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Civil-Military Relations and Monarchical Survival: A Comparative Analysis of

Morocco and Jordan

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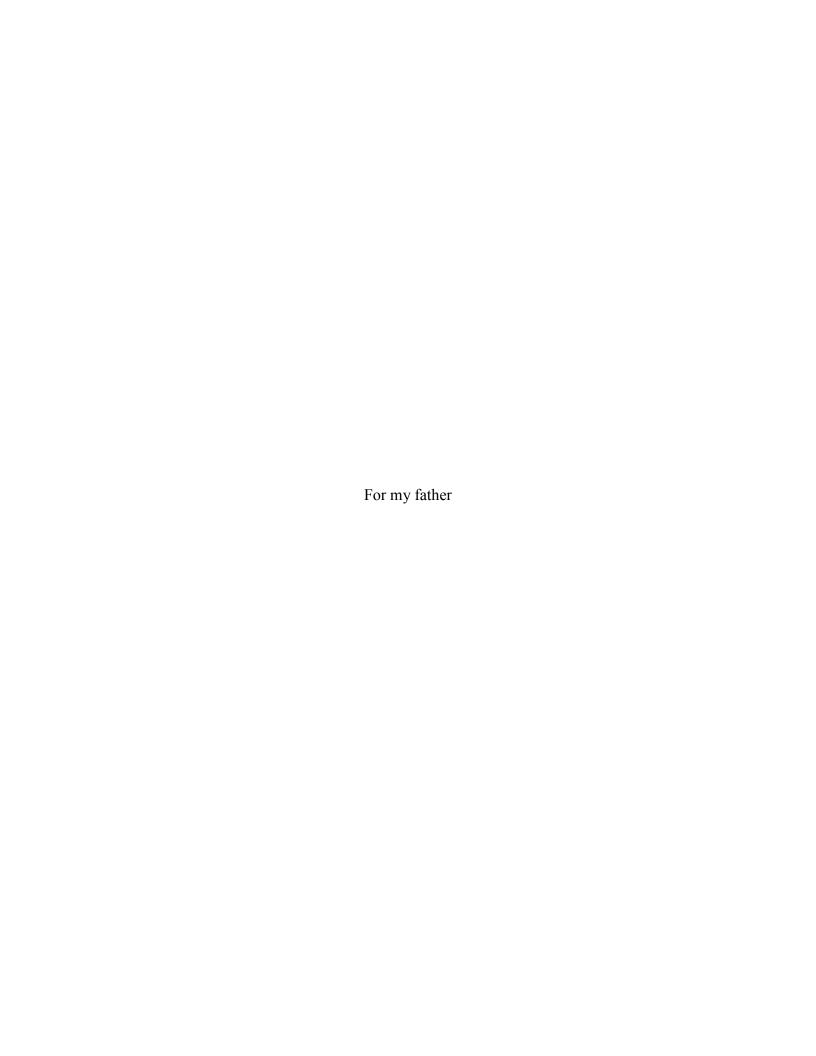
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For my father

Abstract

Civil-Military Relations and Monarchical Survival: A Comparative Analysis of

Morocco and Jordan

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The literature on regime persistence in the Arab world, particularly when it comes to the monarchies, has missed many crucial elements. Specifically, the role of the military within the elite coalition and the factors that lead to variation on this variable have not been adequately studied. In this report, two cases of persistent monarchies – Morocco and Jordan - will be examined. This study will focus on the development of the military establishments in these two cases, as well as their current state of civil-military relations. Using an institutionalist approach, the study finds that civil-military relations in both regimes is a direct outcome of the monarchy's role, which, in turn, rests on three factors: the historical legacy of the monarchy in state formation, the appeal of the monarch to a large proportion of the population, and the institutional mechanisms utilized by the monarchy to maintain control over their military establishments. The monarchical role in the development of the military subordinates the armed forces, as well as lessens their professionalization as they become less representative and more politicized institutions. Subordination of the military as a strategy of the monarchy is thus highlighted as an important variable in the persistence of this type of authoritarian regime.

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<u>Introduction</u>

In the last three years, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Alaouite Kingdom of Morocco seem to have faced less instability than the surrounding region. In fact, analysts seem to agree that the regimes have navigated the demands of their population as a result of the Arab Spring, in a way that has further *preserved* their own control. Although facing more challenges than their oil-rich counterparts in the Gulf, Jordan and Morocco have been characterized as success stories of stability, in no small part due to their subordinate military establishments.

Both monarchical regimes have had a similar historical trajectory in terms of military development. The Jordanian and Moroccan kings have faced coup plots in the past, during the tumultuous period of Arab nationalism (1950's – 1970's). These monarchies also took a similar approach to solving the issue of an insubordinate military (i.e. purging politicized officers, solidifying ties with certain segments of society, etc). Most importantly, they were both able to achieve a relationship with their armies that set the monarch himself as the *raison d'etre* of the nation and the armed forces in particular.[1]

Despite these overwhelming similarities, there remains some variation; the role of the military within the political regime differs between these two cases. It is important to understand where this difference comes from, historically and

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[1] Similarities exist between the role of the Jordanian and Moroccan monarchs within the mission statement of the Armed Forces for each country. See Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001) for more detail on the Jordan case.

institutionally, to isolate the determinants of a subordinate military establishment, versus that of a politicized one. Jordan and Morocco are, today, at one end of the civil-military relations spectrum, in the sense that the militaries remain loyal to defending their monarchs. It is not safe to assume, however, that they will remain in this position, particularly given the upheavals in the Arab world today. Oil-poor monarchies in the Arab world have fallen in the past, and it is imperative that within-regime fissures which lead to such an outcome are isolated and examined in greater detail.

Despite the importance of the armed forces in regime persistence, the military's role within these states, and its increasing importance as a member of the elite coalition, has often been neglected. Most academic work on the subject of militaries within these monarchies has merely assumed the institution's acquiescence to any political development approved by the king. In any given society, the military is one of the most powerful and influential institutions, even when subordinated to civilian officials. Particularly in the Middle East and North Africa, the military institution has been identified as a key player, across regime types, in the setting and execution of government policy.[2] They have also played a central role in deciding the outcomes of protest movements and revolutions in

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[2] Barry Rubin, *Armed Forces in the Middle East; Politics and Strategy*, ed. Barry Rubin and Thomas Keany (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 1-22.

countries affected by the Arab Spring.[3] As such, particularly in the cases of Morocco

and Jordan, an analysis of the army is crucial to understanding political

developments in the future. And unlike the monarchies of the Gulf, oil wealth is not

a confounding variable in explaining regime persistence in these cases.

Using an institutionalist approach, this paper utilizes previously developed

indicators, derived from typologies, of civil-military relations to outline the army's

position within these states today. This approach emphasizes the path dependence

of policy decisions at the formation of any given institution, as well as following

critical junctures in its development, to explain persistence over time and account

for change concurrently.[4] Acting as a disciplined configurative case analysis, this

study uses this approach coupled with established theories to explain the two cases.

The study also serves heuristic purposes in the sense that it seeks to identify new

causal mechanisms and develops hypotheses for future research.[5]

The paper will explore the military's unique relationship to the Hashemite

and Alaouite monarchies, and how it has developed since the creation of each state. I

argue that the state of civil-military relations in both regimes is a direct outcome of

the monarchy's role, which rests on three factors: the historical role of the

monarchy in state formation, the appeal of the monarch to a large proportion of the

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[3] Derek Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces and Society* 39, no. 1 (2012): 44.
[4] Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *Political Studies* 44, no. 5 (1996): 937-942.
[5] Alexander George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2005), 75.

population, and the institutional mechanisms utilized by the monarchy to maintain control over their military establishments.

The paper will be divided as follows: the first section will provide an overview of previous literature on monarchical regimes in order to outline the role of this particular study. The second part will highlight the most commonly used indicators in the analysis of civil-military relations. The third portion of this paper will go on to discuss previous literature on civil-military relations in the Middle East. The fourth section will outline the historical development of the Jordanian and Moroccan armies, while the fifth and sixth parts will apply the abovementioned indicators to help categorize the state of their civil-military relations today. The seventh section will assess civil-military relations at work by analyzing the army's behavior under political pressure. Finally, the final segment will present preliminary conclusions and discuss possibilities for future research.

Monarchical Survival

Samuel Huntington famously posited that monarchies in the modern age would face the "king's dilemma." He essentially argued that monarchs would not be able to maintain absolute control as challenges to state development increased. Thus, monarchs would inevitably cede power to other political actors/forces within society, meaning monarchies would soon be a thing of the past.[6]

Of course, this theory did not apply to monarchies in the Middle East generally, and a number of monarchies (8 out of 13 in the modern Middle East) have survived to the present day. Some scholars since then have considered monarchies anomalies, with no place in theories on authoritarian regimes. Others have attempted to build explanations for monarchical survival, but have focused on a narrow set of indicators. For instance, Michael Herb argues that monarchies have survived as a result of their internal institutional dynamic; mainly, the cohesion and cooperation of members of the ruling family in support of the regime. He argues that "dynastic" monarchies pursue strategies in which the expansive ruling family can remain in control of the state, with the help of oil revenues.[7] Oil revenues in particular help regimes stay in power by removing the need to tax the public (thus negating any need to remain accountable) and by providing a source of income for

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[6] Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, (Fredericksburg, VA: Yale University Press, 1968), 177-185.
[7] Michael Herb, *All in the Family*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999), 2-6.

increased repression when necessary.[8] Herb does not, however, offer an equally useful explanation for why oil-poor, non-dynastic countries (such as Morocco or Jordan) have also persisted despite greater threats.

