaluate the domestic threat and the likely consequences of repression.

### **Military's Security Imperative**

The military's security imperative is the causal mechanism that transmits causal forces from the international and domestic threat environments, and which led to the Egyptian military's shirking and ultimate disobedience. This section presents observable implications, or fingerprints, of each part of the causal mechanism to indicate its presence. First, it establishes the military was a professional force, indicating substantial independence from the regime and the inherent responsibility for security. Second, it demonstrates that the military was infused with a high sense of nationalism, which resulted in it identifying the state, as opposed to the regime, as the military's supreme client.

#### ***Military Professionalism***

The Egyptian military is a large, professional organization that enjoys a degree of institutional autonomy from the regime, despite conventional wisdom that characterizes it as one and the same. Observable implications of its professional status include its large, hierarchical organization with specialized technical capabilities; sophisticated weaponry; internal rules, procedures and facilities for recruitment, training and promotions; and mechanisms to enforce

---

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, *Military Responses to the Arab Uprisings and the Future of Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 122.

order and discipline. All these characteristics were present in the Egyptian military long before 2011. This does not mean there was an absence of politics, corruption and cronyism, but these were not the sole, or even primary, characteristics of the organization.

The modern Egyptian military traces its heritage back to Muhammad Ali Pasha, who ruled the territory that is now called Egypt from 1805-1848. He built an army of up to 200,000 men, all of whom were rigorously trained by European advisors in newly established military schools.<sup>55</sup> Recruits, comprised primarily of Egyptian farmers forced into service, were wholly indoctrinated into military life; they were isolated from their families and other civilians, stripped of their daily habits and practices, and subject to strict military rules and discipline.<sup>56</sup> Bureaucratic processes were put in place to manage the large force, such as assigning each soldier a unique identification number to allow for accurate record keeping, distributing payroll, and issuing uniforms.<sup>57</sup> Exhaustive laws and regulations were passed to order every aspect of military life including specifying the exact distance between tents, how many soldiers would occupy each tent, and even the position in which soldiers should sleep. Detailed uniform policies were also implemented, differentiating between soldiers' and officers' dress, and specifying which set of uniforms officers were to wear at each hour of the day.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the military was the prime beneficiary of rapid industrialization efforts designed to produce high-quality war-related materials, including muskets and heavily armed warships. These advanced weapons required standardized training and sustainment procedures that necessitated a centralized bureaucracy.

---

<sup>55</sup> Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 35-40.

<sup>56</sup> Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 120-21.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 143-44.

Muhammad Ali's creation of a modern bureaucratic army allowed him to wage and easily win wars throughout the Middle East until the British intervened on behalf of the Ottoman Empire and, through the Treaty of London of 1841, compelled his withdrawal from most of the territories he had occupied. Indicative of how capable and threatening his army was considered, Muhammad Ali was forced to limit its size to a mere 18,000 men. As a result, many of the war-related industries and schools he had established eventually closed, but a cadre of trained officials along with legacies of a centralized and bureaucratic administration remained.<sup>59</sup>

In the decades after Muhammad Ali's death, his heirs borrowed heavily from foreign lenders and amassed so much debt that Europeans controllers came in to supervise the country's finances. This led to Egypt's de facto loss of political independence. When the nationalist Urabi movement threatened Great Britain's access to the Suez Canal in 1882, British forces deployed to Egypt, suppressed the revolt, and occupied the country. To ensure the Egyptian military's loyalty, the British crushed the officer corps, replacing experienced officers with new recruits commanded by the British. The army was consigned to internal security duties while Imperial regulars secured the state. Although the Egyptian military was relegated to little more than a constabulary force, a half a century of institutionalization could not be negated overnight. The army continued to see itself as independent from the regime.

Due to its weakened state, it is not surprising that the Egyptian army fought poorly in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Its dismal performance was widely attributed to a lack of serious training, planning, and inferior equipment—all areas long under British control but enabled by the corrupt

---

<sup>59</sup> Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 2 ed. (Boulder, Co; Oxford, UK: Westview Press, 2000), 70-75.

local government. As a result, officers blamed King Farouk for betraying the military and enabling its decline, setting the stage for the Egyptian Revolution a few years later.<sup>60</sup>

The 1952 revolution that established the modern Egyptian Republic was a coup d'état instigated by the Free Officers movement. The Free Officers were a group of lower-middle class, educated government officials and junior officers led by Lieutenant Colonel Gamal abd al-Nasser, with General Muhammad Naguib serving as a public figurehead. After overthrowing the monarchy, they immediately purged the military of many colonels and every general officer except General Naguib. Nasser soon assumed the presidency and gave priority to reforming and upgrading the armed forces. Defense spending increased, training was revised, sweeping organizational changes were made, field advisors were brought in, and the military was armed with modern Soviet weapons, including tanks, jet aircraft, destroyers, and submarines.<sup>61</sup>

The military was still responsible for internal security, but Nasser reinvigorated its training and expanded its focus to conventional combat. However, all officers from division commander on up were still appointed based on their loyalty to the regime rather than their ability. This changed after the catastrophic June 1967 war with Israel. Nasser renewed his efforts to professionalize the officer corps, reorienting the military so its sole task was defeating Israel.<sup>62</sup> He relieved the military of all internal security responsibilities and overhauled the promotion process to focus on merit, purging 800 officers—including most colonels and generals—and promoting the best officers he could find. He also dramatically improved the quality of conscripts by eliminating a military service exemption for college students and concentrating

---

<sup>60</sup> Cantori and Baynard, "Arab Republic of Egypt," in *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Long and Reich (Boulder, CO; Oxford, UK: Westview Press, 2002), 343.

<sup>61</sup> Pollack, *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 28-29.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

recruiting efforts towards technically skilled men.<sup>63</sup> Training became more effective and realistic as airmen received more flying time, more live-fire practices were authorized, and officers were forced to train and exercise in the field with their men.

Anwar Sadat continued Nasser's policies to improve the armed forces. He also worked to depoliticize the military by reducing the number of officers serving in ministerial appointments from a high of 66% in Nasser's cabinet to less than 13% in his.<sup>64</sup> These efforts helped cement a military corporate identity separate from the regime, paying off in 1973 when the Egyptian military secured a limited but highly acclaimed victory against Israel. This momentous win restored the reputation of the army as a fighting force and defender of the nation's interests.

Over the next three and a half decades, the Egyptian military continued to modernize and professionalize. Sadat's 1979 peace treaty with Israel earned the Egyptian armed forces \$1.3 billion a year in US military aid, which almost doubled the defense budget, opened the floodgates to modern American equipment and training, and greatly increased its fiscal security and autonomy.<sup>65</sup> As a result, officers' professional competency and expertise grew. Attendance in US military training programs increased from about two hundred students a year throughout the 1980's to an average of over twelve hundred students per year in the 2000's.<sup>66</sup>

Physical segregation between the armed forces and the rest of society also increased with the creation of military cities, contributing to a strong corporate identity. Exclusive suburban

---

<sup>63</sup> In 1967, less than 2% of drafted soldiers had degrees; in 1973, that number increased to over 60%. During the same timeframe, the number of enlisted soldiers who were high school graduates doubled from 25% to 51%. *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>64</sup> Springborg, "The President and the Field Marshal: Civil-Military Relations in Egypt Today," 5.

<sup>65</sup> Richter, "The Political Economy of Regime Maintenance in Egypt: Linking External Resources and Domestic Legitimation," in *Debating Arab Authoritarianism: Dynamics and Durability in Nondemocratic Regimes*, ed. Schlumberger (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 184.

<sup>66</sup> US State Department, "Foreign Military Training and Dod Engagment Activities of Interest," <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/fmtrpt/>.

enclaves, resorts, clubs, hospitals, and stores were established to serve as both perks and as a strategy for stemming infiltration into the services by Islamic fundamentalists.<sup>67</sup> Finally, under both Sadat and Mubarak, the military adhered to established, merit-based promotion procedures for mid and lower-level officers. The president retained control over senior officers' appointments and promotions, but that is not unusual. Even in the US military, it is the President who nominates officers for promotion to flag ranks.

By 2011, Egyptian officers of all ranks viewed the military as a professional corp.<sup>68</sup> The military had over 468,000 active duty forces and 479,000 reserves equipped with highly technical weapons, including M1 Abrams tanks, Romeo class submarines, and F-16 fighter aircraft.<sup>69</sup> This large, complex organization could not function without a significant amount of institutional autonomy and independence from the regime. And while every Egyptian president from 1952-2011 had come from the military, executive power (particularly under Sadat and Mubarak) was increasingly concentrated in family networks, bureaucrats, politicians, and economic cronies—not within the military. Some military officers certainly wielded significant political influence, but it was due to their personal links with the president, not because the military institution was coterminous with the regime.<sup>70</sup> The military clearly defined itself as separate from the regime, emphasizing its autonomy, legitimacy and professionalism.<sup>71</sup> In the words of Mahmoud Shokry, a former Egyptian diplomat, “The army is not a puppet in the hands of anybody.”<sup>72</sup> The Egyptian military was a modern, professional, and independent force.

---

<sup>67</sup> Frisch, "Guns and Butter in the Egyptian Army," 105.

<sup>68</sup> Droz-Vincent, "From Fighting Formal Wars to Maintaining Civil Peace?," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43(2011): 394.

<sup>69</sup> International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Military Balance," (2011), Ch 7, p306.

<sup>70</sup> Droz-Vincent, "Authoritarianism, Revolutions, Armies and Arab Regime Transitions," 18.

<sup>71</sup> "The Military Amidst Uprising and Transitions in the Arab World," in *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*, ed. Gerges (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 188.

<sup>72</sup> Kirkpatrick, "Mubarak's Grip on Power Is Shaken."

### *Military Nationalism*

Not only was the Egyptian military professional and independent, it was also highly nationalistic. Once again, nationalism refers to the solidarity among citizens and the idea that members of a nation will go to extraordinary lengths to safeguard their independence and sacred land. Building upon nationalist sentiments already prevalent in society, the armed forces employed training, symbols and speech to actively instill its members with the belief that they were the guardians of the state. Although there are few in-depth studies or published information about the Egyptian military's internal dynamics, signs of this socialization process are prevalent.

The rise of Egyptian nationalism is frequently associated with Muhammad Ali's creation of his army in the 1820s. However, while he set the conditions for the emergence of nationalist concepts, he did not employ them. Muhammad Ali's recruits were largely peasants forced into long terms of military service and kept there through elaborate systems of control and punishment. Rather than readily fighting for the state, to avoid conscription peasants fled their lands or mutilated themselves in such large numbers that Muhammad Ali issued a circular in 1833 outlining harsh punishments for this type of behavior.<sup>73</sup> In an effort to induce peasants to join his army, he hired Muslim clerics to convince them that serving in the army was a religious duty—a strategy that never succeeded, particularly when he went to war against the Ottoman Sultan, the recognized Caliph of Islam. One of these clerics was a young graduate from al-Azhar University named Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, who served as a prayer leader and spiritual guide to the first group of Egyptian students sent to Paris in 1826. During his time abroad, Al-Tahtawi was heavily influenced by the Enlightenment philosophies of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau, as well as France's July Revolution and the nationalist ideas associated with it. Upon his return

---

<sup>73</sup> Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 42-43.

to Egypt in 1831, al-Tahtawi introduced many of these concepts into Arabic by blending them with existing ideas and terms, which he ultimately used to claim Egyptians had a national duty to serve in the army.<sup>74</sup>

Up to this point, Egypt was typically conceptualized as a region, not a country, to which its inhabitants had no collective moral responsibility. The ideas of a national army or of national wars to defend Egypt were completely alien. Although Muhammad Ali himself never adopted a nationalist discourse, al-Tahtawi tirelessly promoted these ideas among army officers, particularly that soldiers were the protectors of the *watan*, or homeland. He wrote several books, patriotic poems and songs to glorify the Egyptian army and extol its military virtues, many of which were likely used to motivate troops at war. Finally, he created a Napoleon-like myth around Muhammad Ali that persists to this day, portraying him as a national savior and founder of the modern Egyptian state.<sup>75</sup> Many of al-Tahtawi's students went on to form the new class of bureaucrats, officers, doctors, teachers and engineers. They were intensely devoted to him and carried forward nationalist inclinations, which served to legitimize not only Muhammad Ali's military and economic projects, but also their own elevated positions within this new, modern society.<sup>76</sup>

Al-Tahtawi's intellectuals promoted nationalist ideas in novels and school curricula, but the concept of Egyptian nationalism was slow to inspire the larger population and did so unevenly.<sup>77</sup> Not surprisingly, its strongest adherents were in the military. Egypt's first nationalist hero was an army colonel with peasant origins named Ahmad Urabi. In 1881, Colonel Urabi and

---

<sup>74</sup> Geer, "The Priesthood of Nationalism in Egypt: Duty, Authority, Autonomy" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 2011), 104-05, 09.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 101-26.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 149-59.

<sup>77</sup> Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (New York: Warner Books 1991), 310.

a group of fellow Egyptian officers protested an impending law that would prevent Egyptians of peasant origin from becoming officers. Although the law was quickly rescinded, the Urabi Movement broadened its demands into a national campaign against European domination under the slogan, "Egypt for the Egyptians." Supported by the army, the peasantry, and a group of reformist notables, Colonel Urabi was appointed Minister of War and moved to form a national assembly to take charge of the country's affairs. Great Britain was so alarmed at the prospect of a nationalist government controlling access to the Suez Canal that expeditionary forces were sent in, marking the beginning of British occupation. This nascent nationalist movement ended with Urabi's capture in 1882.<sup>78</sup>

It took several more decades for nationalism to take root among the wider Egyptian population. This process was aided by the desire to end British occupation as well as a growing interest in ancient Egypt, especially with the discovery of Tutankhamen's Tomb in 1922. Not only did this encourage the population to emphasize the continuity of Egyptian life from the time of the Pharaohs, it also offered an alternate historical narrative that all residents could identify with as opposed to one tied solely to Islam.<sup>79</sup>

Despite its uneven growth in society, nationalist sentiments flourished in the Egyptian military, where young disaffected officers like Gamal abd al-Nasser bristled under British colonialism, humiliated by the indignity of occupation and the complicity of Egypt's political elite.<sup>80</sup> They consumed nationalist writings like Tawfiq al-Ḥakim's influential novel, *'Awdat al-*

---

<sup>78</sup> Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 99.

<sup>79</sup> Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, 342.

<sup>80</sup> Abou-El-Fadl, "Early Pan-Arabism in Egypt's July Revolution," *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 2 (2015): 292.

*Rūḥ* (The Return of the Spirit, 1933), which promoted the idea that a country's revival depended on the appearance of a national object of worship.<sup>81</sup>

In 1949, these officers encountered Ihsan Abd al-Quddus, a prominent journalist who articulated their nationalist beliefs and set the stage for the 1952 Egyptian revolution. Months before the coup d'état, he wrote of the need for a popular hero to lead the country. A few days prior, he published an article claiming, "The only thing that can drive the nation forward is a man who believes in the nation, whom the nation trusts and around whom it unites."<sup>82</sup> Nasser emerged as Egypt's charismatic national hero—a role he tirelessly promoted via radio, TV, songs and images—while the military served as the core institution that gave birth to, protected and embodied the modern Egyptian state. Once in power, Nasser's rhetoric expanded to incorporate pan-Arabism, which overlapped with but never extinguished a narrower Egyptian identity.<sup>83</sup> While his political aspirations focused on regional aims, and the people emphasized their Arab heritage, the military fostered a nationalist identity tied to the state and its role as guardian of Egyptian security and stability.

Its dismal performance in the 1967 war significantly damaged this narrative, with much of the population blaming Egypt's officers for the loss of their national pride. In fact, the military became so unpopular that soldiers were openly disrespected in public, with people spitting at them and taxi drivers refusing to carry them.<sup>84</sup> Egypt's success in the 1973 war with Israel restored the country's pride and the military's nationalist credentials. Popular songs, films, literature, and radio and TV programs replaced the image of a defeated soldier with the

---

<sup>81</sup> Geer, "The Priesthood of Nationalism in Egypt: Duty, Authority, Autonomy", 276, 85.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 301.

