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## Civil-Military Module Discussion Questions

1. Your oath of loyalty and fealty is to the Constitution, and does not, like the oath of enlisted members, include language about obeying orders. Yet the Constitution clearly establishes the President as Commander-in-Chief and with that goes the presumption of obedience by everyone junior in the chain of command. The system has clear guidance on how to respond to illegal orders. What about “unwise” orders? In dealing with civilian leaders, can your oath to support the Constitution override requests, hints, directions, directives, or even orders that you deem unwise? Under what circumstances and with what processes can senior military people deal with orders they find problematic?
2. Leaving the question of legality, what do you do as a senior leader about orders that you find immoral or unethical? Do you have any recourse, e.g., resign? Quietly or in protest? Can you ask to be relieved or retired in these, or any other, circumstances? What other circumstances?
3. Is it possible to be caught between the executive, legislative, and/or judicial branches of government in a situation or situations in which legal and constitutional authorities over the military are in conflict? Think of some situations; what would you do?
4. Thinking about the so-called civil-military gap, how can we celebrate the distinctiveness of military culture without appearing to disparage civilian culture? Are there aspects of military culture today that need to be adjusted to better track with civilian society? What are they? Are there aspects of military culture today that need to be protected from pressures to conform to civilian society? What are they?
5. How do we go about lessening the suspicion, distrust, tension, and even outright conflict between senior military leaders and the top political leaders, elected and appointed--and still fulfill our responsibilities under various laws pertaining to positions we might hold, to provide advice and execute orders? What avenues are appropriate/inappropriate in circumstances when senior military leaders believe that the civilian leadership is preventing them from providing their professional advice candidly and privately?
6. What responsibilities do senior leaders have to mentor officers under their command on civil-military relations? What venues could be used for that? How could senior leaders go about it?
7. A bedrock of civil-military relations is an a-political, or non-partisan, military. How does that square with retired flag officers endorsing political candidates? Are such endorsements proper for some ranks and not for others? Is there a distinction between endorsing in local elections, and getting involved in local community service--like school boards--that some might consider "political" if not partisan? How about running themselves for office or speaking out/sharing expertise and perspectives on national defense and security? Would that be permissible? Why or why not?

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**Originally a lecture for a two-day seminar for senior flag officers on civil-military relations held at UNC-Chapel Hill and sponsored by the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, this essay will be published in slightly different form as the introduction to *Civil-Military Relations in the United States* (London: Routledge, 2021). *Not to be circulated, cited, or quoted without permission of the author.***

## **Six Myths about Civil-Military Relations in the United States**

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Very few people today think about civil-military relations until something out-of-the-ordinary occurs. A top general clashes in public or in congressional testimony with the President. Or the President fires a prominent four-star commander or chief for malfeasance of some kind. Even fewer Americans have heard of civil-military relations or know what it means. While one of the least studied subjects, it can be the most important aspect of war and military affairs, and thus national security.

A chief reason is that the substance of civil-military relations is extremely broad. It encompasses the entire set connections between a military and its host society, from the interactions of military bases with surrounding communities to consultations between civilian political leaders and their most senior military officers. All of that affects national defense in peace and in war, in ways great and small. For example, civil-military relations are deeply involved in cyberwar, where the government has only begun to address the problems of agency responsibilities, command and control, and legal authorities for defense and attack in cyberspace against civilian businesses and public infrastructures. Civil-military relations pervade the campaign against terrorism, in the controversies over government surveillance or drone killings of American citizens. Cyber and terrorism revisit age-old debates about the balance between liberty and security, which for countries with political systems like that of the United States, have always been central to civil–military relations.

What follows, as an introduction to the subject, began as a lecture in 2012 to a workshop for senior American generals and admirals. In many iterations since for civilian and military audiences, the text has undergone revisions as I’ve gathered more evidence and refined the central message, which is that much of our understanding of civil-military relations is myth. Long experience convinces me that what most people (including the military) know or think they know about the subject is simplistic or actually untrue. Mark Twain supposedly remarked that “It’s not what you don’t know that hurts you. It’s what you know that just ain’t so.” And in national defense, what we know that just ain’t so, can be extremely dangerous.

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The *first myth* is that *everything is fine in the relationship* between the top military and political officials in the government. This is demonstrably false. There have been problems throughout American history, but particularly since World War II. The relationship has been messy, filled with mutual misunderstanding and suspicion. Historians frequently mention Abraham Lincoln's disagreements with his generals but rarely mention bad blood between cabinet secretaries and their most senior unformed subordinates. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's distant and dysfunctional relationship with the generals and admirals had many precedents well over a century old; two commanding generals moved their headquarters out of Washington to escape their cabinet bosses, and the first Chief of Naval Operations rose over the heads of all the serving admirals at the time, so terrible was the Navy secretary's working relationship with them. Presidents from John Adams to Barack Obama have distrusted their generals, occasionally clashed with them and occasionally relieved them of their posts. Mr. Obama fired two American commanders in Afghanistan and declined to put his most prominent general, David Petraeus, in the top military job. The problems, while episodic, have been consistent.<sup>1</sup>

A flag officer once questioned whether this tension, even the conflict, was relevant, since our system "works:" the U.S. has been most frequently successful in war and in defending itself, civilians can fire generals, and we can go on about our business. That's certainly true enough. We have plenty of generals and admirals. We fire them rarely, and there are always others available to take their place. The problem, however, is that the distrust and discontinuity in the relationship have impeded communication, produced poor decisions, warped policies, and on occasion harmed the nation's effectiveness in wartime. Perhaps the most blatant example was Douglas MacArthur's attempt to widen the Korean War and undermine the Truman Administration's decisions, including not to send American troops to the Yalu River, which MacArthur, of course, did, leading to a disastrous defeat. Some forty years later, the Joint Chiefs of Staff publicly resisted the 1992 effort to repeal the ban on open homosexual service. This was as open and egregious (if less dangerous) a rebellion as MacArthur's, and rebellion is the right word. Blocking President Bill Clinton so weakened him politically as to unhinge his administration at its inception. So everything is not fine in the relationship.<sup>2</sup>

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A *second myth* follows closely upon the first: that civilian control of the military is safe, sound, and inviolate, or, in other words, *No Coup, No Problem*. We seem to believe that the Constitution assures civilian control when in fact it does not. The Constitution *intends* civilian control of the military, but doesn't *assure* it. In his memoirs, Harry Truman

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<sup>1</sup>For a survey of conflict during American wars, see Mathew Moten, *Presidents and Their Generals: An American History of Command in War* (New York, 2014).

<sup>2</sup>See Richard H. Kohn, "The Erosion of Civilian Control of the Military in the United States Today," *Naval War College Review* 55 (2002): 9-59.

commented about firing Douglas MacArthur for publicly opposing the limiting of the war in Korea to that peninsula: “If there is one basic element in our Constitution, it is civilian control of the military,” Truman wrote. “If I allowed him to defy the civil authorities in this manner, I myself would be violating my oath to uphold and defend the Constitution.”<sup>3</sup>

Certainly civilian control has been embraced by all Americans from the beginning of the Republic to the present; it is the foundation for the relationship between the military and the government. The framers of the Constitution structured the national government explicitly for civilian control. They believed, however, that nothing could physically restrain an army. A standing army in peacetime might seize power or act as the instrument for someone else to do so. Or so history suggested. Yet in spite of inserting all sorts of devices in the document to restrain the military, all involving essentially shared and overlapping civilian powers, in the end the framers divided authority over the military so that one branch of the government could not use the military against the others. The military couldn’t even exist without explicit agreement by civilians, much less act on its own, unless it ignored or overthrew the Constitution.

Now divided and shared powers, as we know from recent history, can be a recipe for paralysis or conflict between the branches, or for irrational policies and decisions. Budget “sequestration”—the 2011 law that capped the budgets of all agencies of the federal government at an arbitrary figure for ten years and required percentage cuts across the board—is the most blatant recent example. But it is not the first instance of the use and abuse of the military (which accounted for half the cuts under sequestration) for struggles between the President and Congress. “The Constitution is an invitation to struggle,” wrote one scholar.<sup>4</sup>

Divided and shared power also permits the Pentagon to play the executive and legislative branches off against each other, something frequent since World War II, or to limit the control either branch exercises over the military. The President is commander in chief, but time and again has had to negotiate with his military leadership in order to get his way, as President George W. Bush felt he had to do to get his chiefs to agree to the surge in Iraq in 2006 lest they oppose it or undermine it in some way and Congress withhold

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<sup>3</sup>*Memoirs by Harry S. Truman, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope* (New York, 1956), 503.

<sup>4</sup>John T. Rourke and Russell Farnen, “War, Presidents, and the Constitution,” 18 *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 18(1998):513; Christopher J. Deering, Congress, the President, and Military Policy, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1988):136–47.

funding.<sup>5</sup> Presidents negotiated with the military during the Cold War in order to get support for arms-control agreements with the Soviets so the Senate would ratify the treaties. Mr. Obama negotiated the Afghan surge with his military. He negotiated the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell. It took him almost two years into his administration, and it succeeded only in the legislative equivalent of the "dead of the night," a special session of the lame-duck Congress in late 2010.<sup>6</sup> Similarly difficult has been the opening of combat duty to women. In truth, the pictures of the chain of command that grace the walls of all military headquarters ought to include the Capitol building on an even level with that of the President of the United States.

What has made civilian control work has been, in my judgment, at least four factors in American history: first, reverence for the Constitution and the primacy of law that undergirds society; second, geographic separation from Europe, which allowed the country to avoid a substantial standing military until the Cold War with its nuclear weapons and their delivery by air, which diminished the safety of ocean boundaries; third, reliance in war on a policy of mobilization using citizen soldiers in the form of state militias, reservists, and volunteers, and later conscription; and fourth, the professionalism of the military itself—its willing subordination as a core value of the profession of arms in the United States. But all four of these factors have weakened to a greater or lesser extent in the last seventy-five years.

While the lampooning of lawyers in American culture goes all the way back to Shakespeare's day, the reverence for law, including the Constitution and judges, has declined in the United States. Respect for the Supreme Court, as revealed most recently in polling, has also lessened because some recent decisions have seemed starkly partisan. Law, lawyers, judges, and the legal system have eroded in credibility and respect, certainly since the Warren Court's epochal decisions and the opposition they provoked.

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<sup>5</sup>Bob Woodward, *The War Within: A Secret White House History 2006-2008* (New York, 2008), 286–89; George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (New York, 2010), 375-378; Peter D. Feaver, "The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision," *International Security* 35 (2011):89–124. According to Stephen Hadley, Bush's National Security Adviser, "If the president had just decided, without . . . bringing the military on board, " it would have produced "a split between the president and his military in wartime. Not good. That's a constitutional crisis. But more to the point, Congress--who did not like the surge and was appalled that the president would do this--would have brought forward all those military officers who'd had any reservation about the surge in order to defeat it. And the president would have announced his surge, but he'd have never gotten it funded." Quoted in Peter Bergen, *The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and al-Qaeda* (New York, 2011), 282-283.

<sup>6</sup>The best description of the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell to date is Chuck Todd, *The Stranger: Barack Obama in the White House* (New York, 2014), 184-203.



The second weakened pillar of support for civilian control of the military has been a permanent military of real size since the beginning of the Cold War, ironically the result of nuclear weapons and air power, two innovations the U.S. itself pioneered, and the transformation of the United States into the guarantor of security and stability in Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia.

Third of all, citizen soldiers. How many people in our society are conscious of the obligation to serve if the nation calls? All of the military, including the National Guard and the Reserves, while they call themselves citizen soldiers, are resolutely proud of their professionalism, and when surveyed about their values, attitudes, opinions, and perspectives in 1998-99 by the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, they expressed views hardly different from those of the regular military.<sup>7</sup> We have no active planning for mobilization beyond the callup of the Reserves and the National Guard. The possibility of drafting American youth to create a traditionally citizen military has all but died.

Last, the willing subordination of the military itself to civilian control has also weakened. The entire military subscribes to civilian control, believes in civilian control, but like the rest of society, many in the military sometimes have a dim understanding of the behaviors and attitudes necessary to foster and support it. People in the military, and sometimes the armed services as institutions, have engaged in behaviors that—all through American history, but particularly in the last two generations—dilute civilian control.<sup>8</sup>

Of course any attempt to overthrow the government is unthinkable. Indeed, only a couple of plausible scenarios have ever been advanced that imagined the possibility, and they're farfetched.<sup>9</sup> In the United States, power and authority are too separated, divided, shared, and distributed amongst national, state, and local governments, for anybody to *control* anything (not to mention the power of the private sector to act independently and to influence government at all levels). This causes constant tension, competition, suspicion, misunderstanding, and outright conflict in many areas of national life, civil-military relations among them.

Yet, the absence of a revolt has not prevented occasional defiance or regular instances of passive resistance, evasion, or manipulation by the military establishment and, of course,

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<sup>7</sup>Ole R. Holsti, "Of Chasms and Convergences: Attitudes and Beliefs of Civilians and Military Elites at the Start of a New Millennium," *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*, ed. Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 28, 33, 3538-39, 48-49, 52-54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68-69, 71, 72-73, 76-77, 78-79, 81, 83, 86-87, 88, 89, 91.

<sup>8</sup>Kohn, "Erosion of Civilian Control," 23-33; Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA, 2003).

<sup>9</sup>Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey II, *Seven Days in May* (New York, 1962); Charles J. Dunlap, Jr, "Origins of the American Coup of 2012," *Parameters: US Army War College Quarterly* 22 (1992):2-20.

by the politicians of the military. From the beginning, beneath subordination, there has often been the kind of distrust that prevents civil–military relations from working in a healthy fashion. Congress and state governors distrusted George Washington and the Continental Army throughout the War for Independence. On at least one occasion, the officer corps teetered on the brink of outright mutiny. Andrew Jackson, appointed a regular army general after the War of 1812, defied the Secretary of War and wiped out an Indian tribe in Florida, precipitating a crisis that led to the purchase of what was then foreign territory. During the Mexican War, James K. Polk so distrusted his chief general, Winfield Scott, that Polk acted as his own Secretary of War and watched Scott closely. For his part, Scott ran for the presidency twice in the 1840s, then in 1852 actually wrested the Whig party nomination from his commander and chief, all the while on active duty as a general, and during two elections, the Commanding General of the entire Army.

During the Cold War, the services actively fought each other over unification and contested Truman’s budget limits. The admirals revolted against the administration’s cancellation of the super carrier *United States* in 1949, a clash that resulted in several sackings. Eisenhower, certainly the most knowledgeable modern president about the military in America, replaced a number of his chiefs. The Army leadership under him attempted everything short of open revolt to undermine the policy of emphasizing air, naval, and nuclear weapons. In his last year in office, Eisenhower considered firing his Air Force chief. At one point, he called the behavior of some of his senior military leaders “damn near treason.”<sup>10</sup> Eisenhower first labeled Richard Nixon's secretary of defense, Melvin Laird, "too devious," but after a meeting with him, Ike told Nixon "Of course Laird is devious, but for anyone who has to run the Pentagon, and get along with Congress, that is a valuable asset."<sup>11</sup> Kennedy, too, had to fire some of his military leaders. They had opposed Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's reforms of military policy, strategy, and budget procedures. The bad blood between McNamara and the military antedated the Vietnam War but escalated dramatically during that conflict, spreading into the Nixon years with a President who so distrusted his own secretary of defense, and he the President (and the military distrusting both), that, according to the official history, "The secretary, the White House, and the JCS would deliberately keep each other in the dark about their actions or intentions."<sup>12</sup>

From the military’s revolt over open homosexual service in the early 1990s through Donald Rumsfeld’s sour relationship with the services and beyond, conflict has flared regularly, to include the struggle over strategy in the Afghanistan War from its beginning

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<sup>10</sup>Robert J. Watson, *Into the Missile Age, 1956–1960* [*History of the Office of the Secretary of Defense*, v. 4] (Washington, DC, 1997), 775.

<sup>11</sup>Richard Nixon, *RN: the Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York, 1978), 289.

<sup>12</sup>Richard A. Hunt, *Melvin Laird and the Foundation of the Post-Vietnam Military, 1969-1973* [*Secretary of Defense Historical Series Volume VII*] (Washington, 2015), 28-29. See also 59, 549-50.

in 2001 to the drawdown that began in 2011. The most consistent conflict and mutual manipulation has been over budgets. One officer told me in the 1990s that his job in legislative liaison was to go up on Capitol Hill and restore two billion dollars to his service's budget that the Secretary of Defense had eliminated.

While conflict has diminished in the last ten years, it has become endemic. In 2015, responding to a question about “the tension between civilian decision makers and their military advisors in making wartime decisions,” the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Martin Dempsey, reflected after some four years in the job that “the system is actually designed to create that friction in decision making.”<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the tension is more visible, partly because Congress and the press are always trying to lure the military into expressing disagreement with executive branch bosses, forcing generals and admirals to choose their words carefully in testimony. When military witnesses do practice such caution, they're sometimes accused of lying or holding back their real views; and if they do disagree, then they are criticized for undermining their civilian superiors (and on occasion enraging them). So the senior military in our system is damned either way. Dempsey was accused of being a Democrat general when supporting the White House and in September 2014 was widely bashed for contradicting presidential statements (which he did not do) on using ground troops to combat the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. During the prior administration, the liberal organization MoveOn.org smeared General David Petraeus, testifying before the House and Senate after he took over in the Iraq “surge,” of being General “Betray Us.” The Democrats were on his case consistently probing for disagreement between him and the Bush Administration. Suspicions were so aroused that the General did not clear his testimony with the White House because that itself would have undermined his credibility.<sup>14</sup> Imagine a general in charge of a war who cannot clear his testimony with his boss. It was an amazing scene, but one repeated in minor ways for many years.

Military leaders have returned this distrust. Douglas MacArthur, the army chief of staff at the depth of the Great Depression, recounted in his memoirs that he became so frustrated, in a meeting at the White House with the President and the Secretary of War (before the President had a Secretary of Defense), that he, MacArthur, “[s]poke recklessly and said something to the general effect that when we lost the next war and a American boy lying in the mud with an enemy bayonet through his belly and an enemy foot on his dying throat spat out his last curse, I wanted the name not to be MacArthur but Roosevelt.” Roosevelt, “[g]rew livid,” MacArthur remembered. ““You must not talk that way to the President,’ [Roosevelt] roared.”<sup>15</sup> MacArthur recognized immediately the truth of that,

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<sup>13</sup>From the Chairman: An Interview with Martin E. Dempsey,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, 78 (3d Quarter 2015):5.

<sup>14</sup>Woodward, *War Within*, 385–88; Thomas E. Ricks, *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2006–2008*, (New York, 2009), 243-251.

<sup>15</sup>Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1964), 101.

said he was sorry, apologized, and offered his resignation. Roosevelt in his cavalier way brushed off the offer; MacArthur left with the Secretary of War and vomited on the White House steps. The General recalled that Roosevelt never again consulted him on anything of substance even though MacArthur remained Chief of Staff of the Army and became one of the four major theater commanders of World War II.<sup>13</sup>

Tension and distrust continue down to today. In the last two decades, a surprising number of four-star officials have been relieved or were forced to retire early three Chiefs of Staff of the Air Force, a Commander of the Army Training and Doctrine Command, a Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (NATO), two commanders of Central Command, a Pacific Air Force commander, and two commanders in Afghanistan. There was in 2013 the clumsy retirement a few months early of the legendary Marine General James Mattis. In 1995, the chief of naval operations committed suicide while on active duty in the office. In the George W. Bush Administration, a chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was not renewed for a second two-year term.

In 2007 I asked a colleague who wrote a book on the Secretaries of Defense, an office created in late 1940s, whether any secretary had ever embarked on the office trusting the military. He said no.<sup>16</sup> Leon Panetta, Mr. Obama's first CIA director and second Secretary of Defense, told people in the White House in 2009, "No Democratic President can go against the military advice, especially if he asked for it." Panetta's attitude was, "So just do it. Do what they say."<sup>17</sup>

Even so, over time, there's been enough divisiveness to make cooperation and collaboration quite difficult, sometimes to the detriment of sound policy and effective decision-making. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates recalls in his memoir that at one point, General Petraeus said "with half a chuckle, 'You know I could make your life miserable.'"<sup>18</sup> Gates was struck by the cheekiness of the remark, but any observer of civil-military relations could agree that what Petraeus said was true. The very fact that he would say it was an implicit threat. Earlier, President Obama had told Gates, in the midst of the review of Afghanistan strategy, "I'm tired of negotiating with the military."<sup>19</sup> Former congressman Jim Marshall, the son and grandson of army generals and himself a decorated combat veteran of the Vietnam War, summed it up in this way: "Those of us

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<sup>16</sup>This exchange with Charles A. Stevenson, author of *Warriors and Politicians: US Civil-Military Relations Under Stress* (Washington, DC, 2006) and *SECDEF: The Impossible Job of Secretary of Defense* (Washington, DC, 2006) took place at West Point at the annual Social Sciences Department Senior Conference in June 2007.