Scholars such as Russell Lucas and Lisa Anderson, on the other hand, outline more effectively the strategies used by monarchs within non-dynastic regimes.[9] Identifying them as "linch-pin" regimes, these authors argue that the monarchs organize disparate societal forces around the institution of the monarchy itself. Specifically, the monarchs within these regimes maintain the acquiescence of their societies by deliberately creating and sustaining multiple divisions between their subjects, as well as acting as the stabilizing force amongst them. In this way, monarchs within oil-poor states make themselves indispensible to their subjects.[10]

In the past several years, particularly since the Arab Spring, scholars have attempted to integrate these theories into a single explanation. Some arguments, such as the ability of oil-poor monarchs to rely on broad social bases, have been recycled. The positive effect of dynastic ruling families on the persistence of monarchies also remains well-recognized. In addition to these arguments, scholars such as Yom & Gause or Bank, Richter, & Sunik have also added international factors

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[8] Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (2001): 325-361.
[9] Russell Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, (2004): 103-119.
[10] Lisa Anderson, "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (1991): 1-15.

to explain monarchical survival.[11] According to them, the support of international/regional powers, such as the United States, France, or Saudi Arabia, provides sufficient resources for oil-poor monarchies to maintain their control.[12] This argument echoes work on authoritarian persistence more generally.[13]

While the international aspect may be a useful dimension to explore in future research, scholarship thus far has failed to address a major domestic determinant of monarchical persistence – the role of the armed forces within the regime. For instance, Yom & Gause outline the shifting strategies of the Moroccan and Jordanian regimes in the 1970's, in which the monarchs widened their social bases in order to more effectively address threats to their legitimacy.[14] However, they completely fail to mention that such a shift in strategy was a direct result of the threats posed by the politicized armies of these regimes at the time. Historically, militaries have played a decisive role in the survival, or failure, of monarchies within the region.

Additionally, many of the factors recent scholarship has outlined as determinants of regime persistence are actually connected to the armed forces, and their position within the regime. A broad social base – considered a main factor in the persistence of monarchies according to Yom & Gause – is achieved to some

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[11] Sean Yom and Gregory Gause III, "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 4 (2012): 74-88.

[12] Andre Bank, Thomas Richter, and Anna Sunik, "Long-term monarchical survival in the Middle East: a configurational comparison, 1945-2012," *Democratization* (2013): accessed March 31, 2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2013.845555.

[13] Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[14] Yom & Gause 2012, 79-81.

degree by utilizing strategic recruitment within the armed forces. Variables such as the ability to repress, as well as historic legitimacy, are also tied to the role of the armed forces. Many of these authors miss the importance of the military as a decisive political actor; therefore, their explanations are incomplete at best.

Monarchies have utilized their armed forces as a main tool of control, recognizing the importance of military support for the persistence of their regimes. Militaries, after all, were the deciding factor in regime survival both historically and even recently in the events of the Arab Spring. Thus, the role of armed forces within any regime should be assessed through an examination of civil-military relations indicators. Using such indicators, we can classify more effectively where the military stands in relation to other powerful institutions, as well as identify the extent of the military's politicization. In this way, we can outline the state of civil-military relations within each case.

As I noted above, the state of civil-military relations is a decisive factor in the persistence of any regime, and can be considered a direct outcome of the monarch's role specifically. The relationship of the monarchy to its armed forces rests on three factors: historical legitimacy, societal support, and the institutional mechanisms available to assist the monarch in maintaining control.

Indicators of Civil Military Relations

The key indicators of ideal civil military relations most utilized in the literature were developed by two particular scholars: Samuel Huntington and Morris Janowitz. Although there is some disagreement between them on what constitutes "ideal," there are also many similarities between their conceptions. Scholars such as Michael Desch and Douglas Bland further built on these initial theories, particularly as the third wave of democratization ran its course.

Beginning with Huntington, he identifies any country's type of civilian control as being either objective or subjective, and uses a number of variables to make this classification. Objective civilian control denotes cases in which the military is highly professional and removed from politics; civilians exercise control over the military's overarching mission, but do not get too engrossed in military affairs (since that would be at the expense of the military's professionalism). Subjective civilian control is defined as, essentially, harmful civilian involvement. In such cases, the military can become politicized, reducing its overall professionalism and effectiveness. Conditions where there is subjective civilian control can create dangerous precedents and make a political actor out of the military.[15]

There are a number of variables attached to these two definitions that help scholars identify whether a case features objective or subjective civilian control. To measure the professionalization of the army, researchers can assess whether or not

[15] Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations.* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1957).

the chain of command within the army, and between the army and the state, is clear. Researchers can also assess the self-proclaimed mission of the army, who sets it, and whether or not it is cohesive. To categorize an army as being apolitical, scholars can look towards who controls the budget of the military (civilians vs. military leadership), the military's position in executive agencies, etc.

Janowitz agreed with Huntington on the merits of a professional army, but was also concerned with the military's civilianization. Whereas Huntington views the ideal military as one that is subordinate but separate from the state, Janowitz focuses much more on issues such as the representativeness of the army and its internal role in the state. For instance, Janowitz notes the differences between a conscript and volunteer army, and the distinction as affecting civil-military relations to a large degree. Additionally, the internal role of the army (both historically, and the manner in which it is decided) affects civil-military relations in a significant manner. A military that has been excessively involved in policing the citizenry, for example, will have a much different relationship with civilian sectors than a military used solely to protect borders.[16] Overall, Janowitz' emphasis on fostering "civic virtue" within the ranks and assuring a positive relationship between the army and society gives scholars an added, and important, perspective when studying civil-military relations. These two conceptions of ideal civil-military relations are highly

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[16] Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrayal.* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960).

useful in the assessment of any particular case, and this paper will utilize the insights of both scholars to classify the Jordanian and Moroccan militaries.

Attempting to build on these works by bridging both the concept of "professionalism" and "civilianization," Douglas Bland presents a "shared responsibility theory" of civil-military relations.[17] Bland bases his unified theory of civil-military relations on "regime theory" from the international relations subfield, which focuses on the "rules of the game," as embodied by institutions, and how procedures affect outcomes.[18] His theory makes a contribution to the literature by defining practical, mechanism-focused analysis of civil-military relations through a theory that covers democracies and autocracies alike.[19] Accordingly, the theory accounts for changes to civil-military relations within dynamic and evolving countries, emphasizing that balancing both the civilian and military realms is necessary. Bland also highlights that the military as an institution has its own corporate interests; thus, its total subordination should not be considered an indicator of good or bad civil-military relations. Rather, the author makes the distinction between civilian direction and control, arguing that the former is a better conception of shared responsibilities than the latter.[20] Overall, Bland combines and transforms the classic theories of civil-military relations into a pragmatic and

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[17] Douglas Bland, "A Unified Theory of Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces and Society* 26, no. 1 (1999).
[18] Ibid., 15.
[19] Ibid., 22.
[20] Ibid., 19.

testable theory of shared responsibilities, applicable to cases across the spectrum of regimes. Bland's recognition that the military has particular interests, as well as the distinction between civilian direction and control is useful in application to both the cases addressed in this paper.

Michael Desch also builds on Huntington's original hypotheses concerning external security and its role in the military's development. Huntington originally argued that foreign threats and external involvement for the military leads to the civilianization of the government in emerging/developing states. Simply put, while the military has external objectives and is preoccupied with threats to the nation, civilians can exercise greater control on the development of government institutions, thus leading to healthier civil-military relations as a result of institutional path dependence. Such external involvement would also presumably lead to greater professionalization as the military contends with challenges to its power. Desch agrees with this, and makes the necessary addition of alternatively examining the role of internal threats. He concludes that internal threats, unlike external ones, are political by nature; therefore, the military is compelled to make political decisions about which side to take.[21] Simply taking part in internal policing is a political stance, in a sense. As a result, this politicization dilutes their professionalism and has the adverse effect of weakening the relationship between the military establishment and society. This specification of threat *type* is useful for

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[21] Michael Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment.* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 13.

the assessment of both cases in this study. A controlled comparison of Morocco and

Jordan shows variation on this indicator.

Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East

Scholars have often employed the variables highlighted by Janowitz and Huntington to assess civil-military relations in the Middle Eastern context. A number of case studies exist on the militaries of important states, such as Egypt, in which these variables are assessed. However, few works have been developed to evaluate civil-military relations comparatively across the region. Prior to the Arab Spring, a lack of information (combined with dwindling scholarly interest) led to a gap in the civil-military literature and few nomothetic assessments of the region overall. Now that political events have refocused attention on the state of Arab armies, it is important to evaluate what the literature has concluded thus far, in order to resume research on this crucial topic in the future.

Mehran Kamrava is one of few scholars to examine and attempt to categorize Middle Eastern countries according to the state of their civil-military relations. He posits that there are four main categories of regimes in the Middle East, each category with a distinct pattern of military use and control. The first category encompasses the partial democracies of Israel & Turkey, where the military is allowed to have great control but the state ultimately dominates. This category, in the Arab context specifically, is not very useful. The second category encompasses what Kamrava calls "inclusionary states," where the official military is kept subordinate to other militia groups, and officers are controlled by state ideology. Such countries include Iraq prior to the American invasion and Libya prior to

Muammar Gaddafi's removal. The third category focuses on "exclusionary states" featuring armed forces that have, for the most part, allowed civilian autocrats control of the state (though, of course, they maintain a good deal of power over their own affairs and policy-making). Examples include Tunisia and Egypt, among others. Finally, Kamrava categorizes the remaining monarchical states as always relying on mercenary armies, or tribal support, in their military policies.[22]

Under Kamrava's typology, Jordan and Morocco fall in this last category, though being quite different from most other countries within this group. Neither monarchy, for example, enjoys vast amounts of oil wealth, as do the monarchies in the Gulf region. Additionally, neither monarchy benefits from the large extended ruling families that Gulf monarchies often feature, making it difficult for the regime to influence policy/maintain control solely through the appointment of family members to positions of power. Instead, the Jordanian and Moroccan regime is characterized as playing a balancing act between, on the one hand, maintaining the monarch's control over military policy and, on the other hand, attempting to preserve the loyalty of the armed forces to the regime. As such, their armies are characterized by Kamrava as being professional and, so far, dependable.[23]

Eva Bellin, in a subsequent article on authoritarian regimes in the Arab world, discusses the militaries of the region as a part of each regime's coercive

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[22] Mehran Kemrava, "Military Professionalization and Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly* 115, no. 1 (2000).
[23] Ibid., 90-91.

apparatus.[24] Thus, the possible role of the military in repressing for political purposes is well-recognized in Bellin's paper. She also specifically focuses on the issue of professionalism, and thus adds to Kamrava's earlier characterizations. Bellin argues that the militaries of the Arab world can be described as either institutionalized or patrimonial. However, she defines institutionalized militaries simply as those that are "rule-governed, predictable, and meritocratic."[25] She distinguishes this from Huntington's definition of professionalization – with its focus on depoliticization – thereby making the claim that militaries in the region can be both institutionalized *and* politicized. The alternative to an institutionalized military is a patrimonial one, where cronyism decides appointments to leadership positions and officers utilize corruption extensively.

Bellin's definition of institutionalization, as distinguished from Huntington's professionalization definition, is certainly useful for the Arab world since many countries feature armies that are highly institutionalized, yet not very professional in the sense that they remain embroiled in the political sphere. However, her dichotomy between institutionalized armies and patrimonial armies is highly ambiguous. Morocco and Jordan in particular have an army both rule-governed and patrimonial, where the monarch may appoint specific elites to leadership positions, and they join many other countries in the region that share these traits. All in all,

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[24] Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004): 139-157.
[25] Ibid., 145.

Bellin's analysis of Arab militaries is valuable to some degree, but her main distinction – institutionalized versus patrimonial – is not in fact mutually exclusive, as the author claims.

Lutterbeck goes further using Bellin's original analysis to connect an army's level of institutionalization to its acceptance of political reform. He adds a third dimension to the analysis of civil-military relations, that of the army's relationship to society, echoing Janowitz' focus on civilianization. This is an important inclusion since it draws attention to the demographics of armed forces in the Arab world and their connection to each regime's consolidation of power. Particularly in Jordan, Lutterbeck argues that its tribally-dominated military must not be that institutionalized, since they have not proven supportive of political reform in the past.[26] In addition, owing to their extreme loyalty to the regime, Lutterbeck characterizes the Jordanian Armed Forces as highly patrimonial, and thus weakly institutionalized, if the mutual exclusivity of Bellin's types is assumed to be true. However, considering the fact that Jordan's military is considered one of the most professional and rule-governed armies in the region, Lutterbeck's analysis seems questionable.[27] His general study is useful to a degree, but suffers from many of the limitations found in Bellin and Kamrava's work previously.

Overall, the literature on civil-military relations in the Middle East has attempted to build on pre-existing theory, but has remained incomplete. Specifically,

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[26] Lutterbeck 2012.
[27] Kamrava 2000, 90-91.

the ambiguous role played by the monarchies in the development of military institutions continues to confound scholars. The increasing number of typologies has not led to any further clarity on these issues. Therefore, in moving forward, it is important to keep the pre-existing theory in mind (overarching concepts of subjective/objective civilian control and professionalization) while isolating what makes some Middle Eastern regimes difficult to classify and assess. The cases of Morocco and Jordan provide such an opportunity.

<u>Historical Development of the Armed Forces</u>

The institutionalist approach is, fundamentally, one that focuses on structural contexts and variables. In particular, an institutionalist approach emphasizes previous historical legacy as a major influence on institutional arrangements in the current time period. Scholars utilizing this approach highlight the concept of critical junctures, i.e. formative moments that bind actors in certain arrangements/paths, with greater effects as time goes on.[28] Thus, to understand any given case (such as the case of Jordanian or Moroccan civil-military relations) in the present day, it is important to examine the historical development of the institution in question, as well as identify the critical junctures responsible for its current state.

Jordan

The Jordanian Armed Forces emerged from the Arab Legion, an institution that existed prior to the creation of the Jordanian state itself. Under British command, the Arab Legion organized the tribes and Bedouins in the area that would later become Trans-Jordan against the Ottoman Empire. This tactic was used not only to foment dissidence against the Ottomans, but also as part of British grand strategy in all its colonial holdings. Britain relied on certain factions in each society, believing particular groups were better suited to warfare than others (i.e. much like their reliance on Punjabis in India). Later on, when the British made a deal to create

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[28] Hall & Taylor 1996.

the Jordanian state for the Hashemite family of the Hijaz region, the Arab Legion was passed to the command of the King Abdullah I in 1949.

During King Abdullah I's brief reign (1946-1951), British involvement in the Arab Legion continued, even maintaining a British officer, Lieutenant-General John Glubb, as the army's commander. During this time the monarchy as an institution faced critical challenges to its legitimacy, both by residents of the West Bank in Palestine (which Abdullah had just annexed) and by a few tribes in Trans-Jordan. After all, the monarchy was both an implant from a different region and had appeared to, quite blatantly, coordinate with the British in the 1948 war. At this point, the Jordanian ruling family had not cultivated the "civic-myth" responsible for its legitimacy later on.[29] For precisely these reasons, the rule of King Abdullah I came to an abrupt end with his assassination in 1951.

After a short stint by King Abdullah's son, Talal, his grandson Hussain ascended the throne in 1952. In the same year, the Free Officers movement emerged in Egypt and Arab nationalism as an ideology began to sweep the region. The ruling families were disparaged as collaborators with Britain and other imperialist forces, and King Hussain gained intelligence that there were many nationalistic officers sympathetic to challenging his rule. He attempted to distance himself from Britain by purging the British officers from the armed forces and dismissing Glubb from the role of commander. His actions came a bit too late, and a coup was attempted a year

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[29] Kamrava 2000, 87-88.

later by officers emulating the Egyptian example. Thankfully for the monarchy, the institutional legacy of British recruitment (of predominantly Bedouin soldiers) saved Hussain from removal, as "soldiers chose their King over their officers in 1957."[30]

The King's reactions immediately following this initial coup attempt constitutes the first critical juncture in the development of the Jordanian Armed Forces. Hussain purged officers suspected of harboring sympathies to the nationalists, and even arrested some key personalities. In addition to his crackdown on civilian protests in towns both west and east of the Jordan River, he also banned media publications and political parties, instating curfews and martial law. Additionally, he reconstituted his cabinet with assuredly loyalist members only, removing members of Palestinian origin.[31] From that point forward, the King pursued policies of patronage to the tribes and Bedouins termed "East Bankers" at the expense of increased Palestinian marginalization. The King also made clear his regime's stance on the politicization issue: the armed forces were to remain separate from politics, and no politically active military personnel would be allowed to stay in the army. King Hussain remained suspicious of the officer corps and the possibility of coups, and so abolished elections and parties until the 1990's, and

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[30] Herb 1999, 226.
[31] Alan George, *Jordan: Living in the Crossfire* (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2005), 31.

maintained the legal separation between members of the armed forces and political expression.[32]