<sup>83</sup> Abou-El-Fadl, "Early Pan-Arabism in Egypt's July Revolution," 98; Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

<sup>84</sup> Brooks, "An Autocracy at War: Explaining Egypt's Military Effectiveness, 1967 and 1973," *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (2006): 419.

victorious military figure, rekindling the bond between the army and the people.<sup>85</sup> At the same time, a distinct Egyptian identity forcefully reemerged among all segments of society after the region's Arab states ostracized Egypt due to Sadat's 1979 peace treaty with Israel. Since then, Egyptian children have been taught that their affiliation is first and foremost to their country, Egypt, then to the Arab world, and finally to their religion.<sup>86</sup>

Under Mubarak, the military continued to see itself as the institution that gave birth to, protected and embodied the modern Egyptian state. In the 1980s, the army's penetration into the economic realm expanded considerably, and its nationalist narrative shifted from focusing on battlefield heroism to their contributions to post-war economic development. The military portrayed its activities as vital for Egypt's national security by enabling self-sufficiency, price controls, and protecting the welfare of the lower classes. A typical example of the army's updated nationalist rhetoric is seen during its annual Engineering Organization Day. The festivities include watching a documentary on the military's role in designing a historic bridge to cross the Suez Canal in the 1973 war, which is then compared to its current building projects for the people.<sup>87</sup> Consistently framing its economic development activities in patriotic terms, the army was rewarded with public approval ratings hovering around an incredible 90% and being viewed as one of Egypt's most esteemed institutions.<sup>88</sup>

By 2011, Egyptian nationalism was deeply embedded throughout society. This is evident in numerous public opinion polls including a 2003 survey in which 78% of Egyptians reported

---

<sup>85</sup> Mostafa, *The Egyptian Military in Popular Culture: Context and Critique* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 84.

<sup>86</sup> Bassiouney, *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*, 98.

<sup>87</sup> Abul-Magd, "Militarism, Neoliberalism, and Revolution in Egypt," *Cairo Papers in Social Science* 33, no. 4 (2015).

<sup>88</sup> Martini and Taylor, "Commanding Democracy in Egypt: The Military's Attempt to Manage the Future," *Foreign Affairs*, no. Sep/Oct (2011).

their culture was superior to others, and a 2008 poll in which 91% of respondents said they were proud to be Egyptians.<sup>89</sup> Citizens carried these beliefs and national pride with them into the military.

Once there, they were subject to an intense indoctrination process in which they were immersed in patriotic language and constantly reminded of their national mission. Conscripts and enlisted personnel underwent a minimum of 45 days of initial basic training, often followed by weeks to months of technical schools and continued emphasis on military values. Officers typically attended the Egyptian Military Academy before being commissioned, where targeted socialization efforts reinforced the service's patriotic ideals. They also had to complete basic officer training with its own potent indoctrination process. One Egyptian officer reminisced:

"Officer training was intense. Our days started at 5am, and conditions were terrible. It was an attempt to 'break us' and transform us from civilians to military men. The hours were filled with pointless assemblies and formations where we'd stand for hours in the sun, the recital of army songs, singing the national anthem daily and following orders from the sergeants and warrant officers who would treat us terribly."<sup>90</sup>

Regardless of how individual Egyptians entered the armed forces, they were all exposed to a steady diet that reinforced the military's role as guardian of the state and protector of the people. Above all, they were taught the core nationalist belief that it was up to them to defend Egypt and achieve its national interests.<sup>91</sup> These ideals were continually promoted through traditions, symbols and narratives at all military ranks and levels of command. While there were certainly variances in how individual officers and soldiers internalized these values, the armed forces had a decisively nationalist worldview—a foundation that influenced the Egyptian military's perceptions and decisions during the Arab Spring protests.

---

<sup>89</sup> PEW Global Attitudes Project, "Views of a Changing World," (Washington DC: PEW Research Center, 2003); "24-Nation Survey (Spring)," (PEW Research Center 2008).

<sup>90</sup> Shenker, "Egyptian Army Officer's Diary of Military Life in a Revolution," *The Guardian*, 28 Dec 2011.

<sup>91</sup> Frisch, "Guns and Butter in the Egyptian Army," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 5, no. 2 (2001).

In sum, professionalism and nationalism were both present in the Egyptian military. These elements came together to form the military's security imperative. The next sections look at Egypt's vulnerability to international punishment and the level of domestic threat, measures of which entered into the military's strategic calculation and resulted in its ultimate disobedience of Mubarak's order to repress.

### **International Threat**

Unlike most cases in this study, which present a medium vulnerability to international punishment, Egypt had a high vulnerability due to the US's enormous leverage over its military power. For most countries, US military assistance represented 0-3% of defense spending. For Egypt, it covered one third (32.5%) of its expenditures in 2010, down from roughly 50% in 1979 when the aid was first put in place. As a result, while the logic of the theory of military arbitration still holds, the threshold—the level of protester violence at which the military's preference switches from its default of no repression to repression—was much higher. This is because the military was willing to tolerate a higher level of domestic threat before it would risk losing US military assistance and suffer damage to Egypt's military power.

US military aid was fundamental to Egypt's ability to maintain a modern, well-armed force; the \$1.3B it received each year covered up to 80% of the military's procurement costs. Approximately a third of these funds went to new hardware purchases, another third to equipment upgrades, and the remainder was spent on technical support. Acquisitions were primarily large, multiyear programs that could not be easily replaced like M1A1 tanks, F-16 fighter aircraft, Apache helicopters, communications and radar systems, and naval vessels.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> Kurtzer and Svenstrup, "Egypt's Entrenched Military," *The National Interest* 121, no. September/October 2012 (2012): 44.

Perhaps more important than the sheer amount of annual aid were the perks that came along with US military assistance—perks that gave Egypt an advantage over almost every other country in the region. First, the US usually sold Egypt a variant of whatever highly sophisticated weapons it requested, except on rare occasions when that would give it a technical advantage over Israel. Second, Egypt was one of only two military aid recipients provided the courtesy of early disbursement. At the beginning of the year, US funds were deposited in a New York Federal Reserve account, allowing Egypt to use the interest accrued to purchase additional equipment. Funds were transferred from the Fed to a trust fund only after purchases were made, allowing Egypt to continue earning interest on the uncommitted balance. Finally, Egypt could cash-flow finance its purchases from American defense contractors, or pay for large weapon systems in installments over many years instead of all up front as most countries had to do. As a result, the Egyptian military had more than \$2.5 billion in outstanding commitments for US weapons and support services at any given time.<sup>93</sup>

If US aid to Egypt were cut, it would have a significant impact on the country's security. Despite Egypt's peace with Israel, the two countries maintained a cold relationship. To protect Egypt's interests and deter renewed hostilities, the military required advanced capabilities. Even with unfettered access to US defense contracts, the military would not be able to maintain its sizeable arsenal unless it diverted a third of its estimated \$4.4 billion defense budget from current operations, training, and personnel costs—an option that would take time to execute and cause significant hardship and resentment across the force. The government could replace the lost aid

---

<sup>93</sup> Schenker, "Inside the Complex World of U.S. Military Assistance to Egypt," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*(2013), <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/inside-the-complex-world-of-u.s.-military-assistance-to-egypt>.

by reallocating funds from civilian to defense programs, but with a quarter of the population already living below the poverty line, the economic cuts would fuel even greater domestic unrest.

Conversely, a regional benefactor, like Saudi Arabia or another Persian Gulf monarchy, could replace Egypt's lost aid, but the US would certainly block purchases of weapons through US defense contracts with those funds. It would take at a decade, likely much longer, for Egypt to significantly reduce its dependence on US arms. Egypt began transitioning from Soviet to US military systems over thirty years ago, and it still has older East-Bloc equipment scattered throughout its force. It is unlikely it could maintain high-end US systems that long without American maintenance contracts. The bottom line is if the US suddenly cut military aid to Egypt, the military's combat readiness would take a significant hit in the immediate years, and if the suspension was protracted, the damage would last much longer.

In 2011, the Egyptian military was acutely aware of the potential international repercussions of repression. The Obama administration was unswerving in its call for restraint when dealing with the protesters even though its public statements were notably inconsistent in its support for Mubarak.<sup>94</sup> Behind the scenes, US messages to the Egyptian military were clear and persistent, and widely believed to have had an impact on their decision to allow Mubarak to fall.<sup>95</sup> Both Defense Secretary Robert Gates and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mullen called their respective counterparts, Field Marshal Tantawi and Lieutenant General Anan, numerous times urging them to exercise restraint and to enact a plan and timetable for moving toward democratic elections. They warned that if they failed to do so Congress might

---

<sup>94</sup> Pinto, "Mapping the Obama Administration's Response to the Arab Spring," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 55, no. 2 (2012).

<sup>95</sup> Pollack, "The Arab Militaries: The Double Edged Swords," in *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011).

react by freezing military aid to Egypt.<sup>96</sup> White House spokesman, Robert Gibbs, announced that all US aid to Egypt was under review, and continued assistance would depend on how the military behaved in the face of the protests.<sup>97</sup> These veiled threats were reinforced on 3 February, when the US Senate passed Resolution 44, calling on the Egyptian military to demonstrate professionalism and restraint while reiterating that US assistance to Egypt must advance the goal of ensuring respect for the universal rights of the Egyptian people.

In addition to the risk of losing US military assistance, the Egyptian military was under a great deal of diplomatic pressure to disobey Mubarak's order to repress the protesters. World leaders publicly called for calm and openly deliberated punishments if the military engaged in violent repression.<sup>98</sup> The British foreign secretary, William Hague, insisted "Peaceful reform not repression must be the way forward." Catherine Ashton, the EU foreign affairs chief, called on all parties to "exercise restraint and calm," while the German foreign ministry explicitly stated, "The security forces should not use violence against peaceful protesters." Many other foreign leaders, including those from France, Norway, Sweden, and Palestine, also made public statements or private calls to Egyptian leaders calling for nonviolent resolution to the demonstrators' demands. Of note, the EU was Egypt's largest source of foreign direct investment, delivering over \$7.3B in 2010 alone.<sup>99</sup> If the military ignored these calls and repressed the protesters, Egypt risked formal condemnations, a loss of political prestige, international isolation, and economic punishment.

---

<sup>96</sup> Cooper and Landler, "White House and Egypt Discuss Plans for Mubarak's Exit," *The New York Times*, 3 Feb 2011.

<sup>97</sup> McGreal, "White House Warns \$1.5bn Aid to Egypt Could Be Withdrawn," *The Guardian*, 29 Jan 2011.

<sup>98</sup> Reuters, "Factbox: International Reaction to Egyptian Protests," *Reuters*, 29 Jan 2011.

<sup>99</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), "Bilateral Fdi Statistics," (2018).

Because of the state's high vulnerability to international punishment, the military's default preference was for no repression. Like every other state, its preference for repression could change if protester violence posed a great enough threat. The only difference is the level of domestic threat required for this switch to occur. Most states' thresholds sit at the point where protester violence transitions from causing significant property damage to causing serious injuries and deaths. Because of its high vulnerability to international repercussions, the Egyptian military is expected to tolerate higher levels protester violence. The next section looks at the domestic threat and the army's response to it.

### **The Domestic Threat**

In the 18 days leading up to President Mubarak's resignation approximately 850 people died. Most victims were civilian protesters, but 43 police officers and two military personnel were also killed.<sup>100</sup> The demonstrations also caused a significant amount of property damage, although no official infrastructure repair costs have been published. Insurance companies estimated claims up to \$500 million, but this only represented a small fraction of the bill.<sup>101</sup> It did not account for state-owned property—the target of most protester violence—and businesses that were not insured against political violence.

The impact on economic security was a real concern. The protests, parallel workers' strikes, fear of looting and other criminal activity shut down transportation and devastated the

---

<sup>100</sup> Casualties range from 846, as reported by an official Egyptian commission, to 866 reported and itemized by the Egyptian human rights group Wiki Thawra. Wiki Thawra identifies an additional 209 people killed during this period due to of prison riots (186), vigilante groups (15), extrajudicial killings (2), assassinations (1), torture (2), and armed attack/terrorism (3). This broader accounting adds 7 police and 2 military deaths. Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights, "ويكي ثورة (Wiki Thawra: Statistical Database of the Egyptian Revolution)," <https://wikithawra.wordpress.com>; Rettig, "Death Toll of 'Arab Spring'," *US News & World Report*(2011), <http://www.usnews.com/news/slideshows/death-toll-of-arab-spring/2?slide=6>.

<sup>101</sup> Bradford, "Egypt Losses Mount," *Business Insurance*(2011), <http://www.businessinsurance.com/article/20110206/ISSUE01/302069977>; Clark, "Political Violence: How Insurers Measure the Risk," *Bloomberg Business Week*(2011), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-09-01/political-violence-how-insurers-measure-the-risk>.

tourism industry. Over one million tourists fled the country during the first week of protests, costing \$1 billion in lost revenues.<sup>102</sup> Additionally, many shops and factories closed, sparking food shortages and inflated prices. Several international companies in the vital oil and gas industries also halted operations, as did Egypt's telecommunications and health ministries, and the banking sector.<sup>103</sup> Just two weeks into the demonstrations, the Egyptian stock market plunged 20% and economists lowered the country's annual economic growth estimate by 1.5%. According to Credit Agricole Bank, the protests cost the country at least \$310 million per day—or over \$5.5 billion—in production losses alone.<sup>104</sup> The consultancy group Geopolicity puts Egypt's total losses close to \$10 billion.<sup>105</sup> It is no surprise that one of the SCAF's first communiqués after Mubarak's fall called on the people, the unions, and the private and public sectors to “fulfill their respective duties” and drive the economy forward.<sup>106</sup>

The most violent day of the uprising was 28 January, which led to the military's deployment that night. After three unsuccessful days of trying to crush the protests, police added live ammunition to their arsenal of water cannons, tear gas, and batons, and escalated the brutality of their tactics. They fired tear gas into enclosed buildings and the Tahrir Square metro station, refusing to let people flee, and used live ammunition when defending police stations, prisons and the interior ministry.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, in an effort to intentionally terrorize civilians and

---

<sup>102</sup> Blomfield and Henderson, "Egypt Crisis: Egypt Facing Biggest Tourism Problem for a Decade," *The Telegraph*(2011), <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/8311983/Egypt-crisis-Egypt-facing-biggest-tourism-problem-for-a-decade.html>.

<sup>103</sup> Maher, "The Political Economy of the Egyptian Uprising," *Monthly Review* 63, no. 6 (2011), <https://monthlyreview.org/2011/11/01/the-political-economy-of-the-egyptian-uprising/>.

<sup>104</sup> "Egypt Unrest: Banks Reopen after Week of Closure," *BBC*(2011), <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-12376403>.

<sup>105</sup> Feteiha, "Uprising Costs Egypt \$9.79 Billion: Geopolicity Report," *AhramOnline*(2011), <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/24137.aspx>.

<sup>106</sup> "Text of Communique No. 4 from Egypt's Supreme Council of the Armed Forces," *McClathy Newspapers*, 12 Feb 2011.

<sup>107</sup> "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?," 4 n36.

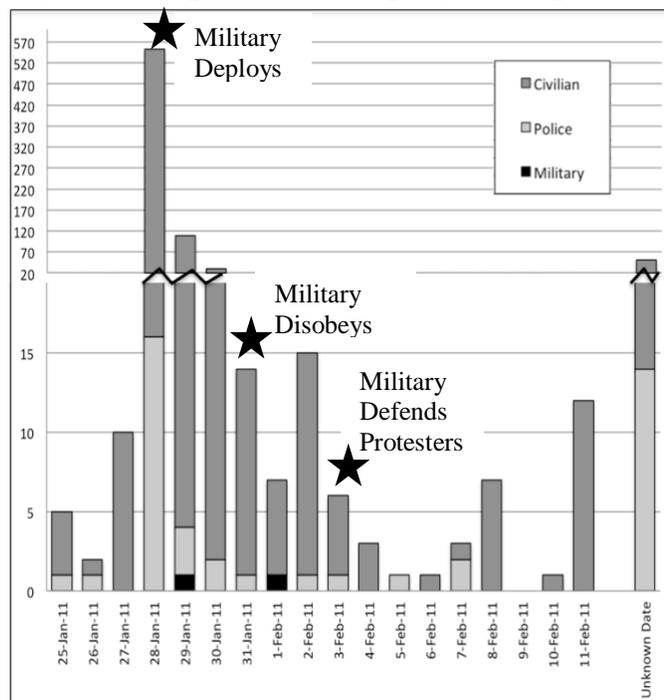
heighten the mayhem, the regime opened eighteen prisons and dozens of police stations to allow violent criminals to escape.<sup>108</sup> Some protesters responded by throwing Molotov cocktails at police stations and government buildings, looting, torching police vehicles and beating police. By the end of the day, sixteen police and 553 civilians had been killed.

Protester violence falls in the high category if significant property damage and fatalities occur *before* the military decision to obey or disobey is made. When the Egyptian army deployed on the evening of 28 January, protesters were likely responsible for the deaths of 18 police officers, and numerous police stations and buildings associated with the ruling NDP had been set on fire.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, during the period between the military's deployment and the army's public announcement on 31 January that it would not use force, brief but fierce street battles resulted in the death of one soldier and another five police. (See Figure 2.) Because this violence occurred

before the military unequivocally disobeyed President Mubarak's repression order, this case is classified as having a high level of protester violence.

Still, the millions of civilians that filled the streets in more than 23 cities across Egypt were largely peaceful, and this was widely noted in both international and domestic coverage of the protests. When violent clashes

Figure 5.2 Egypt's 2011 Arab Spring: Deaths per Day



<sup>108</sup> Kandil, *Soldiers, Spies, and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt*, 225.