<sup>17</sup>Woodward, *War Within*, 247.

<sup>18</sup>Robert M. Gates, *Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War* (New York, 2014), 68.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 382.

who have experienced both sides of the civil-military relationship see a wide gulf of misunderstanding, dislike, and distrust. . . .”<sup>20</sup>

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A *third myth* is that a clear bright line exists between military and civilian responsibilities, in peace and in war. The civilians decide policy and make big decisions on budgets, interventions, strategy, and the like while the military advises and then executes. One knowledgeable journalist of military affairs described it this way: “The military’s view is, tell us where you want to go and leave the driving to us.”<sup>21</sup> The problem is that this has rarely been American practice historically and it isn’t today. Often, civilians haven’t decided on their goals and objectives. “Elected officials are hardwired to ask for options first and then reverse-engineer objective,” Dempsey observed.<sup>22</sup> They want to know as exactly as possible the price in blood and treasure beforehand so that they can calculate the cost–benefit ratio. Or they want assurances of success. If they don’t get one or the other (or both), or if they receive answers from their military advisers that are unduly hedged, politicians may, and often have, changed the policy and the strategy accordingly, and unpredictably. The effect on a military commander responsible for success, with history looking over his shoulder and responsibility for the lives of American children and grandchildren, can be daunting.

In his thoughtful book on his command in Iraq, General George Casey remembered no specific directives from his civilian bosses when he took over in 2004. He had to research his own mission from presidential speeches, from other documents, and from meetings with various officials. He did not recall a four-page list of some ten goals that his superior officer, the US Central Command commander General John Abizaid, had given him, perhaps because Casey and Abizaid were so close; they talked every day and their close friendship and collaboration went back years. So Casey would not necessarily remember such a document. But his uncertainty was not as unusual as one might expect. “Years of experience at the strategic level had taught me that the higher up you go, the less guidance you receive.”<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Foreword, *American Civil–Military Relations: The Soldiers and the State in a New Era*, ed. Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider (Baltimore, 2009), x. See also biographies at [https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/james\\_marshall/400254](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/james_marshall/400254) and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jim\\_Marshall\\_\(Georgia\\_politician\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jim_Marshall_(Georgia_politician)).

<sup>21</sup>James Kitfield of the *National Journal* made this remark at the Conference on the Military and Civilian Society, First Division Museum, Cantigny, Wheaton, Ill. (Oct. 27–29, 1999). I attended and was struck by the insight of the analogy.

<sup>22</sup>“From the Chairman: An Interview with Martin E. Dempsey,” 5.

<sup>23</sup>George W. Casey, Jr, *Strategic Reflections: Operation Iraqi Freedom July 2004–February 2007*, (Washington, DC, 2012), 6. I read a draft of the memoir at General Casey’s invitation and discussed the manuscript with him in person.

Going back into the nineteenth century, the best example of this disjunction between the military and its civilian overseer was Lincoln, who began the Civil War without a strategy. He soon adopted army Commanding General Winfield Scott's Anaconda plan. The next year, the President expanded the goals of the war from restoring the Union and defeating Southern armies to crushing the Confederacy and abolishing slavery. Many Union army officers opposed the new objectives. At times, Lincoln haunted the telegraph office, ordering troops around himself and telling his commanders what to do. Even after he appointed Ulysses Grant as chief general in the eastern theater, Lincoln had his own agent—a presidential spy in effect—traveling with Grant and reporting on what Grant was doing and thinking. Grant was one of the smartest generals in American history; he welcomed that person and treated him with candor and transparency.<sup>24</sup>

A century and a half later, General Stanley McChrystal remembered meeting only once with President Obama before leaving for Afghanistan, and in that meeting *not* discussing strategy. Of course, after General McChrystal's assessment was leaked, President Obama changed the strategy and the timetable of the war.<sup>25</sup>

The truth of post World War II history is that nuclear weapons and the limited conflicts of the Cold War increased the oversight and intrusion of political leaders into military affairs, into what had been, during World War II and before, the domain of military authority. The 1964 satirical film *Dr. Strangelove*, about the outbreak of a nuclear war provoked by iconic caricatures of deranged generals Jack D. Ripper and Buck Turgidson, dramatized the reasoning. But real life experiences were equally influential in producing increasingly restrictive rules of engagement imposed on military operations. Early in the Korean War, four Air Force jets set out to bomb an airfield in northeastern North Korea. Because of dense cloud cover, the two that didn't abort navigated by dead reckoning. Upon finding a break in the clouds where they expected to find the target (it was the right timing), they dropped down and attacked the airfield. Unfortunately, it was a Soviet installation dozens of miles inside the Soviet border.<sup>26</sup> Presidents have imposed strict rules of engagement at the cost of considerable civil–military friction, in an effort to synchronize policy with strategy and strategy with operations, and sometimes even with tactics. When those rules are unclear or civilians do not communicate honestly with

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<sup>24</sup>Eliot A. Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (New York, 2002), 42-45.

<sup>25</sup>Stanley McChrystal, *My Share of the Task: A Memoir* (New York, 2013), 288–89. For a description of the review of the strategy for Afghanistan in the fall of 2009, see Bob Woodward, *Obama's Wars* (New York, 2010), 144–352; and Gates, *Duty*, 352–85.

<sup>26</sup>Entries for Oct. 10–13, 1950, *The Three Wars of Lt. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer: His Korean War Diary*, ed. William T. Y'Blood (Washington, DC, 1999), 226–31; Robert Frank Futrell, *The United States Air Force in Korea 1950–1953* (Washington, DC, 1961), 142n.

military leaders--as occurred in the bombing of North Vietnam in the latter stages of that war--military commanders can be caught in the middle, as was Seventh Air Force General John Lavelle in 1972. He was fired and retired as a two-star general.<sup>27</sup> Civilian control empowers the politicians to make the rules and forces the military to follow them. Senior officers who recognize the changed circumstances since World War II try to help the civilians as much as possible in order to get workable, effective orders.

The most powerful constraint on the civilians, beyond the need for military effectiveness, is political. In the last thirty years, the military has risen to be the most trusted and respected institution in American society. This prestige and legitimacy put considerable restraint on the civilians. They know it; they're jealous of it; and they fear it. During the 1990s, when Mr. Clinton tried to impose open homosexual service on the armed services, he weakened himself enormously. Though he intervened overseas with more force more often than any of his predecessors, it was almost always after negotiation with his military advisors. One heard at the time that a sardonic joke, perhaps apocryphal, circulated in the Pentagon in the middle of the 1990s to the effect, "The answer is 500,000 troops in ten years. Now what's the question?" More than one official has admitted that Clinton feared those in uniform.<sup>28</sup>

The caution with which presidents deal with their military advisers and commanders brings up a corollary myth to the division between civilian and military responsibilities: that the military should push back in such a fashion, even speaking out publicly, even to the point of either threatening or actually "resigning" if they oppose orders that promise disaster, or are professionally untenable, or are immoral or unethical in a senior officer's view. This idea is articulated regularly among officers and sometimes in print in military journals. The problem is *whose* definition of disaster and *whose* system of morality? The implications for civilian control and civil-military cooperation after a four-star chief or field commander "resigns" over a critical issue, with or without going public about it, are almost certain to damage civil-military relations and erode military professionalism. Few senior officers think about such circumstances, expecting that they'll know and react appropriately were such a situation to arise.

I asked General Curtis LeMay, with whom I had a friendly relationship when I was Chief of Air Force History in the 1980s, if he'd ever considered "resigning." He clashed frequently with his civilian superiors when he was Air Force chief of staff in the 1960s. Given the implications of resignation, officers' obligation to the profession, their duty to

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<sup>27</sup>Mark Clodfelter, *Violating Reality: the Lavelle Affair, Nixon, and Parsing the Truth* (Washington, DC, 2016).

<sup>28</sup>Kohn, "Erosion of Civilian Control," 18–19, 32–33. A useful review of civil–military relations during the Clinton years is David Halberstam, *War in a Time of Peace: Bush, Clinton, and the Generals* (New York, 2001).

the people under their care and command, LeMay responded with words to the effect, “No. I knew they’d just get some toady in there. I was going to stay and fight.”<sup>29</sup>

Military officers also have an obligation to their oath and the civilian control implied in that oath. There’s no tradition of resignation in the American armed forces and for good reason. The very threat chills civil–military relations, destroying any trust in a relationship that contains inherent distrust. Resignation pits an officer’s judgment of a policy or decision against that of his or her civilian boss. The role of the military is to advise and then execute a decision provided the orders do not violate law.

Furthermore, “resignation,” even the discussion of it, much less the threat of it, is likely to cause a political problem for the politicians involved, and they know it; thus a flag officer under consideration for appointment to a sensitive position at the highest level is sometimes asked directly or indirectly to discuss under what circumstances he or she might resign, or to reveal their political “affiliation” as a way to investigate the officer’s comfort with the policies of an administration. In other words, politicians have for some years now been vetting senior military people for appointments on the basis of whether they will be loyal or whether they might resign and go public with disagreements they might have with a decision or policy.

Many officers chafe at the subordination of the senior leadership to civilian policies and decisions. On occasion, one hears officers claim that their oath is to the Constitution, not the political leadership (the wording is different than the oath that enlisted people take). The distinction first became prominent in 1951 when Douglas MacArthur used it as an excuse for his public opposition to Truman’s Korean War policies. What he ignored was the clear conflict between swearing or affirming “to support and defend the Constitution” and “bear true, faith and allegiance” to it, while, at the same time, refusing or evading the orders of the top civilians in the chain of command, or the laws passed by Congress and signed by the President. One cannot have it both ways: supporting the Constitution while ignoring or disobeying legal orders, or laws, or the policies set by the President, is simply inconsistent.

Thinking otherwise erodes civilian control, undermines military professionalism, and can lead to enormous dysfunction in the civil–military relationship. Yet the thought endures for some in uniform. So the ugly truth is that the only differentiation between civilian and military responsibility is what the civilians choose to accept or allow the military to control. That authority can be revoked at any time if it’s not written into law. And in any event, the differentiation of responsibility and authority has changed over time, and is inherently situational.

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<sup>29</sup>During the 1980s, I periodically met with General LeMay at his request when he visited Washington as the member of the governing board of the National Geographic Society.



A *fourth myth* comes in two versions: first, that the military is nonpartisan and apolitical; second, that the military is political and politicized. Both of these are true, and both are false.

Part of the ambiguity turns on the definition of *political*. The military functions as the neutral servant of the state. Yet officers know and on occasion practice politics: in the promotion of their careers, advancing or protecting their branch or community within their service, championing a weapons system, or their armed service itself—to name only a few examples. Beginning in the late 19th century, when the services expanded their roles in national defense, embracing new technologies and doctrines, their need for more money from Congress and thus public support increased.<sup>30</sup> The large standing military establishment for the Cold War intensified both the need for larger budgets and competition between the services to capture that funding. As national security rose in importance, it sometimes crowded out other issues as an arena for domestic partisan combat. Americans are not so careful to distinguish bureaucratic or national security politics from partisan politics; the line between them has in recent decades become somewhat murky anyway. When the Triangle Institute for Security Studies surveyed civil and military elites and the general public on the gap between the military and society, one question asked whether the military would seek to avoid carrying out orders it opposed. Two-thirds of the public judged that such would occur at least some of the time, and a sizable minority of the officers themselves said that it would be likely, suggesting that both saw the military to some extent as just another bureaucracy practicing the politics of self-interest.<sup>31</sup>

Over the last three generations, the perception has grown that the officer corps is not only political but has become partisan; survey data indicates less identification as independents and greater affinity for the Republicans. To a degree, this is unsurprising—inherent in the conservatism of the military. When lives and the fate of the nation are involved, a certain cautious skepticism and conservatism is not only natural but

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<sup>30</sup>Allan R. Millett, *The American Political System and Civilian Control of the Military: A Historical Perspective* (Mershon Center Position papers in the Policy Sciences, Number Four, April 1979) (Columbus, OH, 1979), 19, 27-29.

<sup>31</sup>Paul Gronke and Peter D. Feaver, “Uncertain Confidence: Civilian and Military Attitudes about Civil-Military Relations,” in *Soldiers and Civilians*, ed. Feaver and Kohn, 154-57. In the Princeton Survey Research Associates telephone survey of the public (1,001 individuals over age 18) in the fall of 1998 commissioned by the Triangle Institute, 9 percent answered “all of the time,” 21.1 percent “most of the time,” and 38.2 percent “some of the time.” See Triangle Institute for Security Studies, 2003, “Survey on the Military in the Post Cold War Era, 1999”, <http://hdl.handle.net/1902.29/D-31625> Odum Institute; Odum Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina [Distributor] V1 [Version] at [http://arc.irss.unc.edu/dvn/faces/study/StudyPage.xhtml?globalId=hdl:1902.29/D-31625&studyListingIndex=1\\_4c184fe10a520f873284ebe31cda](http://arc.irss.unc.edu/dvn/faces/study/StudyPage.xhtml?globalId=hdl:1902.29/D-31625&studyListingIndex=1_4c184fe10a520f873284ebe31cda)

functional. However Vietnam accelerated the trend: bitter conflict with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations over how to prosecute the conflict, and in its aftermath, the abandonment of the military by the Democrats, the embrace of military spending by the Republicans, and their outreach to the military as a core constituency.

Contributing to the politicization of the military has been the growing salience of national security in American life beginning in World War II. A huge step occurred when Truman fired MacArthur and the military leadership publicly endorsed the Administration's policy of limiting the Korean War. Most memorably, Omar Bradley, the first Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, called expanding the conflict to attack China would "in the opinion of the Joint Chiefs . . . involve us in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy."<sup>32</sup> The hearings were a politicizing event, and many chairmen since have found that avoiding the appearance of politicization quite challenging.

The most dramatic break with past tradition burst onto the scene in the election of 1992 when the most recently retired chairman, the respected and popular Admiral William Crowe, along some two dozen other retired flag officers, endorsed Bill Clinton for the presidency. Here was a direct intervention in politics, both a symptom of politicization, and a spur to more of it. In one act, Crowe took Clinton's fitness to be commander-in-chief off the table. In the next twenty years, more and more retired four stars began endorsing presidential candidates. The number has grown beyond the top rank to hundreds of retired generals and admirals. It's now typical for both parties to trot out senior retired flags in order to burnish the candidate's national-security credentials. One retired Chief of Staff of the Air Force traveled the country introducing a presidential candidate named Barack Obama. In the 1990s there were frequent reports of officers, sometimes on active duty, taking positions on the political issues of the day in private amongst their peers or in public spaces. While there is a long history of writing memoirs or articles, or speaking out, after retirement, it has rarely been explicitly partisan. Yet in much of the public's minds and politicians' thinking, the military has become an interest group that is not always scrupulously nonpartisan. In truth, many professional officers have lost sight of the necessity to be, and to appear to be, steadfastly apolitical. And politics can infect the ranks; the day after the election of 2008, a group of soldiers, officers and enlisted, apparently posted a picture of Mr. Obama at the rifle range for a target, and then destroyed the big-screen TV on which they watched the election returns.<sup>33</sup>

Over the last half-century, military people have come to vote in higher percentages than the rest of the public. In the 1950s, during a time when Americans were drafted into the military, the Eisenhower Administration created what became the federal voter-assistance

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<sup>32</sup>*Military Situation in the Far East: Hearing before the Senate Committee on Armed Services and Foreign Relations*, 82d Cong. 732 (1951) (testimony of General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff).

<sup>33</sup> Email from an historian colleague, Sept. 2, 2015.

program to help military people vote because they're so often away from home. What began as an effort to make voting available grew to one making it easier, then encouraging it, and then hectoring service people to vote; every unit designates an officer to provide assistance. They can't very well tell people to vote, praising the act as a citizen's duty, and then abstain from voting themselves; officers are citizens, too, and proud of it. They take citizenship and voting seriously, knowing the direction of the country affects them personally. They devote a meaningful period of their lives, perhaps a whole career, to serving the nation.

Officer voting was not typical before World War II. Army chief of staff General George C. Marshall did not vote. Soldiers in his generation thought it was politicizing; many believed it would undermine their ability to do their duty (and besides, absentee voting was not as extensive or as convenient then). When I mention this to military audiences, an officer almost always pops up and says, "You're telling us we don't have the right to vote," or "You're telling us not to vote." I always reply, "No, you have the right. If you want to vote, go ahead. You just shouldn't discuss it in front of subordinates, peers, or superiors. Every time you go into the voting booth, recognize that you are disagreeing with George C. Marshall. Ask yourselves, since he's one of the most revered generals in American history, why you disagree with George C. Marshall, and why you're right and he's wrong."

Whatever the sources or the perceptions, politicization threatens healthy civil-military relations. If the armed services lose their reputation for being nonsectarian, nonpartisan, and non-ideological, they will lose esteem and could cease being viewed as the military of all the American people. Indeed trust and confidence in the military already divides to some extent along partisan lines, suggesting that Republicans have more confidence because they think the military is conservative and Republican.<sup>34</sup> No amount of testimony by officers that they do their duty regardless of party or personal views can diminish the impression of political bias. A partisan military will be even less trusted by presidents and congresses, further harming the candor and privacy so indispensable to civil-military consultation and collaboration in the Executive Branch, and trust in military testimony and advice in Congress. Presidents and secretaries of defense will begin to "vet" officers for their political views or loyalty to administration policies and decisions, fearing leaks or warped advice or poor implementation of decisions or even endorsement of a political opponent once the officer retires. Thoughtful officers know this. The vast majority of retired four-stars reject endorsing presidential candidates, not wanting to encourage partisanship in the ranks or misleading the public into thinking that the military is partisan. General Petraeus announced that he stopped voting when he became a two-star general. General Petraeus has a PhD in Politics (the label for political science at Princeton). He certainly understands civil-military relations, as he wrote about it his PhD

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<sup>34</sup>James T. Golby, "Self-Interest Misunderstood? Political Activity by Military Officers and Public Trust," Inter-University Seminar on the Armed Forces and Society Biennial Conference, Oct. 2013, Chicago IL.

dissertation in the 1980s. But I have wondered why that particular rank represented some dividing line for him to stop voting.

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A *fifth myth* is that Americans love their military. On the surface, this seems no myth. Ours is a patriotic nation that flies the flag and honors it in all sorts of ways. The national anthem and pledge of allegiance are so central to public culture as to constitute civic religion. In annual surveys for three decades, Americans express more trust and confidence in the military than in any other American institution. Thousands of programs in government, business, and the nonprofit world offer help and benefits to veterans and their families. Federal pensions for wartime service or for families of those killed in battle go back nearly two centuries. There are special jobs program and “veteran preference” in federal hiring, even reserved parking spots for vets in local supermarkets. In 2000, one congressman, an expert on the military and later chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, told a colleague and me that virtually anything helpful to veterans flies through Congress almost automatically. Since 9/11, public honoring of soldiers and veterans have become far more vocal and virtually obligatory, even to the point of the personal salutation “thank you for your service” frequently voiced to uniformed personnel and recent veterans. The Obama administration seems to shower more praise and gratitude, more often and in more venues, than any administration in memory. As the journalist James Fallows explained, Americans, who have a “reverent but disengaged attitude toward the military,” expect the rhetoric of “Overblown, limitless praise” from politicians and the media to be routine.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>James Fallows, “The Tragedy of the American Military,” *The Atlantic* (January/February 2015), <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/12/the-tragedy-of-the-american-military/283516/>. See also Matt Richtel, “Please Don’t Thank Me for My Service,” *New York Times*, February 22, 2015, p. SR6. For polling, see Jeff Manza, Jennifer A. Heerwig, and Brian J. McCagbe, “Public Opinion in the ‘Age of Reagan’: Political Trends 1972-2006,” Tom W. Smith, “Trends in Confidence in Institutions, 1973-2006,” in *Social Trends in American Life: Findings from the General Social Survey since 1972*, ed. Peter V. Marsden (Princeton, 2012), 130, 138, 178-207; David C. King and Zachary Karabell, *The Generation of Trust: Public Confidence in the U.S. Military since Vietnam* (Washington, 2003); Hunter Walker, “Harvard Poll Shows Millennials Have ‘Historic Low’ Levels Of Trust In Government,” *Business Insider*, April 29, 2014, <http://www.businessinsider.com/poll-millennials-have-historically-low-levels-of-trust-in-government-2014-4>; Stephen J. Hadley and William J. Perry, *The QDR in Perspective: Meeting America’s National Security Needs in the 21st Century* (Washington, n.d. [2010]), 43. In a January 2015 interview with Vox, President Obama used his typically laudatory language when mentioning “the incredible valor of our troops—and I’m in awe of them every single day when I work with them.” <http://www.vox.com/a/barack-obama-interview-vox-conversation/obama-foreign-policy-transcript>.

