

# The U.S. Military-Industrial Complex GVPT409F

Summer Session I, 2008

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## Brief course description:

This course examines the rise of the U.S. military-industrial complex, or the relationship between economic vitality, the military industry, and U.S. political institutions following World War II. In the first part of the course, students will consider why a nation founded on a distrust of standing armies developed and maintained a permanent defense industry, with particular focus on institutional incentives apart from national security concerns. Examining the role of political institutions in perpetuating U.S. defense expenditures leads to policy-oriented questions concerning recent military engagements. Students will assess the institutional processes by which the U.S. initiates wars, utilizes force, and undergoes covert operations, and consider how contemporary U.S. militarism both flows and departs from the constitutional design.

This course is designed to be part lecture and part discussion. The lecture will not summarize course readings; rather, lecture is meant to build upon a foundation provided by the readings for the week. This is a demanding course. Attendance and participation are, of course, critical.

## Course Requirements:

- Three short papers (4-5 pages) – 10%, 15%, 20%, respectively
- Final Exam – Take-home essays – 40%
- Participation - Includes (typed) 1 page reaction papers due at the beginning of each class – 15%

## Due Dates:

- Paper #1: June 17 (in class)
- Paper #2: June 26 (in class)
- Paper #3: July 8 (in class)
- Final Exam: To Be Announced

### **Text Books:**

- Mills, C. Wright. 1956. *The Power Elite*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Markuson, Ann; Peter Hall; Scott Campbell & Sabina Deitrick, 1991. *The Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping of Industrial America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blum, William. 1995. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.
- Scahill, Jeremy. 2007. *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army*. New York, NY: Nation Books.

## ***Week 1 – Foundations - War Powers and the Constitution***

### June 3 - Overview

- Exercise: Constitutional Foundations - Enumerated War Powers
- The Constitution of the United States*
- 2008 Defense Authorization Bill

### June 5 - Constitutional Ratification & 18<sup>th</sup> Century War Powers

- Madison. 1792. "Universal Peace." *National Gazette*.  
[http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com\\_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=1941&chapter=124396&layout=html&Itemid=27](http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=1941&chapter=124396&layout=html&Itemid=27)
  - Hamilton, Alexander & James Madison. 1788. *Federalist Papers* #23 & 51.  
<http://www.constitution.org/fed/federa23.htm>  
<http://www.constitution.org/fed/federa51.htm>
  - Brutus. 1788. *The Anti-Federalist* Essay X.  
<http://www.constitution.org/afp/brutus10.htm>
  - Hamilton & Madison. 1793. Pacificus No. 1 & Helvidius No. 1. - Handouts
- [Recommended: Hormats. 2007. *The Price of Liberty: Paying For America's Wars*. Times Books.]

## ***Week 2 – The Origins of the U.S. Defense Industry***

### June 10 - World War II: Economic Mobilization

- FDR, 1941. Four Freedoms Address  
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrthefourfreedoms.htm> - Audio clip  
<http://www.wwnorton.com/college/history/ralph/workbook/ralprs36b.htm> - Abridged version
- Eisenhower, 1961 Farewell Address  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8y06NSBBRtY> - You Tube clip

- Kennedy, David. 2000. "The War of Machines," in *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression & War, 1929-1945*.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1956. "The Warlords" & "The Military Ascendancy," in *The Power Elite* Oxford: Oxford University Press (pp 171-225).

#### June 12 - The Rise of the U.S. Defense Industry

- Markuson, Ann; Peter Hall; Scott Campbell & Sabina Deitrick, 1991. *The Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping of Industrial America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 1-3, 9 required (pp. 1-50, 211-229).
- Higgs, Robert. 1990. "Fifty Years of Arms, Politics and the Economy," in *Arms, Politics & the Economy*, xv-xxxii.
- Galbraith, William. 1969. "The Big Defense Firms are Really Public Firms," *New York Times*, Nov. 16, 1969.
- "Washington's Bruised Economy,"  
<http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/news/business/washecon2002/seattle.html>

\**Eugene Jarecki, "Why We Fight" – Documentary*

[Recommended: Gansler, J.S. 1980. *The Defense Industry*. MIT Press]

### ***Week 3 – Political Institutions***

#### June 17 - The Role of Congress: Military Spending & the Electoral Connection

##### ***\*PAPER #1 DUE***

- Lindsay, James. 1999. "Congress, War, and the Military," in J.W. Chambers (ed), *The Oxford Guide to American Military History*, New York: Oxford University Press (pp. 177-79).
- Fiorina, Morris. 1989. *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven: Yale University Press. Intro, Ch. 5, 8 required.
- Higgs, Robert. 2006. "Airplanes the Pentagon Didn't Want But Congress Did," in *Depression, War & Cold War* Oxford University Press. (pp. 176-185).
- Book, Elizabeth. "Armed Services Freshmen Gun for More Defense Dollars," *National Defense Magazine*, April 2001.  
[http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/issues/2001/Apr/Armed\\_Services.htm](http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/issues/2001/Apr/Armed_Services.htm)

[Recommended: Mayhew, David R. 1974. *The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press. ]

## June 19 - Department of Defense

-Trask, Roger R. & Alfred Goldberg. 1997. *The Department of Defense 1947-1997, Organization and Leaders*. Office of Secretary of Defense: Washington DC, Historical Office. (excerpts)

-Arnold, R. Douglas. 1979. *Congress and the Bureaucracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Ch. 1-2, 6 required (pp. 3-32, 95-102, 122-124).