The king's reliance on "East Bankers" continued to increase, since soldiers of this background had helped the monarchy survive during the attempted coups of the 1950's and 1960's. It was not, however, until the events of Black September in 1970 that Palestinians with Jordanian citizenship were marginalized entirely. In this short conflict, the armed forces saw large-scale desertions by Jordanians of Palestinian descent, in addition to civilian protests in the West Bank.[33] The attempted coup, led by factions of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, can be considered another critical juncture in the relationship of the monarchy with the armed forces. Despite some evidence to suggest that Jordanians of Palestinian origin constitute 2/3's of the entire Jordanian population, King Hussain and the top brass have pursued a consistent policy of limiting their role in the armed forces. For instance, estimates place the proportion of Jordanian Palestinians in the officer corps at only 10%.[34] On top of that, the King relied heavily on the Jordanian tribes (i.e. East Bankers) for any important military appointment, striking a balance between them that worked to increase their ties to the regime. This preference for

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[32] Kamrava 2000, 90.
[33] Nawaf Tell, "Jordanian Security Sector Governance: Between Theory and Practice" (paper presentation at Challenges of Security Sector Governance in the Middle East, Geneva, Switzerland, July 2004), 17.
[34] "Jordan Personnel: Composition, Recruitment, and Training," *Country Studies Series; Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress*, last modified 1989, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-7474.html.

the tribes at the expense of the Palestinians within the armed forces reflects a contentious issue on a much larger scale. The role of Palestinian Jordanians within the Hashemite state is under debate in Jordanian society to this day, although the monarch has succeeded in gaining the support of other minority groups (such as the Circassians) and integrating them into the state without question.[35]

Overall, despite initial mistrust of the officers in his military, King Hussain was able to refashion the army to support his family's rule and consolidate his personal power over the armed forces. This is not to say that all groups within his coalition, even within the armed forces, are unconditionally supportive of the regime. Often, groups within the monarchy's fold still view Hashemite policies as "divide and rule" rather than any sort of "pluralist inclusion."[36] Each tribe supported by the king, for example, believe they are still getting less patronage than other tribes.[37] Therefore, the continued support of the armed forces, despite "extensive royal patronage," should not be considered a certainty. However, it is safe to say that both the patronage offered by the monarchy and the "de-Palestinianization" of the armed forces has increased their loyalty to Hashemite rule since the tumultuous period pre-1970, as well as their political support of Jordanian nationalism (as defined by the King).[38]

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[35] Curtis Ryan, *Jordan in Transition: From Hussain to Abdullah* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 2002), 10, 88.
[36] Ibid., 89.
[37] Ibid., 89-90.
[38] Tell 2004, 17.

In general, the military as an institution, particularly the leadership (often filled with the ruling family itself), should be considered a crucial part of Jordan's elite coalition. In fact, the armed forces' relationship to the monarchy is an intimate one, beyond that of a patron and beneficiary. King Hussain was himself a military man, and he made it a top priority to train and interact with soldiers on a regular basis. His brother and crown prince (up to two weeks before his death), Prince Hasan, was *not* involved in the armed forces. With his abrupt removal from the crown prince position, little public discontent was expressed, neither by the military, members of the ruling family, or important tribes. Hasan held no ties to the military, and had a reputation of taking positions against the elite coalition; thus, he was not supported in his bid for King once the time came.

On the other hand, King Abdullah II involved in the military like his father, and came to power with their measured support. Specifically, he had to assure the dying King Hussain, and by extension, the military establishment, that his half-brother Prince Hamzah would be the crown prince. Prince Hamzah was beloved by the military, having spent his entire life in their academies, and was widely known as King Hussain's favorite son. His removal from this position in 2004 marked the beginning of tension between King Abdullah II and his royalist supporters, both within the tribes and their representatives in the military.[39] The King was in the

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[39] "Jordan Crown Prince Loses Title," *BBC News UK,* last modified November 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4050231.stm.

process of consolidating his power in the economic sphere through privatization

measures, but his reforms began to benefit Palestinians in the private sector rather

than the tribes (who historically gained their patronage through the public sector).

As a result, tribal leaders in supposedly loyal towns and regions have begun to

protest in support of Prince Hamzah's return to power as king.[40] The result of these

tensions and cleavages within Jordanian society, and the military in particular,

remains to be seen.

Morocco

Unlike Jordan, the ruling family and its control over Moroccan territories

existed prior to colonial times (1631). When the French colonized Morocco, they

utilized the Moroccan ruling family and its institutions (i.e. the *Makhzen*) to control

the population.[41] As a result, within Morocco, there existed an official Armed Forces,

controlled by the French, but also rural local armies known to fight both French

forces and their Moroccan counterparts.[42]

In the process of gaining independence from France (1934 to 1956),

opposition groups/parties decided to utilize the ruling family as a symbol of the

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"Jordan's king names son, 15, as crown prince," *Reuters*, last modified July 2009, http://in.reuters.com/article/2009/07/02/idINIndia-40771520090702.

[40] David Kirkpatrick, "Jordan Protestors Dream of Shift to King's Brother," *The New York Times,* last modified November 21, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/22/world/middleeast/jordan-protesters-dream-of-shift-to-prince-hamzah.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&.

[41] Abdeslam Maghraoui, "Political Authority in Crisis: Mohammad VI's Crisis," *Middle East Report* 218, no. 31 (2001): 12.

[42] Anouar Boukhars, *Politics in Morocco: Executive Monarchy and Enlightened Authoritarianism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 42.

Moroccan people. For the anti-colonial forces, the sultan's personal sovereignty offered a convenient rallying point. They did in fact find a receptive ear in Sultan Mohammad V (later named king), who was exiled by the French as a result of his insubordination.[43] Because of this exile, Mohammad V appealed to the rural local armies which had once posed a threat to his rule by organizing them around the issue of Moroccan nationalism.[44] He continued to build alliances using pre-existing colonial structures and appeals to the rural elite.[45]

As a result, upon independence, the now King Mohammad V inherited absolute control from the French colonial regime. The monarchy as an institution already enjoyed religious legitimacy, as well as new-found popularity that came from supporting the independence movement. Due to the king's pre-existing alliances with the rural elite, the monarchy also enjoyed control over both armed groups within society – the professional armed forces and the militias.[46] The new Moroccan army was 90% rural and Berber (versus the urban, Arab population) loyal to the monarchy and suspicious of the urban class.[47] Thus, when the mostly-urban nationalist parties agitated for a constitutional monarchy or expressed

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[43] James Sater, *Morocco: Challenges to Tradition and Modernity,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 20-21.
[44] Ibid., 24-26.
[45] Ibid., 31-32.
[46] Susan Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco,* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 156-158.
[47] Ibid., 157.

discontent in any form, the armed forces were readily available to put down revolt.[48]

For some time, this relationship with the armed forces benefitted the monarchy, since the king was seen as the only force of stability for the country in the face of warring political parties. But, this increasing reliance on the military and the aggrandizement of military leaders eventually backfired, and threatened to unseat the monarch himself. Much like Jordan throughout the same time period, the king of Morocco at the time (Hassan II) faced coup attempts in 1971 and 1972. On both occasions, it came as a shock to the monarch and his patronage network, especially since the loyalty of the rank and file was never doubted. This was obviously not the case. And, unlike Jordan, the monarch had to contend with the fact that his Berber soldiers were just as disgruntled as the masses over political constraints, such as the dissolving of parliament, as well as issues of glaring economic inequality.[49] The coup attempts were connected with some of the military's top leadership, who were subsequently exiled and/or assassinated. As the "self-appointed keepers of morality," the soldiers involved with the coup attempts were simply acting against extreme corruption and social disparity.[50] They had no political affiliations, like those involved in the coup attempts in Jordan. They also were not posing a challenge to Moroccan nationalism or the Moroccan state. Clearly, there are marked

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[48] Ibid., 169-170.
[49] Ibid., 175-176.
[50] Ibid., 175.

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differences in the character of the coup attempts in the two cases, despite the

apparent similarities. These coups can be considered a critical juncture in the

development of the military specifically, and in Moroccan politics more generally.

Consequently, despite the attempt by the monarchy to incorporate the

military into the ruling elite coalition, Hassan II found himself reaching out to

political opposition groups and putting limits on his prior stronghold, the armed

forces.[51] The king actively took steps to limit the Amazigh/Berber majority within

the armed forces, "Arab-izing" the military in order to appeal to wider swaths of

society.[52] From that point forward, the monarch took steps to divide the military

internally, subordinate them to the Interior Ministry, and keep them busy with

military campaigns in the Western Sahara.[53] The opposition political parties found

these steps useful as well, since they opened up space for negotiations with the king

and allowed the parties to utilize the specter of military coup, in order to gain access

to power.[54]

Historically, in the instance of revolt, the military has followed orders and

put down unrest.[55] However, the monarchy has been careful to keep the military

separated from the gendarmerie or other internal security, to better prevent

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[51] Ibid., 178-179.
[52] Sater 2010, 37-39.
[53] David Sorenson, "Civil-Military Relations in North Africa." *Middle East Policy* 14, no. 4 (2007): 39.
[54] Sater 2010, 37.
[55] Miller 2013, 185.

mutiny.[56] Moreover, the king reorganized the military units, multiplying them and assigning overlapping jurisdictions, so that force did not remain concentrated in small groups.[57] The king abolished the role of minister of defense, and actively promoted Islamist thought within the armed forces by appealing to the authority of his lineage, in order to combat the secularist and class-conscious soldiers responsible for the coup attempts.[58] Although the leadership of the armed forces had started off comfortably within the inner rung of Moroccan elites, following the coups of the 1970's, they were relegated to a second tier without the amount of influence they once enjoyed over the policies of the king.[59] Increased militarization in the Western Sahara, as well as in Morocco's neighbors (particularly Algeria), insured that the Moroccan Armed Forces never again had the opportunity to express discontent.[60] The armed forces, after all, were too busy fighting wars and balancing against regional rivals. The space for contention in Moroccan society moved to electoral politics, and centered on the Islamist-secular divide.

