

**Civil-Military Relations**  
**SE-704, AOS 13 (Leadership and Ethics)**

Lindsay P. Cohn, PhD

Jessica D. Blankshain, PhD

Wednesdays 1330-1630

Room H-319

**Overview of Course:**

The primary problem of Civil-Military Relations (CMR) is how a society, which creates experts in the use of force in order to protect its interests and its way of life, can keep those experts in force from turning their expertise against society in order to advance their own special interests and way of life. After all, a military that has been given the material, financial, and human resources to be effective in carrying out whatever defense and security tasks the government may desire is also strong enough to seize power so as to rule for itself, or at least to eat up more resources than the society would choose to spend. But if, on the other hand, the military is kept small, weak, and marginalized so it will not pose a threat to society, will it be capable of carrying out the national security policy?

Does this problem become more acute as civilian society loses its connection with the military? How distinctive must the culture and institutional setting of the military be from its host society—especially if that society is a liberal democratic one—to fulfill its special mission? Does the military’s focus on the management of violence require military culture to stand apart from or even contrary to the civilian society from which it springs? Or should the military, particularly in a democracy, adapt to the culture of civilian society, reflecting civilian values and norms of behavior? Should the military be made up of conscripted “citizen-soldiers,” or of volunteer professionals? What responsibilities do the government and the general public have with respect to those who serve in uniform? What does society “owe” the soldiers?

This course will examine these issues primarily in the context of the United States, but will be looking at theoretical concepts that could be applied to advanced democracies in general. However, the U.S. is in many ways an exceptional case for CMR, and thus we will take every opportunity to compare and contrast it with other states whose political systems and/or geopolitical position is very different.

**Response Papers:**

Students should plan on writing one short (2pg) response paper each week (one “pass” will be allowed, and no paper the first week, so each student should write at least 8 response

papers). For these papers, students should pick one reading from that week (or two, if they seem to speak directly to each other), and answer the following six questions:

1. Who is/are the author(s)? What are their qualifications? Potential biases?
2. What is the central question the author(s) is/are trying to address or answer?
3. What is the central argument (or answer to the question)?
4. What is one plausible alternative argument (an alternative answer to the question)?
5. What evidence does the author give in support of his argument?
6. Do you find that evidence convincing? Why or why not?

These are the six questions you should be thinking about with every text that we ask you to read (unless it's purely historical or informational), and these papers will help you get into that habit. Note that these papers are NOT either a pure summary of the article or the student's emotional or opinionated response to the argument presented in the article. The point is for the student to understand the author's argument and assess, as impartially as possible, whether the evidence the author employed was appropriate and sufficient. Papers will be evaluated on accuracy (about the text and its meaning), insightfulness, quality of written communication skills, persuasiveness, use of evidence, consideration of alternative viewpoints, and attention to detail.

Papers should:

- Include the student's name.
- Be NO MORE THAN 3 pages. Two pages is appropriate. One is probably too short.
- Be edited and proof-read for grammar and spelling mistakes.
- Address all six questions.
- Convey information in an economical format.

## **Learning Objectives**

**\* To master the basic texts and arguments in civil-military relations theory and practice.**

**\* To appreciate the richness of the field of civil-military relations and to be sensitive to questions that remain unsettled, as well as to the complexity of democratic governance and foreign policy in general.**

**\*To think about the duties involved in the notion of democracy and to confront issues of citizenship in a democratic society.**

**\* To understand common research and argument techniques, so that students are able to evaluate statistical, logical, historical, and other arguments critically.**

**\* To hone analytical skills and to refine one's ability to make a convincing argument.**

**\* To improve written communication skills, especially precision and conciseness.**

## **Readings**

Most readings will be available through the Naval War College Library's electronic databases or online. Those that are not will be provided to you through Blackboard.

### **Required Text:**

Feaver, Peter D. and Richard H. Kohn. 2001. *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

## **Class Schedule**

### **Week 1**

#### **Introduction: Civil-Military Relations**

Feaver, Peter D. 1997. "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz and the Question of Civilian Control," *Armed Forces & Society* Winter 1997, pp. 149-178.

Ricks, Thomas E. 2012. *The Generals: American Military Command from World War II to Today*. New York: Penguin Press. Read pp. 125-134 and 192-202.

