

## Civil Military Relations In Latin America New Analytical Perspectives

This book demonstrates through country case studies that, contrary to received wisdom, Latin American militaries can contribute productively, but under select conditions, to non-traditional missions of internal security, disaster relief, and social programs. Latin American soldiers are rarely at war, but have been called upon to perform these missions in both lethal and non-lethal ways. Is this beneficial to their societies or should the armed forces be left in the barracks? As inherently conservative institutions, they are at their best, the author demonstrates, when tasked with missions that draw on pre-existing organizational strengths that can be utilized in appropriate and humane ways. They are at a disadvantage when forced to reinvent themselves. Ultimately, it is governments that must choose whether or not to deploy soldiers, and they should do so, based on a pragmatic assessment of the severity and urgency of the problem, the capacity of the military to effectively respond, and the availability of alternative solutions.

Civil-military relations in Latin America, toward the year 2000 / The Democracy Projects.

Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras are four Spanish speaking countries in Central America that possess uniformed military institutions. These four countries represent different approaches to reforms of civil-military relations, and embody varying degrees of success in both institutional democratization and the managing of security forces. In this book, Orlando J. Pérez expertly examines the competing theories of civil-military relations in Central America to advance our understanding of the origins, consequences and persistence of militarism in Latin America. Divided into four parts, Pérez begins by proposing a theoretical framework for analyzing civil-military relations, including an analysis of how U.S. foreign and military policy affects the establishment of stable civilian supremacy over the armed forces. Part Two examines the institutional and legal structures under which civil-military relations are carried out revealing in Part Three the reorientation of the missions and roles performed by the armed forces in each country. The concluding part analyzes the role beliefs of members of the military and public opinion about the armed forces in relation to other institutions. Combining both qualitative and quantitative data, Pérez bridges the gap between structural and cultural analyses for a more comprehensive understanding of the links between micro and macro level factors that influence civil-military relations and democratic governance.

The book proposes an informational theory of constitutional review highlighting the mediator role of constitutional courts in democratic conflict solving.

This book analyses the normative and institutional aspects of the civil-military relationship to demonstrate that it is the politics of the relationship rather than its form that influences the likelihood of democracy and regional peace. It is useful for policymakers, academics, and general readers.

Defending 'la Patria,' or 'homeland,' is the historical mission claimed by Latin American armed forces. For la Patria is a comprehensive narrative history of the military's political role in Latin America in national defense and security. Latin American civil-military relations and the role of the armed forces in politics, like those of all modern nation-

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states, are framed by constitutional and legal norms specifying the formal relationships between the armed forces and the rest of society. In actuality, they are also the result of expectations, attitudes, values, and practices evolved over centuries—integral aspects of national political cultures. Military institutions in each Latin American nation have resulted from that country's own blend of local and imported influences, developing a distinctive pattern of civil-military relations as defender of the fatherland and guarantor of security and order. Written by Latin American specialist Brian Loveman, *For la Patria* includes tables, maps, photographs, and a glossary that will assist the student in better understanding the military's intervention in politics in Latin America. This new text will give students a thorough and accessible history of Latin American armed forces and their actions in Latin American politics from colonial times to the present.

The armed forces may no longer rule nations throughout Latin America, but they continue to influence democratic governments across the region. In nine original, thought-provoking essays, this book offers fresh theoretical insights into the dilemmas facing

The topic of civil-military relations has high significance for academics, for policy makers, for military commanders, and for serious students of public policy in democratic and other societies. The post-Cold War and post-9-11 worlds have thrown up traditional as well as new challenges to the effective management of armed forces and defense establishments. Further, the present century has seen a rising arc in the use of armed violence on the part of non-state actors, including terrorists, to considerable political effect. Civil-military relations in the United States, and their implications for US and allied security policies, is the focus of most discussions in this volume, but other contributions emphasize the comparative and cross-national dimensions of the relationship between the use or threat of force and public policy. Authors contributing to this study examine a wide range of issues, including: the contrast between theory and practice in civil-military relations; the role perceptions of military professionals across generations; the character of civil-military relations in authoritarian or other democratically-challenged political systems; the usefulness of business models in military management; the attributes of civil-military relations during unconventional conflicts; the experience of the all-volunteer force and its meaning for US civil-military relations; and other topics. Contributors include civilian academic and policy analysts as well as military officers with considerable academic expertise and experience with the subject matter at hand.