Yet beneath the surface, the evidence is much more ambiguous. To begin with, Americans have celebrated and assisted their citizen soldiers—the people who fight our wars and then return to civilian life—far more than the professionals, who have historically suffered varying degrees of distrust and disparagement. Since the end of the draft in 1973, the citizen soldier and professional soldier have become conflated in the public mind and even amongst some in the military, as when a Marine major insisted to me in the late 1990s, after a panel discussion at his staff college, that he was a “citizen soldier.” Everyone in the military considers themselves “professional” (even the enlisted and the reserves) while wearing their citizenship proudly.

The “trust” and “confidence” indices have been high for the armed forces only beginning in the late 1980s, and only in comparison to other institutions; the overall trend since the Vietnam War has been declining trust in government and institutions generally. While analysis of the polling data indicates that millennials have greater confidence in the military than their elders, the numbers among the young have dropped off rather significantly recently and their propensity to serve has also been declining. Analysts of the numbers attribute the rise in respect since Vietnam to military success, to the perception of high professionalism in the armed forces, and to the favorable portrait in military advertising and in popular culture. Support for increased military spending has generally been low except for short-term spikes in the late 1970s, when military capability seemed in decline, and then after the 9/11 attack. Confidence in the military is highest among the least educated in American society, and noticeably higher among Republicans than Democrats, among whom the more education, the less confidence.<sup>36</sup> Even the yellow ribbons that sprouted during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War, and graced so many vehicles for years, seemed more an expression of public guilt for the way soldiers returning from Vietnam suffered blame and disrespect. Differentiating “support for the troops” and support for a war may be a way to assuage such guilt and muffle a potential civil-military conflict. Americans seem to have a more mixed reaction to the military than commonly appreciated. “The Brass” as a term almost immediately elicits suspicion and jealousy, if not outright contempt, perhaps in part because of a general dislike of elites and authority (one thinks of the sardonic comic strip *Beetle Bailey*, with the bumbling General Halftrack, begun in 1950 and still running—and other caricatures in popular culture). It even turns out that the salutes to the troops by the National Football

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<sup>36</sup>Jeff Manza, Jennifer A. Heerwig, and Brian J. McCagbe, “Public Opinion in the ‘Age of Reagan’: Political Trends 1972-2006,” Tom W. Smith, “Trends in Confidence in Institutions, 1973-2006,” in *Social Trends in American Life: Findings from the General Social Survey since 1972*, ed. Peter V. Marsden (Princeton, 2012), 130, 138, 178-207; David C. King and Zachary Karabell, *The Generation of Trust: Public Confidence in the U.S. Military since Vietnam* (Washington, 2003); Hunter Walker, “Harvard Poll Shows Millennials Have ‘Historic Low’ Levels Of Trust In Government,” *Business Insider*, April 29, 2014, <http://www.businessinsider.com/poll-millennials-have-historically-low-levels-of-trust-in-government-2014-4>; Stephen J. Hadley and William J. Perry, *The QDR in Perspective: Meeting America's National Security Needs in the 21st Century* (Washington, n.d. [2010]), 43; Golby, “Self-Interest Misunderstood.”

League were actually subsidized--paid for--by the Defense Department; between 2012 and 2015, the Pentagon paid over "\$10 million in marketing and advertising contracts with professional sports teams . . . for what . . . senators called 'paid patriotism.'"<sup>37</sup>

A corollary to the myth of loving the military--that there is a contract or covenant between the American people and soldiers--is also suspect although commonly believed in the national security community. The contract was best articulated on the first page of the first joint officer guide put out by the new Department of Defense in 1950: "the Nation also becomes a party to the contract [with officers inherent in their commission], and will faithfully keep its bond with the man. While he continues to serve honorably, it will sustain and will clothe him with its dignity." The commission provides "a felicitous status in our society. . . . Should he become ill, the Nation will care for him. Should he be disabled, it will stand as his guardian through life. Should he seek to advance himself through higher studies, it will open the way."<sup>38</sup>

Such a bargain has been partly true but for the citizen forces raised for major conflict until the 1970s. Mass armies before the 1940s involved thousands or millions of people who, with their families, were or would become voters. The pensions and bonuses created for soldiers and their families who had served or died in the Civil War (but for only one side) were the largest government social program in American history until then.<sup>39</sup> The symbol for the promise originated in the 1944 GI bill, which did so much to help veterans with loans for homes and businesses and education. In the last twenty years, those benefits have escalated with the merging in the public mind of citizen soldiers and professionals--and the need to recruit people into uniform for distant and controversial wars. A comprehensive "contract," fully funded and implemented, has not been the historical norm. Benefits expanded only with the merging of citizen-soldiers and professionals, the need to attract recruits, and the rise of trust and confidence for the military in the 1980s which has evolved into near adulation after 9/11, at least

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<sup>37</sup> "Pro Football," *New York Times*, May 20, 2016, p. B14.

<sup>38</sup>[S.L.A. Marshall], *The Armed Forces Officer* (Washington, 1950), 1-2. The first chapter is reprinted in the most recent edition as an appendix [U.S. Department of Defense, *The Armed Forces Officer* (Washington, 2007), 149-158] because, while "Marshall's language is a bit dated, . . . the chapter retains its original ability to inspire officers of all generations alike" (p. xviii).

<sup>39</sup>See William H. Glasson, *Federal Military Pensions in the United States* (New York, 1918); Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, MA, 1992).

rhetorically. A covenant appeared to be functional and necessary, and politically unassailable.<sup>40</sup>

Promises to citizen armies have gone unfulfilled more often than we like to admit. Officers in the Continental Army came within a hair of revolting in Newburgh in 1783 over unpaid bonuses and pensions at the end of the Revolutionary War; World War I veterans, the Bonus Army, marched on Washington over promised payments in 1932, camping in Anacostia Flats until dispersed with force by the regular army. The Veterans Administration only became a cabinet department in 1988. The VA has often been underfunded, overworked, understaffed, mal-administered, and to be charitable, sluggish. Who can forget the way Vietnam servicemen were disparaged, or even reviled, or the way the VA resisted accepting disabilities for diseases related to Agent Orange, or PTSD, or Gulf War syndrome? Or the scandals over crippling delays in medical appointments, along with lies about the waiting times?<sup>41</sup>

However that consensus is fraying. Since the rise of the Tea Party, deficit hawks have attacked all government spending, fracturing longstanding Republican support for the military. The potential for the split was always there. In the late 1990s, in a bar in Newport, Rhode Island, I asked former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich whether Republicans cared more about tax cuts or a strong national defense. After glancing around as though to check whether someone might be listening, he replied: “tax cuts.” Knowledgeable people aware of the money going into military pay, retirement, and

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<sup>40</sup>For an example of the benefits now available, see the 2013 edition of *Federal Benefits for Veterans, Dependents and Survivors* published by the Department of Veterans Affairs at [http://www.va.gov/opa/publications/benefits\\_book/2013\\_Federal\\_Benefits\\_for\\_Veterans\\_English.pdf](http://www.va.gov/opa/publications/benefits_book/2013_Federal_Benefits_for_Veterans_English.pdf), and apparently published yearly. The edition cited is 132 pages long. Evidence for the dysfunction of the VA was in the news for most of 2014 and 2025.

<sup>41</sup>See Richard A. Oppel Jr., “Needing to Hire, Chief of V.A. Tries to Sell Doctors on Change,” Dave Phillips, “Veterans Affairs Official Overseeing Backlog of Claims Resigns” and “Report Finds Sharp Increase in Veterans Denied V.A Benefits,” *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 2014, A18, Oct. 17, 2015, A3, Mar. 30, 2016, A14; “Robert McDonald: Cleaning Up the VA; The Secretary of Veterans Affairs tells Scott Pelley about his personal mission to reorganize the troubled agency for his fellow vets,” CBS News *Sixty Minutes*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/robert-mcdonald-cleaning-up-the-veterans-affairs-hospitals/>; David B. Caruso, “VA struggling to shorten waits,” James Ferguson, “An appalling record on caring for veterans,” *The News & Observer* (Raleigh, NC), Apr. 10, 2015, 1A Apr. 22, 2014, 7A; Jordan Carney, “McCain wants answers on VA delays in healthcare for veterans,” *The Hill*, Aug. 13, 2015, <http://thehill.com/blogs/foor-action/senate/251108-mccain-wants-answers-on-va-glitch>.

health benefits predict that the all-volunteer military is unsustainable, and pressure has been building to revise the pay and benefits of the military.<sup>42</sup>

So if there is a covenant, it is an uncertain one grounded in political and military expedience. With veterans dying at over 1000 a day, the larger wars fading into the past, and now paralyzing budget limits, the treatment of soldiers may well revert to some historical norm of neglect or at least inconsistency.

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A *sixth myth* is that Americans understand civilian control of the military.

If civilian control of the military were widely understood in government and by the American people, it is unlikely that there would be so much tension and conflict in the relationship, or so much confusion in the press or in public opinion. And there is much evidence for the latter: in the public's belief that, in wartime, military leaders should be unleashed to make strategy and even policy; in the deference, apprehension, and fumbling of political leaders in all three branches of the government when dealing with the military; and in the behavior and thinking of many officers at all ranks about civil-military relations.<sup>43</sup> Military subjects are not taught widely in the nation's college and universities. Yet decisions "about war and peace are made by civilians," two distinguished military historians have pointed out, "civilians who, increasingly, have no historical or analytical frameworks to guide them in making the most consequential of all decisions."<sup>44</sup> Military officers, while far better informed, spend little time studying or thinking about their relationship with such political leaders. A most distinguished retired officer with whom I worked on the civil-military gap study, and for whom I have enormous respect and admiration, once said to me, "Dick, I don't understand why you think we in the military are not committed to civilian control." I replied, "Walt, I understand that everybody in the military believes in civilian control. The problem is that large numbers of officers and sometimes the institutional culture seem not to understand civilian control, particularly many of the attitudes and behaviors that are necessary to make it work and operate smoothly and consistently."<sup>45</sup> Since that conversation, over

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<sup>42</sup>See, for example, Arnold Punaro, Conference on Civil-Military Divide and The Future of the All-Volunteer Force, session on "Redesigning The All-Volunteer Force of the Future," Center for a New American Security, Washington, D.C., November 20, 2014, [http://www.cnas.org/media/list?field\\_media\\_type\\_tid\[\]=541&field\\_media\\_type\\_tid\[\]=542](http://www.cnas.org/media/list?field_media_type_tid[]=541&field_media_type_tid[]=542), from 11:30 to 18:00 on the recording.

<sup>43</sup>See the tables cited in note 7 above.

<sup>44</sup>Tami Davis Biddle and Robert M. Citino, "The Role of Military History in the Contemporary Academy," Society for Military History White Paper, Nov. 2014, <http://www.smh-hq.org/docs/SMHWhitePaper.pdf>.

<sup>45</sup>This exchange, with retired army lieutenant general Walter Ulmer, took place in 1999.



fifteen years ago, there has been improvement, but with the constant turnover of officers and the political leadership, the problems recur.

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What these examples, explored in the essays in this book, suggest is that the relationship between the most senior military officers and the political leaders with whom they interact at the top of the American government, is highly situational: dependent on the context, the issues, the people involved, and more.<sup>46</sup> There are some commonalities that repeat over time: differing perspectives, suspicion on both sides, frequent distrust, occasional conflict, and of course everyday cooperation and collaboration that we expect to be normal. The point is that civilian control is not a fact but a process that varies over time. It isn't a matter of control or a coup. We know who writes and signs the laws. We know who issues the orders. But civilian control in reality depends to a considerable extent on the relative power over national defense of the political leadership and the leaders of the uniformed military. What we are talking about is not "control," but who calls the tune, who frames the choices. The issue is what each side in a relationship, in which both are dependent on the other, can achieve at any given time if they have differing perspectives and judgments.

No discussion can be complete without addressing what might be labeled the "Zinni question," after retired Marine Corps General Anthony Zinni: what about the civilian side of civil-military relations? In March 2014 when I gave a version of this essay to the International Society of Barristers annual meeting, the General, a former commander of US Central Command, asserted that "If you want civilian control of the military—which I fully subscribe to" and "think . . . is absolutely a key underpinning of the way we govern—somebody had better teach those civilians how to use it." He is absolutely right. He and others emphasize the importance of educating the civilian leadership. "It's like giving the car keys to your sixteen-year-old son," Zinni said; "you don't give him the keys without first teaching him how to drive."<sup>47</sup>

The difficulty is how to educate politicians and their appointees in military affairs in general and civil-military relations in particular. Years of pondering this part of the equation have led me to very low expectations. Civilian officials—elected and appointed—come and go. They are picked by voters and presidents for all sorts of reasons only a few of which have to do with experience and understanding of war, military institutions, and military service. Sometimes they are terrific despite thin backgrounds and sometimes they are terrible despite wide and deep experience in military subjects. Perhaps the best

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<sup>46</sup>I owe this insight to Alfred Goldberg, for over thirty years the chief of the historical office in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, who offered the interpretation to me in the early 1980s based on his own observations and his wide knowledge of the history.

<sup>47</sup>Gen. Anthony Zinni, "The New World Disorder," *International Society of Barristers Quarterly* 48 no. 3 (2014):49-50.

cabinet secretary in the history of American defense, Elihu Root, when offered the War Department in 1899, responded honestly "that it is quite absurd, I know nothing about war, I know nothing about the army." The response: "President McKinley directs me to say that he is not looking for anyone who knows anything about the army; he has got to have a lawyer to direct the government of these Spanish islands, and you are the lawyer he wants."<sup>48</sup> We've now had some sixteen years of Democratic presidents with Clinton and Obama, and of the seven Secretaries of Defense who have served them, three have been Republicans who occupied the office about half the time. What does that say about the situational nature of civilian leadership? Among other considerations, Republican appointees could stifle the charge of Democratic weakness on national defense. In his memoirs, Robert Gates wrote that Mr. Obama practically tried to handcuff Gates to the Pentagon.<sup>49</sup>

In closing, I always remind military audiences that while the civilians are in charge, the military is the constant in the equation of civil–military relations, the steward of the military profession charged with the nation's defense over time. Lawyers, doctors, and other professionals essentially determine their relationship with their clients and patients. The military's client is the civilian political leadership. Other professions can refuse to advise or represent a client, but the military cannot. But like all professionals, the top generals and admirals can educate their bosses and shape to some degree the relationship, even if it is a less equal and more subordinate role than other professions possess. The military's bosses are whomever the American political system chooses.

One very high-ranking general said to me once, when a new administration took office, "You know, it's like waking up in the morning and looking across the bed, and you have a new spouse. You don't know who she is. You don't know what she thinks or is going to do." He looked at me. "We-all on this side of the river don't have to take it."

I asked, "What do you mean, you 'don't have to take it?'"

He said, "Well, I can resign."

I replied, "You certainly cannot. You can't resign; there's no tradition of that."

"Well, Ron Fogleman [Air Force chief of staff in the mid-1990s] resigned," he insisted.

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<sup>48</sup>Root remembered the telephone exchange some years later, in a speech, quoted in Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root*, vol. 1 (New York, 1938), 215. See pages 215-20 for some of the politics of the appointment and the reaction.

<sup>49</sup>Gates, *Duty*, 430-31, 488-89.

“He did not,” I insisted. “I interviewed him after he left. I’ll send you the galley proofs of the article that showed that he did not resign.”<sup>50</sup>

To civilian audiences, I close with a plea to take civil-military relations seriously. I ask them to reverse the old aphorism attributed to Mark Twain that “Everybody talks about the weather, but nobody is doing anything about it.” Turning it upside down: “Nobody talks about civil–military relations, but almost everyone is doing something about it (even if ignoring it).” If the public and the political leadership neglect this subject–don’t think about it, don’t care about it until it’s too late–and a crisis or a conflict threatens our military effectiveness or the trust that’s indispensable to decision-making in government, who then will be responsible for making the relationship work before something happens to produce disaster?

While the military defends the United States, the American people elect those who bear ultimate responsibility for the nation’s security. They must take military affairs seriously enough to learn to understand war and use the military instrument wisely. If top officials know nothing about war or the military, as Elihu Root and Abraham Lincoln did not when they embarked on high office, then they must study it, understand it, and try on their own side to build trust in the relationship with their military subordinates. Politicians should not manipulate the military or hide behind it, or use it for political purposes, as civilian leaders have often done.<sup>51</sup> In the end, it’s up to the American people to make their government work. A lady accosted Benjamin Franklin as he emerged from the constitutional convention in 1787. “Well, Doctor, what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?” Franklin replied: “A republic, if you can keep it.”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Conversation with a four-star officer, Washington, DC (January 2001). See “The Early Retirement of Gen Ronald R. Fogleman, Chief of Staff, United States Air Force,” ed. Richard H. Kohn, *Aerospace Power Journal* 15 (2001):6–23.

<sup>51</sup>See Richard H. Kohn, “Building Trust: Civil-Military Behaviors for Effective National Security,” *American Civil–Military Relations*, ed. Nielsen and Snider, 284–87.

<sup>52</sup>Quoted in Richard H. Kohn, “Using the Military at Home: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow,” *Chicago Journal of International Law* 4 (2003):192.

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Civil-military relations at the pinnacle of government has often differed, and differed dramatically, in war from the relationship in peacetime. And relations have often differed depending on the era, country, type of war, personalities, and other variables. The "normative" theory in the United States, frequently voiced by political leaders since the Vietnam War and indeed extant in the scholarly literature beginning with Samuel P. Huntington's influential and iconic volume in 1957, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, is that once the fighting begins, the politicians set the goals and then turn the war over to the military, refraining from further direction and interference.

Such has not been the case in American history, at least for presidents since the beginning of the Republic, with the possible exception of Woodrow Wilson in World War I. And during the Cold War, from the mid-1940s to the beginning of the 1990s--a period marked by both active wars and periods without major military operations involving combat--American presidents and their secretaries of defense sometimes actively monitored and even directed strategy and military operations, and sometimes not--with inconsistent results. Eliot Cohen argues that a common pattern of successful wars has been the intervention of presidents and prime ministers at crucial points of their conflicts, contrary to what most political and military leaders think or say in the United States today.

Eliot A. Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (New York: The Free Press, 2002), pp. 1-14, 199-207, 225-233, 239-248.

## THE SOLDIER AND THE STATESMAN

Few choices bedevil organizations as much as the selection of senior leaders. Often they look for those with high-level experience in different settings: New York City's Columbia University sought out America's most senior general, Dwight D. Eisenhower, to lead it after World War II; President Ronald Reagan made a corporate tycoon his chief of staff in 1985; in the early 1990s, Sears Roebuck, an ailing giant, looked to the chief logistician of the Gulf War to help it turn around. Frequently enough the transplant fails; the sets of skills and aptitudes that led to success in one walk of life either do not carry over or are downright dysfunctional in another. The rules of politics differ from those of business, and universities do not act the way corporations do. Even within the business world, car companies and software giants may operate very differently, and the small arms manufacturer who takes over an ice-cream company may never quite settle in to the new culture.

To be sure, leaders at the top have some roughly similar tasks: setting directions, picking subordinates, monitoring performance, handling external constituencies, and inspiring achievement. And they tend, often enough, to think that someone in a different walk of life has the answers to their dilemmas, which is why the generals study business books, and

the CEOs peruse military history. But in truth the details of their work differ so much that in practice the parallels often elude them, or can only be discovered by digging more deeply than is the norm.

The relations between statesmen and soldiers in wartime offer a special case of this phenomenon. Many senior leaders in private life must manage equally senior professionals who have expertise and experience that dwarf their own, but politicians dealing with generals in wartime face exceptional difficulties. The stakes are so high, the gaps in mutual understanding so large, the differences in personality and background so stark, that the challenges exceed anything found in the civilian sector—which is why, perhaps, these relationships merit close attention not only from historians and students of policy, but from anyone interested in leadership at its most acutely difficult. To learn how statesmen manage their generals in wartime one must explore the peculiarities of the military profession and the exceptional atmospheres and values produced by war. These peculiarities and conditions are unique and extreme, and they produce relationships far more complicated and tense than either citizen or soldier may expect in peacetime, or even admit to exist in time of war.