Hastings, Michael. 2010. "The Runaway General", *Rolling Stone* (22 June): **skim**.

Obama, Barack. 2010. "Statement by the President in the Rose Garden." *White House Press Office*. (23 June).

### **Week 2**

#### **Logic, Argument, and Evidence**

Thompson, Mark. 2011. "The Other 1%". *Time* (November 21).

Segal, David, and Mady Wechsler Segal. 2004. "America's Military Population", *Population Bulletin* 59(4).

#### **Theory: Liberal Theory and the American Founding Fathers**

Constitution Articles I section 8 and II section 2.

Federalist Papers, No.s 8, 26, 29, and 51.

The Anti-Federalist Writings, No.s 23, 24, and 25 (can be accessed at <http://www.thefederalistpapers.org/anti-federalist-papers>).

Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty* Ch.s 1, 4.

Recommended:

Declaration of Independence

Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty* Ch. 5.

### Week 3

#### Theory: Classical and Neo-Institutional Theory

Huntington, Samuel. 1957, *Soldier and State*, read Ch 4 (pp. 80-97), Ch 6 (p 148-157 only), Ch 7 (p 177-192 only), Ch 17 (p 464-466); **skim** Ch 1-3 if not already familiar.

Janowitz, Morris. 1961, *The Professional Soldier*, read Ch.s 1, 5; **skim** Ch.s 2-3, 10-12, 17-19.

Avant, Deborah. 1994, *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons From Peripheral Wars*, Ch. 6 (11 pg)

Feaver, Peter D. 2003, *Armed Servants*, read pp. 58-87; **skim** Ch.2, pp. 87-95, 128-145, and 174-178.

Recommended:

Cohn, Lindsay P. 2011, "It Wasn't in my Contract" *Armed Forces and Society* 37(3): 381-392.

Cotton, Charles A. "The Institutional Organization Model and the Military," in Moskos and Wood, *The Military: More Than Just a Job?* pp. 39-55.

Desch, Michael C. 1999, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*, pp. 1-38, 135-141.

Plato, *The Republic*, Book II 369a-383c; Book III 412b-Book IV 434b (pp. 45-61; 91-113 in the Bloom translation).

## **Week 4**

### **The U.S. System in Context: Structure and History**

Huntington, Samuel P. 1961. "Interservice Competition and the Political Roles of the Armed Services." *American Political Science Review* 55(1): 40 – 52.

Zegart, Amy B., 1999, "Evolution of the Joint Chiefs of Staff," *Flawed by Design*, pp. 131-148, 160-162.

Nordlinger, Eric. 1977. *Soldiers and Politics: Military Coups and Government*. pp. 10-29, 31-61, 191-210

Quinlivan, James T., 1999, "Coups-proofing", *International Security* 24(2): 131-165

Recommended:

### **General/Multiple Regions**

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.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1985. "Organization and Strategy." In R.J. Art, V. Davis & S.P. Huntington (eds) *Reorganizing America's Defense: Leadership in War and Peace*. Washington, D.C. Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers. 230 – 254.

Mani, Kristina. 2007 'Military in business – state-making and entrepreneurship in the developing world', *Armed Forces & Society* 33(4): 591–611.

Weigley, Russell. 2001. "The American Civil-Military Cultural Gap: A Historical Perspective, Colonial Times to the Present" in Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians*, pp. 218-241.

## **Africa**

Loum, Momodou. 2002. "Bad Governance and Democratic Failure: A Look at Gambia's 1994 Coup", *Civil Wars* 5(1)

## **Middle East**

Barany, Zoltan. 2011. "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military" *Journal of Democracy* 22(4)

Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring", *Comparative Politics* 44(2).

Brooks, Risa. 1998. *Political-military Relations and the Stability of Arab Regimes*. International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper 324. New York: Oxford University Press.

Demirel, Tanel. 2003. "The Turkish Military's Decision to Intervene" *Armed Forces and Society* 29(2).

Eisenstadt, Michael, and Kenneth M. Pollack. 2001. "Armies of Snow and Armies of Sand", *Middle East Journal* 55(4): 549-578.