The continued spread of democracy into the twenty-first century has seen two-thirds of the almost two hundred independent countries of the world adopting this model. In these newer democracies, one of the biggest challenges has been to establish the proper balance between the civilian and military sectors. A fundamental question of power must be addressed—who guards the guardians and how? In this volume of essays, contributors associated with the Center for Civil-Military Relations in Monterey, California, offer firsthand observations about civil-military relations in a broad range of regions including Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe. Despite diversity among the consolidating

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democracies of the world, their civil-military problems and solutions are similar—soldiers and statesmen must achieve a deeper understanding of one another, and be motivated to interact in a mutually beneficial way. The unifying theme of this collection is the creation and development of the institutions whereby democratically elected civilians achieve and exercise power over those who hold a monopoly on the use of force within a society, while ensuring that the state has sufficient and qualified armed forces to defend itself against internal and external aggressors. Although these essays address a wide variety of institutions and situations, they each stress a necessity for balance between democratic civilian control and military effectiveness.

Drawing on field work in the country since the beginnings of democratic government in 1984, Pion-Berlin (political science, U. of California-Riverside) examines politicians and soldiers seeking to advance their own interests by moving through official channels. He describes how their policy gains and setbacks may have much to do with the organizational features of government they encounter. He also compares neighboring Uruguay and Chile. Paper edition (unseen), \$17.95. Annotation copyrighted by Book News, Inc., Portland, OR

Are interactions between soldiers, politicians, and civilians improving? Every nation has to come to grips with achieving a more enduring harmony between government, the armed forces, and society if it aspires to strengthen its democracy. While there is an abundance of studies on civil-military affairs, few examine all three of these actors, let alone establish any standards with which to assess whether progress is being made. This ambitious book devises a novel framework equipped with six dimensions, each of which opens a unique window into civil-military affairs, and which form a more integrated view of the subject. Those dimensions are accompanied by a set of benchmarks and metrics that assess progress and compare one country against another. The framework is applied to case studies of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, with the conviction that insights could be gleaned that may be relevant elsewhere. Ultimately, by unpacking the civil-military relation into its various dimensions, this study has shed light on what it takes to transform what was once a politically-minded military into an organization dedicated to serving a democratic state and society.

### Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: New Analytical Perspectives

This volume examines Lebanon's post-2011 security dilemmas and the tenuous civil-military relations. The Syrian civil war has strained the Lebanese Armed Forces' (LAF) cohesion and threatens its neutrality – its most valued assets in a divided society. The spill-over from the Syrian civil war and Hezbollah's military engagement has magnified the security challenges facing the Army, making it a target. Massive foreign grants have sought to strengthen its military capability, stabilize the country and contain the Syria crisis. However, as this volume demonstrates, the real weakness of the LAF is not its lack of sophisticated armoury, but the fragile civil–military relations that compromise its fighting power,

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cripple its neutrality and expose it to accusations of partisanship and political bias. This testifies to both the importance of and the challenges facing multi-confessional armies in deeply divided countries.

Based on a conference held in Washington, DC, 13-14 Mar 1995.

Recent years have given rise to an intense debate about the boundaries and appropriate missions of Latin America's armed forces. This report examines the efforts of civilian leaders in Latin America to identify missions for their militaries appropriate to both the security environment of the post-Cold War era and to civil-military relations in a democracy, and to provide ways militaries will effectively adopt these missions. It also analyses the implications for democracy and civilian control of specific roles for the armed forces that are either under consideration or already underway in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

Wendy Hunter explores civil-military relations in Brazil following the transition to civilian leadership in 1985. She documents a marked, and surprising, decline in the political power of the armed forces, even as they have remained involved in national policy making. To account for the success of civilian politicians, Hunter invokes rational-choice theory in arguing that politicians will contest even powerful forces in order to gain widespread electoral support. Many observers expected Brazil's fledgling democracy to remain under the firm direction of the military, which had tightly controlled the transition from authoritarian to civilian rule. Hunter carefully refutes this conventional wisdom by demonstrating the ability of even a weak democratic regime to expand its autonomy relative to a once-powerful military, thanks to the electoral incentives that motivate civilian politicians. Based on interviews with key participants and on extensive archival research, Hunter's analysis of developments in Brazil suggests a more optimistic view of the future of civilian democratic rule in Latin America.