#### “LET HIM COME WITH ME INTO MACEDONIA”

To see why, turn back to the year 168 B.C. The place is the Senate of the Roman republic, the subject the proposed resumption of war (for the third time) against Macedonia, and the speaker Consul Lucius Aemilius:

I am not, fellow-citizens, one who believes that no advice may be given to leaders; nay rather I judge him to be not a sage, but haughty, who conducts everything according to his own opinion alone. What therefore is my conclusion? Generals should receive advice, in the first place from the experts who are both specially skilled in military matters and have learned from experience; secondly, from those who are on the scene of action, who see the terrain, the enemy, the fitness of the occasion, who are sharers in the danger, as it were, aboard the same vessel. Thus, if there is anyone

who is confident that he can advise me as to the best advantage of the state in this campaign which I am about to conduct, let him not refuse his services to the state, but come with me into Macedonia. I will furnish him with his sea-passage, with a horse, a tent, and even travel-funds. If anyone is reluctant to do this and prefers the leisure of the city to the hardships of campaigning, let him not steer the ship from on shore. The city itself provides enough subjects for conversation; let him confine his garrulity to these; and let him be aware that I shall be satisfied with the advice originating in camp.<sup>1</sup>

The Consul's cry for a free hand echoes that of generals throughout history—although the historian Livy records that, as a matter of fact, an unusually large number of senators decided to accompany him on campaign. Still, the notion that generals once given a mission should have near total discretion in its execution is a powerful one.

Popular interpretations of the Vietnam and Gulf wars, the one supposedly a conflict characterized by civilian interference in the details of warmaking, the other a model of benign operational and tactical neglect by an enlightened civilian leadership, seem to confirm the value of a bright line drawn between the duties of soldiers and civilians. Thus the chief of staff to General Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of US forces in Southwest Asia: “Schwarzkopf was never second-guessed by civilians, and that's the way it ought to work.”<sup>2</sup> Or more directly, then-President George Bush's declaration when he received the Association of the US Army's George Catlett Marshall Medal: “I vowed that I would never send an American soldier into combat with one hand tied behind that soldier's back. We did the politics and you superbly did the fighting.”<sup>3</sup> Small wonder, then, that the editor of the US Army War College's journal wrote to his military colleagues:

There will be instances where civilian officials with Napoleon complexes and micromanaging mentalities are prompted to seize the reins of operational control. And having taken control, there will be times when they then begin to fumble toward disaster. When this threatens to happen, the nation's top soldier . . . must summon the courage to rise and say to his civilian masters, “You can't do that!” and then stride to the focal point of decision and tell them how it must be done.<sup>4</sup>

Such a view of the roles of civilian and soldier reflects popular understandings as well. The 1996 movie *Independence Day*, for example, features only one notable villain (aside, that is, from the aliens who are attempting to devastate and conquer the Earth)—an overweening secretary of defense who attempts to direct the American military's counter-attack against the invaders from outer space. Only after the interfering and deceitful civilian is out of the way can the president, a former Air Force combat pilot who gets back into uniform to lead the climactic aerial battle, and his military assistants (with the aid of one civilian scientist in a purely technical role) get on with the job of defeating the foe. To this comfortable consensus of capital, camp, and Hollywood one can add the weight of academic theory. Samuel Huntington, arguably the greatest American political scientist of our time, in a classic work, *The Soldier and the State*,<sup>5</sup> laid out what he termed a theory of "objective control," which holds that the healthiest and most effective form of civilian control of the military is that which maximizes professionalism by isolating soldiers from politics, and giving them as free a hand as possible in military matters.

#### THE NORMAL THEORY OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

We can call this consensus the "normal" theory of civil-military relations, which runs something like this. Officers are professionals, much like highly trained surgeons: the statesman is in the position of a patient requiring urgent care. He may freely decide whether or not to have an operation, he may choose one doctor over another, and he may even make a decision among different surgical options, although that is more rare. He may not, or at least ought not supervise a surgical procedure, select the doctor's scalpel, or rearrange the operating room to his liking. Even the patient who has medical training is well-advised not to attempt to do so, and indeed, his doctor will almost surely resent a colleague-patient's efforts along such lines. The result should be a limited degree of civilian control over military matters. To ask too many questions (let alone to give orders) about tactics, particular pieces of hardware, the design of a campaign, measures of success, or to press

too closely for the promotion or dismissal of anything other than the most senior officers is meddling and interference, which is inappropriate and downright dangerous.

The difficulty is that the great war statesmen do just those improper things—and, what is more, it is *because* they do so that they succeed. This book looks at four indubitably great and successful war leaders, Abraham Lincoln, Georges Clemenceau, Winston Churchill, and David Ben-Gurion. The period of their tenure spans a substantial but not overwhelming period of time and different kinds of democratic polities. These four politicians have enough in common to bear comparison, yet differ enough to exhibit various features of the problem of civil-military relations in wartime. Given the dangers of thinking through these problems exclusively from an American perspective, it makes sense that only one of them should come from the pages of American history.

Lincoln, Clemenceau, Churchill, and Ben-Gurion led four very different kinds of democracies, under the most difficult circumstances imaginable. They came from different traditions of civil-military relations, had had disparate personal experiences, and confronted different arrays of subordinates and peers. The nature of each of their democracies shaped the nature of the leadership that they could exert and that was required of them. They faced much in common, however. Institutions of a more or less free press and legislative bodies constrained their powers, and they had to deal with populations whose temper and disposition could affect their behavior directly. Powerful as each of these men was, he had to consider the possibility that his conduct of the war could bring about his fall from power by constitutional—that is, civilian—means. At the same time, in their dealings with the military they did not need to fear a violent coup. However, military opposition could and did translate into a variety of forms of political opposition, sometimes with a potential to overthrow them.

The period spanned here—a bit less than a century—saw the development of a distinctive style of warfare, sometimes called "total war" but perhaps more accurately described as "industrialized warfare." Success in war depended in large measure on an ability to obtain (through production or importation) mass-manufactured weapons. At the same time, these leaders did not have to cope with one of the distinctive challenges of a later strategic era, that of weapons of mass destruction. Interestingly enough, however, it was Churchill who early on grasped the para-



doxical peace-inducing nature of atomic terror, and Ben-Gurion who laid the groundwork for an Israeli nuclear program at a time when Israeli conventional strength was set on a course of prolonged improvement.

These four statesmen conducted their wars during what may come to be seen as the time of the first communications revolution, when it became possible to communicate useful quantities of information almost instantaneously and to move large quantities of men and war matériel at great speed by means of mechanical transportation. In physics, the product of velocity and mass is momentum, and the same is true of warfare. Thus, these statesmen had to conduct wars at a time when the instruments of conflict themselves were changing and gathering speed. One might suggest that a second communications revolution is now upon us, in which a further quantum increase in the amount of information that can be distributed globally has occurred, and the role played by that information in all of civilized life will again transform society and ultimately the conduct of war. Thus these four cases exhibit the problems of wartime leadership during a period of enormous change. By understanding the challenges of those times we may also understand better the nature of the changes that are upon us today, in an age that looks to be quite different. The fundamental problems of statesmanship faced by the leaders of today have not changed as much as one might think. These are matters that I will explore in the conclusion to this book.

Finally, these statesmen were separated in time but linked by deep respect. Clemenceau visited the United States after the Civil War and professed a great admiration for Lincoln; Churchill paid Clemenceau the homage of rhetorical imitation (verging on plagiarism) on more than one occasion. And Ben-Gurion paid a tribute to Churchill's leadership in a note written a few years before the latter's death: "It was not only the liberties and the honour of your own people that you saved," wrote one aged giant to another.<sup>6</sup> Thus a thin but definite personal, not merely conceptual thread links these four men. The personal similarities and contrasts among them will bear examination. Three of them (Clemenceau, Churchill, and Ben-Gurion) assumed the reins of high command at an advanced age; two of them with very little in the way of preparation for the conduct of large-scale warfare (Lincoln and Clemenceau, although one might make a similar point about Ben-Gurion). Each exhibited in different ways similar qualities of ruthlessness, mastery of detail, and

fascination with technology. All four were great learners who studied war as if it were their own profession, and in many ways they mastered it as well as did their generals. And all found themselves locked in conflict with military men. When one reads the transcripts of Ben-Gurion's furious arguments in 1948 with the de facto chief of staff of the new Israel Defense Forces—Yigal Yadin, a thirty-two-year-old archaeologist who had never served in any regular army—they do not sound very different from the tempestuous arguments between Winston Churchill and the grim Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Alan Brooke, twenty-five years older than Yadin and with a career spent in uniform. For all of the differences in their backgrounds the backwoods lawyer, the dueling French doctor turned journalist, the rogue aristocrat, and the impoverished Jewish socialist found themselves in similar predicaments: admiring their generals and despairing over them, driving some, dismissing others, and watching even the best with affection ever limited by wariness.

"WAR IS NOT MERELY AN ACT OF POLICY,  
BUT A TRUE POLITICAL INSTRUMENT."

If these four could have had a collective military adviser, one suspects that it would have been an older figure yet, Carl von Clausewitz, the greatest theorist of war, whose *On War* remains a standard text for aspiring strategists to the present day. For the Prussian general, who spent most of his adult life on active service fighting against the French Revolution and Napoleon, the attempt to separate the business of politicians and soldiers was a hopeless task. For that reason, early in the nineteenth century he rejected the "normal" theory. To understand why, at the deepest level, these statesmen did not delegate war fighting to the generals, one turns to Clausewitz's famous dictum, that war is merely the continuation of politics by other means. But by this he has something far more radical in mind than is commonly thought.<sup>7</sup>

"We see, therefore, that war is *not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument*, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with

other means.”<sup>8</sup> The first part of the sentence (“not merely an act of policy”) illuminates the second and suggests its radical nature. For Clausewitz there is no field of military action that might not be touched by political considerations. In practice, politics might not determine the stationing of pickets or the dispatch of patrols, he writes, but in theory it could (and, one might add, in the day of CNN often does). Although Clausewitz fully recognizes the power of war untrammelled to overwhelm political rationality—by intoxicating men with blood lust, or through the sheer difficulty of making things happen, which he termed friction—he thought that all activity in war had potential political consequences and repercussions, and that every effort must therefore be made to bend war to serve the ends of politics.

The Clausewitzian view is incompatible with the doctrine of professionalism codified by the “normal” theory of civil-military relations. If every facet of military life may have political consequences, if one cannot find a refuge from politics in the levels of war (saying, for example, that “grand strategy” is properly subject to political influence, but “military strategy” is not), civil-military relations are problematic. The Clausewitzian formula for civil-military relations has it that the statesman may legitimately interject himself in any aspect of war-making, although it is often imprudent for him to do so. On most occasions political leaders will have neither the knowledge nor the judgment to intervene in a tactical decision, and most episodes in war have little or no political import. But there can be in Clausewitz’s view no arbitrary line dividing civilian and military responsibility, no neat way of carving off a distinct sphere of military action. “When people talk, as they often do, about harmful political influence on the management of war, they are not really saying what they mean. Their quarrel should be with the policy itself, not its influence. If the policy is right—that is, successful—any intentional effect it has on the conduct of the war can only be to the good.”<sup>9</sup>

The political nature of war drives the Clausewitzian to this conclusion. So too does the curious nature of military professionalism. The peculiarities of that calling (see the appendix “The Theory of Civilian Control”) mandate more action by the politician than may be customary among the clients or employers of other professionals. The selection of and dismissal of generals is one such activity. Generals rarely enter a war having commanded for any length of time forces comparable to those assigned them on the outbreak of a conflict; hence they are almost always

unproved. It often falls to the political leadership to determine the competence—the narrower tactical ability, in fact—of the military leaders in the face of ambiguous information, for not all defeated generals are inept. Furthermore, it often occurs that generals fit for one type of operation fail dismally at another; the slashing, attacking commander may lack the talents of his more stolid brethren for conducting a defense or those of his more tactful colleagues for handling allies. Of course, contenders in lawsuits occasionally fire their attorneys, patients seek new doctors, and companies look for different engineers. But the problem of selecting military leadership is altogether more acute. Not only is it more pervasive (most patients, after all, do not in fact fire their doctors—or if they do decide to do so, they often come to that conclusion too late), but the problem of selecting military leadership frequently covers a far wider field. Rather than picking a single professional or firm to handle a task, politicians must select dozens, even scores. Often enough they cannot know that the next man they pick will be any better than his predecessor, for all alike are inexperienced at the task before them. Except at the end of a very long war, there is no recognized expert at hand with a proven record in the managing of complex military operations against an active enemy.

And there is little parallel in civilian life to the problems of morale and domestic political disharmony that beset a politician considering dismissal of a general. In daily life the professional’s employment is understood to be simply at the sufferance of his client; but in the world of war, generals become semi-independent political figures of considerable importance. Soldiers are not merely neutral instruments of the state but warriors, and in wartime warriors elicit respect and admiration. Most generals know this, and many are human enough to act accordingly. Rarely in wartime are senior military leaders cut off from the highest echelons of politics; rather they mingle (rather more than they do in peacetime, in fact) with legislators, journalists, and senior bureaucrats. They appear on the front pages of newspapers and are lionized by social élites, and they may even attempt to undermine their nominal superiors in the forum of public opinion.<sup>10</sup> A dismissed lawyer or doctor does not normally seize such opportunities.

It is not, however, only the selection and dismissal of generals that constitute a politician’s chief responsibility in war, nor is it even (as the military textbooks would suggest) the articulation of goals or the alloca-

tion of resources. Rather, a politician finds himself managing military alliances, deciding the nature of acceptable risk, shaping operational choices, and reconstructing military organizations. During World War II, for example, the British War Cabinet found itself called upon to make decisions on matters as minute as whether certain trans-Atlantic convoys should travel at thirteen as opposed to fifteen knots, because although their naval advisers could tell them about the pros and cons of a decision on either side, the assumption of risk to Britain's lifeline to the outer world required a political decision.<sup>11</sup> Or, to take an even more telling case, in June 1943 it was a prime-ministerial decision whether or not to introduce WINDOW—radar-jamming chaff—to help British bombers break through to Germany. The Royal Air Force was divided: Bomber Command favored such a measure, but those responsible for the air defense of Great Britain, expecting enemy imitation of such a move, feared that for half a year they would lose all ability to defend the night skies over Britain.<sup>12</sup> Once again, the balance of risk required a political decision. In both these cases (and there are many more) the politicians had to resolve important questions not only because of the scope of the issues at stake, but because the professionals could not agree. Divided among themselves not merely by opinion but by professional background, military leaders often differ sharply about the best course of action. Ben-Gurion, for example, had to arbitrate between the home-grown socialist élites of the Palmach and the more stolid veterans of the British Army. As Stephen Rosen has noted, military organizations may be understood not simply as professional organizations but as political communities that struggle internally over fundamental issues. "They determine who will live and die, in wartime, and how; who will be honored and who will sit on the sidelines when war occurs."<sup>13</sup>

In all four of the cases we will examine here, there was little debate about the fundamental subordination of soldiers to civilian control. Co-existing, however, with that subordination—that acceptance of the legitimacy of civilian dominance—is a deep undercurrent of mutual mistrust. In practice, soldiers and statesmen in war often find themselves in an uneasy, even conflictual collaborative relationship, in which the civilian usually (at least in democracies) has the upper hand. It is a conflict often exacerbated by the differences in experience and outlook that political life and military life engender. These differences are not ideological but temperamental, even cultural.

### "THIS MAN TOO HAS ONE MOUTH AND ONE HAND"

The memoirs of two soldiers turned politicians illustrate this. Ariel Sharon, prime minister of Israel as this book goes to press, was a uniformed hero of Israel's 1956, 1967, and 1973 wars, but subsequently became, in the eyes of many of his countrymen, a civilian villain as minister of defense during the 1982 war in Lebanon. His memoirs capture the essence of a general's mistrust of politicians, and render (perhaps disingenuously) his own wonderment at his entry into politics. He reflects on joining the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, for the first time:

Like politics, military life is a constant struggle. But with all the difficulties and bitterness that may develop, at least there are certain rules. In politics there are no rules, no sense of proportion, no sensible hierarchy. An Israeli military man setting foot in this new world has most likely experienced great victories and also terrible defeats. He has had moments of exultation and moments of deepest grief. He knows what it is to be supremely confident, even inspired. But he has suffered the most abject fear and the deepest horror. He has made decisions about life and death, for himself as well as for others.

The same person enters the political world and finds that he has one mouth to speak with and one hand to vote with, exactly like the man sitting next to him. And that man perhaps has never witnessed or experienced anything profound or anything dramatic in his life. He does not know either the heights or the depths. He has never tested himself or made critical decisions or taken responsibility for his life or the lives of his fellows. And this man—it seems incredible—but this man too has one mouth and one hand.<sup>14</sup>

Charles de Gaulle, writing more than half a century earlier, captured these fundamental differences no less starkly:

The soldier often regards the man of politics as unreliable, inconstant, and greedy for the limelight. Bred on imperatives, the military temperament is astonished by the number of pretenses in which the statesman has to indulge. . . . The impassioned twists and turns, the dominant concern with the effect to be produced,

the appearance of weighing others in terms not of their merit but of their influence—all inevitable characteristics in the civilian whose authority rests upon the popular will—cannot but worry the professional soldier, broken in, as he is, to a life of hard duties, self-effacement, and respect shown for services rendered.

Inversely, the taste for system, the self-assurance and the rigidity which, as the result of prolonged constraint, are inbred in the soldier, seem to the politicians tiresome and unattractive. Everything in the military code which is absolute, peremptory and not to be questioned, is repugnant to those who live in a world of rough and ready solutions, endless intriguing and decisions which may be reversed at a moment's notice.<sup>15</sup>

De Gaulle goes on to argue that this contrast explains the preference of politicians in peacetime for complaisant and docile military leaders, who frequently must be replaced at the outset of a war. Allowing for the differences in time and nationality, there is a kernel of truth here.

Yet the ultimate domination of the civilian leader is contingent, often fragile, and always haunted by his own lack of experience at high command, for he too is usually a novice in making the great decisions of war. For a politician to dictate military action is almost always folly. Civil-military relations must thus be a dialogue of unequals and the degree of civilian intervention in military matters a question of prudence, not principle, because principle properly opens the entire field of military activity to civilian scrutiny and direction. Perhaps the greatest of all leaders, Winston Churchill, noted in his reflections on World War II that "It is always right to probe."<sup>16</sup>

#### "THE SURPRISING CAPACITY OF HUMAN INTELLIGENCE FOR ERROR"

A fictional general famously remarked:

. . . do you recall what Clemenceau said about war? He said war was too important to be left to the generals.

When he said that, fifty years ago, he might have been right.

But today, war is too important to be left to politicians. They have neither the time, the training, or the inclination for strategic thought.

The words, one suspects, would win approval from more than a few practitioners and observers of contemporary civil-military relations—until they realized that they were expressed by the half-crazed Brigadier General Jack D. Ripper, of Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove, Or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964). There are few, if any, General Rippers in the American military, but the sentiment surely persists, and indeed is even shared by some politicians. "The notion that it is inappropriate for civilian leaders to involve themselves in the details of military operations is pervasive in the military," writes Scott Cooper, a Marine captain troubled by the views of the generals. "It is also misguided."<sup>17</sup>

The generals and politicians who nonetheless cling to the "normal" theory do so for understandable reasons. It has much to be said for it. The "normal" theory reaffirms our belief in a distinctive "military way," a compelling if somewhat anachronistic code by which most military officers live. There are military values that are indeed distinct from those of civil society: self-abnegation, altruism, loyalty, and of course, courage. To set aside those differences or to ignore their importance would be not merely unwise, but devastating to military effectiveness. Nor should anyone cast aside the ideal of political neutrality, which has, if anything, grown in importance in an age when politicians populate political staffs with officers, be it on Capitol Hill or in the White House.<sup>18</sup> But where the "normal" theory goes awry is in its insistence on a *principled*, as opposed to a *prudential* basis for civilian restraint in interrogating, probing, and even in extremis, dictating military action. Taken to extremes, it would free politicians of real responsibility for the gravest challenges a country can face, and remove oversight and control from those whose job most requires it.

Only the surprising capacity of human intelligence for error can explain the opinion of prominent authorities who, although they acknowledge the role of politics in preparing for war and drafting the initial plan, rule out the possibility that politics can affect strategy

once a war has started . . . A politics that would renounce the retention of its authority over the leadership of a war and acknowledge the primacy of military specialists and silently conform to their requirements would itself acknowledge its own bankruptcy.<sup>19</sup>

Thus the words of a shrewd Russian strategist, a victim of Stalin's purges, who had studied closely the disaster that had befallen his country and the rest of Europe in 1914–1918, partly as a result of faulty civilian control of military operations.