## **Asia**

Lee, Terence. 2008. "The military's corporate interests: the main reason for intervention in Indonesia and the Philippines", *Armed Forces & Society* 34(3): 491-502.

## **Latin America**

Fossum, Egil. 1967. "Factors influencing the occurrence of military coups d'état in Latin America", *Journal of Peace Research*, 4(3): 228 - 251. (go through JSTOR)

Pion-Berlin, David, and Harold Trinkunas. 2010. "Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking During Constitutional Crises in Latin America". *Comparative Politics* 42(4).

## **Week 5**

### **The U.S. System in Context: Manpower**

Moskos, Charles C. 1988. "Institutional and Occupational Trends in Armed Forces," in Charles C. Moskos and Frank Wood, *The Military: More Than Just a Job?* Washington: Pergamon & Brassey's. pp. 15-26

Strawn, Thomas M. 2004. "The War for Talent in the Private Sector." in *Filling the Ranks: Transforming the U.S. Military Personnel System*, Cindy Williams (ed). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. pp 69-92.

Singer, Peter. 2005. "Outsourcing War." *Foreign Affairs*. 84(2): 119 – 132.

Williams, Cindy. 2007. "Introduction" in *Service to Country: Personnel Policy and the Transformation of Western Militaries*, Curtis Gilroy and Cindy Williams (ed.s). Cambridge: MIT Press. Pp. 1-36.

Choi, Seung-Whan, and Patrick James, 2003, "No Professional Soldiers, No Militarized Interstate Disputes? A New Question for Neo-Kantianism", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(6): 796-816.

Horowitz and Levendusky, 2011, "Drafting Support for War: Conscription and Mass Support for Warfare" *Journal of Politics* 73(2): 524-534.

#### Recommended

Avant, Deborah. 2007. "Contracting for Services in U.S. Military Operations" *PS: Political Science & Politics*, July.

Horowitz, Simpson, and Stam, 2011, "Domestic Institutions and Wartime Casualties", *ISQ* 55(4): 909-936.

Pickering, Jeffrey. "Dangerous Drafts? A Time-Series, Cross-National Analysis of Conscription and the Use of Military Force, 1946 – 2001." *Armed Forces & Society*. 37(1): 119-140.

Sandell, Rickard. 2007. "Coping with Demography in NATO Europe: Military Recruitment in Times of Population Decline" in Gilroy and Williams, *Service to Country*. Pp. 65-96.

Vasquez, Joseph Paul III, 2005, "Shouldering the Soldiering: Democracy, Conscription, and Military Casualties", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(6): 849-873.

Williams, Cindy. 2004. "Introduction" in *Filling the Ranks: Transforming the U.S. Military Personnel System*. Cambridge: MIT Press. Pp. 1-27.

## Week 6

### The Gap: The 90s Crisis and the Culture Gap

Ricks, Thomas. 1997. "The Widening Gap Between the Military and Society" in *The Atlantic Monthly* (July), pp. 66-78.

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.

#### **Skim/familiarize** from *Soldiers and Civilians*:

Holsti, Ole. "Of Chasms and Convergences: Attitudes and Beliefs of Civilians and Military Elites at the Start of a New Millennium", pp. 15-99.

Davis, James. "Attitudes and Opinions Among Senior Military Officers and a U.S. Cross-Section, 1998-99", pp. 101-128.

Segal, David R. et al., "Attitudes of Entry-Level Enlisted Personnel", pp. 174-212.

#### Recommended

"Exchange on Civil-Military Relations": William Odom (pp. 25-26), Samuel Huntington (pp. 28-29) and Richard Kohn (pp. 29-31), *National Interest* (Summer 1994)

Avant, Deborah. 1996/97. "Are the Reluctant Warriors Out of Control: Why the U.S. Military is Averse to Responding to Post-Cold War Low-Level Threats," *Security Studies* 6(2): pp. 51-90.

Avant, Deborah. 1998. "Conflicting Indicators of 'Crisis' in American Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society* 24(3): pp. 375-389.

Kohn, Richard. 2002 "The Erosion of Civilian Control of the Military in the United States Today", *Naval War College Review* (Summer), pp. 9-60.