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[56] Ibid., 185-186.
[57] Ibid., 178-180.
[58] Ibid., 178-180.
[59] Boukhars 2011, 52.
[60] Miller 2013, 180-185.
Sater 2010, 42-43.

<u>Indicators of Civil-Military Relations Applied to the Jordan Case</u>

Organization of the Jordanian Armed Forces

The Jordanian Armed Forces is organized in five main service branches. The Army, the Navy, and the Air Force are obviously the main divisions. The Jordanian Armed Forces also features the Jordan Royal Guard, for the personal protection of the King and his family, headed by a Hashemite (Prince Ali ibn Hussain). Finally, the Armed Forces contains the Joint Special Operations Command (established in 1963), which the recently added Jordanian Gendarmerie (in 2008) overlaps in function. Both service branches, as both are tasked with counter-terrorism and internal security.[61] The creation of the Gendarmerie in particular reflects an increased militarization of internal security, although the Department of Public Security (i.e. police) and the General Intelligence Department both emerged from the Jordanian Armed Forces and prominently feature paramilitary forces.[62]

A cursory look at the list of commanders or chiefs of staff within each service branch shows that every leadership position is filled by a Hashemite of the ruling family, or a member of a prominent East Bank family/tribe (i.e. the Al-Zabens, the Habashnehs, etc), appointed by the King himself. This, along with the marginalization of Palestinian Jordanians, is a major patrimonial trait of the Jordanian Armed Forces. Nonetheless, the filling of high posts in the security sector

[61] "Future Strategy," *Jordanian Gendarmerie website through Ministry of Interior,* last modified 2012, http://jdf.gov.jo/en/future_strategy.

[62] Yezid Sayigh, "Agencies of Coercion: Armies and Internal Security Forces," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 3 (2011): 404.

with Hashemites and East Bankers does not imply that the Armed Forces are inadequately institutionalized, as Bellin or Lutterbeck would claim. As the next section emphasizes, the military in Jordan is firmly rooted in an institutional framework. That framework is often used by the King to strengthen his control. This is, in a sense, a positive attribute of Jordanian institutions, since it demonstrates that at the very least the King is not arbitrarily wielding his decision-making powers. Still, this does not mean that Jordan has objective civilian control; to be sure, there is great need for overall improvement.

Professionalization

According to the most recent Constitution, the King and his Council of Ministers (i.e. executive authority) are responsible for internal and external security. The chain of command between the Armed Forces and the state flows through this Council. Although technically, the Parliament has oversight over the Council of Ministers, this Council is appointed by the King and all final decision-making is under his authority.[63]

Additionally, the King is considered commander in chief of the Armed Forces. The monarch has generally sought to complicate the chain of command between the Armed Forces and the state beyond this title to acquire further control. For instance, the Armed Forces Law of 2001 stipulates that the commander of each service

[63] Tell 2004.

branch should report to the Minister of Defense, who also has "complete mandate" over the Armed Forces and their policies/objectives. However, the role of Minister of Defense has been vacant for many decades, with that position's responsibilities allocated to the Prime Minister instead. For reasons of workload, allegedly, the Prime Minister has historically delegated the responsibilities of Defense Minister to his Chief of Staff. The Chief of Staff is nominated by the Prime Minister, but approved by the King, and accountable to him only.[64] Thus, the King's power over all defense matters is wide-ranging.

Although *within* each service branch of the Armed Forces, the chain of command is relatively clear and conventional, the chain of command between the Armed Forces and the state is obfuscated by the role of the King. Essentially, the monarch makes the Council of Ministers play a secondary role in decision-making and policy-making. He has the ultimate say, and the Defense/Prime Minister himself has no oversight over Chiefs of Staff or Directors of different service branches. In fact, the only instances where the Prime Minister has had any effect on the security sector, the Jordanian Armed Forces included, are when the Prime Minister had a background in the security service *or* enjoyed personal connections with heads of the service branches.[65] This is not a formal institutional arrangement, and thus is an unreliable check on the King or security sector's power.

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[64] Ibid., 13-15.
[65] Ibid., 18.

As for the relationship between the armed forces and the legislature, the Constitution has allocated some means of control for the Parliament over the military, but this only applies in theory. In reality, the legislature does not have any security committee and thus suffers from a lack of civilian expertise or direct oversight. The defense budget is passed through parliament, but legislators are given the budget as one number. They are not allowed to examine how any sum is to be spent. In some instances, the budget is not passed through Parliament at all (such as any budget having to do with intelligence, for example). Reliance on foreign aid, particularly U.S. military aid, helps the Armed Forces remain autonomous from any constitutionally-mandated oversight.[66]

The Council of Ministers is accountable to the parliament, but as discussed above, this basically amounts to very little oversight since the ministers themselves have always delegated important decision-making power to their chiefs of staff (who report to the King only). In the event that the King convenes a National Security Council meeting to address any security issue – which happens quite rarely – legislators are not on the list of contributing members. Instead, the King often seeks the opinions of relevant ministers, chiefs of staff, and commanders of particular service branches. King Abdullah II has maintained his right to convene

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[66] Ibid., 18-19.

this group and fill its seats with whoever he deems fit. This has been the case throughout the history of the Jordanian state.[67]

All in all, civilian control of the armed forces through the executive and legislative branches, particularly through the chain of command and Parliament, is essentially nonexistent. This is primarily a result of the King's involvement and his multiple avenues for intervention. A truly professional army, as defined by Huntington, is one that has significant and effective civilian oversight. For example, in a professional army, the Minister of Defense is a civilian, held accountable to other elected, civilian bodies (such as parliament). Parliament has the right to intervene, to some extent, in the budget of the Armed Forces, and help set its objectives. This is clearly not the case for Jordan. Therefore, the Jordanian Armed Forces cannot be considered professionalized in that sense, although it maintains professionalism and a clear chain of command *within* the service branches themselves.

Civilianization

Another indicator of positive civil-military relations concerns the level of civilianization in the Armed Forces. Specifically, this revolves around whether civilians have control over the missions of the armed forces, and also whether the army is representative of the society it serves. If this is indeed the case, then a

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[67] Ibid., 16-17.

military has interests aligned with its civilian population. But if not, then the military, in the pursuit of its separate interests, can act in an increasingly politicized and repressive manner.

One indicator of civilianization is whether a country has a conscript or all-volunteer army. Jordan abolished the draft in 1992, and has since featured an all-volunteer army. The implication of a conscript army is that it is highly representative of society, barring any racist/separatist laws that limit certain segments of society from involvement in the military. With an all-volunteer army, one must assess the backgrounds of those most likely to serve and analyze the state's recruitment policies (in terms of their target citizen) to gauge representativeness.

Following Black September (1970-1971), the monarchy has pursued a purge of its Armed Forces, both of politicized members and those of questionable loyalty (i.e. Palestinians). Recruitment for the military focuses on East Bank tribes and Bedouins, though some ethnic minorities have also been incorporated.[68] Leadership positions within the armed forces, approved by the King, are filled with loyal tribes and Hashemite family members. This is a patrimonial feature, to some degree as Bellin claims, though there is no reason to assume that within the service branches all appointments are determined by connections to the ruling family.

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[68] Ryan 2002, 88-89.

Clearly, the ruling family has adopted a specific strategy, for political reasons, to maintain a mostly East Bank military. It has pursued this tactic to consolidate its power and more directly allocate patronage benefits through the state to royalist citizens. This may not be a sustainable policy in the future, however, since demographic changes among Jordanian citizens may force the monarchy to allow Palestinians within the higher echelons of the military.[69] The loyalty of the armed forces to their king is not unquestionable, but it is safe to assume for the time being (although tensions have arisen, as will be discussed in the proceeding sections).