It is not a popular view. The former Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, Admiral Harry Train, wrote in an analysis of the 1982 Falklands War, "when the duly accountable political leadership assumes the military role of deciding *how* the armed forces will perform their duties, the nation has a problem."<sup>20</sup> On the contrary, the truth is that when politicians abdicate their role in making those decisions, the nation has a problem. In the words of a wise observer of an earlier generation, reflecting upon the disaster of Vietnam and the role of weak civilian and unimaginative military leadership in bringing it about, "The civil hand must never relax, and it must without one hint of apology hold the control that has always belonged to it by right."<sup>21</sup>

Thus far the theory; we now turn to the practice.

“BY GOD, WE’VE KICKED THE VIETNAM  
SYNDROME ONCE AND FOR ALL.”<sup>47</sup>

Many soldiers and politicians thought that the Gulf war had put to rest the ghosts and demons of the Indochina war. Throughout the Gulf war President George H. W. Bush, by his own account, brooded about Vietnam—indeed, his exuberant declaration at the end of the war revealed how much it had preyed upon his mind. His diary for 26 February 1991, two days before the end of the war, includes a passage, “It’s surprising how much I dwell on the end of the Vietnam syndrome.”<sup>48</sup> “Vietnam will soon be behind us.” He regretted that the war had not ended with a “battleship *Missouri* surrender. This is what’s missing to make this akin to WWII, to separate Kuwait from Korea and Vietnam. . . .”<sup>49</sup> The very insistence on the “end of the Vietnam syndrome” (by which Bush seems to have meant sloppy, unsatisfying endings, internal divisions, and a hampered military) reveals, of course, just how painfully present that experience remained for him. The sloppy ending of the Gulf war—which left Saddam Hussein still in power, still a menace, and increasingly free of externally imposed sanctions a decade later—showed that the president had fallen short of his immediate objective as well.

For, in fact, the Gulf war did not end the “Vietnam syndrome” but, if anything, strengthened it. The lessons of the Gulf war learned by the American defense establishment amounted to a powerful reinforcement of deep-seated beliefs that go back to Vietnam and that amounted to a tremendous reinforcement, to the point of distortion, of the “normal” theory of civil-military relations. In the decade that followed, the twinned lessons of Vietnam and the Gulf combined to create a version of the “normal” theory of civil-military relations that ended by weakening the principle of civilian control of the military in the United States,

deepening mistrust between senior officers and politicians, and even, in some measure, politicizing the officer corps.

The lessons of Vietnam and the Gulf war did not disappear with the gradual retirement of the Vietnam generation of military officers. Extensive surveys of officers conducted by social scientists from the Triangle Institute for Security Studies in 1999 asked officers whether they should be neutral, advise, advocate, or insist on control of certain elements of the use of force. The results revealed that officers believed that it was their duty to “insist” on the adoption of certain courses of action (rather than advise or advocate), including “setting rules of engagement” (50 percent), developing an “exit strategy” (52 percent), and “deciding what kinds of military units (air versus naval, heavy versus light) will be used to accomplish all tasks” (63 percent).<sup>50</sup> What “insist” meant in this context was, of course, unclear. Still, something profound had changed in American civil-military relations. Officers, their self-confidence strengthened by two decades of increasing prestige and by a generally accepted version of civil-military relations marked by the morality tales of the Vietnam and Gulf wars, had come to believe that civilians had little business in probing *their* business.

The TISS survey data indicate that the post-Gulf war American military had a view of who should control the use of force very different indeed from the unequal dialogue discussed here. Nor is it the case that these views were theoretical propositions only, not reflected in action. When, for example, sources on the Joint Chiefs of Staff leaked military opposition on the conduct of the 1999 Kosovo war to the press, the stated objection was that “I don’t think anybody felt like there had been a compelling argument made that all of this was in our national interest”—as if the determination was the military’s to make.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, by the turn of the twenty-first century it was the norm for military officers to leak to the press their opposition to government policy involving the use of force. This is a far cry from the outraged but dutiful muteness with which the chiefs of staff of the Army and Navy accepted President Roosevelt’s decision to invade North Africa in 1942, against their explicit and firm advice.

In the Gulf war, and in the host of small wars since then, military “advice” has not really been “advice” at all, but something different: a preparation of options, and sometimes a single option, for the civilian leadership. American civilian decision-makers hesitated before demanding much of their military subordinates. Having earlier denounced the

passivity of the first Bush administration in Yugoslavia and particularly in Bosnia, the Clinton administration in 1992 was paralyzed by military estimates that it would take 400,000 troops or more to intervene there.<sup>52</sup> When American forces were used, it was with virtually no cooperation and communication with—let alone subordination to—a broader political effort. Indeed, Richard Holbrooke, America’s chief negotiator in the Balkans in 1995, recalls that his military counterpart, Admiral Leighton Smith, viewed himself as an independent force: “. . . he told me that he was ‘solely responsible’ for the safety and well-being of his forces, and he would make his decision, under authority delegated to him by the NATO Council, based on his own judgment. In fact, he pointed out, he did not even work for the United States: as a NATO commander he took orders from Brussels.”<sup>53</sup> Smith’s mulish opposition to the man charged with implementing American policy reflected the same kind of presumptuousness that, in far graver circumstances, had afflicted the relationship between Foch and Clemenceau. It was a reminder that coalition operations, now a staple of peacekeeping and limited interventions, produce their own difficulties in the area of civil-military relations.

The Somalia intervention of 1993 offered another such case. A commitment of American forces under the auspices of the United Nations allowed for the pursuit of parallel and conflicting policies, which culminated in a disastrous attempt to kidnap a Somali warlord whose cooperation was essential to any stable arrangement in Mogadishu. Here too civilian abdication, not military arrogance, was to blame. Deferring to a zealous United Nations high commissioner—an American—neither the president nor the secretary of defense regarded American forces operating in Mogadishu as forces fighting a low-level war, but a war nonetheless, in which some effort should be made by national authority to harmonize ends and means. Far from abusing the military by micro-managing it, the Clinton administration abused it by failing to take the war seriously and inquire into means, methods, and techniques. Its civilian leadership failed (to take just the Somalia case) by refusing to ask why American forces in Somalia were operating under several different commands—commands which communicated with one another poorly and in some cases not at all.

Particularly in the years after the Gulf war, it became expected that civilian leaders, not their military subordinates, would take responsibility for military failure. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin resigned follow-

ing the death of eighteen Rangers ambushed in downtown Mogadishu in 1993—even though his military advisers had not urged upon him a course of action other than that undertaken by American forces there, and had, in fact, favored the withdrawal of the one system that might have rescued the Rangers, the AC-130 aerial gunship. In a similar if less extreme vein, Secretary of Defense William Perry, confronted by the Senate Armed Services Committee, took responsibility for any failures associated with the bomb attack on the Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, that killed nineteen servicemen in 1996, while the theater commander in chief sat silently beside him. Lower-level officers might suffer for sins of omission and commission (an Air Force brigadier general was denied promotion after the Khobar attack, which he could neither have prevented nor defended against more effectively than he did), but higher commanders were not penalized. For civilian leaders to hold military leaders accountable for their operational performance far graver failures, apparently, would have to occur.

The decline in the quality of American civil-military relations at the top has coincided with the emergence of an American military edge—technological, organizational, and quantitative—that stems from the United States' extraordinarily prosperous economy and the overall quality of its armed forces. Yet even in successes such as the 1999 Operation ALLIED FORCE, the NATO war with Serbia led by an American, General Wesley Clark, the failure of statesmen and commanders to come to terms with one another had deleterious consequences. Clark, a bright, ambitious, and politically sophisticated general, supported American policy as articulated by the secretary of state:

One of his colleagues asked him where his civilian pals were going to be if things went sour. Would they, like the civilians behind the Vietnam debacle, go off to write their books and take their big jobs, the way Mac Bundy and Bob McNamara had done? . . . In the military, someone who was too nimble, too supple with words, too facile, someone who was able to go to different meetings and seem to please opposing constituencies, was not regarded with admiration; he was regarded with mistrust.<sup>54</sup>

Clark paid dearly for getting crosswise of military colleagues who had no use for the Kosovo war or for the president who had led them into it. But

neither the president nor the secretary of defense chose to speak with their theater commander, who found himself on the receiving end of admonitions from a hostile chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and uncooperative generals at home. "I had little idea, and never had during the entire crisis, how the commander in chief, or the secretary of defense were making their decisions."<sup>55</sup>

For their part the civilians scrutinized target lists but generally approved the requests of their theater commander, who faced far more unwillingness from NATO allies. President Clinton, seeking to avoid casualties which he felt himself peculiarly unable to justify, declared early on that the United States would commit no ground forces to Kosovo—an indiscretion that virtually guaranteed a prolonged air campaign, during which Serb forces could massacre the Albanian Kosovars at leisure. This decision seems to have preceded rather than followed any strategic discussions with military leaders. An unthinking requirement for "force protection" as the first mission for American soldiers, ahead of any objective for which they might be put in harm's way, reflects an unwillingness to come to terms with what the use of force means; today, rather than the reckless dissipation of strength, it means an only slightly less reckless conservation of it.<sup>56</sup>

The Kosovo war ended with no American combat casualties, and with the eviction of Serb forces from Kosovo. For this success Clark, who had no friends in the military high command and who had alienated Secretary of Defense William Cohen—a civilian leader who had absorbed the views of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—found himself unceremoniously retired early. In his place General Joseph Ralston, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had expressed all of the conventional military reservations about fighting the Serbs, moved up to become Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

#### "ROUTINE METHODS"

At one level, civil-military relations today are smooth and easy; senior military leaders mix far more easily with their civilian superiors than they did in Lincoln's or even Churchill's day. They attend the same



meetings of the Council on Foreign Relations and converse with equal ease on political, although not often military subjects. They share offices in the bureaucracy and interact easily in interagency meetings. This superficial harmony has even led some scholars to talk of a theory of concordance as a more attractive paradigm for civil-military relations.<sup>57</sup> This is, however, a mirage.

During the Cold War the American military accumulated, while scarcely being aware of it, an enormous amount of power and influence. It divided the world into theaters of operation; these have mushroomed into commands whose staffs dwarf those of the immediate office of the president.<sup>58</sup> In order to fight a Cold War characterized by multiple and often delicate alliances, it schooled its senior officers in politics, beginning when they were cadets at the military academies, by having them serve as interns in Congress. It taught politics, under the name of strategy, in its war colleges. At the same time, particularly after Vietnam, it deprecated efforts by civilian leaders to become overly expert in the details of military affairs. As for explaining its failures or half-successes since World War II, even thoughtful general officers declared that to have victories, "You must have the political will—and that means the will of the administration, the Congress and the American people. All must be united in a desire for action."<sup>59</sup> If accepted, such an extreme precondition—a unity that has escaped the United States in every major war except the World Wars—means that the civilians will always disappoint the military and the soldiers will always have an excuse.

There was nothing deliberately malign in this hardening of military views about the use of force, very much along the lines of Weinberger's rules and the Powell doctrine.<sup>60</sup> More deeply disturbing at the end of the century were signs that the American military was increasingly willing to take sides in politics in order to preserve its own interests. This politicization occurred as much at the top of the hierarchy as it did lower down. Having successfully wooed a group of recently retired general officers to endorse his candidacy in 1992, President Bill Clinton found himself trumped by the son of the man he had defeated. George W. Bush collected a longer and more impressive list, topped by three men who had retired only weeks or even days earlier from military service: the professional chiefs of the Navy and the Marine Corps, and the commander of the American forces in the Persian Gulf.<sup>61</sup> The use of senior generals as props for political campaigns, and the flags' willingness to sign

up as partisans, was a long way from the standards of behavior set by men like George C. Marshall, the Army's chief of staff during World War II. Marshall chose not even to vote (admittedly an extreme choice) in order to avoid any partisan taint. In 1943 he lectured a subordinate: "We are completely devoted, we are a member of a priesthood really, the sole purpose of which is to defend the republic." Hence, he insisted, public confidence in a politically neutral military was "a sacred trust" to be borne in mind "every day and every hour."<sup>62</sup>

There was a paradox here. The "normal theory, which called for sealing the military off from civilian meddling in the details, had eventually given way to a military willing to involve itself, if only tentatively at first, in politics. Yet this willingness follows from the "normal" theory's unrealistic view of the use of force as something divorced from politics in all but the broadest sense of the word. The post-Cold War world being one in which the interplay of force and politics has grown ever more complex, it is not surprising that soldiers tend to engage in politics, albeit with the best of motives. The tendency to do so was reinforced by the increasing gap between traditional military values of hierarchy, order, loyalty, and self-sacrifice and a civilian world that seems increasingly egalitarian (at least in work habits), fluid, individualistic, and acquisitive. Both the steady spread of gender integration in the modern military and weakening barriers to homosexual participation in the armed forces have quietly reinforced a sense of siege among more traditionally minded officers, even as they have blurred the barriers between institution and interest group for others.<sup>63</sup> These subtle but powerful societal forces exacerbated a sense of civil-military tension, if not of crisis, by the time a new president took office in 2001. Not entirely coincidentally his new secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, who had held the same job a quarter-century before, began his tenure with an elaborate set of defense reviews that ostentatiously excluded the active-duty military from participation save as a kind of uniformed research assistants. Until the outbreak of a new and different kind of war following the terror attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the Rumsfeld Pentagon exhibited levels of civil-military mistrust as bitter as anything seen in the Clinton administration.

For the leaders of America today, the strong temptation in a world dominated by American military power is to brush aside the lessons of civil-military relations hard won over a century of total wars. There is a

danger that absent recent or current experience of really dangerous war—war in which the other side can inflict damage and has options—civilian and military decision-makers alike will forget the lessons of serious conflict. Those lessons are, above all, that political leaders must immerse themselves in the conduct of their wars no less than in their great projects of domestic legislation; that they must master their military briefs as thoroughly as they do their civilian ones; that they must demand and expect from their military subordinates a candor as bruising as it is necessary; that both groups must expect a running conversation in which, although civilian opinion will not usually dictate, it must dominate; and that that conversation will cover not only ends and policies, but ways and means. “Our highest civilian and military heads [must] be in close, even if not cordial, contact with each other . . .,”<sup>64</sup> declared a weary but wise general officer veteran of the Vietnam war.

Just before the turn of the twenty-first century, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations was reviewing the 1999 war fought by the United States and its NATO allies against Serbia. “I was troubled,” Senator Gordon H. Smith, (R-Oregon), who was chairing the hearing, remarked, “over the degree to which political considerations affected NATO’s military strategy.” He was disturbed that matters had gotten “even to the point where politicians . . . questioned and sometimes vetoed targets that had been selected by the military.” He continued:

I firmly believe in the need for civilian control of the military in a democratic society, but I also believe we can effectively adhere to this critical principle by clearly outlining political objectives and then, within the boundaries of those objectives, allowing the military commanders to design a strategy in order to assure the achievement of those objectives.<sup>65</sup>

The “normal” theory of civil-military relations was alive and well.

A great statesman is a rarity, and an average politician who poses as a Churchill or a Lincoln may come to grief. But it is also the case that a mediocre statesman who resorts to rules of thumb—including “defer to the professionals”—is heading, and probably by a shorter path, to ruin. Interestingly enough, General Colin Powell himself took as a life lesson, “Don’t be afraid to challenge the pros, even in their own back yard. Just as important, never neglect details, even to the point of being a pest.”<sup>66</sup>

Except under uniquely favorable conditions (as, for example, in 1999 when the United States and its allies went to war with Serbia—a country whose gross national product was one fifteenth the size of the American defense budget) the outcome of civilians taking military advice without question is unlikely to be a good one.

The hopeful belief in bright dividing lines between civilian and soldier, political matters and military ones, is what Carl von Clausewitz termed a “theory of war”—a set of beliefs and doctrines that seem to make the use of force more manageable. As he also noted, however, in the absence of “an intelligent analysis of the conduct of war . . . routine methods will tend to take over even at the highest levels.”<sup>67</sup> The “normal” theory of civil-military relations is, in effect, an effort to make high command a matter of routine. The unequal dialogue, to which we turn next, is the essence of the technique of the successful war statesman discussed in previous chapters, and the opposite of Clausewitz’s “routine methods.”

## APPENDIX

### The Theory of Civilian Control

#### "A BODY OF MEN DISTINCT FROM THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE"

The issue of civil-military relations is one of the oldest subjects of political science. Plato's *Republic* discusses the difficulties inherent in creating a guardian class who would at once be "gentle to their own and cruel to enemies," men who, like "noble dogs," would serve as the ideal city's guardians.<sup>1</sup> Fear of military dictatorship plagued English and American political philosophers, who saw in both classical and recent history the threats to civil liberty that could arise from large standing armies. As a British parliamentarian put it in the eighteenth century: "[soldiers] are a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws, and blind obedience, and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer, is their only principle . . . it is indeed impossible that the liberties of the people in any country can be preserved where a numerous standing army is kept up."<sup>2</sup> Despotism often wears a uniform, and even in republics such as early twentieth-century France statesmen urgently pondered ways and means of reducing military autonomy and ensuring adequate civilian control of the armed forces of the state. Despite the relatively small size of the peacetime military establishment of the United States, civil-military relations in this country have experienced periodic crises—most notably during the Civil War, when on more than one occasion President Abraham Lincoln found himself deeply at odds with his generals. The overall record of the American military, however, remains one of complete "subordination and loyalty" to the Constitution.<sup>3</sup> For the United States, and indeed for most democracies, the central problem of civil-military relations has *not* been the most fundamental one—that of preventing a military takeover of the state. For many reasons, including the acculturation of the military itself and the presence of numerous countervailing forces and institutions,

that specter has never seriously haunted American statesmen. But the adjustment of relations regarding the preparation and use of force to serve the ends of policy has proven a very different matter.

The notion that if there is no fear of a coup there can be nothing seriously amiss with civil-military relations is one of the greatest obstacles to serious thinking about the subject. The proper roles of the military in shaping foreign policy, in setting the conditions under which it acts, in creating the kind of forces most appropriate for its tasks, in mobilizing civil society to support its activities—these are all contentious issues. The military is almost invariably the largest single element of national government; it claims a vast chunk of its discretionary spending, and it has a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. There is nothing obvious or inevitable about the subordination of the armed forces to the wishes and purposes of the political leadership.

Almost half a century ago, in what became a classic work of political science, Samuel P. Huntington set out a theory of civil-military relations to guide both civilians and soldiers in their relationships. *The Soldier and the State* has ever since set the terms of debate about civil-military relations in this country. A simplified secondhand version of the book has come, in fact, to be commonly viewed as the “normal” theory of civil-military relations—the accepted theoretical standard by which the current reality is to be judged.<sup>4</sup> Like most classics *The Soldier and the State* is more cited than read, and many of its subtleties have been lost on those who have admired it most. But extraordinarily influential it remains.

Huntington begins with an analysis of officership as a profession, much like medicine or the law. Like those vocations, he writes, officership is distinguished by *expertise* in a particular area of human affairs, a sense of *responsibility* that lends an importance transcending monetary rewards to one’s work, and *corporateness* or a sense of community and commitment to members of one’s group.<sup>5</sup> For Huntington, the central skill of the soldier is the “management of violence,” the arts of planning, organizing, and employing military force, but not applying it. At least in ground and naval warfare, officers orchestrate and coordinate the use of force: they do not, except *in extremis*, fight themselves. To be sure, this may mean that “not all officers are professional military officers” in the restricted sense of the term.<sup>6</sup> Those who specialize in career areas not directly related to the management of violence are not truly professional

according to this admittedly narrow set of criteria. Neither, by implication, are those whose specialty is the direct *application* of violence rather than its management and planning.

Huntington believes in the distinctiveness of the military mindset. It is, he says in a notable passage, “pessimistic, collectivist, historically inclined, power-oriented, nationalistic, militaristic, pacifist, and instrumentalist in its view of the military profession. It is, in brief, realistic and conservative.”<sup>7</sup> To be sure, this is an ideal type. But he maintains that it is powerful nonetheless, and that this military ethos is a source of great strength not merely for the military but for society more broadly. In *The Soldier and the State*’s concluding pages he draws a striking contrast between the appearances and the inner realities of the United States Military Academy at West Point and the neighboring town of Highland Falls, New York—appearances that reflect cultural differences. The austerity and purposefulness of the military order has something to teach, or at least complement, the dazzling heterogeneity and anarchy of democratic society.