<sup>109</sup> The date of death of 14 police and 51 civilians is unknown and are included in the post-deployment numbers. Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights, "ويكي ثورة (Wiki Thawra: Statistical Database of the Egyptian Revolution)."

occurred, police and regime supporters were the primary instigators and responsible for 95% of all casualties. When protesters did respond violently, they acted largely in self-defense against crushing attacks. The most severe incidents of protester violence were the result of outbursts of individual rage, not the work of agitated crowds.<sup>110</sup> Rather than trigger wider clashes, these outbursts served to wear down and disperse police units, enable the protesters' free movement, and prevent counter-protesters from chasing them away.<sup>111</sup> When provocative attacks against the protesters ended, protester violence also ceased.

As a result, Egypt's Arab Spring is popularly characterized as nonviolent.

Acknowledging the protester violence that did occur, scholars note the Egyptian protests were still "remarkably nonviolent" compared to other revolutions and uprisings in 2011, and point out that Egypt had the lowest death rate of all such events in the Middle East and North Africa. Most importantly, they highlight that "the scope and intensity of violence from the protesters were so low that in the overall domestic and foreign perception the Egyptian protests were still recognized as being bona fide nonviolent."<sup>112</sup> This perception, which was likely shared by military leaders, was key given that protester violence is just a proxy for domestic threat. While the Egyptian demonstrations must be objectively coded as exhibiting a high level of protester violence, the perception of nonviolence likely muted the effect of the domestic threat in the military's strategic calculations, especially as officers weighed it against the potential for severe international punishments.

---

<sup>110</sup> Boaz, "Nonviolent Revolution Clarified: Five Myths and Realities Behind Egypt's Uprising," *Truthout*(2011), <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/2047:nonviolent-revolution-clarified-five-myths-and-realities-behind-egypts-uprising>.

<sup>111</sup> Bauer and Schweitzer, "The Egyptian Revolution 2011: Mechanisms of Violence and Non-Violence," in *State of Peace Conference & Peace Report* (2012), 16.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 16.

## **Military's Strategic Calculus**

The Egyptian military was clearly concerned about the unrest stemming from the Arab Spring demonstrations. While it may have thought about whether its institutional interests were best served by Mubarak's continued reign or by regime change, I argue that in the crisis of military arbitration this became a secondary matter. Rather, the professional and nationalistic military balanced the elevated domestic threat against potential international repercussions, and calculated that repression posed a greater risk to the state's security. As a result, the army disobeyed Mubarak's order to repress.

This section presents evidence of the military's concerns about the impact of the domestic unrest on state security, as well as the international consequences if it repressed the protests. It also looks at the timing of protester, regime and army behavior to disentangle competing preferences. Complex organizations always have multiple and shifting interests that may, or may not, compete in any given situation. Timing provides critical clues to help us determine which preferences drove the army's decisions during this state of emergency.

Throughout the Arab Spring demonstrations, the Egyptian military repeatedly voiced its concerns about state security. In both official and unofficial communications, officers talked about their responsibility to protect Egypt and their fear that the protests were damaging the country. When Army spokesman Major General Ismail Etman announced on 31 January that the military would not use force against the protesters, he also warned that the people should not commit any act that "destabilizes security of the country."<sup>113</sup> The same day, the army distributed leaflets encouraging people to exercise their "right to express [their] opinions and demands in a

---

<sup>113</sup> "Egypt Army: We Recognize Legitimacy of Protests."

civilized manner...while safeguarding the security and peace of the country and the citizens.”<sup>114</sup>

A lieutenant colonel summed up the military’s fears and frustrations perfectly. When members of a crowd asked how long he would stay with the tanks guarding the Ministry of Interior he replied, “Until you guys calm down. You guys are taking it too far. You’ve been silent for thirty years and for them that means that you were happy. Now you have demonstrated. You have delivered the message, but now you are going to rip the country apart.”<sup>115</sup>

A few days later in a TV broadcast, General Etman urged the demonstrators to go home, "The Egyptian Army calls on you, not by the authority of force, but from a desire to love Egypt. You took to the streets to express your demands, and you can restore life to normal in Egypt. We are with you for the sake of our country and citizens, and for the sake of safety and security for our Egypt. We will continue to keep our country safe and secure, whatever may be the challenges."<sup>116</sup> This was followed by a printed message broadcast on the government-controlled station that read, "The armed forces call on the protesters to go home for the sake of bringing back stability."<sup>117</sup>

Senior Egyptian military officers also engaged the protesters face-to-face. On 3 February, Brigadier General Rawaini pleaded with the crowd in Tahrir Square, “You all have the right to express yourselves, but please save what is left of Egypt.”<sup>118</sup> The next day, Egyptian Defense

---

<sup>114</sup> "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?," n65.

<sup>115</sup> Steavenson, "On the Square: Were the Egyptian Protesters Right to Trust the Military?," *The New Yorker*, 28 Feb 2011.

<sup>116</sup> Cairo Nile News TV in Arabic, "Text of Egyptian Army Spokesman Statement Calling for Return to 'Normal' Life (0935 Gmt 2 Feb 11)," (Open Source Center, 2011).

<sup>117</sup> Witte and Englund, "Mubarak Supporters Clash with Crowds after Army Tells Protesters: 'Go Home'," *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 2 Feb 2011.

<sup>118</sup> Steavenson, "On the Square: Were the Egyptian Protesters Right to Trust the Military?."

Minister Field Marshal Tantawi himself visited troops in Tahrir Square and chatted with protesters, telling them they had made their point and urged them to go home.<sup>119</sup>

Of great concern to the military was the threat to national unity posed by the protesters, who represented distinct societal cleavages and class divisions.<sup>120</sup> Dr. Muhammad al-Bultaji, the Assistant Secretary General of the Muslim Brotherhood Parliamentary Bloc, dismissed this concern in a 3 February address to the People's Assembly, "The regime is offering two options to the Egyptian people, namely, either Mubarak stays in power or civil war would break out and destroy the country."<sup>121</sup> Mahmoud Shokry, a former Egyptian diplomat and friend of the regime, was not so dismissive but took the opposite stance, presciently noting, "The army does not want to confront the youth. If they think this will make a kind of civil war, they will ask Mr. Mubarak to leave the country, I am sure."<sup>122</sup> Indicative that fears of the protests escalating had permeated the military, even lower level officers lectured protesters in Tahrir Square that they were causing "fitna," or division between Muslims, and urged them to end the demonstrations.<sup>123</sup>

It is easy to dismiss the military's statements or question the sincerity of officers' concerns about security, but they are consistent with long-standing narratives that frame the military as the guardians of Egypt and the honorable arbiter between those who support stability and those who threaten it.<sup>124</sup> The concept of stability is compelling to Egyptian civilians, as well, particularly those reliant on tourism and normal economic activity for their survival.<sup>125</sup> A driver

---

<sup>119</sup> Whitlock and Jaffe, "Where Egypt Military's Loyalties Lie Remains Unclear," *The Washington Post*, 5 Feb 2011.

<sup>120</sup> Albrecht and Bishara, "Back on Horseback: The Military and Political Transformation in Egypt," *Middle East Law and Governance* 3(2011): 22.

<sup>121</sup> Cairo Ikhwanonline in Arabic, "Egyptian Regime Offers Two Options: Either Mubarak Stays in Power or Civil War (Gmp20110203035005)," (Open Source Center, 2011).

<sup>122</sup> Kirkpatrick, "Mubarak's Grip on Power Is Shaken."

<sup>123</sup> Englund, "At Tahrir Square, Egyptian Army Feints and Jabs Anti-Government Protesters," *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 7 Feb 2011.

<sup>124</sup> Open Source Center and 360, "Master Narratives Country Report: Egypt," (2011), 33.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

named Abu Sayyid al-Sayyid, for example, was initially supportive of the protests but quickly changed his mind when the looting began. He warned, "Someone has to step in before there's nothing left to step into."<sup>126</sup>

The Egyptian military was clearly concerned by the domestic threat, yet the army did not attempt to repress the demonstrations even though protester violence was high. This is because it also had to consider the potential international consequences of repression and weigh these external threats against the existing domestic threat. While the high domestic threat was worrisome, it remained manageable, with the worst-case scenario of civil war still a relatively distant threat. Punishment by the international community, however, was much more imminent and could cause long-term damage to the country's military power.

The relentless stream of public statements and private calls from high-level American officials made the US preference known. It wanted the military to refrain from repression. This preference not only stemmed from concerns for human rights, but also recognition that the US would be implicated in any military action, given the long and close relationship between the two militaries. If the Egyptian army repressed, it would do so with American-made weapons against what was widely perceived to be a large, peaceful protest. US pressure on the military was widely noted by Egyptians, with one blogger even suggesting that the day after the Air Force flew two F-16s over protesters in Tahrir Square, Obama toughened his stance with Mubarak and asked him to step down.<sup>127</sup>

The Egyptian military remained extraordinarily secretive about its internal deliberations even while it was under enormous international pressure to exercise restraint. Nevertheless,

---

<sup>126</sup> Shadid and Kirkpatrick, "Opposition Rallies to Elbaradei as Military Reinforces in Cairo," *The New York Times*, 30 Jan 2011.

<sup>127</sup> Said, "The Paradox of Transition To "Democracy" Under Military Rule," *Social Research* 79, no. 2 (2012): 407-08.

Anthony Cordesman, an expert on the Egyptian military, reported at the time, “Everybody working this issue knows that this is a military extremely sensitive to outside pressure.”<sup>128</sup> Indicative of this pressure, Foreign Minister Ahmed Abul Gheit expressed the regime’s frustration at its dependence on the US in a television interview with Al-Arabiya, “When you [the US] speak about prompt, immediate, now, as if you are imposing on a great country like Egypt, a great friend that has always maintained the best of relationship with the United States, you are imposing your will on him.”<sup>129</sup> Shortly after his comments, Washington simply renewed its calls for the army to show restraint. Acknowledging the military’s dependency on the US, Said notes, “The Egyptian army is so tied to the United States that it is difficult for the [it] to go against the United States when it comes to decision making.”<sup>130</sup> Activist Yehia Fekry put it more bluntly, “The army is not really an Egyptian army. It is an American army.”<sup>131</sup>

The military never publicly acknowledged that it allowed Mubarak to fall because of its fear of international repercussions. However, its later actions indicate a desire to reduce its vulnerability to US pressure. After the 2013 coup that ousted President Morsi, the US suspended the sale of large military systems to Egypt for two years. No significant cuts were made to the amount of military aid, despite Obama advisors’ recommendations to suspend it all, which limited the near-term impact on Egypt’s military power. Nevertheless, the military was infuriated. The US had long held a high degree of leverage over Egypt, and the generals largely adhered to US preferences unless they had more pressing interests, but this slap on the wrist was a public display of the military’s vulnerability in front of the largely anti-American nation.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Cooper and Landler, “White House and Egypt Discuss Plans for Mubarak's Exit.”

<sup>129</sup> Paris AFP, “Egypt: Foreign Minister Threatens Military Crackdown 'If Chaos Occurs' (Eup 20110210729001),” (Open Source Center, 2011).

<sup>130</sup> Said, “The Paradox of Transition To “Democracy” Under Military Rule,” 404.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Lynch, “They Hate Us, They Really Hate Us,” *Foreign Policy* (2013).

As a result, the Egyptian military began to significantly diversify its weapon suppliers to reduce its overdependence on the US and enhance the country's influence with other strong foreign powers.<sup>133</sup> Within a year, it had initiated a \$3.5B arms contract with Russia in addition to signing multi-billion-dollar deals with France and Germany, paid for with aid from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Between 2014-2017, Egypt received over \$20B in defense articles from European countries.<sup>134</sup> Although these moves will create significant interoperability issues when the systems are fielded, President el-Sisi and the military determined this was a necessary step to lessen the US' incredible leverage over Egypt and mitigate the risk this posed to national security.

Finally, the most telling indicator that strategic calculations were driving the Egyptian military's behavior was timing. If predetermined parochial interests or loyalty motivated the armed forces then one would expect to see them act decisively to realize their desired goal. They would have immediately repressed the demonstrations to ensure Mubarak's survival, or they would have openly sided with the protesters and demanded he step down, garnering even greater popular support in the process. Instead, the military stumbled into defection. The army immediately deployed when ordered, but then it paused. It publicly supported the regime, but it would not move to end the demonstrations. Three days after deploying, the military openly defected by stating it would not use violence against the protesters. However, it did not protect them from ongoing violent repression by the police, CSF, or *baltagiyya*. It took another three days before the military actively defended the protesters, and another eight days before the regime fell.

---

<sup>133</sup> STRATFOR, "Egypt Goes on an Arms Spending Spree," (2018), <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/egypt-goes-arms-spending-spree>.

<sup>134</sup> The Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy, "European Arms Sales to Egypt," (2017), <https://timep.org/reports-briefings/timep-briefs/european-arms-sales-to-egypt/>.

This timing implies the generals were not doggedly pursuing institutional interests. If that were the case, the logical course of action would be to move quickly to guarantee the desired outcome. Instead, the generals' hesitancy suggests they were continuously assessing the situation and evaluating events as they unfolded. They were carefully monitoring the current domestic threats all the while digesting the daily press conferences and private back channel communications that reinforced the state's vulnerability to external repercussions.

Ultimately, the generals wanted to preserve stability and safeguard the state. Repressing the demonstrations was certain to work against this goal and exacerbate the political, economic and security situation over the long-term. Allowing Mubarak to fall was not desirable, but it was the best option at the time for protecting the state.

### **Considering the Alternate Explanations**

Although none of the alternate explanations put forth to explain civil-military relations in normal times accurately predict the Egyptian military's disobedience in 2011, analysts continue to look to these rationales to explain the Arab Spring. Did the army disobey Mubarak because the generals were afraid the rank and file would fracture if ordered to repress fellow citizens? Was it because Mubarak was grooming his son, Gamal, to succeed him instead of designating a loyal military officer? Or was the military simply intent on protecting its economic empire from Gamal and his business cronies? This section looks at each of these alternate explanations, highlighting inconsistencies and shortfalls in their ability to predict and explain the Egyptian military's decision to disobey.

### *Organizational Cohesion*

Organizational cohesion explanations claim the Egyptian military's disobedience was driven by the fear that repressing citizens would cause internal splits within the service.<sup>135</sup> Because every military is concerned about cohesion to some extent, these theories offer plausible post hoc explanations of behavior. If militaries obey, they are cohesive. If they disobey, it is because they are susceptible to fracture. However, common indicators for organizational cohesion explanations failed to predict the Egyptian army's disobedience. Nor do they explain the army's historical use of force against civilians, or its willingness to repeatedly repress demonstrations after the Arab Spring.

Egypt lacks most indicators that would flag cohesion as a significant concern. It is a relatively homogenous nation and the armed forces largely mirror the population.<sup>136</sup> Unlike some Middle Eastern militaries, recruitment does not favor specific regions, tribes, religious sects, or ethnicities as part of a coup-proofing strategy. Nor are any groups deliberately privileged for promotions or leadership opportunities in a manner that differs from societal patterns. While competition between military branches, specialties, and individuals naturally occur, there is no history of deep-seated cleavages or factions within the Egyptian armed forces that would predictably be aggravated by engaging in repression.

---

<sup>135</sup> Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt*, 286; Lehrke, "A Cohesion Model to Assess Military Arbitration of Revolutions."; Pion-Berlin and Trinkunas, "Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking During Constitutional Crises in Latin America."; Nassif, "Why the Egyptian Army Didn't Shoot," *Middle East Report* 265(2012).

<sup>136</sup> Over 99% of the population is ethnically Egyptian. About 90% are Sunni Muslim and the remaining 10% are Christian. Sectarian violence and discrimination against Coptic Christians occur, but it is consistent across society and the military. Additionally, the small minority of Christians in the military are fully integrated and spread across the force, decreasing the probability of factions forming that could pose a serious threat to cohesion.

One often cited vulnerability to organizational cohesion is conscription, and the Egyptian military does rely on a large conscript force.<sup>137</sup> The ratio of conscripts to volunteers varies by service, but it is roughly 2:1 in the Army, 1:1 in the Navy, and 1:2 in the highly technical Air Force, for a total of about 240,000 conscripts and 148,500 volunteers serving at any given time.<sup>138</sup> Because they did not volunteer for service, conscripts are presumed to be less committed to the military and more likely to identify with civilians. Cohesion explanations suggest that because of their strong bond with society, conscripts will find it impossible to open fire on civilians. Expanding on this argument is the notion that as the self-proclaimed guardians of the Egyptian people, even volunteer soldiers might not be willing to repress protesters. If repression orders are not consistently carried out, the army can fracture with those that will not repress turning their guns against those who do (or vice versa). To avoid this peril, militaries with many conscripts or other known cleavages are thought to be predisposed to disobey repression orders.