Internal Role

To assess the relationship of the military to society, one must also assess the internal role (historically and currently) of the armed forces. The internal role of the Jordanian Armed Forces has always been to protect the regime; specifically, to protect the ruling family from any turmoil. The monarchy has relied heavily on the military establishment for that purpose. Historically, the armed forces have been deployed against real or perceived internal enemies, such as factions of the Palestinian Liberation Organization during the brief civil war, or political dissidents in protest movements. Some analysts make the claim that internal policing is the primary function of the military, despite stated intentions.[70] Examining the

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[69] Alexander Bligh, "The Jordanian Army: Between Domestic and External Challenges," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 5, no. 2 (2001).
[70] Ibid., 16-17.

capabilities of the military, it is clear that Jordan is ill-equipped to fight any external war, yet spends increasing amounts of revenue on the Joint Special Operations Forces and newly created Gendarmerie – both of which focus on internal counterterrorism and stability.[71] Therefore, this claim has merit.

In an ideological sense, the Jordanian Armed Forces also serve the internal role of upholding Jordanian nationalism, particularly against Palestinians (as citizens of questionable loyalty).[72] The military exists first and foremost to be loyal to the King and the Hashemite family. It embodies the tangibility of the Jordanian national state, often perceived to be at risk because of increasing birth rates of Palestinians, or Israeli politicians intent on pushing the West Bank back into Jordan.

In conclusion, the army has a positive relationship with certain segments of society, particularly those who find the army representative of their background and political affiliation (i.e. the East Bankers). However, there is a degree of tension between the armed forces and the majority of citizens who are of Palestinian background, widely believed to be a majority of the population as well. As previously mentioned, Palestinian Jordanians have been discriminated against by the army in their marginalization within state bureaucracies. Therefore, the proper "civilianization" of the Jordanian Armed Forces is questionable, and has the effect of souring civil-military relations.

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[71] Ibid., 18-19.
[72] Ibid., 18.

Indicators of Civil-Military Relations Applied to the Morocco Case

Organization

The Moroccan Armed Forces is organized in six main service branches. The Army, the Navy, and the Air Force are obviously the main divisions. The regular Army, Navy, and Air Force divisions exist, as well as a Royal Guard much like in Jordan. However, officially within the Moroccan Armed Forces are the Auxiliary Forces as well as the Moroccan Gendarmerie. This is in contrast to the organization of the armed forces in Jordan, since such forces exist as interior ministry forces (even with the overlap in functions). In Morocco, they are encompassed within the defense forces, though they are more powerful than the rest of the armed forces and report to the interior ministry. The Auxiliary Forces in particular are known for being the repressive arm of the state, particularly during the crackdown that followed the coups of the 1970's. They can be found in city centers and are known to mobilize quickly to put down protest. Their function overlaps with that of the Gendarmerie, also a paramilitary force. The Gendarmerie is tasked with "administrative policing" and, generally, public security.[73] Much like in Jordan, the organization of the Moroccan Armed Forces reflects a conscious effort to maintain division and decentralize control, spreading decision-making authority between the ministry of defense and the ministry of interior.

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[73] Anthony Cordesman and Aram Nerguizian, "The North African Military Balance: Force Developments and Regional Challenges," *Center for Strategic and International Studies,* December 7 2010, http://csis.org/files/publication/101203_North_African_Military_Balance_final.pdf.

Although the Moroccan king has control over all military appointments, without approval by Parliament or the Council of Ministers, there has been no marginalization of any specific group in decades. Those appointed to the top brass are of the elite class, tied to the *makhzen* patrimonial system.[74] The military retains, nevertheless, an internal institutional framework. The chain of command, however, is dominated by the King and, much more so than in Jordan, military policy decisions are not decided through constitutional means.

Professionalization

Much like the Jordanian king, the Moroccan king has constitutionally assigned powers that are much more expansive than the head of government of other regimes. In fact, unlike the Jordanian case, the Moroccan monarch's royal power is considered separate from the executive branch, and is a category on its own.[75] The Moroccan king is thus afforded greater power and control than his Jordanian counterpart as a result of this distinction. In many ways, the Moroccan constitution codifies that the monarch has farther reaching jurisdiction and unilateral control of the regime than any other political actor.

While there is a Council of Government in which the head of government meets with other elected officials, the Council of Ministers is the more powerful

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[74] Mohamed Madani, Driss Maghraoui, and Saloua Zerhouni, "The 2011 Moroccan Constitution: A Critical Analysis," *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance,* March 5 2013: 30-31, http://www.idea.int/publications/the_2011_moroccan_constitution/.
[75] Ibid., 24-25.

entity, and it is headed by the King himself.[76] This is in contrast to the Jordanian system, consisting of only one council (though also dominated by the king). In Morocco, such a division guarantees the king's power irrefutably, giving him veto power over both councils and ensuring no space for contention arises. The Council of Ministers, specifically, has veto power over any decision made by the Council of Government. It is within this Council of Ministers that, previously, there existed the office of the Minister of Defense. Since the coups of the 1970's, that position has been entirely abolished, with control of the defense forces passing to the king directly. Specifically, the armed forces reports to the king through the Interior Ministry. The Interior Ministry is considered the "core" of the elite, with the Armed Forces thus being more removed.[77] The king is also the head of the Supreme Security Council, charged with organizing both internal and external security ventures.[78] This is yet another way the monarch maintains direct oversight of the Armed Forces, successfully staving off politicization and attempts to mutiny.

In addition to other military institutions, the Supreme Security Council is not presided over by parliament in any sense. Both military appointments and the budget are decided by the king himself through his councils. Declarations of war or states of exception/siege are announced by the king alone and parliamentary

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[76] Ibid., 30.
[77] Boukhars 2011, 50-51.
[78] Ibid., 30-31.

approval is not required.[79] No public defense policy exists and security remains "off the table" for members of Parliament to discuss.[80] It is hypothesized that, despite creation of committees having to do with defense in both houses of parliament, there exists no interest or level of expertise to actually implement oversight over military issues.[81] Such discussions are of course also discouraged by the political elites, including the king himself.

In terms of budget oversight, a military budget is released as part of an overall budget available to the public (including members of parliament).[82] However, numbers having to do with the administration of national defense are incomplete, and often are reported as lump sums with little information on detailed military spending.[83] There is definitely no space to question or disagree with budgeting choices made by the military establishment, or the king; thus, civilian dominance in this area is wholly inadequate.

Recently, King Mohammad has approved military justice reform. This included barring the military from trying civilians as well as giving regular courts the ability to try military personnel for common law crimes (including

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[79] Ibid., 31-32.
[80] "Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index: Morocco," *Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index as Division of International Defence and Security Programme,* last modified September 4 2013, http://government.defenceindex.org/results/countries/morocco.
[81] Ibid., 2.
[82] "Morocco: Report on Observance of Standards and Codes – Fiscal Transparency Module," *International Monetary Fund – Fiscal Affairs Department,* last modified August 2 2005: 37, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2005/cr05298.pdf.
[83] "Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index: Morocco" 2013, 4.

corruption).[84] To be sure, this is a positive step for the development of civil-military relations. However, as noted above, the monarch's role in setting military policy and removing civilian oversight on defense issues means that civil-military relations are not at all healthy in the Moroccan context. In fact, there are ways that the Moroccan monarchy has surpassed the comparable regime of Jordan in terms of its level of control. While this has had the intended effect of sterilizing the military and the threat it poses (of political involvement), it has had a harmful effect on the state of civil-military relations. Public distrust of the military remains rampant.[85]

Civilianization

Conscription extended for a longer period of time in Morocco than in Jordan, but recently it has also been abolished. In 2006, a royal decree turned the Moroccan army into an all-volunteer army, which may not remain in the long run as representative of society overall.[86] There exists no evidence of racist laws barring specific parts of Moroccan society from entering into the military. However, following the coups of 1971 and 1972, there was indeed a shift in the composition of the armed forces.

[84] "Morocco Advances Expansive Reform of Military Justice System, Excluding Civilians from Trial in Military Courts," *Morocco on the Move,* last modified March 14, 2014, http://moroccoonthemove.com/2014/03/14/morocco-advances-expansive-reform-military-justice-system-excluding-civilians-trial-military-courts-2/#sthash.4nYVhqWY.CIPHEVVh.dpbs.

[85] "Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index" 2013, 5.

[86] John Thorne, "Extremist Islam may be rising in Morocco," *The Washington Post,* last modified September 29, 2006, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/29/AR2006092900750.html.

Prior to the coups that challenged the Alaouite regime, the Moroccan army was 90% Berber/Amazigh. Both the rank and file, and the officers, came from the rural Berber population. As I mentioned above, the monarchy had made a historic alliance with the rural elite in order to gain control of the "liberation army" (i.e. militias) that existed prior to Moroccan independence.[87] It followed that the official, integrated armed forces would feature the overwhelming representation of the rural Berbers. They were thought to be highly loyal to the monarchy, and suspicious of the urban nationalists as a result of their agrarian roots.[88] This all changed, of course, when the same rural Berber soldiers (as well as their generals) became disillusioned with the corruption of the monarchy, as well as the rampant inequality.