Huntington offers a recipe for ensuring civilian dominance over the armed forces, arguing as he does for a sharp division between civilian and military roles. “Objective control”—a form of civilian control based on efforts to increase the professionalism of the officer corps, carving off for it a sphere of action independent of politics—is, in his view, the preferable form of civil-military relations. He contrasts “objective control” with what he calls “subjective control,” which aims to tame the military by civilianizing it, thus rendering it politically aware, or by controlling it from within with transplanted civilian elites. In the contemporary world those who support this latter means of control are “fusionists” who believe that the old categories of political and military matters are difficult to distinguish.<sup>8</sup> In a previous age these fusionists would have asserted civilian control by keeping officership the preserve of the ruling social class; in the current era they seek to blur the autonomous nature of military professionalism. “The essence of objective civilian control,” by way of contrast, “is the recognition of autonomous military professionalism.”<sup>9</sup> There is good news here: soldiers not only respect the bounds of democratic politics when subject to objective control, they also fight more effectively. When politicians leave purely military matters to officers, and when they draw clear distinctions between their activities and those of civilians, outstanding military organizations

emerge. Officers motivated by dedication to a politically sterile and neutral military ideal—"the good soldier," and "the best regiment"—will turn in a performance superior to those motivated by ideology or merely personal drives such as ambition or vainglory.<sup>10</sup>

This view has profound implications for strategy. Huntington quotes approvingly a Command and General Staff College 1936 publication:

Politics and strategy are radically and fundamentally things apart. Strategy begins where politics ends. All that soldiers ask is that once the policy is settled, strategy and command shall be regarded as being in a sphere apart from politics . . . The line of demarcation must be drawn between politics and strategy, supply, and operations. Having found this line, all sides must abstain from trespassing.<sup>11</sup>

This sharp separation is possible because military expertise is, indeed, definable and isolatable. "The criteria of military efficiency are limited, concrete, and relatively objective; the criteria of political wisdom are indefinite, ambiguous, and highly subjective."<sup>12</sup> Political leaders enhance their control by making the military austere professional, while reserving to themselves alone the passing of judgments on matters of policy as opposed to technical military matters.

Many democratic politicians and even more of their fellow citizens find the understanding of strategy as craft reassuring. To believe that war is a professional art is to believe that it is not subject to the errors and follies, the bickering and pettiness, the upsets and unpredictabilities that characterize politics. Military expertise, in this view, is a constant.

The peculiar skill of the military officer is universal in the sense that its essence is not affected by changes in time or location. Just as the qualifications of a good surgeon are the same in Zurich as they are in New York, the same standards of professional military competence apply in Russia as in America and in the nineteenth century as in the twentieth.<sup>13</sup>

Such a belief offers reassurance to perplexed politicians and anxious citizens. As many an injured or sickly patient in desperate straits yearns to

trust a doctor with a soothing bedside manner, so too many civilians look to put their reliance in generals who cultivate a calm or dominating demeanor and an attitude of command. Paradoxically, perhaps, it is in matters of life and death that many people become more rather than less trustful of the professionals. And indeed this, in Huntington's view, is how the United States did so well during the Second World War: "So far as the major decisions in policy and strategy were concerned, the military ran the war."<sup>14</sup> And a good thing too, he seems to add.

A simplified Huntingtonian conception of military professionalism remains the dominant view within the American defense establishment. In the mid-1980s the Congress conducted a debate on military reforms that led to the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, which substantially increased the power of the Joint Staff and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the expense of the military services and even, to some extent, that of the office of secretary of defense.<sup>15</sup> Not only did the originators of that legislation explicitly endorse Huntington's reading of American military history; they saw their responsibility as one of providing more and better centralized, autonomous military advice to civilian leaders.<sup>16</sup>

Huntington's theory has particular importance in a period during which the United States finds itself chronically resorting to the use of force. The concept of "objective control" offers a way of coping with the dangers that military organizations pose for democracies—what Tocqueville described as "a restless, turbulent spirit" that "is an evil inherent in the very constitution of democratic armies, and beyond hope of cure."<sup>17</sup> Objective control offers a simple formula for the guidance of politicians and the education of officers and it promises not merely civilian control and constitutional governance but strategic success.

And yet the theory of objective control does not suffice as a description of either what does occur or what should. Scholarly critics have taken issue with its assumptions about the nature of military professionalism and, as we shall see, these views have some foundation. Furthermore, an examination of recent history—including even the relatively successful Gulf war—suggests that the Huntingtonian model of desirable civil-military relations does not characterize conflict. The most successful cases of wartime leadership in a democratic state—Lincoln's stewardship of the Union cause in the American Civil War, Winston Churchill's conduct of British affairs during World War II, or David

Ben-Gurion's skillful handling of Israeli war policy during the country's struggle for existence—reveal nothing like the rigid separations dictated by the “normal” theory of civil-military relations.

### CRITICS OF THE “NORMAL” THEORY

The standard conception of military professionalism, despite its general acceptance, nonetheless attracted criticism from a number of sources. Historian Allen Guttman contended that Huntington had misinterpreted American history in constructing his argument.<sup>18</sup> Rather than being isolated from the American polity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and during the interwar years, Guttman argued, American officers were in fact quite representative of it. And rather than adhering to a conservative world view at odds with that of the broader society, they shared the pragmatic and democratic views of American society generally. Huntington detects and approves of a deep tension between civil and military values, and asserts the value of military detachment from society. Guttman rejects that assessment and deprecates Huntington's endorsement of it.

Huntington's ideal officer is a well-defined aristocratic type—a Helmuth von Moltke, to take a Continental example—who is at once patriotic and yet, in some fashion, almost above patriotism in his sense of membership in the brotherhood of arms. Where Huntington noted and celebrated the honor of soldiers as a central aspect of the military way, Guttman points out the stubborn pragmatism of American generals. Guttman observes that such quintessentially American figures as Stonewall Jackson had little sense of the punctilious chivalry that European officers admired, and that (in his view) characterize Huntington's theory.<sup>19</sup> When a Confederate colonel reporting on the successful and bloody repulse of a Yankee attack expressed his admiration for the enemy's bravery and his regret at having to kill such courageous foes, Jackson replied, “No. Shoot them all. I do not wish them to be brave.”<sup>20</sup> Other observers of the American military, taking a somewhat different tack but arriving at a similar conclusion, note the conventionality of its officer corps, which is solidly middle class in its values and aspirations

and thus firmly anchored in the society from which it emerges.<sup>21</sup> Huntington's hopes for creative tension between civilian and military values find no resonance in a military that watches the same television programs and listens to the same music as society at large.

Sociologist Morris Janowitz and others have made a similar if more contemporary argument. The traditional notion of professionalism has weakened, they contend, as war itself has changed. “As a result of the complex machinery of warfare, which has weakened the line between military and nonmilitary organization, the military establishment has come more and more to display the characteristics typical of any large-scale organization.”<sup>22</sup> While Huntington's concept of “objective control” may have made sense in the age of the World Wars, the nuclear revolution gave birth to “a convergence of military and civilian organization.” Janowitz proposes what he calls a “constabulary concept” of officership—one dedicated to the limited use of force in carefully defined circumstances.<sup>23</sup> He draws a distinction between “heroic leaders, who embody traditionalism and glory, and military ‘managers,’ who are concerned with the scientific and rational conduct of war.”<sup>24</sup> There is little doubt in his mind that it is the modern military managers who are winning out, and a good thing too, he seems to believe. Janowitz thus appears to have accepted Huntington's definition of military professionalism but to have smoothed off its rough edges: where Huntington anticipates—indeed welcomes—a divergence between civilian and military values as a by-product of professionalism, Janowitz sees no such necessity.

Other military sociologists have gone even further. In 1977 Charles Moskos suggested that the military had begun a slow, but steady transformation from an institution—“legitimated in terms of values and norms”—to an occupation—“legitimated in terms of the marketplace, i.e., prevailing monetary rewards for equivalent competencies.”<sup>25</sup> The increasing harmonization of military and civilian pay scales, the reduction of special military perquisites (e.g., the PX and the commissary) seemed to him to weaken the distinctiveness of the military way of life. Implicitly, at any rate, all militaries exist under some form of what Huntington would call “subjective control.” Indeed, one optimistic scholar proposes a theory of “concordance” in which “the very idea of ‘civil’ may be inappropriate.”<sup>26</sup> It is a theory of “dialogue, accommodation, and shared values or objectives among the military, the political elites, and society.”<sup>27</sup> In some ways, this practically defines away the problem of civil-military relations.

Disagree as they might, Huntington and these critics of his ideas both deliver reassuring if conflicting messages. For Huntington the good news lies in his discovery that those elements of the military persona and outlook that liberal America finds unsettling (indeed, he contends that "liberalism does not understand and is hostile to military institutions and the military function")<sup>28</sup> are, in fact, not merely functional but desirable. For Guttman, Janowitz, and Moskos the good news was just the reverse: the military *resembles* America, shares its elite's values and, increasingly, parallels its social origins and way of life. As the all-out conflicts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries gave way to more limited struggles, the military internalized civilian views of how it should conduct military operations. The stark differences between the military and civilian mind, so central to Huntington's theory, have blurred.

For neither Huntington nor his critics, however, is there anything intrinsically problematic about combining civilian control and military effectiveness, in peace or in war. Indeed, for more than one writer the term "civilian control" is a faintly absurd echo of dark popular fantasies like the 1964 film *Seven Days in May*, in which the military tries to take over the government.<sup>29</sup> "The concept of civilian control of the military has little significance for contemporary problems of national security in the United States,"<sup>30</sup> wrote one author in 1961—a dubious assertion, it now appears, at the beginning of a decade that spawned some of the most destructive tensions between civilians and soldiers the United States has ever seen. Similarly, in 1985 Congressional staff drawing up legislation aimed at enhancing the power of the military declared that "instances of American commanders overstepping the bounds of their authority have been rare. . . . None of these pose any serious threat to civilian control of the military."<sup>31</sup>

Neither Guttman nor Janowitz nor Moskos, we should note, delve into civil-military relations in wartime. They accept much though not all of Huntington's characterization of America's military history in war. Indeed, some of the most influential writings on civil-military relations criticizing Huntington barely mention warfare at all.<sup>32</sup> And, in fact, most of the civil-military-relations literature, with the exception of Huntington, has somewhat oddly steered away from close examination of what happens during wartime.

An exception is British scholar S. E. Finer, whose critique of Huntington is very different from his American counterparts'. He argues that Huntington has severely *underestimated* the problem of civilian control. Blessed with the advantages of centralized command, hierarchy, discipline, and cohesion, and embodying virtues (bravery, patriotism, and discipline, for example) that civil society finds attractive, the military can resist civilian control effectively.<sup>33</sup> Noting that one of the armies that Huntington has praised as the most professional—the German—has repeatedly intervened in politics, Finer suggests that military professionalism could in fact incline militaries to engage in politics rather than not.<sup>34</sup> And in wartime in particular civilians are often too insecure about their knowledge, too fearful of public opinion, and too overawed by their military's expertise to exercise much control at all. "War is too important to be left to the generals.' Few civilians seem to have agreed with this and still fewer generals," Finer writes.<sup>35</sup> A difference in national experience may have been at work here as well. In the United States the archetypal civil-military conflict was between the imperious general Douglas MacArthur and the doughty president Harry Truman, a confrontation crisply decided by the dismissal of the former by the latter. For British authors, the Curragh mutiny (or, as some would prefer, "incident") of 1914, in which a group of cavalry officers (fifty-seven out of seventy in one brigade) offered their resignations rather than suppress Ulster loyalists determined to keep Northern Ireland part of the United Kingdom, presents a more typical and a more disturbing threat to civilian control.<sup>36</sup> More instructive yet in the British experience is the struggle between civilian and military leadership during World War I. Prime Minister David Lloyd George believed himself thwarted and even endangered by a military clique resting on an alliance between the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir William Robertson, and the commander of British forces in France, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, aided by docile civilian politicians and journalists.<sup>37</sup> Finer contends that by construing civilian control too narrowly, as the formal subordination of the military to the civilian power, and particularly in peacetime, one may underestimate the difficulty of controlling the use of military power in wartime. Precisely because, unlike most other students of civil-military relations, Finer has looked at war, he has a considerably more pessimistic view of the prospect for civilian control.

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### THE EXCEPTIONAL PROFESSION

Despite these various rebuttals of Huntington's argument, his general concept still stands and retains its popularity. Military life has witnessed many changes, but it nonetheless remains a way apart—a point brought home to the Clinton administration in 1993, when the president attempted to lift the US military's ban on homosexuals serving in uni-



form. Journalist Tom Ricks may have said it best when he described life in today's military as "what Lyndon Johnson's Great Society could have been. . . . It is almost a Japanese version of America—relatively harmonious, extremely hierarchical, and nearby always placing the group above the individual."<sup>65</sup> With its distinctive way of life on self-contained bases, a perhaps anachronistic commitment to service, discipline, and honor continue to pervade an institution that, for example, will still penalize a senior officer for adultery—a sin usually overlooked by the civilian society around it.

Those who predicted a mere constabulary role for the military, hence its transmutation into a kind of heavily armed police force, have also been proven wrong. Two real wars—Vietnam and the Persian Gulf—have been fought between the time those predictions appeared and the present day. The rarity of large wars is not, of itself, an indication of the obsolescence of the military profession understood as the management of large-scale force. There are other explanations including the configuration of international politics in which one country, the United States, dominates all others, and the possession of overwhelming power by the status quo dominant nations. Even so, Keegan's curious declaration that "the suspicion grows that battle has already abolished itself"<sup>66</sup> rings hollow, followed as it has been by conventional conflicts such as the Falklands, Lebanon, Persian Gulf, and Yugoslav wars, to name only the larger ones.

Furthermore, and contrary to what proponents of the "constabulary function" of the military suggest, the minor interventions, demonstrations of force, and peacekeeping operations of today do not diverge from the norms of the past. Soldiers and Marines of a bygone era suppressed hostile Indians and Nicaraguan rebels; their counterparts today have returned to Haiti, invaded Grenada, overthrown a Panamanian dictator, dueled with Somali tribesmen, and suppressed Serb paramilitaries. The differences do not look all that great. As intellectually intriguing as the arguments of the strategic nihilists might be, they too have proven ultimately unconvincing. Some wars and lesser uses of force clearly achieved their objectives (for example, Egypt's October 1973 campaign which broke the Arab-Israeli peace deadlock, or the Gulf war). Beyond this, nihilism is ultimately a doctrine of irresponsibility that provides no standards of conduct for either statesman or soldier. Even Finer's dispute with Huntington seems to be confounded by the apparent deference of military leaders to their civilian superiors. With the sole

exception of the MacArthur controversy, and perhaps not even that, the Western world has not recently witnessed the kind of virulent antipathy between "brass hats" and "frocks" that in 1914–1918 characterized civil-military relations in both Britain and France.

There is, however, another possible critique of Huntington's theory, and that rests on his and his critics' conception of professionalism. Put simply, it is that although officership is a profession, it differs in many respects from all others: in some of the most important respects it does not, in fact, resemble medicine or the law. Indeed, the Huntingtonian construct represents a concept of professionalism prevalent in the 1950s, but since challenged in many spheres as unrealistically pristine; "incomprehensibility to laymen, rather than rationality, is the foundation of professionalism," in the acid words of a scholar writing in the more cynical 1970s.<sup>67</sup> Officership differs in a number of important ways from other professions. Unlike law, medicine, or engineering, it binds its members to only one employer, the government, and has only one fundamental structure—the large service branch. But other differences are more important, in particular those bearing on the goals of the professional activity and the nature of the expertise involved.

All professional activities present difficulties of moral choice and ultimate purpose to those who practice them. The wrenching choices involved in the treatment of terminally ill patients are well known; so too are the ethical dilemmas of a lawyer who becomes privy to knowledge of the criminal activities of his client. But by and large in the professions of law and medicine, on which the classic conception of professionalism is based, the ultimate goals are fairly straightforward. They are, for the doctor, to cure his patients of their diseases, or at least to alleviate the pain they suffer. Occasionally, of course, these two imperatives conflict. For the lawyer they are, at least within the American legal system, to achieve the best possible result (be it acquittal, or, in civil cases, maximum financial and other forms of redress) for his clients.

The soldier's ultimate purposes are altogether hazier: they are, as Clausewitz and others insist, the achievement of political ends designated by statesmen. But because political objectives are just that—political—they are often ambiguous, contradictory, and uncertain. It is one of the greatest sources of frustration for soldiers that their political masters find it difficult (or what is worse from their point of view, merely inconvenient) to fully elaborate in advance the purposes for which they

have invoked military action, or the conditions under which they intend to limit or terminate it. The "professional" concept of military activity, moreover, depicts political purpose in war as purely a matter of foreign policy; and yet in practice the "high" politics of war is suffused as well with "low" or domestic politics. President Lincoln wants a victory at Atlanta in the summer of 1864 in order to crush the Confederacy—but also to boost his own chances of reelection, which in turn is necessary for the ultimate victory of the Union. President Roosevelt dismisses professional military advice and orders an invasion of North Africa in 1942 rather than a landing in France in 1943—this, he explains, in order to engage American public opinion in the fight in the European theater, rather than in hopes of achieving an early end to the war. President Johnson limits air attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong in 1965–1968 in part to preserve his ability to launch the Great Society, but also to limit the chances that China will enter the war.

The traditional conception of military professionalism assumes that it is possible to segregate an autonomous area of military science from political purpose.<sup>68</sup> In many ways one can. Frequently, however, a seemingly sharp separation crumbles when it encounters the real problems of war. Consider the question confronted by the Allies in the late summer and fall of 1944 in France: whether to advance on a wide front or to concentrate scarce logistical resources behind a northern thrust along the French, Belgian, and Dutch coasts (directed by a British general) or a southern thrust into central Germany (directed by an American general). One might say that there was a military "best answer," assuming that the ultimate objective was simply the defeat of Germany—which in turn incorrectly assumes that the word "defeat" lends itself to a simple definition. But in fact the political objectives of even the Second World War were far more complex than that; they involved questions of cost in lives and treasure, minimization of damage to Allied civilian populations (including Londoners under threat from V-2 missiles launched in Holland), and matters of national prestige. These were not political modifications to a "military" objective of defeating Germany, but essential to it. "The distinction between politics and strategy diminishes as the point of view is raised. At the summit true politics and strategy are one."<sup>69</sup> Careless readers of Huntington have missed his awareness that these kinds of mixed political-military decisions do indeed occur; in truth, they occur even more frequently than the "normal" theory would suggest.

That the good military officer requires technical expertise no one would deny. But is it indeed true that "the peculiar skill of the military officer is universal" across time, nationality, and place? The qualifications of a good North Vietnamese infantry officer in Indochina in 1965 would surely have differed in some important respects from those of a good American officer opposing him. The Vietnamese would have needed a ruthless disregard for his own men's suffering and casualties that would have rendered an American not merely morally unfit to command, but a likely candidate for "fragging"—assassination—by his own men. He could have easily remained ignorant of large areas of technical knowledge (for example, the employment of close air support, or planning procedures for heliborne movements) that the American required. More than one author has suggested that the Vietnam failure stemmed at least in part from the stubborn resistance of American officers to adapting their conception of professionalism to the war before them. And American bafflement when facing unconventional opponents like Somalia's Muhammad Farah Aideed reflects, in part, the American military's reluctance to walk away from an essentially conventional conception of what it is to be "a professional."<sup>70</sup>

Huntington's assertion that, in the modern age at any rate, professional armies are better armies may require at least some revision, although it is a belief in which many regular armies take comfort.<sup>71</sup> The more research is done on one of the most formidable fighting machines of all time, the German Wehrmacht, the greater the role of its ideology appears to be.<sup>72</sup> For a generation after World War II scholars attributed the fighting abilities of the Germans in World War II to neutral, professional characteristics: small-unit cohesion and careful practices of officer and noncommissioned officer selection and recruitment.<sup>73</sup> More prolonged and careful investigation, however, has revealed that the permeation of the German army by Nazi ideology made it a better fighting force.<sup>74</sup> Not only did it instill in a large proportion of its men a fanatic determination to fight—it also contributed indirectly to the maintenance of tactical effectiveness. The ruthlessness of the Nazis allowed for the harshest possible repression of dissent or doubt. The Germans, who had executed forty-eight of their own men during World War I, shot somewhere between 13,000 and 15,000 during World War II; the comparable numbers for the British army were 356 in World War I and 40 in World War II.<sup>75</sup> At the same time, the Hitler Jugend provided a reserve of

junior officers and leaders while Nazi ideology reinforced the central virtues of military leadership, including selflessness, physical courage, and initiative.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the greatest proof of the contribution of ideology lies in the record of the units of the *Waffen-SS*, which by war's end constituted no less than a quarter of Germany's army, and which repeatedly turned in an outstanding fighting performance. Of Theodor Eicke, the leader of one of the most successful of the *Waffen-SS* divisions, the *Totenkopf* (Death's Head), one historian notes: "Eicke's style of leadership differed little in practice from the methods he had used to administer the prewar concentration camp system. . . . What he lacked in formal training, imagination, and finesse, he attempted to overcome through diligence, energy, and a constant effort to master the baffling technical intricacies of mechanized war."<sup>77</sup> Eicke was a successful military leader not in spite of those characteristics that would have earned him a trial for his numerous crimes against humanity had he survived the war, but because of them.