Aside from broad generalizations about the commitment of conscripts, very few incidents of individual defections occurred and there is no indication that cohesion concerns drove the Egyptian army's behavior during the Arab Spring demonstrations.<sup>139</sup> While officers repeatedly and openly discussed their fears about the domestic security situation and national unity, they never questioned the dependability of rank and file soldiers. The risk of breakdown leading to civil war was among civilians, not within the military. Nor were there signs of disagreements or power struggles among general officers that would suggest emerging factions within the armed

---

<sup>137</sup> For ties between conscription and cohesion, see Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 1 (2013); Nassif, "Generals and Autocrats: How Coup-Proofing Predetermined the Military Elite's Behavior in the Arab Spring," *Political Science Quarterly* 130, no. 2 (2015).

<sup>138</sup> International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Military Balance."

<sup>139</sup> Said, "The Paradox of Transition To "Democracy" Under Military Rule," 405.

forces. Rather, the military presented a disciplined and unified front at all levels of command throughout this period.

Most damning to this line of argument is the military's willing and successful repression of Egyptians before and after the Arab Spring demonstrations without any discernable effect on cohesion. As noted previously, the army crushed the 1977 bread riots and the 1986 CSF riots, killing and wounding hundreds. Within two months of President Mubarak's fall the army was violently repressing demonstrations again, often using live ammunition, with no sign of internal breakdown.<sup>140</sup> Finally, after it removed President Morsi from office in 2013, the military crushed mass protests led by his supporters killing hundreds and injuring thousands more in central Cairo and Giza in what became known as the Rabaa Massacre.<sup>141</sup> If organizational cohesion was the primary driver of the military's disobedience, it is unlikely these concerns disappeared so quickly. If anything, the SCAF's temporary assumption of executive power should have exacerbated cohesion concerns as generals jockeyed for power. In the end, the Egyptian military repeatedly demonstrated it could violently repress civilians without fracturing, so something else must have driven it to disobey Mubarak's order to repress.

### ***Parochial Interests***

Parochial interest arguments also failed to predict the Egyptian military's disobedience. They claim the generals took advantage of the demonstrations to ease Mubarak out and ensure their continued access to threatened resources. This line of thinking does not hold up under scrutiny. During Mubarak's reign, the Egyptian armed forces benefited from steady defense spending with little-to-no government oversight, unregulated growth of the military's economic

---

<sup>140</sup> Kunkle, "Egypt's Military Uses Force to Break up Tahrir Square Protest; 2 Reported Killed," *The Washington Post*, 9 April 2011; Human Rights Watch, "Country Summary: Egypt," (2012).

<sup>141</sup> Human Rights Watch, "All According to Plan: The Rab'a Massacre and Mass Killings of Protesters in Egypt," (2014).

empire, and lavish perks at the highest ranks. In 2011, the military's parochial interests were not under threat—they were prospering.

The military enjoyed an annual budget of around \$4.4B in addition to the \$1.3B it received each year in US aid. The armed forces also controlled a vast and expanding swath of the Egyptian market, with estimates ranging from 5% to 40% of the country's \$180B economy.<sup>142</sup> While exact numbers are quipped to reside in a black box, the long list of financial and industrial privileges the military benefited from included access to subsidized fuel, control over lucrative real estate, free conscript labor, transfers of capital equipment, preferential access to state contracts, and special permits to exercise extralegal oversight—including confiscation rights—in sectors ranging from petrochemicals to tourism.<sup>143</sup> As a result, the military controlled a multi-billion dollar enterprise that made everything from tanks to toasters to pasta. A hint at the extent of its institutional wealth became evident in January 2012, when the military was able to write a \$1B check to Egypt's central bank to help prop up its faltering currency.<sup>144</sup>

In addition to economic benefits accrued by the institution, Mubarak showered senior officers with financial rewards that included loyalty allowances to augment their salaries and lucrative post-retirement careers to supplement their pensions. Retired generals and colonels were commonly appointed to government offices or civilian managerial positions in state-run companies, and could bring home salaries ranging from \$16,000 to \$166,000 per month.<sup>145</sup> Mid-ranking and junior officers' salaries were admittedly low but they were still comparatively better

---

<sup>142</sup> Marshall and Stacher, "Egypt's Generals and Transnational Capital."

<sup>143</sup> Marshall, "The Egyptian Armed Forces and the Remaking of an Economic Empire," (Carnegie Middle East Center, 2015).

<sup>144</sup> Sennott, "The Money Behind the Egyptian Military: Exploring the Shadowy Economics of Its Brutal Hold on Power."

<sup>145</sup> Sayigh, "Above the State: The Officers' Republic in Egypt," in *Carnegie Papers*, ed. Center (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012), 5.

off than their counterparts in the public sector.<sup>146</sup> Additionally, they benefited from perks that civilians could not access, including military health care, housing, subsidized shopping, and education opportunities. Officers knew that if they stuck around and complied with the system they had a chance to join the circle of privileged senior officers.<sup>147</sup>

Given the military's long advantaged financial position, parochial interest arguments claim the primary driver of the army's disobedience was the future threat posed by President Mubarak's son, who was being groomed to succeed his father. According to this decade old argument, Gamal Mubarak and the business class he represented threatened the interests of the Egyptian military with their neoliberal reform agenda and emphasis on privatizing public-sector enterprises, many of which were run by the army.<sup>148</sup> However, privatization was nothing new in Egypt, and the military was profiting from these reforms along with the business class.

President Mubarak launched an economic liberalization campaign in the early 1990s, which Gamal's NDP cabinet accelerated between 2004 and 2011. Capitalists certainly benefited from buying state-owned companies far below market value, but the military often pocketed the sale proceeds and then entered into partnerships with the same non-military businessmen or foreign interests. Privatization allowed officers to convert large segments of the defense industry to enter civilian consumer markets and create new for-profit business ventures. Military factories that used to make missiles, aircrafts, or rockets began producing washing machines, TVs, fans, kitchenware, and more. Moreover, these joint partnerships granted the armed forces access to global supply chains in industries ranging from automobile manufacturing and the production of

---

<sup>146</sup> Nassif, "Generals and Autocrats: How Coup-Proofing Predetermined the Military Elite's Behavior in the Arab Spring."

<sup>147</sup> "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981-2011," *Middle East Journal* 67, no. 4 (2013): 516.

<sup>148</sup> Frisch, "The Egyptian Army and Egypt's 'Spring'," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 2 (2013): 10; Owen, *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life*, 71.

computer hardware, to wastewater recycling and solar panel fabrication.<sup>149</sup> As a result, the Egyptian military was able to diversify its economic portfolio and generate new sources of wealth for the organization and its officers.

While the Egyptian military had far reaching financial enterprises, there is no evidence that parochial interests drove its decision to disobey Mubarak. Some generals were worried about the extent to which Gamal would push his neoliberal agenda, and they may have even been unhappy about increased competition with the business class that prevented the armed forces from cornering segments of the market, but they were still profiting handsomely. If the military was so concerned about these issues, why had it not acted prior to 2011? Privatization had been going on for decades and Gamal's accelerated program had been in effect for eight years. Moreover, if the military was threatened by Gamal's neoliberal agenda, one would expect the SCAF to return Egypt to a more statist path of economic management after Mubarak's ouster. This did not happen. Instead, generals continued to push privatization and free market economics, echoing long standing NDP arguments that social justice had to wait, and accusing those who demanded it of scaring away tourists and foreign investors.<sup>150</sup>

Finally, if the army was simply taking advantage of the protests to change the status quo and secure its own parochial interests, why did it shirk instead of immediately disobey Mubarak? One would expect it to act swiftly. Instead, it provided Mubarak with time and multiple opportunities to find a solution that would appease the protesters. The military never indicated its preferred political outcome, including its support—or lack thereof—for Mubarak. It hesitated at every turn instead of purposefully pursuing this objective. Perhaps most damning to parochial

---

<sup>149</sup> Marshall, "The Egyptian Armed Forces and the Remaking of an Economic Empire," 5.

<sup>150</sup> Marshall and Stacher, "Egypt's Generals and Transnational Capital."

interest arguments is that when the SCAF finally recognized that Mubarak would have to step down and met without him for the first time on 10 February, the officers focused their discussions on "all the necessary measures to preserve the nation"—not on who would take Mubarak's place and safeguard their prerogatives.<sup>151</sup>

### ***Regime Loyalty***

Regime loyalty theories suggest the ties between the military and Mubarak were either absent or had deteriorated so much that the army felt no obligation or desire to intervene on his behalf. Once again, regime loyalty does not refer to abstract values like duty, honor or country—the kind of ideals that tie an army to a nation. Rather, it is based on a relationship with a specific leader. This is the only alternate explanation that did not incorrectly predict obedience. However, it did not definitively predict disobedience either. When considered all together, indicators for regime loyalty were indeterminate.

Most indicators were neutral, meaning that while they did not provide a strong basis for loyalty, they did not preclude it. For instance, no ideational platform linked the Egyptian military to Mubarak. The country had long abandoned Nasser's ideological calls for social transformation and pan-Arabism, and with Sadat's peace deal with Israel, there was no existential threat to rally around. Mubarak never promoted a grand mission to unite the military behind him, he just issued a repetitive discourse on stability.<sup>152</sup> Nor were there any ascriptive or familial ties that bound the military closer to the president than to any other Egyptian. Finally, Mubarak lacked his predecessors' charisma, which might have allowed him to attract loyalists based on personality

---

<sup>151</sup> Whitlock, Fadel, and Londono, "Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak May Transfer Power," *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 10 Feb 2011.

<sup>152</sup> Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981-2011."

alone. Fouad Ajami, a renowned academic and commentator on the Middle East, aptly described Mubarak as “an inarticulate man,” noting that “he had never bonded with the country.”<sup>153</sup>

The only positive indicator for regime loyalty was the shared experience of military service. Mubarak graduated from the Egyptian Military Academy in 1949 and the Air Academy in 1950, before being commissioned as a pilot. Over the next two decades he trained in both fighters and bombers, served in various positions at tactical, operational and strategic levels, and quietly made his way up the ranks. In 1972, President Sadat appointed him Commander of the Air Force, where he was credited with planning and directing the air campaign for the 1973 war against Israel. Sadat then selected him to be his vice president in 1975, where he remained until he assumed the presidency after Sadat’s assassination in 1981. Because Mubarak came from the armed forces and granted officers enormous autonomy to create and run their vast and lucrative military-business complex, the relationship between Mubarak and the military has long been characterized as symbiotic. As a result, there was a widespread assumption that senior officers would support the status quo.<sup>154</sup>

Over Mubarak’s almost thirty-year reign, however, he refrained from donning his uniform and instead wore business suits, reinforcing the civilian character of his presidency. Additionally, the cadre of officers Mubarak served with had gradually disappeared. As a result, the bond between the military and the president changed from one based on shared experiences as “brothers in arms” to one based on a common organizational affiliation, weakening the basis for regime loyalty but certainly not precluding it.

---

<sup>153</sup> Ajami, *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 240.

<sup>154</sup> Hanna, "The Son Also Rises: Egypt’s Looming Succession Struggle," *World Policy Journal* 26, no. 3 (2009): 107; Hashim, "The Egyptian Military, Part Two: From Mubarak Onward," *Middle East Policy* XVIII, no. 4 (2011).

There is one negative indicator of regime loyalty that points to disobedience, but this factor is disputed. For more than a decade, observers have pointed to cracks in the relationship between Mubarak and the military due to the apparent grooming of his son, Gamal, to take his place as president. Mubarak consistently denied these allegations, but the rumors persisted due to his appointment of Gamal to increasingly important political positions coupled with his refusal to designate a vice president or other successor.<sup>155</sup> In 2000, Mubarak appointed his son to the General Secretariat of the NDP and two years later nominated him to become the General Secretary of the Policy Committee, a new position that elevated him to be the party's third most powerful actor. In 2005, Mubarak ordered parliament to amend the constitution, stipulating that presidential candidates must have a senior leadership position in a legal political party or obtain approval from the NDP to run for office. Given Gamal's position within the NDP and the fact that active duty military officers were barred from membership in political parties, this move was widely thought to clear the way for Gamal's unrivaled candidacy.

Despite reports that the generals were unhappy with Gamal's rise, and the assumption that they would never accept a president that did not come from the armed forces, Brownlee has long speculated that the military might not only accept but even endorse a hereditary succession.<sup>156</sup> He points to the military's steadily receding role in public life and politics since Nasser's reign due to reforms implemented by both Sadat and Mubarak that recast the cabinet as a civilian-dominated institution. As a result, he claims the military's most important interests were in preserving the status quo and its access to power without ruling directly. As long as the president ensured the continued flow of US military aid and worked with the armed forces, the

---

<sup>155</sup> Frisch, "The Egyptian Army and Egypt's 'Spring'."

<sup>156</sup> Brownlee, "The Heir Apparent of Gamal Mubarak," *The Arab Studies Journal* 15/16, no. 2/1 (2008): 17; Aziz and Hussein, "The President, the Son, and the Military: The Question of Succession in Egypt," *The Arab Studies Journal* 9/10, no. Fall 2001/Spring 2002.

generals would not care about his background. Brownlee was proven correct with the transition of power from the SCAF to President Morsi in 2012, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood whose only military affiliation was one year of service as a conscript in an army chemical warfare unit.

In the end, there is no evidence that regime loyalty drove the military's decisions one way or another. Furthermore, much like the parochial interest argument, the timing of the army's behavior does not support regime loyalty theories. If Mubarak's efforts to install his son as his successor had turned the military against him, why hadn't the generals acted prior to the Arab Spring demonstrations to ensure the succession of one of their own? In 2011, Mubarak was 82 years old and in poor health—time was running out to make a change without a major public confrontation. If the military was simply waiting for an optimal moment to act, why did it not seize the opportunity presented by the protests and demand Mubarak step down? Instead, it shirked, allowing the regime ample time and space to return the country to the status quo. Finally, if the military was determined to install an officer into the presidency, why did it not endorse Ahmed Shafiq—a former Air Force general, Prime Minister, and Morsi's toughest challenger—in the 2012 election, or at least work behind the scenes to ensure his victory? In the end, neither regime loyalty nor any of the other alternate explanations accurately predict or adequately explain the Egyptian military's disobedience.

## **Conclusion**

Only the theory of military arbitration accurately predicted the armed forces' preference for no repression during the Arab Spring protests. While the Egyptian case does not conform to the most parsimonious theory of military arbitration, which only looks at the level of domestic threat, it does fit the full causal logic. When the balance of internal and external threats is

considered, Egypt's high vulnerability to international repercussions moved its threshold for repression farther to the right than most states that only have a medium vulnerability.

During the Arab Spring protests no one knew what the Egyptian military would do, which is why so many world leaders frantically tried to influence the army, both behind the scenes and in public. Everyone was surprised and relieved when the military refused to use force to disband the demonstrations—a decision the alternate explanations could only explain post hoc. In fact, if the military had obeyed Mubarak's order to repress, these same explanations would have been brought out to tout the enduring bond between the president and his senior officers, the military's economic empire, and the ingrained discipline of troops that ensured obedience at every level. These characteristics certainly influence Egypt's civil-military relations during normal times, and may have led to the decision to oust President Morsi in a coup d'état in 2013, but they do not adequately explain the military's refusal to repress the Arab Spring protests.

What is certain is the military's disobedience was not due to an aversion to repression. Within months of the SCAF assuming responsibility for the state, the military was violently repressing pockets of protesters. It also systematically massacred hundreds of pro-Morsi protesters in conjunction with the 2013 coup. These were not military arbitration events, and so the logic driving the military's behavior differed. After Mubarak's ouster, the SCAF became the regime issuing the orders to repress. The dynamics had shifted from one involving three parties—regime, military, and society—to a two-party battle. As such, the military viewed those who continued to protest as unpatriotic and serving their own narrow self-interests. Or worse, they were acting on the behest of foreign powers trying to weaken and fragment a proud Arab

nation, presenting an even greater threat to the state.<sup>157</sup> The US largely shared the military's desire to stabilize the country, and with no other options, did not threaten to cut off its assistance. It simply urged a faster transition to civilian government. Conversely, the Rabaa massacre was part of the military's consolidation of power after it ousted President Morsi, indicating it was driven by more pressing interests and concerns than fear of international punishment.

In the end, the Egyptian military's strategic calculations were focused on the security of the state. In the words of SCAF General Mohamed El-Assar, "The [security situation was the] country's main problem."<sup>158</sup> The balance between the potential loss of US military assistance, and the effect that would have on Egypt's military power, and the domestic threat, with the prevailing perception of nonviolence, indicated repression posed a greater threat to state security than no repression. As a result, the military disobeyed Mubarak.

---

<sup>157</sup> International Crisis Group, "Lost in Transition: The World According to Egypt's Scaf," in *Middle East Report N°121* (2012), i.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 n164.