"American civil-military relations offers the first comprehensive assessment of the subject since the publication of Samuel P. Huntington's field-defining book, *The soldier and the state*. Using this seminal work as a point of departure, experts in the fields of political science, history, and sociology ask what has been learned and what more needs to be investigated in the relationship between civilian and military sectors in the 21st century ... What is clear from the essays in this volume is that the line between civil and military expertise and responsibility is not that sharply drawn, and perhaps given the increasing complexity of international security issues, it should not be. When forming national security policy, the editors conclude, civilian and military leaders need to maintain a respectful and engaged dialogue"--Publisher's website.

This dissertation examines change in civil-military relations. Many countries of Latin America and indeed the world have struggled in recent years to hold their armed forces accountable for human rights violations they have committed in the past. In Latin America, there has been a gradual progression towards uncovering the truth about such crimes and ultimately prosecution of members of the military for them. After examining competing explanations for and discussing the pattern of that change in Argentina and Chile, Peru is offered as a recent addition to the list of countries attempting to assert this authority over the armed forces. While I find that the Peruvian case supports scholarship that argues that transnational activist networks should be credited with leading states to adopt and institutionalize the norm of human rights accountability over their armed forces, I also find that institutional, cultural and rationalist factors serve to limit the transformation of civil-military relations. Though transnational activist networks can often enjoy "moments" of powerful influence over policy-making, the return of the human rights accountability to the realm of "normal politics" and the weak institution of the judicial system present formidable obstacles to the consolidation of the rule of law.

After a long era of military rule, the South American nations have been working on the construction of a new democratic order. This book provides a long-term historical assessment of the main features of civil-military relations in this region, from independence in the early

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nineteenth century to the current process of democratic consolidation, with special attention to the cases of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru.

This article argues for a new focus in the study of civil-military relations. It seeks to provide civilian policymakers with ideas and information to help them best carry out their responsibilities as democratically elected leaders. Referring to knowledge of military matters as "one big thing" it argues that it is not necessary for policymakers to know as much about matters of defense as their military counterparts. Based on the academic literature and the author's experience in Latin America and other regions, this article suggests that civil-military relations are best understood in terms of effectiveness, efficiency, and civilian control of the armed forces. These relations will only be effectively normalized when institutions incorporate and personalize understanding and mechanisms of control at both executive and legislative levels.

Civil-Military Relations in Latin America New Analytical Perspectives Univ of North Carolina Press

The book tackles the subject of the military and politics in Latin America from a broad historical perspective, drawing on literature in the field and other information based on personal interviews with officers.