-Freedberg, Sydney Jr. "The Bills Come Due," "Aging Aircraft," "Running Aground," *National Journal* (March 14, 2008).

<http://www.nationaljournal.com/about/njweekly/stories/2008/0314nj1.htm>

-Simon, Harvey. 1988. "Buying the Baretta: The Army's Dilemma." Copyright by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

-Cox, Bob, "General Reprimanded for disagreeing on F-22," *Star Telegram* (2/16/08).

<http://www.star-telegram.com/business/story/477468.html>

\**Robert McNamara, "Fog of War" — Documentary*

[Recommended: Freeman, J. Leiper. 1955. *The Political Process: Executive Bureau-Legislative Committee Relations*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday; Adams, Gordon. *The Iron Triangle*; Wilson, James Q. *Bureaucracy*]

## ***Week 4 – The Executive Branch and U.S. Foreign Policy: Practice v Theory***

### June 24 - The Executive Branch: Setting the Foreign Policy Agenda

-Mills, C. Wright. 1956. "The Political Directorate," in *The Power Elite* (pp. 225-241).

-U.S. General Accounting Office, "National Security: The Use of Presidential Directives to Make and Implement U.S. Policy," GAO-NSIAD 92-72, January 1992.

-Schlesinger, Arthur. 2004. *War and the American Presidency*. Norton W. W. & Co. (Ch. 3 required)

-Savage, Charlie. "Bush Challenges Hundreds of Laws," *The Boston Globe* (4/30/06).

[http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2006/04/30/bush\\_challenges\\_hundreds\\_of\\_laws/](http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2006/04/30/bush_challenges_hundreds_of_laws/)

[Recommended: Whittington, Keith E. & Dan Carpenter. 2003. "Executive Power in American Institutional Development" *Perspectives on Politics* 1: 495-513]

### June 26 - Institutional War Powers I: "The Theory of Balance"

#### ***-PAPER #2 DUE***

- James Madison. 1788. *Federalist Papers*, #47-48.

- Hamilton, Alexander. 1788. *Federalist Papers*, #69-71.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1956. "The Theory of Balance," in *The Power Elite* (pp. 242-268)
- Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, "Instances of U.S. Force Abroad, 1798-2004, RL30172," written by Richard F. Grimmett, Specialist in National Defense, 10/5/04.  
<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl30172.htm>

## ***Week 5 – Inter-Branch Relations & U.S. Military Policy***

### July 1 - Institutional War Powers II: Can Congress Check the President?

- Koh, Harold. 1988. "Why the President (Almost) Always Wins in Foreign Affairs: Lessons of the Iran-Contra Affair." *Yale Law Journal* 97.7: 1255-1342.
- Fisher, Louis. 1989. "How Tightly Can Congress Draw the Purse Strings?" *The American Journal of International Law* 83: 758-766.
- Howell & Pevehouse. 2007. "When Congress Stops Wars." *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2007)
- OR
- Howell & Pevehouse. 2007. "Possibilities of Congressional Influence," in *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers* New Jersey: Princeton University Press (pp. 1-32).
- \*Bill Moyers, "The Secret Government: The Constitution in Crisis," – Documentary

### July 3 - Post-WW2 U.S. Military Interventions

- Chambers, 1999, excerpts on theory of nuclear deterrence
- Weiner, Tim. 2007. " "In the Beginning, We Knew Nothing:" The CIA Under Truman, 1945-1953" in *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*. Doubleday.
- Blum, William. 1995. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press. (excerpts)
- \*Stanley Kubrick, "Dr. Strangelove: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb" – Film – Excerpts.

[Recommended: Packer, George. "Knowing the Enemy," in *The New Yorker Magazine*, December 16, 2006.]

## ***Week 6 – Privatization & U.S. Mercenary Industry***

July 8 - Guns for Hire: Iraq & Beyond

### ***\*PAPER #3 DUE***

-Rumsfeld, Donald H. 2002. “Transforming the Military,” *Foreign Affairs*, 81:20.

-Scahill, Jeremy. 2007. *Blackwater: The Rise of the World’s Most Powerful Mercenary Army*. New York, NY: Nation Books. (excerpts)

-Klein, Naomi, “Disaster Capitalism,” in *Harpers Magazine*. October, 2007.

[Recommended: Lustick, Ian. 2006. *Trapped in the War on Terror*. University of Pennsylvania Press. ]

July 10 - TBA