## Chapter 6 CONCLUSION

This dissertation explores why militaries obey or disobey orders to repress their own civilian populations during domestic contentious events. It develops a theory of military arbitration to explain officers' often surprising decisions to either stand aside and let a ruler fall, or violently remove protesters from the street. The theory proposes that when professional and nationalistic militaries are ordered to repress, they strategically calculate the balance of domestic and international threats to determine which poses the greatest risk to state security. I argue that all militaries normally prefer not to repress civilians, but as the domestic threat increases, their preference are more likely to change and they will obey repression orders.

The international threat is a state's vulnerability to external punishments that are likely to be enacted if the military violates global human rights norms and violently represses civilians. The more "linked in" a state is, the more avenues exist for punishment. The more leverage the international community holds over a state through one or more of these avenues, the more damaging the punishment can be. A combination of linkage and leverage determines a state's overall vulnerability to external repercussions. The higher a state's vulnerability, the higher the military's threshold—or tolerance of domestic violence—before it represses.

Military arbitrations are relatively rare, but it is essential we study them because they are extremely important events. The fate of leaders, the lives of activists, and the political character of a state hang in the balance. Because they demand an interdisciplinary approach, military arbitration provides an opportunity to tie together diverse streams of literature to develop a broader understanding of this social phenomenon. So, while this dissertation is relevant to the civil-military relations field, it is also pertinent to peace studies, including civil resistance, social

movement, and political repression research. Its findings, for example, support Chenoweth and Stephan's conclusion that nonviolent civil resistance is superior in dividing the regime from the military, while violent demonstrations tend to unify the regime and military.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it builds upon their work to explain why this dynamic occurs.

The theory's logic and the presence of the causal mechanism were examined using process tracing in three case studies. The Serbia case demonstrated how low domestic threat levels influence military decisions to disobey repression orders, lending support to the overall logic of nonviolent civil resistance. Given the strong presence of key elements from my theory, and the high certitude of its prediction of disobedience, Serbia serves as a most-likely case study. The China case showed how high domestic threat levels influence military decisions to obey repression orders. This is a least-likely case for my theory given the prevalent nonviolent characterization of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. Moreover, there was a low probability that the security imperative causal mechanism was present, so the risk of the theory failing was high. Finally, the Egypt case examined the theoretical proposition that a state's vulnerability to international punishment influences its military's strategic calculations in arbitration cases. This appears to be a deviant case when only the domestic threat is considered, but when the full theory is applied, it fits. The Egyptian army's disobedience, despite a high domestic threat, lends credibility to the hypothesis that it is the balance of international and domestic threats that determines a military's preference for repression.

In addition to developing a theory of military arbitration and assessing its explanatory power, this dissertation also examined the common alternate explanations. Parochial interest, regime loyalty, and cohesion explanations dominate the civil-military relations literature, and all

---

<sup>1</sup> Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, 221-22.

draw upon organizational theory to explain military behavior. These preferences are present in all armed forces to varying extents, and are therefore excellent at explaining military preferences in normal times. However, they are not particularly good at predicting behavior during military arbitrations. These are crisis events that officers are thrust into, not bureaucratic power struggles. The timeline for decision making is much shorter, the stakes are higher, and the security implications are immediate. Moreover, as this dissertation demonstrated, organizational preferences are often indeterminate, making prediction impossible. As a result, we are frequently left with post hoc explanations. The existing explanations are superb at explaining the context of civil-military relations leading up to arbitration events, but when militaries are ordered to repress their own populations, the preferences they promote are temporarily relegated to secondary concerns. When forced into this critical and uncomfortable situation, militaries fall back on their functional imperative to provide security as they determine which course of action will do the least harm to the state.

### **Future Research**

The next step beyond theory development is to rigorously test the theory. To build upon the argument and findings presented in this dissertation, the most obvious avenue for future research is to expand the number of military arbitration cases beyond the few dozen cases that meet the scope conditions laid out in this dissertation. Expanding the number of cases is difficult since military arbitration is a special type of civil-military event. The existing scope conditions are in place to avoid conflating it with other events that are driven by different preferences, or by removing elements of the causal mechanism that drive the logic. In other words, relaxing the scope conditions to increase the number of cases would likely diminish the very relationships researchers are testing for.

Testing the theory is still possible, however the biggest challenge for this next step is to obtain accurate variable measurements across the universe of cases. For example, it is imperative that the sequence and level of protester violence and the military's decision to repress is clear and accurate in order to control for reverse causality. In the compressed and chaotic timeline of arbitration events there is always the risk that military repression is causing protesters to react with violence, as opposed to high levels of protester violence causing militaries to repress. As the case studies in this dissertation demonstrate, it is possible to trace events as they unfold and clearly identify which comes first, but it requires sorting through numerous data sources to ensure both the sequence of events and the level of violence prior to the military's decision are captured accurately. Some cases are clear in this regard, particularly those in which militaries explicitly disobey repression orders and remain in their barracks, or are only ordered to repress after protester violence reaches a high level. However, in cases where militaries deploy before significant protester violence is observed, there is always the concern of an interaction effect. It is impossible to completely control for this, but researchers must be sensitive to this possibility.

Another measurement challenge that was not fully addressed in the development of the theory is how to capture variation in military professionalism. This is a core element of the causal mechanism, as it instills militaries with the functional imperative and responsibility to provide security as well as some autonomy from the regime that enables independent decisions. In developing the theory, I simply required militaries to cross the low bar of exhibiting the basic elements of professionalism. However, with the development of a coding scheme that captures variation between highly professional and non-professional militaries, it may be possible to obtain more accurate predictions for which cases the theory is most likely to explain. After all,

the more professional a military, the stronger its impulse not to intervene in politics even when civilians order it to do so. This dissertation helps explain what it takes to overcome this impulse.

More sophisticated and complete measures of international vulnerability are also needed to enable robust statistical testing. Ideally, these would account for dependencies other than US military assistance, such as economic aid, levels of foreign direct investment, or even the balance of trade. While I still expect most countries' overall vulnerability to be similar, a composite interval variable, as opposed to the ordinal values used in this dissertation, could highlight a graduating effect that my crude measure misses. It could also potentially explain other outlier cases, like Bangladesh, that disobeyed repression orders despite a high level of violence. Bangladesh did not receive a significant amount of military assistance, my proxy for international threat, but this extremely poor country was very dependent on economic aid.

In addition to developing better measurements, directed research is needed on the effectiveness of different types of aid for influencing foreign military behavior. The use of aid to encourage or punish states' behavior has received significant academic attention, but the results have been mixed. Part of the problem is that most studies, even those that focus specifically on military assistance, assess its effectiveness on a regime's behavior, like engaging in more democratic practices—not the military's—or they use broad measures, such as sustained cooperation across a given year. In the first case, as underscored in this dissertation, regime and military preferences can and do diverge. Even if aid does not guarantee regime compliance, it may have an effect on the military that is not being measured. In the second case, when measures of cooperation are too broad, the specific effect that is trying to be achieved can be hidden in the noise.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, different types of aid can produce different effects, as Omelicheva, Carter and

---

<sup>2</sup> Sullivan, Tessman, and Li, "Us Military Aid and Recipient State Cooperation," 291.

Campbell discovered when they compared the influence of several security assistance programs on a military's human rights practices.<sup>3</sup> Aid, like sanctions, is not a panacea that guarantees cooperation. Additional research on the types of assistance and programs that best influence a military's strategic calculations would benefit the design of future security assistance programs.

Given the relative rarity of military arbitration events, future research must also include additional case studies and process tracing to demonstrate the theory's causal logic at work. While no social science theory can be expected to explain every case, a closer look at deviant cases would be valuable, as these case studies could identify weaknesses in the theory's scope conditions or new intervening variables. Of course, deviant cases could simply be due to a military's strategic miscalculation, or its failure to even consider the balance of threats.

In February 2014, for instance, the Ukrainian military refused to repress two days of violent protests that left 75 dead, including 10 police. Lieutenant-General Yuri Dumansky, the Deputy of the Armed Forces General Staff, resigned and told a local TV station, "The armed forces of Ukraine are being drawn into a civil conflict. I have decided to tender my resignation to avoid an escalation and bloodshed."<sup>4</sup> As a result, President Yanukovich was ousted. Within days, Russia made several military incursions into the Ukrainian territory of Crimea, fully annexing it by mid-March. Years later, General Dumansky blamed the loss of Ukrainian territory on military leaders' failure to develop a strong, combat ready force. "The army was not psychologically ready to perform tasks and make decisions directly in combat, when weapons had to be used and triggers had to be pressed. You know, it's difficult," he said.<sup>5</sup> The same argument might be

---

<sup>3</sup> Omelicheva, Carter, and Campbell, "Military Aid and Human Rights: Assessing the Impact of U.S. Security Assistance Programs," *Political Science Quarterly* 132, no. 1 (2017).

<sup>4</sup> Tribune Wire Reports, "Ukraine Presidency Says Deal Reached on Crisis, Opposition Silent," *Chicago Tribune*, 21 Feb 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Crimea News, "Ukrainian General Named Those Guilty for Giving Ground in Crimea," (2017), <http://en.sobytiya.info/ukrainian-general-named-those-guilty-for-giving-ground-in-crimea.html>.

levelled at General Dumansky and the military's refusal to repress the violent protests, which arguably created a window of opportunity for Russia to exploit. It is impossible to know if Russia would have refrained from such blatant action if the Ukrainian military had obeyed Yanukovich's repression order, as the logic of military arbitration predicted. However, the events that unfolded lend credence to the "worst-case" threats to state security that militaries must grapple with, and provide a cautionary tale for officers thrust into future arbitration events.

### **Policy Considerations**

While this dissertation has stressed prediction and explanation, it leads to some general, policy-relevant conclusions as well. With the proliferation of independent communication channels, social media, and streaming video, domestic contentious events are receiving more global coverage than ever before. This is putting increased pressure on the international community to intervene and protect human rights. Nevertheless, civilian leaders will continue to call on their armed forces to repress domestic unrest when their internal security forces prove incapable of protecting them. If the theory of military arbitration is correct, the prime method for avoiding military repression is for protesters to engage in nonviolent activism. Unfortunately, this does not preclude violent repression by police and other internal security forces, but the longer protesters can pressure the regime while refraining from responding with their own violence, the more likely they will succeed.

Simultaneously, the international community can remind the military of the state's vulnerability to external punishment, by threatening the withdrawal of aid and other economic and diplomatic sanctions. These threats may be more effective when issued privately, to avoid the appearance of subservience, but they should credibly reinforce that repression will result in long-term repercussions. On the flip side, the international community must recognize that

militaries will not stand aside when the domestic threat is very high—when the threat to state security, potentially its very survival, could be at stake. Protecting the state is the military’s functional imperative, its reason for existing. The most the international community can likely do is work ahead of time to increase a military’s threshold for repression, by increasing the state’s vulnerability to punishment. This could potentially be achieved by expanding the avenues available for punishment, increasing leverage over a state, and strengthening the credibility of punishment.

Finally, this dissertation raises an important normative question that underpins civil-military relations theories and practices. How do we square the desired norm of civilian control of the military with the desire for militaries to disobey their civilian rulers during arbitration events? The order to repress is rarely illegal; at most it treads into a gray moral area. The literature has been quite firm in its insistence that officers obey orders, even when they believe them to be ill-advised. Once again, as Huntington advised, “Only rarely will the military man be justified in following the dictates of private conscience against the dual demand of military obedience and state welfare.”<sup>6</sup> Likewise, Feaver’s agency theory was driven in part by his concern that a norm was emerging among American military officers that civilian control did not mean that civilians had the right to be wrong.<sup>7</sup>

Military arbitrations are ideal cases to begin a debate about what civilian control means in different contexts. Must it be all or nothing, or is a military’s obedience to civilian leaders ever preempted by greater responsibilities to the state and the polity? If so, can we create a more nuanced understanding of the types of situations in which this would or should occur? There are no easy answers to these questions, and the danger of a slippery slope that comes with

---

<sup>6</sup> Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, 78.

<sup>7</sup> Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*, 300.

acknowledged exceptions is ever present. However, as military arbitration events demonstrate, it may be time to revisit the absolutes of civilian control and offer more refined guidance to military officers in the future.

## REFERENCES

- "1st Army Commander: Fry Never to Give up Kosovo." *Tanjung Domestic Service*, 29 Aug 1999.
- "5 U.S.C. § 3331 Oath of Office."
- "32 U.S.C. § 312 Appointment Oath."
- Abou-El-Fadl, Reem. "Early Pan-Arabism in Egypt's July Revolution." *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 2 (2015): 289–308.
- Abrahamsson, Bengt. *Military Professionalization and Political Power*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1972.
- Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "Militarism, Neoliberalism, and Revolution in Egypt." *Cairo Papers in Social Science* 33, no. 4 (October 2015): 153-73.
- Ackroyd, William S. "Military Professionalism, Education, and Political Behavior in Mexico." *Armed Forces & Society* 18, no. 81 (1991): 81-96.
- Adams, Kimberly. "Western Businesses Pull out of Egypt." *Marketplace*, 15 Aug 2013.
- Adams, Richard, Matthew Weaver, and Haroon Siddique. "15% Rise in Public Salaries Announced." In *Egypt Protests - Monday 7 February*. The Guardian, 2011.
- AFP. "Cairo Calm." *Daily Report. Middle East & North Africa, FBIS-MEA-77-01-21*, 19 Jan 1977.
- . "Egypt, Situation Returns to Normal in Wake of Price Demonstrations." *Daily Report. Middle East & North Africa, FBIS-MEA-77-015*, 24 Jan 1977.
- . "Voile: Les Français Favorables À Un Renforcement De L'interdiction." *Le Point* (2013). [http://www.lepoint.fr/societe/voile-les-francais-favorables-a-un-renforcement-de-l-interdiction-25-03-2013-1645213\\_23.php](http://www.lepoint.fr/societe/voile-les-francais-favorables-a-un-renforcement-de-l-interdiction-25-03-2013-1645213_23.php).
- Ajami, Fouad. *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1999.
- Al Hussaini, Amira. "Egypt: Cheering on the Million Man March." *Global Voices* (2011). Published electronically 1 Feb 2011. <https://globalvoices.org/2011/02/01/egypt-cheering-on-the-million-man-march/>.
- Albrecht, Holger, and Dina Bishara. "Back on Horseback: The Military and Political Transformation in Egypt." *Middle East Law and Governance* 3 (2011): 13-23.
- Alschen, Sergei. "Damage to the Yugoslav Army." In *Selected Research Findings*. New York: Independent Commission of Inquiry to Investigate U.S./NATO War Crimes Against the People of Yugoslavia, 2000.
- Alter, Peter. *Nationalism*. London: Edward Arnold, 1989.
- AMEMBASSY BEIJING. "Sitrep No. 27: Martial Law with Chinese Characteristics (030515z Jun1989)." In *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 16*, edited by Jeffrey T. Richelson and Michael L. Evans. Washington DC: George Washington University, 1999.
- . "Sitrep No. 33: June 4 Afternoon And ... (042057z Jun1989)." In *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 47*, edited by Michael L. Evans. Washington DC: George Washington University, 2001.
- "Anan Denies Claim Military Was Ordered to Kill Protesters." *Egypt Independent*, 10 Aug 2011.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London: Verso, 2006.
- Antic, Milos. "Gentlemen, Leave Kosovo." *Nedeljni Telegraf*, 25 Aug 1999.

- . "We Proposed a New Military Doctrine at a Meeting of the Council of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army." *Nedeljni Telegraph*, 26 Apr 2000.
- APRED. "Countries without Armies." <http://www.demilitarisation.org/spip.php?article51> (=fr.
- Arbatov, Alexei G. "Military Reform in Russia: Dilemmas, Obstacles, and Prospects." *International Security* 22, no. 4 (Spring 1998): 83-134.
- "Army Spokesman Presents 'Concrete Data' on Troops' High Morale." *Radio Beograd*, 29 Aug 2000.
- Arnoldy, Ben. "The Cultural Revolution and How It Shaped China." *Christian Science Monitor*, 29 Aug 2006.
- Atkinson, Carol. "Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972–2000." *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2006): 509-37.
- Aziz, Muhammad Abdul, and Youssef Hussein. "The President, the Son, and the Military: The Question of Succession in Egypt." *The Arab Studies Journal* 9/10, no. Fall 2001/Spring 2002: 73-88.
- Bachman, Jerald G., Peter Freedman-Doan, David R. Segal, and Patrick M. O'Malley. "Distinctive Military Attitudes among U.S. Enlistees, 1976-1997: Self-Selection Versus Socialization." *Armed Forces & Society* 26, no. 4 (2000): 561-85.
- Badescu, Cristina G., and Thomas G. Weiss. "Misrepresenting R2p and Advancing Norms: An Alternative Spiral?" *International Studies Perspectives* 11 (2010): 354-74.
- Balko, Radley. *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces*. First edition. ed. New York: PublicAffairs, 2013.
- Barany, Zoltan D. *Democratic Breakdown and the Decline of the Russian Military*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Barnett, Correlli. "The Education of Military Elites." *Journal of Contemporary History* 2, no. 3 (1967): 15-35.
- Bassiouney, Reem. *Language and Identity in Modern Egypt*. Edinburgh University Press, 2014.
- Batty, David, and Alex Olorenshaw. "Egypt Protests--as They Happened." *The Guardian*, 29 Jan 2011.
- Bauer, Patricia, and Bertold Schweitzer. "The Egyptian Revolution 2011: Mechanisms of Violence and Non-Violence." In *State of Peace Conference & Peace Report 2012*.
- BBC News. "Timeline: The Tiananmen Protests." <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8057148.stm>.
- Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen. *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013.
- Beissinger, Mark R. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Bellin, Eva. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (Jan 2004 2004): 139-57.
- Berdak, Oliwia. "You're in the Army, Now...", *The Europeanisation of Citizenship in the Successor States of the Former Yugoslavia (CITSEE)* (2012). Published electronically 29 Oct. <http://www.citsee.eu/citsee-story/youre-army-now>.
- Binder, David. "Yugoslav Army Emerges, Ambiguously." *The New York Times*, 20 Mar 1991.
- Binnendijk, Anika Locke, and Ivan Marovic. "Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39 (2006): 411-29.