In November 1997, the United States Army War College joined with the U.S. Southern Command, the Inter-American Defense Board, the National Guard Bureau, and the Latin American Consortium of the University of New Mexico and New Mexico State University to cosponsor a conference entitled *The Role of the Armed Forces in the Americas: Civil-Military Relations for the 21st Century*. The meeting was held from 3 to 6 November in Santa Fé, New Mexico, and was hosted by the New Mexico National Guard. The conference brought together over 150 prominent civilian governmental and military leaders and some of the most noted scholars from throughout the Americas. It was designed to support the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command's objectives of strengthening democratic institutions, assisting nations in eliminating threats to their security, supporting economic and social progress, and enhancing military professionalism. In addition, the meeting sought to promote the Army Chief of Staff's goals of conflict prevention through peacetime engagement, strategic outreach to organizations and institutions outside the Department of Defense, and the enhancement of Active and Reserve component integration. Included in this publication are the papers and speeches delivered at the conference, rapporteurs-synopses of the working group discussions and an analysis, with recommendations, of the implications for civil-military relations and U.S. policy. These presentations, the level and scope of participation, the candor of the dialogue, the outstanding support provided by our cosponsors, and the charming atmosphere of Santa Fé all contributed to making the meeting a success. The U.S. Army War College extends sincere appreciation to General Charles E. Wilhelm, the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command, and to Major General John C. Thompson, Chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board, and their staffs for the leadership and financial support that made the conference possible. We also recognize Lieutenant General Edward D. Baca, Chief of the National Guard Bureau; Major General William A. Navas, Jr., Director of the Army National Guard; the Adjutants General of New Mexico and Utah, and their outstanding soldiers who provided the crucial escort, logistical and interpretation support. The conference represented a joint military-civilian effort. The Governor of New Mexico, the Honorable Gary E. Johnson; his Chief of Staff, Mr. Lou Gallegos; the Santa Fé County Commission, and the City of Santa Fé permitted use of their facilities and ensured gracious hospitality during our stay in their beautiful state and city. Last, but not least, we would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Gilbert Merckx, Mr. Theo Crevenna, Dr. José García and Ms. Vicki Madrid Nelson, from the University of New Mexico-New Mexico State University Latin American Studies Consortium for their assistance in organizing, coordinating and administering the conference. Without their help, this endeavor

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could not have been undertaken. Our mutual goals as neighbors in this hemisphere are to promote democracy, preserve the peace, and provide for our nations. common security in the 21st century. We hope this conference will be but one step on the path toward those objectives.

Since the mid-1980s, many countries in Latin America have been struggling to consolidate recent democratic gains. Democracy vs. National Security treats one of the key problems in that process: establishing civilian control over the armed forces.

While the president is the commander in chief, the US Congress plays a critical and underappreciated role in civil-military relations—the relationship between the armed forces and the civilian leadership that commands it. This unique book edited by Colton C. Campbell and David P. Auerswald will help readers better understand the role of Congress in military affairs and national and international security policy. Contributors include the most experienced scholars in the field as well as practitioners and innovative new voices, all delving into the ways Congress attempts to direct the military. This book explores four tools in particular that play a key role in congressional action: the selection of military officers, delegation of authority to the military, oversight of the military branches, and the establishment of incentives—both positive and negative—to encourage appropriate military behavior. The contributors explore the obstacles and pressures faced by legislators including the necessity of balancing national concerns and local interests, partisan and intraparty differences, budgetary constraints, the military's traditional resistance to change, and an ongoing lack of foreign policy consensus at the national level. Yet, despite the considerable barriers, Congress influences policy on everything from closing bases to drone warfare to acquisitions. A groundbreaking study, *Congress and Civil-Military Relations* points the way forward in analyzing an overlooked yet fundamental government relationship.

This thesis assesses the future of Mexican civil-military relations. Mexico is unique among Latin American nations for its professionalized and depoliticized military. While the Mexican Armed Forces have shunned an active role in politics since 1940, they continue to rely on the hegemonic political party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI, for power and prestige. This dictates a close and mutually supportive working relationship. Within the next 20 years, however, the PRI is likely to lose its hegemonic position to increasing political opposition, severely straining the military's 60-year tradition of loyalty to both its Constitution and party. The military will be pressured to take on a more dynamic political role with the demise of its long-standing patron. This thesis demonstrates that the Mexican Armed Forces are likely to resist this temptation to repoliticize.

The armed forces may no longer rule nations throughout Latin America, but they continue to influence democratic governments across the region. In nine original, thought-provoking essays, this book offers fresh theoretical insights into the dilemmas facing Latin American politicians as they struggle to gain full control over their military institutions. Latin America has changed in profound ways since the end of the Cold War, the re-emergence of democracy, and the ascendancy of free-market economies and trade blocs. The contributors to this volume recognize the necessity of finding intellectual approaches that speak to these transformations. They utilize a wide range of contemporary models to analyze recent political and economic reform in nations throughout Latin America, presenting case studies on Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, and Venezuela. Bridging the gap between Latin American studies and political science, these essays not only explore the forces that shape civil-military relations in Latin America but also address larger questions of political development and democratization in the region. The contributors are Felipe Aguero, J. Samuel Fitch, Wendy Hunter, Ernesto Lopez, Brian Loveman, David R. Mares, Deborah L. Norden, David Pion-Berlin, and Harold A. Trinkunas. *Latin American Studies/Political Science*