As a result of this discontent, the coups of the 1970's occurred, leading to a change in the monarchy's position on Berber dominance of the armed forces. The Armed Forces were not only purged of the culprits and those that harbored similar disillusionment with the monarchy, but the entire make-up of the military was put under review. Unlike in Jordan, where the coups led to a purging of the Armed Forces, the Moroccan monarchy expanded rather than limited their military. Specifically, the number of Arab soldiers (rather than Berber) increased within the

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[87] Sater 2010, 24.
[88] Miller 2013, 157.

Armed Forces.[89] The monarchy also multiplied the number of military units in order to keep power from concentrating within a few groups.[90]

The Jordanian coups obviously had a different character than that of the Moroccan coups, which explains the variation in "civilianization" today. The Moroccan monarchy, despite threats, was able to solve the issue of a fragmented state, focusing instead on inclusivity both within and outside the Armed Forces. In an attempt to guard against threats, the Jordanian monarchy on the other hand did not solve the issue of fragmentation within society. Their Armed Forces relies too heavily on one section of society, rather than being representative of the population as a whole. While this may be an appropriate tactic in keeping the armed forces loyal to the monarchical regime, it does not bode well for civil-military relations in the long term. This is not the case for the Moroccan monarchy, since the coups had the beneficial effect of expanding the demographic scope of the Armed Forces in a manner which portends well for positive civil-military relations in the future.

Internal Role

Aside from the recruitment policies of the Armed Forces, another indicator of the military's relationship to society can be ascertained through examination of the Moroccan army's historic role in internal affairs. While, much like the Jordanian Armed Forces, the Moroccan army swears fealty first and foremost to the king and

[89] Sater 2010, 38.
[90] Miller 2013, 178.

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his line, their involvement within internal affairs has steadily declined over time. This is unlike the Jordanian case, which has seen the military (in conjunction with the interior ministry forces) deployed to ensure stability up to the present day.

However, the Moroccan army has been deployed historically in times of political instability. For instance, before the coups, the armed forces were called in to put down student protests.[91] Anger over economic conditions post-coup attempts also featured the deployment of the armed forces. At this point, however, there was a conscious effort to keep the armed forces separate from the interior security forces (including the gendarmerie).[92] This was done to insure that the military's ability to mutiny was limited. No serious protest movement developed past this point in time within Morocco proper (excluding the Western Sahara, where protests are violently put down by security forces up to the present day).

Especially as a result of terrorist activity and the on-going tension with neighbor Algeria, Morocco has constantly increased military spending and maintained a "higher real average of spending per man in its career forces than the other Maghreb states."[93] Unlike Jordan, Morocco faces the prospect of traditional warfare on a consistent basis, which explains the level of spending. It also indicates that the armed forces in Morocco (aside from the internal security forces) maintain an appropriate mission for a military establishment: that of protecting the state

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[91] Ibid., 169.
[92] Ibid., 185.
[93] Cordesman and Neguizian 2010, 17.

from external enemies, rather than policing internally. Of course, it is important to mention that training of enlisted soldiers on the many sophisticated weapons Morocco has bought in recent years remains inadequate and "battle management capability" is low.[94] Nevertheless, the Moroccan Armed Forces at the very least operates under appropriate objectives, and thereby has less opportunity to take sides in the country's political struggles.

Finally, in an ideological sense, the Moroccan Armed Forces are not tasked with maintaining Moroccan "nationalism," except in their efforts to control the Western Sahara and keep foreign intervention at bay. This is, of course, a function of Morocco's historical development. Unlike Jordan, the Moroccan state existed as a cohesive unit well before independence, and the ruling dynasty has had a long historical presence. As such, the monarchy does not need to rely on a politicized military establishment to maintain its rule by any means. The Moroccan military does not exclude certain segments of the population, and does not set itself in opposition to any sub-nationalism (such as the Palestinians within Jordan).

Thus, despite the occasional use of the Moroccan Armed Forces in quelling popular unrest, their role in internal affairs has not been excessive. Their role in the Western Sahara campaign has been popularly supported, and they have posed no threat as an institution to any particular segment of the population. The

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[94] Ibid., 34.

"civilianization" of the Moroccan Armed Forces is therefore adequate in a general

sense.

Assessment of Civil-Military Relations Under Pressure

Instability in Jordan

Recent uses of the military in internal affairs occurred following the Arab

Spring, in protests focused on electoral reform, neoliberalist policies, and charges of

corruption.[95] The police forces served their purpose for a time, though the spread of

protests in commonly loyal cities worried the monarch. As a result, the gendarmerie

(recently formed to act as part of the coercive apparatus under the jurisdiction of

the Jordanian Armed Forces) was put to good use.[96] This paramilitary force has

been involved in putting down protests, even in gatherings predominantly filled

with "East Bankers."[97] There is no reason to believe that the remaining service

branches would not follow suit in the event that it is necessary.[98] After all, with even

some semblance of professionalization comes also subordination to the regime, and

the military has no shortage of experience in maintaining domestic stability (as its

history proves).

However, some question remains as to whether East Bankers, perceiving

marginalization at the expense of Jordanian Palestinians, will continue to deploy for

the protection of the monarchy in such a loyal fashion.[99] Political grievances

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[95] Bruce Riedel, "Jordan's Arab Spring," *The Daily Beast,* last modified November 15, 2012, http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/11/15/jordan-s-arab-spring.html.

[96] Sayigh 2011.

[97] Vogt 2011.

[98] Sean Yom, "Jordan in the balance: Evaluating regime stability," *Combating Terrorism Center website*, last modified 2013, http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/jordan-in-the-balance-evaluating-regime-stability.

[99] Ibid.

recently expressed both by military veterans, and the tribes/regions they come

from, may indicate a gradual shift in the political landscape of Jordan.[100] More

importantly, it may point to some fissures and unrest within the Armed Forces

themselves.

Political Reform in Jordan

While outright mutiny may be out of the question for Jordan's professional

and sufficiently loyal Armed Forces, some questions have been raised over whether

the army will get involved in the debate on political reform, or continue to acquiesce

to the King's pace. In May 2010, a petition was raised by the National Committee of

Military Veterans calling for an end to corruption, a resolution to the "Palestinian"

question within Jordan's borders, and changes to the constitution for the benefit of

parliamentary power by limiting the monarch's role.[101] This organization has

significant political power, with over 140,000 ex-soldier members and high-ranking

generals from the most prominent tribes such as the Al-Habashnehs.[102] Analysts

considered this move by the military veterans, and their broad scope of demands

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[100] David Schenker, "Will Jordan be the first Arab monarchy to fall?" *The Atlantic,* last modified January 08 2013, http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/01/will-jordan-be-the-first-arab-monarchy-to-fall/266897/.
Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Modern King in the Arab Spring," *The Atlantic*, last modified March 18 2013, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/04/monarch-in-the-middle/309270/.
[101] Aaron David, "The Revolt of Jordan's Military Veterans," *Foreign Policy,* last modified June 15 2010, http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06.
[102] Achim Vogt, "Jordan's Eternal Promise of Reform," *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft,* last modified 2011, http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/ipg/2011-4/08_a_vogt_eng.pdf.

both political and economic), as a "culmination of a gradual process in recent years, whereby senior army veterans interfere in politics."[103]

This proved to many, including the regime itself, that the military was not a silent actor in the political arena; in fact, it held a large stake and was beginning to vocalize its demands. On top of that, the demands of the veterans flirted with attacking the monarchy itself. For instance, the petition emphasized the corruption around the queen and demanded an end to "elite treachery."[104] Some tribes went so far as to insist on the ascension of Prince Hamzah to the throne, as previously mentioned.[105] When protests developed in loyalist regions, involving tribes affiliated with or members of the Armed Forces, the monarchy began to panic. King Abdullah II visited these towns, attempting to salvage the loyalty of tribe leaders. For the monarch, this seemed a clear case of dissent "coming from the senior ranks of the military" and "trickling down" to entire towns and regions.[106]

In particular, the "Hirak" movement emerging out of royalist towns has been highly vocal both about maintaining the East Bank character of the state, income inequality between rural and (mostly Palestinian) urban areas, and electoral reform.[107] Members of these tribes represent military officials at all levels, and there is no reason to believe that tribe members within the Armed Forces do not share the

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[103] David 2010.
[104] Vogt 2011.
[105] Kirkpatrick 2012.
[106] David 2010.
[107] Schenker 2013.

same grievances, in spite of the patronage benefits they receive from the regime. Corruption within the state bureaucracies, and within the monarchy's inner circle specifically, has signaled to the military establishment that they are personally being harmed by these developments.[108] For example, grounds belonging to military academies have been sold, in somewhat opaque fashion, to friends of the monarch. Neoliberal reforms have worked to privatize and reduce public resources and expenditures, again affecting public servants such as soldiers and officers to a great extent.[109] Despite the doling out of material benefits at any sign of unrest, it seems the military leadership recognizes the increasingly powerful role they play in determining the country's political future.