- Blanton, Robert G., and Shannon Lindsey Blanton. "Human Rights and Trade: Beyond the "Spotlight"." *International Interactions* 33 (2007): 97-117.
- Blanton, Shannon Lindsey, and Robert G. Blanton. "What Attracts Foreign Investors? An Examination of Human Rights and Foreign Direct Investment." *The Journal of Politics* 69, no. 1 (2007): 143-55.
- Blasko, Dennis J. "Always Faithful: The PLA from 1949-1989." Chap. 14 In *A Military History of China*, edited by David A. Graff and Robin Higham, 249-66. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2012.
- . "The Chinese Military: An Assessment." *Currents in Modern Thought* 14, no. 10 (Oct 1999): 326-42.
- Blomfield, Adrian, and Barney Henderson. "Egypt Crisis: Egypt Facing Biggest Tourism Problem for a Decade." *The Telegraph* (2011). Published electronically 8 Feb. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/8311983/Egypt-crisis-Egypt-facing-biggest-tourism-problem-for-a-decade.html>.
- Boaz, Cynthia. "Nonviolent Revolution Clarified: Five Myths and Realities Behind Egypt's Uprising." *Truthout* (2011). Published electronically 10 Jul. <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/2047:nonviolent-revolution-clarified-five-myths-and-realities-behind-egypts-uprising>.
- Boudreau, Vince. *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Bradford, Michael. "Egypt Losses Mount." *Business Insurance* (2011). Published electronically 6 Feb. <http://www.businessinsurance.com/article/20110206/ISSUE01/302069977>.
- Brinkerhoff, John R. "The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Law Enforcement Title." *Center for Army Lessons Learned Newsletter* 10, no. 16 (2009). [http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/10-16/ch\\_11.asp](http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/10-16/ch_11.asp).
- Brook, Timothy. *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Brooks, Risa. "An Autocracy at War: Explaining Egypt's Military Effectiveness, 1967 and 1973." *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (Jul-Sep 2006): 396-430.
- Brownlee, Jason. "The Heir Apparency of Gamal Mubarak." *The Arab Studies Journal* 15/16, no. 2/1 (Fall 2008): 36-56.
- Bruneau, Thomas C., and Florina Cristiana (CRIS) Matei. "Towards a New Conceptualization of Democratization and Civil-Military Relations." *Democratization* 15, no. 5 (2008): 909-29.
- Buckley, Chris. "People's Daily Editorial Fanned Flames of 1989 Protest." *New York Times*, 25 Apr 2014.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003.
- Cairo Ikhwanonline in Arabic. "Egyptian Regime Offers Two Options: Either Mubarak Stays in Power or Civil War (Gmp20110203035005)." Open Source Center, 2011.
- Cairo Nile News TV in Arabic. "Text of Egyptian Army Spokesman Statement Calling for Return to 'Normal' Life (0935 Gmt 2 Feb 11)." Open Source Center, 2011.
- Callahan, Mary P. *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2003.

- Cantori, Louis J., and Sally Ann Baynard. "Arab Republic of Egypt." Chap. 13 In *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by Donald E. Long and Bernard Reich. Boulder, CO; Oxford, UK: Westview Press, 2002.
- Cassandra. "The Impending Crisis in Egypt." *The Middle East Journal* 49, no. 1 (Winter 1995): 9-27.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, T. Camber Warren, and Didier Sornette. "Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War." *International Organization* 65, no. Fall (2011): 605–38.
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park: Penn State Press, 2002.
- Chang, Albert. "Revisiting the Tiananmen Square Incident: A Distorted Image from Both Sides of the Lens ". *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* 5, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 9-25.
- Chase, Michael S., Jeffrey Engstrom, Tai Ming Cheung, Kristen A. Gunness, Scott Warren Harold, Susan Puska, and Samuel K. Berkowitz. "China's Incomplete Military Transformation: Assessing the Weaknesses of the People's Liberation Army (PLA)." Santa Monica, CA RAND Corporation, 2015.
- Cheng, Chu-yuan. *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.
- Cheng, Li, and Lynn White. "The Army in the Succession to Deng Xiaoping: Familiar Fealties and Technocratic Trends." *Asian Survey* 33, no. 8 (Aug 1993): 757-86.
- Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Cheung, Tai Ming. "Guarding China's Domestic Front Line: The People's Armed Police and China's Stability." *The China Quarterly* 146, no. Special Issue: China's Military in Transition (Jun 1996): 525-47.
- "China's Army Plans an Oath of Loyalty." *New York Times*, 4 Mar 1981.
- Chinese People's Liberation Army. *China's Army: Ready for Modernization*. edited by Su Wenming Beijing: Beijing Review, 1985.
- Christia, Fotini. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Cingranelli, David L., and Thomas E. Pasquarello. "Human Rights Practices and the Distribution of U.S. Foreign Aid to Latin American Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 29, no. 3 (Aug 1985): 539-63.
- Clark, Patrick. "Political Violence: How Insurers Measure the Risk." *Bloomberg Business Week* (2011). Published electronically 1 Sep. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-09-01/political-violence-how-insurers-measure-the-risk>.
- Cleveland, William. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. 2 ed. Boulder, Co; Oxford, UK: Westview Press, 2000.
- Cockcroft, Tom. *Police Culture: Themes and Concepts*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research." *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 430-51.
- Connor, James M. "Military Loyalty: A Functional Vice?". *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 3 (2010): 278-90.
- Cook, Steven A. *The Struggle for Egypt*.  
 ———. "The Unspoken Power: Civil-Military Relations and the Prospects for Reform." The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, 2004.

- Cooper, Helene, and Mark Landler. "White House and Egypt Discuss Plans for Mubarak's Exit." *The New York Times*, 3 Feb 2011.
- Cope, John A. "International Military Education and Training: An Assessment." In *McNair Paper*. Washington DC: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1995.
- Crimea News. "Ukrainian General Named Those Guilty for Giving Ground in Crimea." (2017). Published electronically 30 Jan. <http://en.sobytiya.info/ukrainian-general-named-those-guilty-for-giving-ground-in-crimea.html>.
- Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher, Kristin M. Bakke, and Lee Seymour. "Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow: The Effects of Fragmentation on Conflict Processes in Self-Determination Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 1 (2012): 67-93.
- Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher, and Emily Beaulieu. "Dissent, Repression, and Inconsistency." Chap. 7 In *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*, edited by Erica Chenoweth and Adria Lawrence, 173-95. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2010.
- Daalder, Ivo H. "Responding to Russia's Resurgence: Not Quiet on the Eastern Front." *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2017).
- Danilovic, M. "Support of People and Army." *Vojska*, 8 Jul 1999.
- Davenport, Christian. "State Repression and Political Order." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (2007): 1-23.
- Davidov, Eldad. "Measurement Equivalence of Nationalism and Constructive Patriotism in the Issp: 34 Countries in a Comparative Perspective." *Political Analysis* 17, no. 1 (2009): 64-82.
- DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force. "The "Yugoslav" Army: Flawed but No Paper Tiger." Washington, DC: CIA Historical Collections Division (Approved for Release 2013), 1995.
- Deng, Fang. *Unintended Outcomes of Social Movements: The 1989 Chinese Student Movement*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Desch, Michael C. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48, no. April (1983): 147-60.
- Doder, Dusko. "Yugoslavia Protests Draw Tanks." *Chicago Tribune*, 10 Mar 1991.
- Dreyer, June Teufel. "Deng Xiaoping: The Soldier." *The China Quarterly* 135, no. Special Issue: Deng Xiaoping: An Assessment (Sep 1993): 536-50.
- . "The New Officer Corps: Implications for the Future." In *China's Military in Transition*, edited by David Shambaugh and Richard H. Yang, 51-71. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Drezner, Daniel W. "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion." *International Organization* 57 (2003): 643-59.
- Droz-Vincent, Philippe. "Authoritarianism, Revolutions, Armies and Arab Regime Transitions." *The International Spectator* 46, no. 2 (June 2011): 5-21.
- . "From Fighting Formal Wars to Maintaining Civil Peace?". *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011): 392-94.

- . "The Military Amidst Uprising and Transitions in the Arab World." In *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*, edited by Fawaz A. Gerges. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Drozdiak, William. "Us Urged to Remove Sanctions on Yugoslavia." *Washington Post*, 26 Oct 1999.
- Dunn, Richard J. "The Impact of a Declining Defense Budget on Combat Readiness." The Heritage Foundation, 2013.
- Earl, Jennifer. "Tanks, Tear Gas and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression." *Sociological Theory* 21, no. 1 (January 2003): 44-68.
- Edmunds, Timothy. "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State." In *Civil-Military Relations in Postcommunist Europe: Reviewing the Transition*, edited by Timothy Edmunds, Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster. London: Routledge, 2006.
- . "Civil-Military Relations in Serbia-Montenegro: An Army in Search of a State." In *Civil-Military Relations in Postcommunist Europe: Reviewing the Transition*, edited by Timothy Edmunds, Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Egan, Patrick J. W. "Is Worker Repression Risky? Foreign Direct Investment, Labour Rights and Assessments of Risk in Developing Countries." *Review of International Political Economy* 19, no. 3 (2012): 415-47.
- "Egypt Army: We Recognize Legitimacy of Protests." *CBS*, 31 Jan 2011.
- "Egypt Remains at an Impasse." *Al Jazeera*, 6 Feb 2011.
- "Egypt Unrest: Banks Reopen after Week of Closure." *BBC* (2011). Published electronically 6 Feb. <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-12376403>.
- Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights. "ويكي ثورة (Wiki Thawra: Statistical Database of the Egyptian Revolution)." <https://wikithawra.wordpress.com>.
- "Egyptian Military Deploys in Streets under Curfew." *Al Arabiya News*, 28 Jan 2011.
- "Egyptians Test Tunisia's Twitter Revolution." *Vancouver Sun*, 26 Jan 2011.
- Ejdus, Filip. "State Building and Images of the Democratic Soldier in Serbia." Chap. 11 In *Democratic Civil-Military Relations: Soldiering in the 21st Century Europe*, edited by Sabine Mannitz, 226-48. London: Routledge, 2012.
- . "The Normative Model of the Ideal Type Soldier in Serbia." In *The Image of the Democratic Soldier: Tensions Between the Organisation of Armed Forces and the Principles of Democracy in European Comparison*: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, 2007.
- Elgenius, Gabriella. *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood*. Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Englund, Will. "At Tahrir Square, Egyptian Army Feints and Jabs Anti-Government Protesters." *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 7 Feb 2011.
- Erlanger, Steven. "Civil Disobedience Is Planned to Try to Force Milosevic Out." *The New York Times*, 29 Sept 2000.
- . "Milosevic Seeking a Runoff Election after His Setback." *The New York Times*, 27 Sept 2000.
- . "Russia's Army Seen as Failing Chechnya Test." *The New York Times*, 25 Dec 1994, 1, 10.
- . "Showdown in Yugoslavia: The Overview." *The New York Times*, 6 Oct 2000.
- . "Striking Serbian Coal Miners Maintain Solidarity." *The New York Times*, 4 Oct 2000.

- Escribà-Folch, Abel. "Authoritarian Responses to Foreign Pressure: Spending, Repression, and Sanctions." *Comparative Political Studies* 45, no. 6 (2012): 683-713.
- EuroNews. "Anger in Egypt Court as Mubarak Trial Postponed Again." (2016). Published electronically 7 Apr. <http://www.euronews.com/2016/04/07/anger-in-egypt-court-as-mubarak-retrial-postponed-again>.
- "Exceptionally High Morale in the Yugoslav Army." *Politika*, 29 Apr 1999.
- Fahim, Kareem, and David D. Kirkpatrick. "Labor Actions in Egypt Boost Protests." *The New York Times*, 9 Feb 2011.
- Fahim, Kareem, Mark Landler, and Anthony Shadid. "West Back Gradual Egyptian Transition." *The New York Times*, 5 Feb 2011.
- Fahim, Kareem, and Liam Stack. "Protesters in Egypt Defy Ban as Government Cracks Down." *The New York Times*, 26 Jan 2011.
- Fahmy, Khaled. *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Farrell, Theo. "Global Norms and Military Effectiveness: The Army in Early Twentieth-Century Ireland." In *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*, edited by Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Fatschel, David. "Missiles Need Not Be Modern to Hit Their Targets." *Die Presse*, 22 Mar 1999.
- Feaver, Peter D. *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- . "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control." *Armed Forces & Society* 23, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 149-78.
- Feteha, Ahmed. "Uprising Costs Egypt \$9.79 Billion: Geopolicity Report." *AhramOnline* (2011). Published electronically 14 Oct. <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/24137.aspx>.
- Fine, Robert. "Benign Nationalism? The Limits of the Civic Ideal." Chap. 13 In *People, Nation and State : The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, edited by Edward Mortimer and Robert Fine, 149-61. New York: I.B Tauris & Co LTD, 2011.
- Finer, S. E. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 2002.
- Finer, S. E., and Jay Stanley. *The Man on Horseback : The Role of the Military in Politics*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 2002.
- Fitch, John Samuel. "Armies and Politics in Latin America: 1975-1985." In *Armies and Politics in Latin America*, edited by Abraham F. Lowenthal and J. Samuel Fitch. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986.
- . *The Military Coup D'état as a Political Process: Ecuador, 1948-1966*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Foot, Rosemary. *Rights Beyond Borders: The Global Community and the Struggle over Human Rights in China*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Fravel, M. Taylor. "China's Search for Military Power." *The Washington Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 125-41.
- Friedman, Barbara, and Patrick Merle. "Veiled Threats: Decentering and Unification in Transnational News Coverage of the French Veil Ban." *Feminist Media Studies* 13, no. 5 (2013): 770-80.
- Frisch, Hillel. "Guns and Butter in the Egyptian Army." Chap. 5 In *Armed Forces in the Middle East*, edited by Barry Rubin and Thomas A. Keaney, 93-112. London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002.

- . "Guns and Butter in the Egyptian Army." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 5, no. 2 (Summer 2001).
- . "The Egyptian Army and Egypt's 'Spring'." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 2 (2013): 180-204.
- Furniss, Tom. "Cementing the Nation: Burke's Reflections on Nationalism and National Identity." In *Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France*, edited by John Whale. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Gage, Robert W. "Patriotism and Military Discipline as a Function of Degree of Military Training." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 64 (1964): 101-11.
- Galvin, Thomas P. "A New Way of Understanding (Military) Professionalism." *Joint Forces Quarterly* 3rd Quarter, no. 62 (2011): 25-31.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 11 (2007).
- Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Patrick M. Regan. "Threat and Repression: The Non-Linear Relationship between Government and Opposition Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 3 (Aug 1996): 273-87.
- Geddes, Barbara. "What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?". *Annual Review of Political Science* 2, no. 1 (1999): 115-44.
- Geer, Benjamin. "The Priesthood of Nationalism in Egypt: Duty, Authority, Autonomy." PhD Dissertation, University of London, 2011.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. 2 ed.: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.
- "Gen Pavkovic Says Army 'Will Prevent Civil War at Any Price'." *Tanjug*, 10 Jun 2000.
- George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. 4 ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005.
- Gilpin, Robert. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Glaser, Charles L. "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help." *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994/1995): 50-90.
- "Globalsecurity.Org." <http://www.globalsecurity.org/>.
- Goldman, Emily O. "International Competition and Military Effectiveness: Naval Air Power, 1919-1945." In *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*, edited by Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Goldman, Merle, Perry Link, and Su Wei. "China's Intellectuals in the Deng Era: Loss of Identity with the State." Chap. 6 In *China's Quest for National Identity*, edited by Lowell Dittmer and Samuel S. Kim, 125-53. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Goodwin, Jeff. "Debate: Why We Were Surprised (Again) by the Arab Spring." *Swiss Political Science Review* 17, no. 4 (2011): 452-56.
- Gow, James. *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- . *The Serbian Project and Its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Gow, James, and Ivan Zverzhanovski. *Security, Democracy and War Crimes: Security Sector Transformation in Serbia*. New Security Challenges. edited by Stuart Croft: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.
- Grau, Lester W. "Changing Russian Urban Tactics: The Aftermath of the Battle for Grozny." *INSS Strategic Forum*, no. 38 (July 1995).