Nor is the German experience unique. Ideological armies—the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the international brigades in the Spanish Civil War, and the preindependence Palmach in Palestine are all examples—have often turned in superior tactical performances against larger and better equipped regular forces. The ideologically motivated fighter may make a good junior officer—he often embodies the self-sacrifice, integrity, and drive the leaders of soldiers in battle require. More than a few higher-level commanders as well have—like Eicke, albeit in very different causes—demonstrated high orders of ability.<sup>78</sup>

If the content of military professionalism is, as Huntington contends, the "management of violence," that is a definition that excludes large areas of military activity (logistics, for example) which often have considerable civilian analogues and yet are indispensable to military operations.<sup>79</sup> Many of these skills are readily transferable to or from the civilian world. It is no accident that the US Army's chief logistician in the Persian Gulf, Lieutenant General Gus Pagonis, became, immediately upon retirement, an extremely successful executive at Sears, in the same way that the military rapidly promoted civilian executives to high military rank during the World Wars. Moreover, although all serious modern military organizations devote a great deal of effort to schooling and training, history is filled with examples of soldiers taken up from civilian life who very quickly master the essentials of military affairs. The World

Wars offer examples of great soldiers who spent only brief peacetime periods of their life in regular military organizations, and then flourished in times of actual war. General Sir John Monash, one of the best generals of World War I, was a civil engineer whose prewar experience consisted solely of militia duty. Yet he rose to command perhaps the most formidable of all Allied units, the Australian Imperial Force.<sup>80</sup> There are hardly any accounts, even a century ago, of self-taught or part-time doctors and engineers performing nearly so well.

Military professionalism is job-specific, much as business management is. Brilliant entrepreneurs may prove utterly unable to cope with the problems of running the corporations their creative genius brought into the world. Skilled managers of a long-established high-technology firm like IBM would probably find it difficult to assume equal responsibilities in an entertainment company like Disney. There is, to be sure, enough commonality in management experience to make it plausible to put a former manufacturer of repeating rifles in charge of a large ice cream company (Ben & Jerry's), but that does not guarantee success. The ruthless churning of higher management in many companies reflects what might be thought of as "wartime" conditions—a ceaseless turnover of executives who, though qualified by training and experience for the highest office, nonetheless prove unfit for their tasks, exhausted by their previous work, or merely, but fatally, unlucky. In this above all they resemble generals in an intense war. This should not surprise us, for in some sense businesses fight their "wars" every day, unlike military organizations.

This observation suggests a deeper problem with the notion of expertise in the management of violence as the essence of the military profession. Where lawyers continually appear in court or draw up legal instruments, where doctors routinely operate or prescribe medication, where engineers build bridges or computers, soldiers very rarely manage violence, or at least not large-scale violence. They prepare to manage violence; they anticipate its requirements; they study past uses of violence, but they very rarely engage in the central activity that defines their profession. In the words of one British general writing after World War I:

Imagine an immense railway system, created but not in use, held in reserve to meet a definite emergency which may emerge on any indefinite date, a date certain (with the British) to be fixed by the Di-

rectors of another, and a rival, system, instead of by its own. Once a year, and once a year only, the railway is allowed to be partially opened to traffic for a week (maneuvers): for the remaining fifty-one weeks not only are there no train services, but the locomotives are stripped, many of their essential parts being stacked in out-of-the-way parts of the Kingdom. Yet, let the signal be given, and in four days' time the parts of the engines have to be assembled, wheels have to be fixed to dismantled trucks, cushions have to be fixed to the first-class carriages, the personnel must be at their posts, the coal—mountains of it—has to be on the spot, and a huge, complicated, most rapid and crowded process of transportation and movement comes straightway into being—provided—the rival company has not sandbagged the manager or dropped a few bombs upon the terminus.<sup>81</sup>

Many, perhaps most, officers spend entire military careers without participating in a real way in war. And even those who do fight in wars do so for very small portions of their careers, and very rarely occupy the same position in more than one conflict. A lawyer may try hundreds of cases, or a doctor treat hundreds or even thousands of medical problems, of an essentially similar type during the course of several decades; a soldier will usually have only one chance to serve in a particular capacity. There are few generals who have had the experience of being divisional or corps commanders—let alone theater commanders or chiefs of general staffs—in more than one war. As a result then, particularly at the beginning of a war, a country's most senior leaders—nominally the most seasoned veterans—are in a professional position as close to that of the novice lawyer or doctor as to that of the senior partner in a law firm or the chief surgeon in a hospital.

The lack of practice military people have in their profession at the highest level is only one factor in the astounding, and by no means infrequent, catastrophic errors made by supposedly competent military organizations.<sup>82</sup> The errors of the Schlieffen Plan were not merely political but logistical: those who concocted it had assumed away problems of supply and marching endurance that made it nearly impossible of execution. The highly skilled tacticians of Germany launched in March 1918 the ruinous MICHAEL offensive, which shattered the German army and made inevitable their country's defeat. The pioneering air generals of

the US Army Air Forces in World War II embarked upon a ruinous, unescorted daylight precision-bombing campaign against Germany that collapsed in the Schweinfurt débâcles of 1943. The Israelis in 1973 adhered to a doctrine of tank warfare that proved utterly unsuited against modern hand-held anti-tank weapons, and as a result suffered heavy losses in the first days of fighting against Egyptian infantry armed with portable missiles and rocket-propelled grenades. The United States Army in Vietnam, led by experienced and able veterans of World War II, adopted a strategy of "search and destroy" predicated on entirely false assumptions about its ability to control the loss rates of the Vietnamese Communists.<sup>83</sup> These and other calamities stem not from incompetence as normally understood, but from the features that make the waging of war different from other professions: the distorting psychological effects of fear, hatred, and the desire for glory; the nature of a reacting opponent; and the absence of rules that bound the activity concerned. As Clausewitz observed, "every war is rich in unique episodes. Each is an uncharted sea, full of reefs."<sup>84</sup> Each age has its "own theory of war, even if the urge has always and universally existed to work things out on scientific principles."<sup>85</sup> War is too varied an activity for a single set of professional norms.

## THE UNEQUAL DIALOGUE

One should not carry such arguments against a rigid division of "professional" and "political" too far. Clearly, no one fresh from the office or the classroom can command an aircraft carrier or an armored division, much less pilot a fighter plane or repair an infantry fighting vehicle. The politician who plans his own commando operation will almost surely regret it. More than one group of revolutionary leaders, from Bolshevik commissars in 1919 to Iranian mullahs over half a century later have, willy nilly, turned to officer experts whom they may not have trusted but whose services they required. Enough of the officer's code survives, despite the allure of a materialistic culture, to make concepts like honor distinguishing characteristics of the military way. "The officer's honor is of paramount importance," write founding members of the Army's Cen-

ter for the Professional Military Ethic.<sup>86</sup> That a profession of arms exists—even though a more amorphous one than one might at first think—cannot be doubted. Even at the height of the Cold War an eminent British officer could detach the purposes of warfare from professionalism: “I suppose there are some, in Western countries, who have become professional fighting men to fight Communism, though I hope not.”<sup>87</sup> It is a remark instantly comprehensible to other professional soldiers, if not perhaps to most citizens.

Besides, a repudiation of “objective control” carries with it grave risks. To reject Huntington’s idea of sequestering issues of policy from those of military administration or operations is to open the way to a military that is politicized and, by virtue of its size and discipline, a potentially dominant actor in the conduct of foreign and internal affairs. In states with less-established democratic traditions such changes would open the path to direct military intervention in politics. Huntington is correct in his contention that such partisanship will eventually diminish military proficiency.

But the “normal” theory still requires emendation in its understanding of the military profession and hence in its understanding of civilian control. If, as argued above, officership is a unique profession, military expertise is variable and uncertain, and if the boundaries between political ends and military means are more uncertain than Huntington suggests, civilian control must take on a form different from that of “objective control,” at least in its original understanding.

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*In late 1783, just before leaving for Mount Vernon and returning to civilian life, General Washington bid farewell to the Continental Army. These were not the volunteers or militia of 1775 but hardened veterans who had been molded into a force as professional as Washington and his officers could make it, like the European armies of that era. Washington assumed that they were different from civilians now, that civilian life would present opportunities but challenges, that they would need to “prove themselves not less virtuous and usefull as Citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as Soldiers,” and that “little is now wanting to enable the Soldier to change the Military character into that of the Citizen. . . .” He pointed out that the country owed its freedom and independence to them but also back pay, and help in making the transition successful. The implication was that there was something of a contract between soldier and society; like so many of his public utterances in that victory year, the “Farewell Address” was addressed to the states, Congress, and the American people—the “bill payers” in other words--to make good on promises to the men who had brought victory. Do democratic countries have such an obligation to its professional and its citizen soldiers? Has the United States lived up to the obligation since 1775? Will it in the future?*

“Washington’s Farewell Address to the Army, 2 November 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-12012>. [This is an early access document from [The Papers of George Washington](#). It is not an authoritative final version.]

Genl Washington’s Farewell Orders issued to the Armies of the United States of America the 2d day of Novr 1783 Rocky Hill, near Princeton

...[Washington reminds the soldiers of all the have achieved and the hardships they endured.]

It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospect of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our Independence and Sovereignty, almost exceeds the power of description. And shall not the brave Men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the Field of War, to the Field of Agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a Republic, who will exclude them from the rights of Citizens and the fruits of their labours? In such a Country so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of Commerce and the cultivation of the Soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy Soldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the Fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment, and the extensive and fertile Regions of the West, will yield a most happy Asylum to those, who fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a National Bankrupcy and a dissolution of the Union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress and the payment of its just debts—so that the Officers and Soldiers may expect considerable assistance in recommending their civil occupations, from the sums due to these from the Public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the Minds of any of the good People of the States, it is earnestly recommended to all the Troops that with strong attachments to the Union, they should carry with them into civil Society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and usefull as Citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as Soldiers.

What tho' there should be some envious Individuals who are unwilling to pay the Debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to Merit, yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct, let it be remembered that the unbiased voice of the Free Citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause; let it be known and remembered that the reputation of the Federal Armies is established beyond the reach of Malevolence, and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame, still incite the Men who composed them to honorable Actions; under the persuasion that the private virtues of economy, prudence and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance and enterprise, were in the Field: Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the Officers and Men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by these, when they are mingled with the great body of the Community. And altho', the General has so frequently given it as his opinion in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the Federal Government were properly supported, and the Powers of the Union increased, the honor, dignity, and justice of the Nation would be lost for ever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion, so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every Officer and every Soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow Citizens towards effecting their great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a Nation so materially depends.

The Commander in Chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the Soldier to change the Military character into that of the Citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour which has generally distinguished, not only the Army under his immediate Command, but the different Detachments and separate Armies, through the course of the War; from their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences; And while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their Services in the Field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every Class—and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the General Officers, as well for their Counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardor in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted—To the Commandants of Regiments and Corps, and to the other Officers for their great Zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution—To the Staff for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several Departments—And to the Non-commissioned Officers and private Soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in Action—To the various branches of the Army, the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment & friendship—He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be usefull to them all in future life; He flatters himself however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public Orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the Military Character, and to bid a final adieu to the Armies he has so long had the honor to Command—he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful Country, and his prayers to the God of Armies. May ample justice be done them here; and may the choicest of Heaven's favors both here and hereafter attend those, who under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others: With these Wishes, and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service—The Curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the Military Scene to him will be closed for ever.



**Former Marine and award-winning author Phil Klay argues in this essay that “patriotic correctness”—the respect and admiration that Americans show for their soldiers which can privilege military opinion and dismiss dissent —should not diminish the influence or authority that outsiders should be accorded when they voice their views on national security and military subjects. Indeed he believes that more than a little contempt servicemen and women often feel, and occasionally express, for civilians and civilian society contributes to the gap between the military and society.**

**Is his argument persuasive? Is it healthy for civil-military relations if the American people ignore military affairs and disrespect or dismiss the questions and views of non-veterans because they haven’t served? How might civil-military relations be harmed if contempt for civilian society is widespread within the armed forces?**

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/14/opinion/sunday/the-warrior-at-the-mall.html>

**New York Times, April 14, 2018**

**OPINION**

## **The Warrior at the Mall**

**By Phil Klay**

*Mr. Klay is an author and a veteran of the United States Marine Corps.*

“We’re at war while America is at the mall.”

I’m not sure when I first heard this in Iraq, but even back in 2007 it was already a well-worn phrase, the logical counterpart to George W. Bush’s arguing after the Sept. 11 attacks that we must not let the terrorists frighten us to the point “where people don’t shop.”

Marines had probably started saying it as early as 2002. “We’re at war while America is at the mall,” some lance corporal muttered to another as they shivered against the winds rushing down the valleys in the Hindu Kush. “We’re at war while America is at the mall,” some prematurely embittered lieutenant told his platoon sergeant as they drove up to Nasiriyah in a light armored vehicle.

Whatever the case, when I heard it, it sounded right. Just enough truth mixed with self-aggrandizement to appeal to a man in his early 20s. Back home was shopping malls and strip clubs. Over here was death and violence and hope and despair. Back home was fast food and high-fructose corn syrup. Over here, we had bodies flooding the rivers of Iraq until people claimed it changed the taste of the fish. Back home they had aisles filled wall to wall with toothpaste, shaving cream, deodorant and body spray. Over here, sweating under the desert sun, we smelled terrible. We were at war, they were at the mall.

The old phrase popped back into my head recently while I was shopping for baby onesies on Long Island — specifically, in the discount section on the second floor of the Buy Buy Baby. Yes, I was at the mall, and America was still at war.

There's something bizarre about being a veteran of a war that doesn't end, in a country that doesn't pay attention. At this point, I've been out of the military far longer than I was in, and the weight I place on the value of military life versus civilian life has shifted radically. On the one hand, I haven't lost my certainty that Americans *should* be paying more attention to our wars and that our lack of attention truly does cost lives.

“We've claimed war-weariness, or ‘America First,’ and turned a blind eye to the slaughter of 500,000 people and suffering of millions more,” the former Marine Mackenzie Wolf pointed out in a March essay on America's unconscionable lack of action in Syria up to that point. On the other hand, I'm increasingly convinced that my youthful contempt for the civilians back home was not just misplaced, but obscene and, frankly, part of the problem.

After four United States soldiers assigned to the Army's Third Special Forces Group were killed in an ambush in Niger, the American public had a lot of questions. Why were they in combat in Niger? What was their mission? How do you pronounce “Niger”? Answering these questions would have required a complex, sustained discussion about how America projects force around the world, about expanding the use of Special Operations forces to 149 countries, and about whether we are providing those troops with well-thought-out missions and the resources to achieve them in the service of a sound and worthwhile national security strategy.

And since our troops were in Niger in a continuation of an Obama administration policy that began in 2013, it also would have meant discussing the way that administration ramped up “supervise, train and assist” missions in Africa, how it often tried to blur the line between advisory and combat missions to avoid public scrutiny, and how the Trump administration appears to have followed in those footsteps. It would have required, at a bare minimum, not using the deaths as material for neat, partisan parables.

Naturally, we didn't have that conversation. Instead, a Democratic congresswoman who heard the president's phone call to the widow of one of the fallen soldiers informed the news media that Mr. Trump had ineptly told the grieving woman that her husband “knew what he signed up for.”

Quickly, Americans shifted from a discussion of policy to a symbolic battle over which side, Democratic or Republican, wasn't respecting soldiers enough. Had the president disrespected the troops with his comment? Had Democrats disrespected the troops by trying to use a condolence call for political leverage? Someone clearly had run afoul of an odd form of political correctness, “patriotic correctness.”

Since, as recent history has shown us, violating the rules of patriotic correctness is a far worse sin in the eyes of the American public than sending soldiers to die uselessly, the political battle became intense, and the White House was forced to respond. And since in a symbolic debate of this kind nothing is better than an old soldier, the retired Marine general and current chief of staff, John Kelly, was trotted out in an Oct. 19 news conference to defend the president.

He began powerfully enough, describing what happens to the bodies of soldiers killed overseas, and bringing up his own still painful memories of the loss of his son, who died in Afghanistan in 2010. He spoke with pride of the men and women in uniform.

But then, in an all too common move, he transitioned to expressing contempt for the civilian world. He complained that nothing seemed to be sacred in America anymore, not women, not religion, not even “the dignity of life.” He told the audience that service members volunteer even though “there’s nothing in our country anymore that seems to suggest that selfless service to the nation is not only appropriate, but required.” He said veterans feel “a little bit sorry” for civilians who don’t know the joys of service.

To cap things off, he took questions only from reporters who knew families who had lost loved ones overseas. The rest of the journalists, and by extension the rest of the American public who don’t know any Gold Star families, were effectively told they had no place in the debate.

Such disdain for those who haven’t served and yet dare to have opinions about military matters is nothing new for Mr. Kelly. In a 2010 speech after the death of his son, Mr. Kelly improbably claimed that we were winning in Afghanistan, but that “you wouldn’t know it because successes go unreported” by members of the “‘know it all’ chattering class” who “always seem to know better, but have never themselves been in the arena.” And he argued that to oppose the war, which our current secretary of defense last year testified to Congress we were not winning, meant “slighting our warriors and mocking their commitment to the nation.”

This is a common attitude among a significant faction of veterans. As one former member of the Special Forces put it in a social media post responding to the liberal outcry over the deaths in Niger, “We did what we did so that you can be free to naïvely judge us, complain about the manner in which we kept you safe” and “just all around live your worthless sponge lives.” His commentary, which was liked and shared thousands of times, is just a more embittered form of the sentiment I indulged in as a young lieutenant in Iraq.

It can be comforting to reverse the feelings of hopelessness and futility that come with fighting seemingly interminable, strategically dubious wars by enforcing a hierarchy of citizenship that puts the veteran and those close to him on top, and everyone else far, far below.

But John Kelly’s contempt for modern civilian life wasn’t a pep talk voiced in a Humvee traveling down an Iraqi highway, or at a veterans’ reunion in a local bar. He was speaking to the American people, with the authority of a retired general, on behalf of the president of the United States of America. And he was letting us know our place.

Those with questions about military policy are being put in their place more and more often these days. When reporters later asked the White House press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, about some of Mr. Kelly’s claims, which had proved false, she said, “If you want to get into a debate with a four-star Marine general, I think that’s highly inappropriate.” It was an echo of the way Sean Spicer tried to short-circuit debate about the death of a Navy SEAL in Yemen by claiming that anyone who questioned the success of the raid “owes an apology” to the fallen SEAL.

Serious discussion of foreign policy and the military's role within it is often prohibited by this patriotic correctness. Yet, if I have authority to speak about our military policy it's because I'm a citizen responsible for participating in self-governance, not because I belonged to a warrior caste.

If what I say deserves to be taken seriously, it's because I've taken the time out of my worthless sponge life as a concerned American civilian to form a worthy opinion. Which means that although it is my patriotic duty to afford men like John Kelly respect for his service, and for the grief he has endured as the father of a son who died for our country, that is not where my responsibility as a citizen ends.

I must also assume that our military policy is of direct concern to me, personally. And if a military man tries to leverage the authority and respect he is afforded to voice contempt for a vast majority of Americans, if he tries to stifle their exercise of self-governance by telling them that to question the military strategy of our generals and our political leaders is a slight to our troops, it's my patriotic duty to tell him to go pound sand.

If we don't do this, we risk our country slipping further into the practice of a fraudulent form of American patriotism, where "soldiers" are sacred, the work of actual soldiering is ignored and the pageantry of military worship sucks energy away from the obligations of citizenship.

I understand why politicians and writers and institutions choose to employ the trope of veterans when it comes to arguing for their causes. Support for our military remains high at a time when respect for almost every other institution is perilously low, so pushing a military angle as a wedge makes a certain kind of sense. But our peacetime institutions are not justified by how they intermittently intersect with national security concerns — it's the other way around. Our military is justified only by the civic life and values it exists to defend. This is why George Washington, in his Farewell Orders to the Continental Army, told his troops to "carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions" and "prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers."