Regional cooperative security in the Southern Cone has increased since 1980. This thesis

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examines the extent to which civil-military relations and economic interdependence can account for the emergence or security cooperation by reviewing the reductions in hostilities and increases in cooperation between the two largest Southern Cone countries, Argentina and Brazil, from 1980 to 2000. It examines bilateral security agreements and cooperation, as well as the history, foreign policy initiatives, civil-military relations, and economic interdependence of the case study nations, arguing that both civilian rule and economic interdependence were necessary for the emergence of cooperative security between Argentina and Brazil.

The study of civil-military relations in Latin America produced a rich debate and research agenda prior to 2000. But this agenda was largely abandoned during the past decade as the spectre of military dictatorship has virtually disappeared, with the political role of the military in many countries dramatically diminished. Indeed, in no country that has initiated a process of holding the military accountable to civilian control has the military openly rebelled. Yet, the institutions and public attitudes that guarantee democratic civilian control of the military exist in a general context of political polarisation, citizen insecurity and in many countries a sense of developing ungovernability. The military coup in Honduras (2009), the military response to the police rebellion in Ecuador (2010), and the speculation concerning the Venezuelan military's behaviour in the event that Hugo Chavez is incapacitated or dies (2013), demonstrates the relevance and importance of the civil-military relationship today. In this volume leading scholars from Latin America, the U.S. and Spain debate the ability of contemporary Latin American civil-military relationships to weather these challenges. The authors examine new types of regimes (the rise of participatory democracy), new political orientations (the renaissance of the Left in Latin America), and new missions for the military. Debate centres on the indicators to evaluate the level of consolidation of civilian control, the manner in which these indicators are measured, and the empirical ambiguities that arise. These challenges must be confronted in order to effectively address the question of how much progress has been made in the region in subordinating the military to civilian control, which countries are lagging behind, and why. Published in association with CILAS, University of California, San Diego.

In many contemporary nations, particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the armed forces play a major role in governing. Historical, economic, and sociological factors have contributed to the political prominence of the military in developing countries. Nevertheless, in the 1980s several states in Latin America restored civilian rule followi

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Dr. Linda A. Rodríguez has assembled a new collection of essays that finally provides the historical context necessary to understand the Latin American military. The articles included here examine a variety of time periods and nations, from the counterinsurgency army of New Spain, to the nineteenth-century War of the Pacific, to the modern relationship between the military and development. The contributors look at the ways in which Latin America's armed forces have changed over time, and how external threats as well as internal rivalries have shaped the military. Together, these essays trace the roots of the military's power and the growth of its political influence.

For some time now, there has been debate in academic circles about just how much civilian politicians in Latin America need to know, and do, to control their militaries. David Pion-Berlin, a highly regarded scholar on Latin American civil-military relations, has argued that civilians do not have to worry about investing the necessary time to understanding defense, strategy, tactics, preparation, budgeting, deployment, doctrine, or training. Pion-Berlin bases his argument on deductive logic and history, but we believe the situation has changed significantly in the region. Therefore, we respectfully, in our opinion, civilians must know enough to be able to ensure that the armed forces are doing what they are required to do, not only in terms of submitting to civilian control, but also in successfully fulfilling the current very wide spectrum of roles and missions assigned to security forces in Latin America. Unlike Pion-Berlin, we believe that the security threats facing Latin America are now so broad and so critical that civilians have little choice but to engage with them and invest political capital in responding to them. We must first recognize that in agreement with Pion-Berlin there is, in fact, an important disincentive for civilians to become expert on military issues. In Aesop's fable about the hedgehog and the fox, the fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing. This suggests that the fox,

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for all of his cunning, is defeated by the hedgehog's defense. Like foxes, democratically elected politicians must know many things, while the armed forces, like the hedgehog, only have to know one big thing: national security even though the definition of this concept is in transition. Military officers spend their careers studying and training in it; they belong to institutions that focus on it; and they ascend through the ranks depending on their knowledge of it.

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