- Gray, Colin S. *Modern Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Greenfield, Liah, and Johathan Eastwood. "Nationalism in Comparative Perspective." Chap. 12 In *The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization*, edited by Thomas Janoski, Robert Alford, Alexander Hicks and Mildred A. Schwartz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Grossman, Dave. *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*. New York: Bay Back Books, 2009.
- "Gss Says Army Issuing Mobilization Call-up Notices in Belgrade." *BETA*, 25 Sept 2000.
- Hadžić, Miroslav. "Civil-Military Features of the Fry." Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, 2002.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. "Right or Robust? The Sensitive Nature of Repression to Globalization." *Journal of Peace Research* 42, no. 6 (2005): 679-98.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Laurence R. Helfer, and Christopher J. Fariss. "Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties." *International Organization* 65, no. Fall (2011): 673–707.
- Han, Minzhu, and Sheng Hua, eds. *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Hanna, Michael Wahid. "Will Egypt's Military Officers Free the Revolution?". *The Atlantic* (29 Jan 2011).
- Hanna, Michael Wahid "The Son Also Rises: Egypt's Looming Succession Struggle." *World Policy Journal* 26, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 103-14.
- Harding, Harry. "The Impact of Tiananmen on China's Foreign Policy." *NBR Analysis* (1990). Published electronically Dec 1990.  
<http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=73#.UiPiRxbYtoI>.
- Hashim, Ahmed S. "The Egyptian Military, Part Two: From Mubarak Onward." *Middle East Policy* XVIII, no. 4 (Winter 2011).
- Hassan, Farooq. "An Outbreak of Martial Law." *Time Magazine*, 25 Sep 1978.
- Hedstrom, Peter, and Richard Swedberg, eds. *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Hellyer, H.A. "Faking Egypt's Past: The Brotherhood and Jan. 25." *Al Arabiya*, 20 Jan 2014.
- Henley, Lonnie D. "China's Military Modernization: A Ten Year Assessment." Chap. 4 In *China's Military Modernization: International Implications*, edited by Larry M. Wortzel, 97-118. NY: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- Hermann, Tamar, Nir Atmor, Ella Heller, and Yuval Lebel. "The Israeli Democracy Index 2013." Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute, 2013.
- Hirschman, Albert O. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Hourani, Albert. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. New York: Warner Books 1991.
- Howard, Michael. *War in European History*. Updated ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Human Rights Committee. "General Comment 29, States of Emergency (Article 4)." In *U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.11*, edited by United Nations, 2001.
- Human Rights Watch. "All According to Plan: The Rab'a Massacre and Mass Killings of Protesters in Egypt." 2014.
- . "Country Summary: Egypt." 2012.

- Hunt, Michel H. "Chinese National Identity and the Strong State: The Late Qing-Republican Crisis." Chap. 3 In *China's Quest for National Identity*, edited by Lowell Dittmer and Samuel S. Kim, 62-79. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Huntington, Samuel P. "How Countries Democratize." *Political Science Quarterly* 124, no. 1 (1991/reprinted in 2009): 31-69.
- . *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957.
- . *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- IHS Jane's. "Jane's Military & Security Assessments Intelligence Centre." <http://www.ih.com/products/janes/index.aspx>.
- International Campaign for Tibet. "A Struggle of Blood and Fire: The Imposition of Martial Law in 1989 and the Lhasa Uprising in 1959." 1999.
- International Crisis Group. "Lost in Transition: The World According to Egypt's Scaf." In *Middle East Report N°121*, 2012.
- International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). "Electionguide." <http://www.electionguide.org/results.php?ID=949>.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies. "The Military Balance." 2011.
- . "The Military Balance." 1998.
- "Interview with General Pavkovic." *Blic*, 1 Aug 1999.
- Jacobs, Andrew, and Chris Buckley. "Tales of Army Discord Show Tiananmen Square in a New Light." *The New York Times*, 2 June 2014.
- Jane's. "The Balkans: Armed Forces." In *Sentinel Security Assessment*, 1999.
- Janković, Pavle, and Srdjan Gligorijević. "Burying the Hatchet." *NATO Review* 1 April (2004).
- Janowitz, Morris. *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- . *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1960.
- Jencks, Harlan W. "The Military in China." *Current History* 88, no. 539 (Sept 1989): 7.
- Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (1978): 167-74.
- Job, Cvijeto. *Yugoslavia's Ruin: The Bloody Lessons of Nationalism, a Patriot's Warning*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.
- Joffe, Ellis. "Party-Army Relations in China: Retrospect and Prospect." *The China Quarterly* 146, no. Special Issue: China's Military in Transition (Jun 1996): 299-314.
- Johnson, Wesley. "Riots to Cost Met Police £34m." *Independent*, 30 Aug 2011.
- Jovanovic, Predrag, and Danilo Sukovic. "A Decade under Sanctions." <http://www.transparentnost.org.rs/dokumenti/d012.html>.
- Judah, Tim. *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Kandil, Hazem. *Soldiers, Spies, and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt*. London: Verso, 2014.
- Katz, Mark N. "Democratic Revolutions: Why Some Succeed, Why Others Fail." *World Affairs* 166, no. 3 (2004): 163-70.
- Kemmelmeier, Markus, and David G. Winter. "Sowing Patriotism, but Reaping Nationalism? Consequences of Exposure to the American Flag." *Political Psychology* 29, no. 6 (2008): 859-79.

- "Kenyan Businesses Close in Fear of Electoral Violence." *IRIN*, 8 Jan 2013.
- Ketchley, Neil. "'the Army and the People Are One Hand!' Fraternalization and the 25th January Egyptian Revolution." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56, no. 1 (2014): 155-86.
- Khalil, Ashraf. "Egypt's Military in the Crosshairs." *Foreign Policy* (30 Jan 2011).
- Kier, Elizabeth. *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Kirkpatrick, David D. "Egypt Erupts in Jubilation as Mubarak Steps Down." *International New York Times*, 11 Feb 2011.
- . "Egyptians Defiant as Military Does Little to Quash Protests." *The New York Times*, 29 Jan 2011.
- . "Mubarak Orders Crackdown, with Revolt Sweeping Egypt." *The New York Times*, 28 Jan 2011.
- . "Mubarak's Grip on Power Is Shaken." *The New York Times*, 31 Jan 2011.
- Kirkpatrick, David K., and Kareem Fahim. "Mubarak's Allies and Foes Clash in Egypt." *The New York Times*, 2 Feb 2011.
- Kitanoski, Boro. "Monuments and Memory in Former Yugoslavia." (2013). <https://www.wri-irg.org/node/22075>.
- Kjellberg, Francesco. "Some Cultural Aspects of the Military Profession." *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie* 6, no. 2 (1965): 283-93.
- Kosterman, Rick, and Seymour Feshbach. "Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalistic Attitudes." *Political Psychology* 10, no. 2 (1989): 257-74.
- Krebs, Ronald R. "A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might." *International Security* 28, no. 4 (2004): 85-124.
- Kunkle, Frederick. "Egypt's Military Uses Force to Break up Tahrir Square Protest; 2 Reported Killed." *The Washington Post*, 9 April 2011.
- Kurtzer, Daniel, and Mary Svenstrup. "Egypt's Entrenched Military." *The National Interest* 121, no. September/October 2012 (2012): 40-50.
- Kuzio, Taras. "Civil Society, Youth and Societal Mobilization in Democratic Revolutions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39 (2006): 365e86.
- Lasswell, Harold D. "The Garrison State." *American Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 4 (1941): 455-68.
- Lawrence, Adria. "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule." *International Security* 35, no. 2 (2010): 88-122.
- Lee, Terence. *Defect or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2015.
- . "The Armed Forces and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Explaining the Role of the Military in 1986 Philippines and 1998 Indonesia." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 5 (2009): 640-69.
- Lehrke, Jesse Paul. "A Cohesion Model to Assess Military Arbitration of Revolutions." *Armed Forces & Society* 0, no. 00 (2013): 1-22.
- Lektzian, David, and Glen Biglaiser. "Investment, Opportunity, and Risk: Do Us Sanctions Deter or Encourage Global Investment?". *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (2013): 65-78.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. "Linkage Versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change." *Comparative Politics* 38, no. 4 (Jul 2006): 379-400.

- Lewis, Paul , Tim Newburn, Matthe Taylor, Catriona Mcgillivray, Aster Greenhill, Harold Frayman, and Rob Procter. "Reading the Riots: Investigating England's Summer of Disorder." London: The London School of Economics and Political Science and the *Guardian*, 2011.
- Li, Nan. "The Central Military Commission and Military Policy in China." Chap. 2 In *The People's Liberation Army as Organization*, edited by James C. Mulvenon and Andrew N.D. Yang. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002.
- Li, Xiaobing. *A History of the Modern Chinese Army*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2007.
- Little, Roger. "Basic Education and Youth Socialization in the Armed Forces." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 38, no. 5 (1968): 869-76.
- Lorenz, Andreas. "General Discusses Use of Army against Students (Fbis-Chi-89-108)." *Der Spiegel*, 5 Jun 1989.
- Lovell, John. "Military Service, Nationalism, and the Global Community." In *The Military, Militarism, and the Polity*, edited by Michel Louis Martin and Ellen Stern McCrate, 63-78. New York: The Free Press, 1984.
- Lovell, John P., and Judith Hicks Stiehm. "Military Service and Political Socialization." In *Political Learning in Adulthood: A Sourcebook of Theory and Research*, edited by Roberta S. Sigel, 172-202. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Lutterbeck, Derek. "Arab Uprisings and Armed Forces: Between Openness and Resistance." In *Security Sector Reform Papers*, edited by Alan Bryden and Heiner Hänggi. Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2011.
- . "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 1 (2013): 28-52.
- Luttwak, Edward. *Coup D'etat: A Practical Handbook*. 2 ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- . *Coup D'etat: A Practical Handbook*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Lynch, Mark. "They Hate Us, They Really Hate Us." *Foreign Policy* (19 Jul 2013).
- Maher, Stephen. "The Political Economy of the Egyptian Uprising." *Monthly Review* 63, no. 6 (2011). Published electronically 11 Nov. <https://monthlyreview.org/2011/11/01/the-political-economy-of-the-egyptian-uprising/>.
- Mandic, Danilo. "Myths and Bombs: War, State Popularity and the Collapse of National Mythology." *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 1 (March 2008): 25-54.
- Maoz, Zeev. *Networks of Nations: The Evolution, Structure, and Impact of International Networks, 1816-2001*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Marshall, Monty G., Ted Robert Gurr, and Keith Jagers. "Dataset Users' Manual for Polity Iv Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2012." Center for Systemic Peace, 2013.
- Marshall, Shana. "The Egyptian Armed Forces and the Remaking of an Economic Empire." Carnegie Middle East Center, 2015.
- Marshall, Shana, and Joshua Stacher. "Egypt's Generals and Transnational Capital." *Middle East Report* 262, no. Spring (2012).
- Martin, Andrew W., John D. McCarthy, and Clark McPhail. "Why Targets Matter: Toward a More Inclusive Model of Collective Violence." *American Sociological Review* 74, no. October (2009): 821-41.

- Martini, Jeffrey, and Julie E. Taylor. "Commanding Democracy in Egypt: The Military's Attempt to Manage the Future." *Foreign Affairs*, no. Sep/Oct (2011).
- Marvin, Carolyn, and David W. Ingle. *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Mathews, Jav. "Beijing Turmoil Shakes Investors' Confidence." *Washington Post*, 29 May 1989, A14.
- Maxwell, Alexander. "Typologies and Phases in Nationalism Studies: Hroch's a-B-C Schema as a Basis for Comparative Terminology." *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 6 (2010): 865–80.
- McGreal, Chris. "White House Warns \$1.5bn Aid to Egypt Could Be Withdrawn." *The Guardian*, 29 Jan 2011.
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 2001.
- Mendee, Jargalsaikhan. "Asymmetrical Military Socialization: Mongolia as a Case Study." *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 2 (2012): 305-30.
- Miletic, Milan. "Accelerated Training of Artillerymen." [In Serb-Croatian]. *Novi Glasnik* (Nov-Dec 1999): 47-52.
- Miller, Lyman. "The Political Implications of PLA Professionalism." In *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*, edited by David M. Finkelstein and Kristen Gunness, 131-45. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007.
- Miller, Steven E. *Moscow's Military Power: Russia's Search for Security in an Age of Transition*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.
- Milosevic, Milan. "The Media Wars: 1987-1997." In *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*, edited by Jasminka Udovicki and James Ridgeway, 109-30. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
- "Milosevic: The Stand of the Yugoslav Army toward the Demonstrations in Serbia Is Inadmissible--It Should Be Cut Down at the Roots; Bulatovic: Do Not Abuse the Army as You Did in 1991." *Nedeljni Telegraf*, 22 Jan 1997.
- Minic, Svetomir. "Main Support of the Army." *Vojska*, 4 Nov 1999.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Moore, Elaine. "Riots Hit Retail Shares 'at Worst Time'." *Financial Times*, 12 Aug 2011.
- Morgan, Gareth. *Images of Organization*. Updated ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006.
- Moskos, Charles. "International Military Education and Multinational Military Cooperation." Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, 2004.
- Mostafa, Dalia Said. *The Egyptian Military in Popular Culture: Context and Critique*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- "Mubarak Unlikely to Give Power to Vp: Egypt's Pm." *Al Arabiya*, 4 Feb 2011.
- Márquez, Humberto. "Venezuela: Wound Still Gaping 20 Years after 'Caracazo'." *Inter Press Service*, 27 Feb 2009.
- Nassif, Hicham Bou. "Generals and Autocrats: How Coup-Proofing Predetermined the Military Elite's Behavior in the Arab Spring." *Political Science Quarterly* 130, no. 2 (2015).
- . "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981-2011." *Middle East Journal* 67, no. 4 (Autumn 2013): 509-30.
- . "Why the Egyptian Army Didn't Shoot." *Middle East Report* 265 (Winter 2012): 18-21.
- Neiberg, Michael S. *Warfare in World History*. Themes in World History. edited by Peter N. Stearns London: Routledge, 2001.