Feaver, Peter D. 2003. *Armed Servants*, pp. 180-193



## Week 7

### The Gap: The Familiarity Gap

Gelpi, Chris, and Peter D. Feaver. 2002. "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick? Veterans in the Political Elite and the American Use of Force", *American Political Science Review* 96(4): 779-793.

Gelpi, Chris, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler. 2005/06. "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq", *International Security* 30(3): 7-46.

Kriner, Douglas L. and Francis X. Shen. 2014. "Reassessing American Casualty Sensitivity: The Mediating Influence of Inequality." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(7): 1174-1201.

Pew Social Trends Survey. 2011. "The Military-Civilian Gap". Accessible at [pewsocialtrends.org/series/the-military-civilian-gap](http://pewsocialtrends.org/series/the-military-civilian-gap).

### Recommended

Burk, James. 2001. "The Military's Presence in American Society, 1950-2000" in Feaver and Kohn, *Soldiers and Civilians*, pp. 247-274.

Gronke, Paul, and Peter D. Feaver, "Uncertain Confidence: Civilian and Military Attitudes about Civil-Military Relations" in Feaver and Kohn, *Soldiers and Civilians*, pp. 159-161.

MacLean, Alair, and Glen H. Elder Jr. 2007. "Military Service in the Life Course." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 33:175 – 196.

Skelton, Ike. 2012. "The Civil-Military Gap Need Not Become a Chasm", *Joint Forces Quarterly* 64(1): 60-66.

Wiegand, Krista E., and David L. Paletz. 2001. "The Elite Media and the Military-Civilian Culture Gap", *Armed Forces and Society* Special Issue on Media and Education in the U.S. Civil-Military Gap 27(2): 183-204.

## Week 8

### Policy-making: Partisanship and Politics

Bianco, William T., and Jaime Markham. 2001. "Vanishing Veterans: the Decline of Military Experience in the U.S. Congress" in Feaver and Kohn (eds), *Soldiers and Civilians*: 275-288.

Cloud, David S., and Eric Schmitt. 2006. "More Retired Generals Call for Rumsfeld Resignation". *New York Times*, 14 April: A1.

Teigen, Jeremy M. 2008, "Invoking Military Credentials in Congressional Elections, 2000-2006" in Derek S. Reveron and Judith Hicks Stiehm (eds), *Inside Defense*: 115-126.

Golby, James. 2011. "Duty, Honor, Party: Ideology, Institutions, and the Use of Force", PhD dissertation, Stanford University. Chapter 4: pp. 103-140.

#### Recommended:

Dauber, Cori. 2000. "Image as Argument: the Impact of Mogadishu on US Military Intervention," *Armed Forces & Society*, 27(2): 205-229.

Dempsey, Jason K. 2009. *Our Army: Soldiers, Politics, and American Civil-Military Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Golby, Jim, Kyle Dropp, and Peter Feaver. 2012. "Military Campaigns: Veterans' Endorsements and Presidential Elections". Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security.

Kohn, Richard H. 2009. "The Danger of Militarization in an Endless 'War' on Terrorism", *Journal of Military History* 73(1): 177-208.

Teigen, Jeremy. 2007. "Veterans' Party Identification, Candidate Affect, and Vote Choice in the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election" *Armed Forces and Society* 33(3): 414-437.

Urban, Heidi A. 2010. "Civil-Military Relations in a Time of War: Party, Politics, and the Profession of Arms." Doctoral Dissertation. Washington, DC: Georgetown University.

## Week 9

### Policy-making: Advice and Dissent, Resource Demands

Feaver, Peter. 2011. "The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision." *International Security*. 35(4): 87-125.

Feaver, Peter. 2014. "Should Senior Military Officers Resign in Protest if Obama Disregards Their Advice?" Shadow Government blog, Foreign Policy, Oct 7.  
[http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/10/07/should\\_senior\\_military\\_officers\\_resign\\_in\\_protest\\_if\\_obama\\_disregards\\_their\\_advice](http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/10/07/should_senior_military_officers_resign_in_protest_if_obama_disregards_their_advice)

Milburn, Andrew R. 2010. "Breaking Ranks: Dissent and the Military Professional." *Joint Forces Quarterly*. 59(4):101-107.

Yingling, Paul. 2007. "A Failure in Generalship." *Armed Forces Journal*. May 1.