Although the protest movement was quelled by gendarmerie and police attacks, King Abdullah II continues his attempts to maintain the balance between opposition movements amongst East Bankers, the regime's economic beneficiaries, and the urban (Palestinian) protesters. As a result, neglecting the military's grievances may prove detrimental to his long-term control. Without the loyalty of the Jordanian Armed Forces, the threat of the tribes to "follow Tunisia and Egypt" poses great risk to King Abdullah personally, and to the future of his line.[110]

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[108] Marwan Muasher, "Reform in Jordan: After the Vote," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,* last modified 2013, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/sada/2011/10/27/armies-and-civilians-in-arab-awakening-inevitable-compromise/6b7f.
[109] Vogt 2011.
[110] Ibid., 67.

Instability in Morocco

       While the military has gotten involved in putting down revolts previously, recent instability due to the Arab Spring did not require the military to cooperate with internal security to put down unrest. Internal security – particularly the police force rather than paramilitary organizations – was able to limit the number of protests, control the few riots that occurred, and repress activists involved in organizing these events.[111]

       Following the events around the Arab world, activists in Morocco put out a call for protests on February 20th, 2011 (hence the name the February 20th movement). Their main concerns were inequality, corruption, unemployment, and police brutality. Regime change was not on the agenda for the vast majority of citizens involved. Within a few days of minimally violent protests, the king announced his intent to pursue constitutional reform and invited the leadership of existing political parties to take part in offering recommendations. Activists involved in the February 20th movement refused to take part in the commission, but this announcement had the intended effect of significantly reducing protest activity. After that, while protests continued to some degree, internal security was able to handle the number of protestors without military assistance in any form. Additionally, there were reports of police harassing activists in their homes as well

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[111] "Morocco urged to end violent crackdown on protests," *Amnesty International*, last modified June 2 2011, https://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/morocco-urged-end-violent-crackdown-protests-2011-06-02.

as some calculated kidnappings and beatings, which obviously discouraged further organizing.[112]

The most important takeaway from this discussion is that instability never reached a critical level that would alarm the military, as a result of the monarch's immediate supposed concessions. Given also the military's historical development and their subordination following the coups in the 1970's, it is highly unlikely that the military would have intervened like the Tunisian and Egyptian militaries in any way, even if the protests had grown substantially and refused to be broken.

Political Reform in Morocco

Unlike the Jordanian case in another sense, neither the military establishment in Morocco nor any affiliated organizations expressed discontent with the regime in general (i.e. the makhzen) or the monarchy specifically. To my knowledge, since the consolidation of the monarch's power under Hassan II, the top brass of the military has not expressed opinions on the issue of political reform.

In addition to that, and following the constitutional reform period of 2011-2012, the monarchy has also limited the military's power further by initiating a process of military justice reform.[113] Specifically, the military justice system can no

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[112] "Morocco: Police Violence a Test for Revised Constitution," *Human Rights Watch*, last modified July 11 2011, http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/07/11/morocco-police-violence-test-revised-constitution.

[113] "Morocco Advances Expansive Reform of Military Justice System, Excluding Civilians from Trial in Military Courts" 2014.

longer try civilians and military personnel caught in common crimes (such as corruption) do not have the advantage of being tried by their own institution, for obvious reasons. Additionally, while the official anti-corruption strategy does not include mention of the Royal Armed Forces, the military justice measures indicate an effort to include the military in general reforms. It is notable that army leadership has not publicly expressed any disagreement over this decision by the king, in contrast to the Jordanian case.

<u>Conclusions</u>

Discussion of Findings

While neither country in this study has experienced a military coup since the 1970's, a closer examination of the institutional arrangements as well as recent effects of political instability shows that there is actually a considerable amount of variation in civil-military relations between the two cases. And, as I have previously argued, the state of civil-military relations plays a large role in regime persistence or failure. Therefore, it is important to analyze what has led to the variation in both cases.

Both the cases of the Moroccan and Jordanian regimes have maintained control during political unrest for similar reasons. The monarchy in both countries consolidated power by restructuring the military establishment post-coup and defining its membership to suit its own needs. For instance, both monarchies have found ways to bypass their defense ministries and successfully centralized decision-making in their person solely. Using their militaries, they have also appealed to larger segments of their societies than before. Finally, the monarchs have redefined their nationalisms, setting themselves as the symbols of the state. This type of personalistic nationalism has been supported by the military establishments.

However, as outlined above, the military's role within the state differs between both cases. In the Jordanian case, the military has become very politicized (usually, to the monarch's benefit). They play a larger role in the regime and its

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decision-making in comparison to the Moroccan case. In fact, it is within reason to consider the armed forces part of the inner core of the elite coalition. This politicization has allowed them to express outward discontent up to the present day, something unheard of in the Moroccan case. To some degree, this has threatened the monarchy and points to possible fragmentation of the elite.

In Morocco, while the Armed Forces have been redefined to serve the king above all else, they have also become *less* politicized in many respects. For instance, they represent a wide range of society, rather than certain segments. They are not within the inner core of the elite surrounding the king (i.e. the Mahkzen), and have only a small role to play in decision-making. Little discontent has been expressed by the Moroccan military publicly, let alone any kind of open attack on the monarchy or those connected to it.

This variation can be explained by looking at three major factors: the historical legacy of the monarchy, the institutional tools at the monarch's disposal, and the relationship of the monarchy to the society it seeks to rule. The historical legacy of the two monarchs is only comparable on the surface, but the Moroccan monarchy is much more entrenched. For instance, the Moroccan monarchy existed prior to French colonization and played a role in the independence movement. This is not the case for the Jordanian monarchy which, for much of its history, was constantly under threat from its own citizens. Simply put, the historical legacy of the Moroccan monarchy grants it legitimacy in a way that is not replicated in the

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Jordanian case. It is precisely this legitimacy that explains why the coups in the Jordanian case challenged the monarchical establishment on an ideological level, whereas the Moroccan coups had more to do with economic grievances. It also explains the greater subordination of the military establishment in the Moroccan case.

Secondly, the institutional mechanisms available to the monarchies differ greatly between the two cases. The Jordanian monarch is part of the executive branch, and theoretically has a number of restraints as outlined by the constitution. King Abdullah II, like his father before him, merely controls the military more fully today through roundabout political maneuvering, rather than any formal arrangement of power. With enough backlash either from political forces, or from the military itself, it is not unrealistic to predict that the role of defense minister might once again be filled, restoring the proper chain of command between the army and the state. This is unlike the Moroccan monarchy, which holds "royal" power separate from the executive branch and its authority. Positions such as the defense minister are not just kept vacant in an endless attempt to maneuver around the constitution, they have been abolished entirely. The chain of command between the state and the military has been altered institutionally, making future change much less possible. Recent constitutional reform in Morocco has not changed this dynamic, and the king remains the sole power responsible for the military establishment and decisions pertaining to it.

Finally, the extent of the monarch's appeal to society also determines the level of political discontent at any given point in time. This applies to the armed forces as well, and is reflected in how representative the monarch makes the military. If the monarch uses military recruitment to appeal to wide swaths of society, and acts as a "linchpin" successfully, then discontent within the armed forces is much less likely. Historically, aggrandizing one group in the coercive apparatus has only served to turn that group into a threat (such as the rural Berber population which fomented the coup against the Moroccan king in the 1970s). A more representative army also serves the secondary purpose of tying diverse populations to institutions of the state. In Jordan, the army is representative only of a narrow, and increasingly smaller, portion of the population (i.e. the Bedouin and East Bank elements of society). This not only makes the military less representative and less professional as a result, but also gives one segment of the population a disproportionate amount of power. The recent turmoil between the monarchy and the tribes attests to this fact. The Jordanian regime has also missed the opportunity of appealing to their increasing Palestinian population due to this policy.

Assessing the indicators of civil-military relations, such as professionalization and civilianization of the military, serves to highlight the variation noted above. However, in the cases of the monarchical regimes, civil-military relations cannot be ascertained without understanding the complicating role the monarchy has played in its development. The variation between the two

cases, in terms of political instability and subordination of the armed forces, is in fact a *direct outcome* of the monarchy's policies towards the armed forces.

Future Research

The role of the military establishment in deciding the outcome of political instability cannot be understated. As such, this type of qualitative analysis is imperative in understanding the state of monarchical regimes today and in explaining why they have persisted. Of course, despite the demonstrated variation in both cases, neither Morocco nor Jordan has faced a serious threat from their military establishments in recent times. To test whether the factors highlighted by this study are indeed accurate and not merely specific to Morocco and Jordan in particular, widening the scope of this analysis is crucial. Specifically, it would be useful to widen the variation of the cases to be analyzed by including monarchies which *have* faced successful military coups. At that point, we can more precisely assess the extent to which the factors outlined in this study matter theoretically, and across other cases in time.

Additionally, while qualitative analysis is conducive in theory-building, it is not as conducive for theory testing. Thus, upcoming iterations of this project would also benefit from using a wider range of methods – including survey experiments – to assess various parts of the research question. In doing so, we can understand

dynamics within monarchical regimes more fully, rather than assuming they are

merely anomalies in our analysis of the Middle East and its political development.

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