

**Seminar: Civil-Military Relations in Developed Democracies  
(Focus on Europe)  
Tu. 18:15-19:45  
Kochstr. Rm. 5.012**

**Instructor: Lindsay P. Cohn**  
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**Office Hours: Tu. 10:00-11:30**  
**(Also on appointment by email)**

**Overview**

This course is a continuation of my seminar on American Civil-Military Relations from last term. It is therefore particularly appropriate for students who attended that seminar or who have some experience in military sociology or military history. All are of course welcome, but those who do not have any background in the subject are asked to read a few extra texts before and during the course to familiarize themselves with the core concepts.

Our primary objective in this course is to discuss and analyze certain specific questions of civil-military relations in connection with both popular and academic „texts“ and ideas. Among other topics (participants will have the opportunity to influence which topics we cover), we will address the nature of and differences between civilian and military cultures, Law of War and the concept of Just War, European Security and Defence Policy, and conscript versus volunteer forces. We will meet every two weeks, but the instructor will encourage students to carry out discussions over email. For class meetings, we will either read one or more texts – many of them in English – or watch a film. The goal is to explore the difficulties we encounter when translating theories (which we learned about in the previous seminar) into practice.

The theoretical scope of this course will cover all advanced democracies, but our texts and discussions will refer primarily to Europe and the United States. I hope that students will bring in their own questions and experiences with issues of civil-military relations, and I will make every effort to include other topics that students wish to discuss.

**Meetings:**

**2 Nov 04 – Introduction and Organization**

Texts and Articles (those in bold should be read by everyone; the rest are optional but recommended):

- **Feaver, Peter. „The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz and the Question of Civilian Control,” *Armed Forces & Society* Winter 1997, pp. 149-178 (30 Seiten)**

- Burk, James. “Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations” in *Armed Forces and Society* Fall 2002, pp. 7-29 (25 Seiten)
- **Dandeker, Christopher. 2000. „The Military in Democratic Societies” in *Military and Society in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Europe*, Juergen Kuhlmann and Jean Callaghan, eds. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, pp. 27-44 (16 Seiten)**

### 23 Nov 04 – Military and Civil Cultures

Texts and Articles (those in bold should be read by everyone; the rest are optional but recommended):

- **Feaver, Peter D., Richard H. Kohn, and Lindsay P. Cohn. 2001. “Introduction” in *Soldiers and Civilians*, Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 1-11 (11 Seiten)**
- **Berger, Thomas U. 1996. „Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan” in *The Culture of National Security*, Peter Katzenstein, ed. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 325-345 (20 Seiten)**
- **Van der Meulen, Huber, und Soeters “The Netherlands’ Armed Forces” in *Military and Society ...* pp. 283-301 (19 Seiten)**
- Klein und Kuhlmann “Coping With the Peace Dividend: Germany and its Armed Forces in Transition” in *Military and Society ...* pp. 183-226 (43 Seiten)
- Holsti, Ole. “Of Chasms and Convergences: Attitudes and Beliefs of Civilians and Military Elites at the Start of a New Millennium” in *Soldiers and Civilians*, Feaver and Kohn, eds. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 15-99; and summary of James Davis, *ibid.* pp. 121, 127-128, plus “Davis Findings Summary”.
- Ricks, Thomas. “The Widening Gap Between the Military and Society” in *The Atlantic Monthly* (July 1997), pp. 66-78 (12 Seiten)
- Hillen, John. “Must U.S. Military Culture Reform?” in *Parameters* 29(3) (Autumn 1999), pp. 9-23 (15 Seiten)

### 30 Nov 04 – Conscription, All-Volunteer Forces, and Other Options

- **Cohen, Eliot. 1985. *Citizens and Soldiers*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Introduction, ch. 1, 2 (skim), ch. 3-4, ch. 5-6 (skim), Conclusion. (77 Seiten)**
- **Boene, Bernard, and Michel Louis Martin. 2000. „France: In the Throes of Epoch-Making Change“ in *The Postmodern Military*, Moskos et al. eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 51-79 (28 Seiten)**
- **Cohn, Lindsay P. 2003. “Should the U.S. Reconsider National Service?” (conference paper: unpublished draft). (9 Seiten)**

### 14 Dec 04 – European Defence and Security Policy

- **Ueberblick ueber die Taetigkeitsbereiche der Europaeischen Union: Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik (Overview of the Areas of Responsibility of the European Union: Foreign and Security Policy). ([http://europa.eu.int/pol/cfsp/overview\\_de.htm](http://europa.eu.int/pol/cfsp/overview_de.htm)) (3 Seiten)**
- **Vanhoonacker, Sophie. 2001. *The Bush Administration (1989-1993) and the Development of a European Security Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. Ch. 3, pp. 57-86 (29 Seiten)**

- Dembinski, Matthias. 2004. „Der Irak-Krieg als Bewaehrungsprobe der gemeinsamen europaeischen Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik: Positionen und Perspektiven“ (The Iraq War as a Test of the Common European Foreign and Security Policy: Positions and Perspectives) in *Die Sicherheitspolitik der EU im Werden*, Hans-Georg Ehrhart und Burkard Schmitt (Hrsg.), Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft. pp. \*\*\* (14 Seiten).
- Lindley-Finch, Julian. 2004. „Plugging the Expanded Petersberg Tasks Gap? Europe’s Capabilities and the European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP)“ in Ehrhart und Schmitt, *Sicherheitspolitik der EU...*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft. pp. \*\*\* (13 Seiten)
- Dandeker, Christopher. 2000. „The United Kingdom: the Overstretched Military“ in *The Postmodern Military*, Charles C. Moskos, John Allen Williams, und David R. Segal (Hrsg.). New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 32-50 (18 Seiten)
- Fleckenstein, Bernhard. 2000. „Germany: Forerunner of a Postnational Military?“ in Moskos, Williams, und Segal, *Postmodern Military*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 80-100 (20 Seiten)

#### 18 Jan 05 – Film: Breaker Morant

- **Background Information: The Boer Wars and Law of War in the 19th Century**
- **Summary of the Film**
- **Brussels Convention of 1874**
- Lieber Code 1863
- Geneva Convention of 1864
- St. Petersburg Declaration of 1868

Note that most of this law arose out of experience in the Crimean War and in the American Civil War – the Lieber Code was an American document, but widely considered to codify generally accepted international law.

#### 1 Feb 05 – Just War and Law of War

- Malanczuk, Peter. 1997. *Akehurst’s Modern Introduction to International Law*. London: Routledge. Ch.s 19 (especially pp. 306-326, 334-341) und 20 (especially pp. 342-346, 351 (reprisals)-355, 361-363) (n.b. I have given you this text to read because I happen to have it with me and because it is important to see how international law was interpreted before Kosovo, September 11th, Afghanistan, and Iraq. You should also realize, of course, how some interpretations changed after these occurrences, and the best place to look is Antonio Cassese, 2005, *International Law* (2nd Ed), Oxford: Oxford University Press. In the final part of the new edition, he deals with the newest problems in international law and explains the newest interpretations.
- Nolte, Georg und Heike Krieger (Hrsg). 2003. *European Military Law Systems*. Berlin: De Gruyter Recht. Pp. 74-86, 86-90, 90-97, 97-105, 105-116 (Soldiers’ Rights and Duties).
- Pfaff, Tony. 2000. „Peacekeeping and the Just War Tradition“. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (available through Publications and Productions Office: [rumelr@awc.carlisle.army.mil](mailto:rumelr@awc.carlisle.army.mil))