- Nelson, Joan M., and Stephanie J. Eglinton. *Encouraging Democracy: What Role for Conditioned Aid?* Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1992.
- Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Newton-Small, Jay. "After the Riots: The Economic Cost of London's Mayhem." *Time*, 12 Aug 2011.
- Noueihad, Lin. "Egypt's Mubarak Denies Ordering Killing of Protesters." *Reuters*, 13 Aug 2014.
- "Officers Support Students, Demand Country's 'Salvation'." *BETA*, 29 Dec 1996.
- Oksenberg, Michel. "China's Confident Nationalism." *Foreign Affairs* 65, no. 3 (1986): 501-23.
- Oksenberg, Michel, Lawrence R. Sullivan, Marc Lambert, and Qiao Li. *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, the Basic Documents*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1990.
- Oliker, Olga. *Russia's Chechen Wars 1994-2000: Lessons from Urban Combat*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001.
- Omelicheva, Mariya, Brittnee Carter, and Luke B. Campbell. "Military Aid and Human Rights: Assessing the Impact of U.S. Security Assistance Programs." *Political Science Quarterly* 132, no. 1 (2017): 119-44.
- Open Source Center, and Monitor 360. "Master Narratives Country Report: Egypt." 2011.
- Osiel, Mark J. *Obeying Orders: Atrocity, Military Discipline & the Law of War*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1999.
- Osse, Anneke. *Understanding Policing: A Resource for Human Rights Activists*. The Netherlands: Amnesty International, 2006.
- Owen, Roger. *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Pantelic, Momcilo. "General Pavkovic on Changes, Kostunica, Milosevic, and Himself." *Politika*, 1 Nov 2000, 11-12.
- Pape, Robert. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*. Cornell Studies in Security Affairs. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Pape, Robert A. "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention." *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 41-80.
- . "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work." *International Security* 22, no. 2 (1997): 90-136.
- . "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work." *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998): 66-77.
- Paris AFP. "Egypt: Foreign Minister Threatens Military Crackdown 'If Chaos Occurs' (Eup 20110210729001)." Open Source Center, 2011.
- Parker, Geoffrey. *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500-1800*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Paulson, Joshua. "Case Study: Serbia, 1996-2000." In *Sharp's Dictionary of Power and Struggle: Language of Civil Resistance in Conflicts*, edited by Gene Sharp, 10-33. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . "Uprising and Repression in China - 1989." In *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, edited by Gene Sharp. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 2005.
- Pearlman, Wendy. *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

- Peattie, Mark R. *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power, 1909-1941*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2001.
- Peksen, Dursun, and A. Cooper Drury. "Economic Sanctions and Political Repression: Assessing the Impact of Coercive Diplomacy on Political Freedoms." *Human Rights Review* 10, no. 3 (2009): 393-411.
- "Perisic--a General Who Takes Pride in Talking with the Enemy." *Politika*, 9 Dec 1999.
- Perito, Robert M. *Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him? America's Search for a Post-Conflict Stability Force*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2004.
- Pesic, Z. "Training of Assistant Commanders in Charge of Morale in Combined Tactical Units: Inexhaustible Fountainhead of Strength." *Belgrade Vojska*, 6 April 2000.
- PEW Global Attitudes Project. "24-Nation Survey (Spring)." PEW Research Center, 2008.
- . "Views of a Changing World." Washington DC: PEW Research Center, 2003.
- Pinto, Maria do Céu de Pinho Ferreira. "Mapping the Obama Administration's Response to the Arab Spring." *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 55, no. 2 (2012): 109-30.
- Pion-Berlin, David, Diego Esparza, and Kevin Grisham. "Staying Quartered: Civilian Uprisings and Military Disobedience in the Twenty-First Century." *Comparative Political Studies* (July 2012): 1-30.
- Pion-Berlin, David, and Harold Trinkunas. "Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking During Constitutional Crises in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 42, no. 4 (July 2010): 395-411.
- Poe, Steven C. "Human Rights and the Allocation of Us Military Assistance." *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no. 2 (May 1991): 205-16.
- Pollack, Ken. *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
- . "The Arab Militaries: The Double Edged Swords." In *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East*, 58-65. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011.
- "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?". International Crisis Group, 2011.
- Posen, Barry R. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." *International Security* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 80-124.
- . *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*. Cornell Studies in Security Affairs. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Powell, Jonathan. "Determinant of the Attempting and Outcome of Coups D'etat." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 6 (2012): 1017-40.
- Pretorius, Joellen. "The Security Imaginary: Explaining Military Isomorphism." *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 99 (2008): 99-120.
- Quinlivan, James T. "Coup-Proofing: It's Practices and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 131-65.
- Ramet, Sabrina P. *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- "Regulations of the Chinese PLA on Military Service of Officers in Active Service." PRC: Ministry of National Defense, 1995.
- Remington, Robin Alison. "State Cohesion and the Military." Chap. 2 In *State-Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945-1992*, edited by Melissa K. Bokovoy, Jill A. Irvine and Carol S. Lilly, 61-78. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

- Resende-Santos, Joao. "Anarchy and the Emulation of Military Systems: Military Organization and Technology in South America, 1870-1930." *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (1996): 193-260.
- "Reserve Army Members from Southern Serbian Town Called up for Military Exercises." *Radio B-92 (Internet Version-WWW)*, 1755 GMT 26 Sep 2000.
- Rettig, Jessica. "Death Toll of 'Arab Spring'." *US News & World Report* (2011). Published electronically 8 Nov. <http://www.usnews.com/news/slideshows/death-toll-of-arab-spring/2?slide=6>.
- Reuters. "Factbox: International Reaction to Egyptian Protests." *Reuters*, 29 Jan 2011.
- . "In Final Ruling, Egypt Court Finds Mubarak Innocent in Killing of Protesters." *The New York Times*, 2 Mar 2017.
- . "Over 1,000 Killed in Indonesia Riots: Rights Body." 3 Jun 1998.
- Richtel, Matt. "Egypt Cuts Off Most Internet and Cell Services." *The New York Times*, 28 Jan 2011.
- Richter, Thomas. "The Political Economy of Regime Maintenance in Egypt: Linking External Resources and Domestic Legitimation." Chap. 1 In *Debating Arab Authoritarianism: Dynamics and Durability in Nondemocratic Regimes*, edited by Oliver Schlumberger, 1-18. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- "Riots in England: The Fire This Time." *The Economist*, 13 Aug 2011, 21-23.
- Rowley, Emma. "Uk Retailers Lost 30,000 Trading Hours Due to Riots." *The Telegraph*, 24 Aug 2011.
- Ruby, Tomislav Z., and Douglas Gibling. "Us Professional Military Education and Democratization Abroad." *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 3 (2010): 339-64.
- "Russian Conventional Armed Forces: On the Verge of Collapse?". In *CRS Issue Brief for Congress: Congressional Research Service*, 1997.
- Ryan, Curtis. "Political Strategies and Regime Survival in Egypt." *Journal of Third World Studies* XVIII, no. 2 (2001): 25-44.
- Said, Atef. "The Paradox of Transition To "Democracy" Under Military Rule." *Social Research* 79, no. 2 (Summer 2012).
- Sandholtz, Wayne. "United States Military Assistance and Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (Nov 2016): 1070-101.
- Sayigh, Yezid. "Above the State: The Officers' Republic in Egypt." In *Carnegie Papers*, edited by Carnegie Middle East Center. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012.
- Scekic, Miloje. "Army Combat Readiness and Morale Guarantee of Successful Defense." *Vojska*, 9 Mar 2000, 5-9.
- Scekic, Miloje, and Zvonimir Pesic. "Unity and the Army's Combat Strength Preserved." *Vojska*, 18 Jan 2001, 5-9.
- Schatz, Robert T., Ervin Staub, and Howard Lavine. "On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind Versus Constructive Patriotism." *Political Psychology* 20, no. 1 (1999): 151-74.
- Schenker, David. "Inside the Complex World of U.S. Military Assistance to Egypt." *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (2013). Published electronically 4 Sep 2013. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/inside-the-complex-world-of-u.s.-military-assistance-to-egypt>.

- Schiff, Rebecca L. *The Military and Domestic Politics: A Concordance Theory of Civil-Military Relations*. Cass Military Studies. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Schlotterbeck, Markus, and Max Rennebohm. "Lebanese Campaign for Democracy (Independence Intifada or Cedar Revolution), 2005." *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, 2011.
- Scobell, Andrew. "China's Evolving Civil-Military Relations: Creeping Guojiahua." *Armed Forces & Society* 31, no. 2 (2005): 227-44.
- . "Seventy-Five Years of Civil-Military Relations: Lessons Learned." In *The Lessons of History: The Chinese People's Liberation Army at 75*, edited by Laurie Burkitt, Andrew Scobell and Larry M. Wortzel, 427-50. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2003.
- . "The Meaning of Martial Law for the PLA and Internal Security in China after Deng." Paper presented at the A Poverty of Riches: New Challenges and Opportunities in PLA Research, 2003.
- . "Why the People's Army Fired on the People: The Chinese Military and Tiananmen." *Armed Forces & Society* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 192-213.
- Sell, Louis. *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Sennott, Charles M. "The Money Behind the Egyptian Military: Exploring the Shadowy Economics of Its Brutal Hold on Power." *GlobalPost* (2012). Published electronically 22 Jan 2012. <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/middle-east/egypt/120122/overview-the-army-the-people>.
- Serbian Armed Forces Official Website. "Military History." <http://www.vs.rs/index.php?content=2fd8a63b-f712-102b-bdc2-a0672172d7df>.
- Shadid, Anthony. "Obama Urges Faster Shift of Power in Egypt." *The New York Times*, 1 Feb 2011.
- Shadid, Anthony, and Heba Afify. "Egypt's Military Leader Testifies at Mubarak Trial." *The New York Times*, 24 Sep 2011.
- Shadid, Anthony, and David D. Kirkpatrick. "Mubarak Refuses to Step Down, Stoking Revolt's Fury and Resolve." *International New York Times*, 10 Feb 2011.
- . "Opposition Rallies to Elbaradei as Military Reinforces in Cairo." *The New York Times*, 30 Jan 2011.
- Shalit, Ben. *The Psychology of Conflict and Combat*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988.
- Shambaugh, David. "China in 1990: The Year of Damage Control." *Asian Survey* 31, no. 1 (Jan 1991): 36-49.
- . "The Soldier and the State in China: The Political Work System in the People's Liberation Army." *The China Quarterly* 127, no. Special Issue: The Individual and State in China (Sep 1991): 527-68.
- Sharp, Gene. *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*. Dexter, MI: Extending Horizons Books, 2005.
- Shenker, Jack. "Egyptian Army Officer's Diary of Military Life in a Revolution." *The Guardian*, 28 Dec 2011.
- Sikavica, Stipe. "The Army's Collapse." In *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*, edited by Jasminka Udovicki and James Ridgeway, 131-53. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

- Slater, Dan. "Altering Authoritarianism: Institutional Complexity and Autocratic Agency in Indonesia." Chap. 5 In *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, edited by James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- . "Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia." *American Journal of Sociology* 115, no. 1 (2009): 203-54.
- Slater, Dan, and Sofia Fenner. "State Power and Staying Power: Infrastructural Mechanisms and Authoritarian Durability." *Journal of International Affairs* 65, no. 1 (2011): 15-29.
- Snider, Don M. "An Uninformed Debate on Military Culture." *Orbis* 43, no. 1 (1999): 11-27.
- "Soldiers Say They Will Not Shoot at Protesting Citizens." *Nedeljni Telegraf*, 29 Dec 1996.
- Sorens, Jason, and William Ruger. "Does Foreign Investment Really Reduce Repression?" *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (2012): 427-36.
- Sorley, Lewis S., III. "Duty, Honor, Country: Practice and Precept." In *War, Morality, and the Military Profession*, edited by Malham M. Wakin. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.
- Spar, Dehora L. "The Spotlight and the Bottom Line: How Multinationals Export Human Rights." *Foreign Affairs* 77 (1998): 7-12.
- Springborg, Robert. "The President and the Field Marshal: Civil-Military Relations in Egypt Today." *MERIP Middle East Report* 147, no. Jul-Aug (1987).
- Stark, Rodney. *Police Riots: Collective Violence and Law Enforcement*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co, 1972.
- Steavenson, Wendell. "On the Square: Were the Egyptian Protesters Right to Trust the Military?" *The New Yorker*, 28 Feb 2011.
- Steele, Jonathan. "How Milosevic Can Ensure He's an Each-Way Winner." *The Guardian*, 22 Sep 2000.
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. "Sipri Military Expenditure Database." [http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex\\_database](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database).
- . "Sipri Military Expenditure Database." [http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex\\_database](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database).
- Stojadinovic, Ljubodrag. "Defense of Country or Milosevic." *Glas Javnosti*, 6 April 2000, 9.
- STRATFOR. "Egypt Goes on an Arms Spending Spree." (2018). <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/egypt-goes-arms-spending-spree>.
- Sullivan, Patricia L., Brock F. Tessman, and Xiaojun Li. "Us Military Aid and Recipient State Cooperation." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (2011): 275-94.
- Svolik, Milan W. "Contracting on Violence: The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 00, no. 0 (2012): 1-30.
- . "Contracting on Violence: The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 5 (2013): 765-94.
- Swarthmore College. "Global Nonviolent Action Database." 2012.
- Taylor, Brian D. "Civil-Military Relations Theory and the State." In *International Studies Association 50th Annual Convention*. New York, 2009.
- . "Russia's Passive Army: Rethinking Military Coups." *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 8 (2001): 924-52.
- Taylor, William C. *Military Responses to the Arab Uprisings and the Future of Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- "Text of Communique No. 4 from Egypt's Supreme Council of the Armed Forces." *McClathy Newspapers*, 12 Feb 2011.

- The Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy. "European Arms Sales to Egypt." (2017). Published electronically 13 Jun. <https://timep.org/reports-briefings/timep-briefs/european-arms-sales-to-egypt/>.
- Thompson, Mark R. "To Shoot or Not to Shoot: Posttotalitarianism in China and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Politics* 34, no. 1 (Oct 2001): 63-83.
- Thucydides, Robert B. Strassler, and Richard Crawley. *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*. New York: Free Press, 1996.
- Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, Ad 990-1992*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992.
- Timotić, Milorad. "The Attitudes of Serbian Public toward the Army and Defence." Belgrade: Centre for Civil-Military Relations, 2002.
- "Top Leadership in President Mubarak's Party Resigns." *The Telegraph*, 5 Feb 2011.
- "Trading Economics." <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/serbia/wages>.
- Trainor, Bernard E. "Crackdown in Beijing: Civil War for Army?" *New York Times*, 6 Jun 1989.
- Tribune Wire Reports. "Ukraine Presidency Says Deal Reached on Crisis, Opposition Silent." *Chicago Tribune*, 21 Feb 2014.
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). "U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook)." 2018.
- UNDP. "Human Development Report." 2002.
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). "Bilateral Fdi Statistics." 2018.
- US State Department. "Foreign Military Training and Dod Engagment Activities of Interest." <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/fmtrpt/>.
- Van Evera, Stephen. *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Cornell Studies in Security Affairs. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- "Vj Chief Pavkovic Answers Questions on Belgrade Tv Call-in Show." *RTS Television First Program*, 20 Oct 2000.
- Vlahovic, Dragan. "The People Beat Milosevic to It." *Glas Javnosti*, 13 Dec 2000.
- Vujacic, Veljko. "Perceptions of the State in Russia and Serbia: The Role of Ideas in the Soviet and Yugoslav Collapse." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 20, no. 2 (2004): 164-94.
- Waggoner, Ivan. "Military Assistance Conditioned on Justice: An Empirical Study of the Leahy Law and Human Rights Prosecutions." *Florida Journal of International Law* 29, no. 3 (Dec 2017): 253-70.
- Walder, Andrew G., and Gong Xiaoxia. "Workers in the Tiananmen Protests: The Politics of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation." *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 29 (January 1993).
- Walt, Stephen M. *Revolution and War*. Cornell Studies in Security Affairs. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc, 1979.
- . *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Series in Political Science. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979.
- Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. "History, Myth, and the Tales of Tiananmen." In *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China*, edited by Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.
- Way, Lucan A., and Steven Levitsky. "The Dynamics of Autocratic Coercion after the Cold War." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39 (2006): 387-410.

- Weber, Max, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. 2 vols Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Whiting, Allen S. "The PLA and China's Threat Perceptions." In *China's Military in Transition*, edited by David Shambaugh and Richard H. Yang, 332-52. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Whitlock, Craig, Leila Fadel, and Ernesto Londono. "Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak May Transfer Power." *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 10 Feb 2011.
- Whitlock, Craig, and Greg Jaffe. "Where Egypt Military's Loyalties Lie Remains Unclear." *The Washington Post*, 5 Feb 2011.
- Wilborn, Thomas L. "Security Cooperation with China: Analysis and a Proposal." Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1994.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Williams, Robert L., Lisa N. Foster, and Katherine R. Krohn. "Relationship of Patriotism Measures to Critical Thinking and Emphasis on Civil Liberties Versus National Security." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (2008): 139-56.
- Witte, Griff, and Will Englund. "Mubarak Supporters Clash with Crowds after Army Tells Protesters: 'Go Home'." *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 2 Feb 2011.
- Wood, Reed M. "'a Hand Upon the Throat of the Nation': Economic Sanctions and State Repression, 1976-2001." *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (2008): 489-513.
- Yoon, Chong K. "Problems of Modernizing the PLA: Domestic Constraints." Chap. 1 In *China's Military Modernization: International Implications*, edited by Larry M. Wortzel, 1-26. NY: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- You, Ji. "Unravelling the Myths About Political Commissars." In *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*, edited by David M. Finkelstein and Kristen Gunness, 146-70. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007.
- "Young Soldiers Have Sworn an Oath." *Pobjeda*, 18 Apr 1999.
- "Yugoslav Army Is Key to Fight for Power." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 5 Aug 1999, 6.
- "Yugoslav Army Not to Intervene Unless Attacked." *Tanjug Domestic Service*, 6 Oct 2000.
- "Yugoslav Army Spokesman Says Army to Respect People's 'Electoral Will'." *BETA*, 6 Oct 2000.
- "Yugoslav Army to Release Conscripts, Not to Call up Reservists for Second Vote." *FoNet*, 29 Sept 2000.
- Zayed, Dina, and Edmund Blair. "Egyptians Chant for Army Help after Police Action." *Reuters*, 28 Jan 2011.
- Zhang, Liang. *The Tiananmen Papers*. edited by Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link New York: PublicAffairs, 2001.
- Zhao, Dingxin. *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Zhao, Quansheng. "China's Foreign Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region: Modernization, Nationalism and Regionalism." *China Review* (1995): 8.1-8.30.
- Zi, Jin, and Qin Zhou. *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1989.

"سامي عنان: رفضنا أوامر رئاسية بسحق المتظاهرين ومحو ميدان التحرير" (Sami Annan: We Refused Presidential Orders to Crush Demonstrators and Erase Tahrir Square)." □□□□□□□□ (Al-Kuwaiti News) 15 Mar 2011.