Brooks, Risa A. 2013. "The Perils of Politics: Why Staying Apolitical Is Good for Both the U.S. Military & the Country." *Orbis* 57(3): 369 - 379.

Halperin, Morton H., and Kristen Lomasney. 1999. "Playing the Add-on Game in Congress: The Increasing Importance of Constituent Interests and Budget Constraints in Determining Defense Policy", in Leon V. Sigal (ed), *The Changing Dynamics of U.S. Defense Spending*, Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, pp. 85-106.

#### Recommended:

Brooks, Risa A. 2009. "Militaries and Political Activity in Democracies." In *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era*. Ed. Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins U Press. 213-238.

Cohen, Eliot. 2001. "The Unequal Dialogue: The Theory and Reality of Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force," in Feaver and Kohn, *Soldiers and Civilians*, pp. 429-458.

Halperin, Morton H. 1972. "The President and the Military", *Foreign Affairs* 50(2): 310-324.

Hartung, William D. 1999. "The Shrinking Military Pork Barrel: The Changing Distribution of Pentagon Spending, 1986-1996", in Leon V. Sigal (ed), *The Changing Dynamics of U.S. Defense Spending*, Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, pp. 29-84.

Roman, Peter, and David Tarr. 2001. "Military Professionalism and Policy-making: Is There a Civil-Military Gap at the Top? If So, Does it Matter?" in Feaver and Kohn, *Soldiers and Civilians*, pp. 403-428.

Snider, Don, et al. 1999. "Army Professionalism, the Military Ethic, and Officership in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" Strategic Studies Institute, Dec 1999. pp. 1-3, 26-50.

## **Week 10**

### **Back to the Big Picture: Liberty, Democracy, Prosperity, and Security**

Root, Elihu. 1922. "A Requisite for the Success of Popular Diplomacy", *Foreign Affairs* 1(1): 3-10.

Burk, James. 2002. "Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations", *Armed Forces and Society* 29(1): 7-29.

Murray, Williamson. 2009. "Professionalism and Professional Military Education in the Twenty-first Century" in *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era*. Ed. Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins U Press. Pp. 213-238.

### **Additional Literature for the Interested Reader**

Avant, Deborah D. 2005. *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*. Cambridge U Press.

Bacevich, Andrew. 2005. *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brooks, Risa. 2008. *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bruneau, Thomas C., and Scott Tollefson, 2006. *Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil – Military Relations*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Builder, Carl H. *The Masks of War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins U Press.

Cohn, Lindsay P. 2013. "Who Will Serve? Labor Markets and Military Personnel Policy" *Res Militaris* 3(2). <http://www.resmilitaris.net/index.php?ID=1017610>.

Coletta, Damon and Peter D. Feaver. 2006. "Civilian Monitoring of U.S. Military Operations in the Information Age." *Armed Forces and Society* 33(1): 106 - 126.

Charles Dunlap, "The Origins of the American Military Coup of 2012," in *Parameters* (Winter 1992-1993), pp. 2-20.

Feaver, Peter D. 2005. *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Feaver, Peter D., and Christopher Gelpi. 2003. *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gates, Robert. 2014. *Duty*. New York: Knopf.

Kriner, Douglas L. and Francis X. Shen. 2010. *The Casualty Gap: The Causes and Consequences of American Wartime Inequalities*. Oxford U Press.

McChrystal, Stanley. 2013. *My Share of the Task*. New York: Penguin.

McMaster, H.R. 1997. *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, The Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam*. New York: HarperCollins.

Nielsen, Suzanne, and Don Snider (eds). 2009. *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Panetta, Leon with Jim Newton. 2014. *Worthy Fights*. New York: Penguin.

Reveron, Derek S., and Judith Hicks Stiehm. 2008. *Inside Defense: Understanding the U.S. Military in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Singer, P.W. 2003. *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell U Press.

Stanger, Allison. 2009. *One Nation Under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy*. New Haven, CT: Yale U Press.

Strachan, Hew. 2006. "Making Strategy: Civil-Military Relations After Iraq", *Survival* 48(3): 59-82.

Zegart, Amy B. 1999. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*. Stanford, CA: Stanford U Press.