Besides, let's not pretend that living a civilian life — and living it *well* — isn't hard. A friend of mine, an officer in the Army Reserves, told me that one of his greatest leadership challenges came not overseas, but when a deployment to Afghanistan got canceled and his men were called to the difficult and often tedious work of being husbands, fathers, members of a community.

My wife and I are raising two sons — the older one is 2 years old, the little one 6 months. And as we follow our national politics with occasional disgust, amusement, horror and hope, we regularly talk about the sort of qualities we want to impress upon our boys so they can be good citizens, and how we can help cultivate in them a sense of service, of gratitude for the blessings they have, and a desire to give back. It's a daunting responsibility. Right now, though, the day-to-day work of raising these kids doesn't involve a lot of lofty rhetoric about service. It involves drool, diapers and doing the laundry. For me, it means being that most remarkable, and somehow most unremarkable of things — a dad.

Which is how I found myself that day, less a Marine veteran than a father, shopping with the other parents at Buy Buy Baby, recalling that old saying, "We're at war while America is at the mall." I wondered about the anonymous grunt poet who coined it. Whoever he was, there's a good chance that even by the time I heard it, he'd already done his four years and gotten out.

Maybe he'd left the Corps, settled into civilian life. Maybe he was in school. Perhaps he was working as a schoolteacher, or as a much-derided civil servant in some corner of our government. Perhaps he found that work more satisfying, more hopeful and of more obvious benefit to his country than the work he'd done in our mismanaged wars.

Or perhaps, if he was as lucky as I have been, he was in some other mall doing exactly what I was — trying to figure out the difference between 6M and 3-6M baby onesies. If so, I wish him well.

*Phil Klay (@PhilKlay) is the author of the short story collection "Redeployment" and a veteran of the United States Marine Corps.*

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## *The New York Times*

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/11/us/politics/military-bases-confederate-names-trump.html?searchResultPosition=1>

### ***‘A Slap in the Face’: Black Veterans on Bases Named for Confederates***

President Trump has vowed to block efforts to remove Confederate names from military bases.



“I think this social anxiety we have to navigate all the time really did contribute to lower performance.” said Daniele Anderson, a former Navy officer. Sarah Blesener for The New York Times

By Jennifer Steinhauer  
June 11, 2020

WASHINGTON — When Timothy Berry was recruiting black students for West Point, where he served as class president in 2013, he often reflected on his senior year, when he lived in the Robert E. Lee barracks. It bothered him then; it bothers him now.

“I was trying to tell black and brown students that they would have a home there,” said Mr. Berry, who served as an Army captain with the 101st Airborne Division from 2013 to 2018. “It sent a very strong mixed message.”

For many black service members, who make up about 17 percent of all active-duty military personnel, the Pentagon’s decision to consider renaming Army bases bearing the names of Confederate officers seems excruciatingly overdue. Generations of black service members signed up for the military to defend the values of their country, only to be assigned to bases named after people who represent its grimmest hour.

“It is really kind of a slap in the face to those African-American soldiers who are on bases named after generals who fought for their cause,” said Jerry Green, a retired noncommissioned officer who trained at Ft. Bragg, N.C., which is named for a Confederate general, Braxton Bragg. “That cause was slavery.”

There are 10 major Army installations named for generals who led Confederate troops — all in the former states of the Confederacy — as well as many streets and buildings on military academy campuses that are among at least 1,500 symbols of the Confederacy in public spaces in the United States.

The push to rename military installations and place names is not new, and it is one that black service members and veterans, as well as groups including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have largely pursued.

The movement this week seemed to attract a growing consensus, including among former senior military officials of all races, before President Trump declared on Wednesday that he would block any of those 10 bases from being renamed.

A petition by the liberal group VoteVets received over 20,000 signatures in 24 hours urging the military to ban Confederate symbols and rename Army bases, a spokesman for the organization said. In a poll conducted this week and released Thursday by the group, 47 percent of 935 registered voters surveyed said they would support the removal of Confederate imagery across the entire military.

The Marine Corps issued a ban last week on displays of the Confederate battle flag at its installations, and the chief of naval operations, Adm. Michael M. Gilday, wrote on Twitter Tuesday that he had directed his staff to “begin crafting an order” banning such displays from public spaces and work areas on bases, ships, aircraft and submarines. Leaders in the Army have called for bipartisan commissions to explore changing the names of some its installations.

“The unique thing about this moment is that white friends and colleagues now see this,” said Mr. Berry, who lives in New York.

After a white supremacist rally in 2017 in Charlottesville, Va., turned deadly when a man drove into a crowd of counterprotesters, and after a white police officer fatally shot a black teenager in Ferguson, Mo., in 2014, “these were conversations that black officers were having among themselves,” he said. “It was not an open conversation among their white peers.”



The fights over statues and Confederate flags in public places have bubbled up often over the years, with their defenders repeatedly suggesting that banning or removing those items would be akin to erasing history.

In 2015, shortly after a white supremacist killed black parishioners in a church in Charleston, S.C., a budget bill in Congress almost failed amid an ugly floor fight in which Democrats, led by black lawmakers from the South, beat back a push by Republicans to allow Confederate symbols at national cemeteries.

This week, Speaker Nancy Pelosi once again called for the removal from the Capitol of 11 statues of Confederate figures, including Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee, the latest salvo in a yearslong battle. On Thursday, two veterans in the House also introduced bipartisan legislation to create a process to rename military installations named for Confederates within a year. The Senate Armed Services Committee separately advanced a similar measure with a three-year timeline.

For black members of the military, seeing confederate names on military barracks delivers a special sting, given that they lionize men who led a treasonous war.

“I have been in every one of those barracks,” said Stephane Manuel, another West Point graduate who served in the Army from 2011 to 2017. “I studied in them and had friends there. I didn’t like it. The military hasn’t wanted to reconcile that the Confederate forces were traitors. I always felt from the mere moral standpoint of what they were fighting for went against what West Point stands for today.”

On his deployments, the topic would come up now and then, Mr. Manuel said, often leaving him uncomfortable as his white colleagues defended the practice.

“I felt it was best not to be political,” he said, noting that his experiences led him to establish an education technology start-up, TrueFiktion, which uses comics to tell “the untold stories of marginalized groups.” “I was often one of the few black officers. I felt it was better to leave my perspective at home.”

For some middle-age and older veterans, particularly noncommissioned officers like Mr. Green, who retired from the Army in 1998, the realization of their indignities came later.

“It wasn’t anything that stayed on my mind and I think that was because I was young,” he said. “I don’t ever remember ever having a conversation about it when I was on active duty. With my veteran friends, it later came more to light that African-American veterans were upset about it and it kind of enlightened me, too.”

Daniele Anderson, a former Navy officer who graduated in 2013 from the service’s academy in Annapolis, Md., and went on to serve until 2018, recalled how a professor at the school — later removed for other behaviors — wrote an Op-Ed that denigrated students from the military prep schools, who were disproportionately people of color. Leadership conferences rarely featured minority speakers. In her junior year, Ms. Anderson said, she was in charge of events for Black History Month, and found that the posters she put up around campus were frequently ripped

down. “I was told by fellow classmates that was a regular occurrence during Black History Month,” she said.

“There was always an underlying anxiety and the feeling that you have to always be alert and choosing your words carefully and not wanting to seem like you were playing the race card,” she said. “That really messed with a lot of black and minority students’ confidence. I think this social anxiety we have to navigate all the time really did contribute to lower performance.”

Like others interviewed for this article, Ms. Anderson said the events of the last week made her cautiously optimistic that the military would view the fight over removing Confederate names and symbols as an opportunity to look deeper at its broader culture.

“In the military, we have treated ourselves as if we are separate from society,” she said. “We have to know and understand that the military is part of society, because we draw our people from society, and we look at and listen to the same things as our civilian counterparts do.”

As a black veteran, she said, “I am in a unique position of being able to say, ‘Hey, I went to this institution, I made great sacrifices to do so, and we are calling on these institutions so they can be the best versions of themselves.’ ”

A version of this article appears in print on June 12, 2020, Section A, Page 1 of the New York edition with the headline: Black Veterans Recall the Pain Of Base Names.

*Jennifer Steinhauer has been a reporter for The New York Times since 1994. She has worked on the Metro, Business and National desk, and served as City Hall bureau chief and Los Angeles bureau chief before moving to Washington in 2010. She is the author of a novel, two cookbooks and the upcoming book “The Firsts” the story of the women of the 116th Congress.*

**In a wide-ranging interview in 2020 at the end of his tour as Chief of Staff of the USAF, General David Goldfein discussed two aspects of civil-military relations: racial inclusiveness in the service and civilian control as he experienced and practiced it. His views, valuable for senior leaders in the services, provide two examples of how the larger American society can affect an armed service, and how civilian control can operate at the top of a service. Note his humility in realizing for the first time in depth how differently African Americans, and by implication minorities, experience serving in the armed services. Note also, in civil-military relations, how keenly Gen Goldfein understood the power imbalance between him and the civilians who oversaw him and his armed service but shared responsibility.**

*Webinar interview of General David Goldfein, Chief of Staff, USAF, by Professor Mara Karlin, Director of the Phillip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies and Head of the Strategic Studies Program, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, July 21, 2020.*

. . .

DR. KARLIN: So I don't think it would be an easy transition from Space Force to race relations in the military, but it turns out you actually handed me one, which is -- which is you effectively -- you know, what -- what I think we just heard from you is -- is (their agility?) in talking to different sorts of people --

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Yeah.

DR. KARLIN: -- and having different kinds of people kind of in your bubble and that you're interacting with. And so that -- that will, then, be my transition to -- to, in particular, frankly, your leadership and the leadership we saw from Chief Master Sergeant Wright, the leadership that we've seen from General Brown as he's coming in, talking about this giant issue of race relations.

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Yeah.

DR. KARLIN: (inaudible) on that. You -- you've been out spoken. How are you assessing the state of racism -- and I might just say broadly inclusivity in the Air Force today? What needs to be done, going forward?

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Yes. So I'll bridge -- I'll bridge space and race by saying, "Houston, we have a problem." So --

DR. KARLIN: (Very impressive?) (inaudible).

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Yeah. So you know, so two things happened when George Floyd was tragically killed. Something broke on the streets of America, and Americans did what Americans always do, from the very beginnings of our history as a nation. They gathered, they demonstrated, they protested a wrong -- albeit, (you know, we?) need to do that peacefully.

But something broke there, and a lot of, you know, I think pent-up frustration and anger came -- came forward. But something else happened, I hope, and that is something broke loose in the United States Air Force. And what broke loose is an opportunity that we've been given to make meaningful, lasting, long-term change when it comes to inclusiveness and belonging in the Air Force.

Because diversity is incredibly important, but I would offer that it's (inclusiveness as?) a culture across the Air Force, primarily at that squadron level. And it's a sense of belonging that is what we have got to invest our time in. And we didn't get here overnight, and we're not going to recover overnight. This is a journey that never ends.

And so what we've done is that we have a series of actions that we're taking, a lot of it getting out there and listening. Chief Wright and I tried to kick off a dialogue that now is going on at a variety of levels across the Air Force.

I had one conversation that was pretty informative -- instructive for me from a young -- one of my previous execs who is African-American and he said, "Chief, you know," he said, "it's the second and third conversation that really matter."

I said, "What do you mean?"

He said, "You know, the first conversation is a little uncomfortable and you're starting to get an awareness and understanding of each other and the different life experiences that we all have." He said, "It's when somebody goes back and sleeps on it and thinks on it and then comes back to you and says, 'Hey, I've been thinking about what you said,'" he said, "That's the conversation that I'm having right now that's really important."

And so history is not on our side here. And I will tell you that I've been talking at every level of command in the Air Force. I said, "Let's prove history wrong this time." If we follow history, we'll get excited about this issue for about two

months. And then flu, COVID, hurricanes, you know, wildfires, election will all take -- become more urgent, and it will push aside the more important.

And the important is using this opportunity that we've been given to make meaningful change in our Air Force. And so I've told -- as I said, "Let's prove history wrong, let's not lose our focus, let's not lose our momentum on this."

You know, I don't know -- just you and I, talking here -- I have never been the only woman in a room. I have never been scrutinized to a completely different level than the men in the room, to have everything I say, you know, scrutinized, to have people say (inaudible) me that they thought were sort of (inaudible), but (inaudible).

That's not been my life experience. Every room I've walked into, let's be honest, it's full of me. And so I don't -- I don't know exactly what it feels like to be the only woman in the room; I don't know what it feels like to be the only African-American. But I'm the chief of staff of the Air Force, my job is to understand that.

And so I'm hoping that we'll take this opportunity we've been given, and I'm hoping that we -- I'll tell you, we're incredibly serious about it. The last thing I'll say is, if we're going to be successful, it cannot be from the top down. It's got to be a combination of top-down.

I can't issue an order as chief of staff of the Air Force and just order people to build a culture of inclusiveness and belonging, right? That's got to happen, it's got to be from the gut and it's got to be at every level of an organization, officers, NCOs, civilians.

And so if you sense a little passion in my voice, in my answer, it's because I think we've been given a huge opportunity here and I hope we prove history wrong.

DR. KARLIN: I really appreciate your leadership on that. And I think I speak for a lot of us who -- you know, it meant a lot for us to be able to point to what you are saying and what you are doing, and other senior Air Force leaders. It's -- it was noticed.

The -- you're getting a lot of questions in the chat about leadership. And -- and on civil-military relations, so I want to turn to that in particular.

What have you learned as chief about civil-military relations? What lessons do you want to pass on to your fellow senior military leaders, but also to the young folks from the Air Force who are -- who are watching and who are listening, who are trying to figure out, "How should I work well with civilians? How should I think about politics and politicization and all these things that only grow more intimidating as we get closer to elections?"

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Yeah.

DR. KARLIN: What advice would you have to share?

GEN. GOLDFEIN: No, it's such a great, timely question. You know, so when you're -- (I'll share?) (inaudible) especially the young -- the students that you have. You know, so one of the things you do as a -- when you -- when you go before the Senate Armed Services Committee for confirmation, there's a series of questions that the chairman asks.

And one of the questions is, is "Will you come before this committee and give us your personal advice, your best advice regardless of whether it agrees or not with the administration?" I mean, it's a civ-mil foundational question. And if you want to get confirmed, of course, your only answer is, "I will."

DR. KARLIN: Right.

GEN. GOLDFEIN: So that's important to unpack because while I am obligated -- and have sworn to the Senate Armed Services Committee -- that I will give my advice to my civilian leadership, there's never a time where a civilian has to swear that they will take my advice. And I've got to understand that, and accept that. And understand that at the very highest levels, my perspective may not be as broad as the commander in chief.

So when I think about national security and the Air Force's role, let me tell you what I think about, right? I think about defending our borders. I think about our allies and partners. I think about, you know, the capability of being able to do the -- the unblinking eye for the NORTHCOM, NORAD commander.

But here's a couple things I don't think about, that are not my job jar: Wall Street. It's actually not what the chief of staff of the Air Force thinks about when I drive to work, right? The -- roads and bridges across America, infrastructure, interstates, Amtrak is not actually in my job jar.

Okay, so what that means is that when I provide my military advice, I accept the fact that civilian leader that's taking, that's listening to that advice may have (a bit broader?) (inaudible) that they got to figure out whether my military advice fits into that economic and political framework that they're operating in.

And so my advice that -- you know, to young leaders is, first of all, respect the fact that there are those in -- the civilians that have an obligation to provide oversight over military operations.

I will tell you, in four years on the Hill, working with Congress, my experience as chief has been overwhelmingly positive, both with staffers and members. I found them to be responsive, and I think one of the reasons that it's been positive is that I've started every conversation, understanding that in a respectful way, they actually have oversight responsibility over how I spend Mom and Dad's tax money. And that's the way our system is built, so that power is shared, right?

So that's that. Then I would offer to you that there are key relationships as a leader that you've got to invest in almost like, you know, investing in a great marriage, right?

DR. KARLIN: Yes.

GEN. GOLDFEIN: I mean, (you got?) -- it's not work, but you've got to work at it, right? If you want to be successful. And so for me, the most important relationship I have with a civilian is the relationship between the chief and the secretary of the Air Force. Because it's interesting, the division of power.

The decision authority for most actions in the United States Air Force reside under the secretary, that's how Goldwater-Nichols was written. So what does the chief bring? What I bring is credibility, with 37 years in the business. And I bring influence of the position of chief. What does the

secretary bring? The secretary brings decision authority of the civilian leadership.

If you walk down the halls of the, you know, the Air Force -- you know, our office is between the secretary and the chief - - you'll see pictures of secretaries and chiefs. The successful teams are the ones that understood that neither one could move the service alone. You actually have -- you have to understand that you need decision authority and you need credibility to influence, to be able to move the service.

And so therefore, if you're the chief and you want to move the service, you've got to invest time in that civ-mil relationship, and understand and respect the authority of the civilian leader as you move the service. And if you do that and you respect the civilian authority on the Hill, then you can actually accomplish great things.

If you find you're ever looking at the civilian leadership as an irritant or in the way, then move aside because you are no longer accomplishing your job.

DR. KARLIN: Thanks for that. I think, you know, we're really hearing that we should expect tension, but we also need to work hard to mend and tend these kinds of relationships at varying levels, of course, not just between the chief and the secretary.

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Well, it's also, I think, important to think about how we give advice, right? Because the last thing I want to do to a civilian leader is take away decision space. And if I was to, like, come on this forum, for instance, and offer, in a public setting, you know, advice that I'd given privately to the secretary of the Air Force, the secretary of Defense, before a decision was actually made, then shame on me for removing decision space that a civilian leader needs to be able to operate.

And so, again, it's just sort of understanding how you move an organization to get to the right solution and be most effective in civ-mil. I think that is important for everyone to be thinking about. And I will tell you, I think about it every day as chief.

DR. KARLIN:(inaudible) pretty obvious as well, given your successes. I often tell our students, "There's not an issue you



can touch in national security that doesn't have civ-mil implications."

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Yes.

DR. KARLIN: You've just got to acknowledge it, figure out what you believe with it and figure out what the folks that you're working, you know, what their beliefs are on it.

GEN. GOLDFEIN: Yes.

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***It's been long known that decorations for valor in the armed service at the various levels depend on the recommendations, the commanders, the time, the place, the action, and the guidance and policies in place for the awards. Beginning in the 1990s, awards for the Medal of Honor in World War II began to be reconsidered if there was reason to believe racial discrimination prevented their award. Among the individuals often discussed was Dorie Miller, a black Mess Attendant who performed heroically during the Pearl Harbor attack but never received the Medal of Honor. The op-ed below recounts racial discrimination in the navy during World War II to explain why the navy has taken the extraordinary step of naming a future Ford class aircraft carrier after Miller.***

NEW YORK TIMES

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/opinion/sunday/dorie-miller-navy-ship.html?searchResultPosition=1>

Opinion

**A Black Hero in the Jim Crow Navy**

Dorie Miller saved lives at Pearl Harbor. He's finally getting his due.



**By Brent Staples**

Mr. Staples is a member of the editorial board.

Nov. 7, 2020

The Black press was at the peak of its influence as the country geared up for World War II — while segregating even the plasma in the wartime blood bank by race. Fire-breathing newspapers like The Baltimore Afro-American, The Chicago Defender and The Pittsburgh Courier were religiously passed from home to home and read aloud in Black barbershops. Even the marginally literate understood that Black men who had volunteered to fight and die for the country were being persecuted on military bases and housed in Jim Crow barracks.

Franklin Roosevelt argued that full integration of the military would harm the defense effort. The Courier's acid-tongued editors had no tolerance for this defense of the status quo. In the fall of 1940, the Pittsburgh paper troubled the president's sleep by publishing an incendiary letter of complaint from 15 sailors serving aboard the U.S.S. Philadelphia. The sailors may have been lured into the Navy with the false promise that they could pursue the same careers as white recruits. Instead, they were assigned to duty as messmen, making beds, shining shoes and serving meals to white officers.

The Navy secretary, William Franklin Knox, openly justified this arrangement on the eve of the war. Speaking to a gathering at the White House, he told a delegation of civil rights leaders that he could not "enlist Negroes above the rank of messman" because it was impossible to segregate men by race within the intimate confines of a ship. With no way to wall off Black sailors, the argument went, the Navy's only choice was to confine them to a servant class.

The Philadelphia 15 letter conveyed the anguish of Black seaman who had met this fate — some after leaving college to join up. "Our main reason for writing," the letter began, "is to let all our colored mothers and fathers know how their sons are treated after taking an oath pledging allegiance and loyalty to their flag and country." The letter spoke of messmen being kicked around and unfairly jailed. The passage that was heard around the world in 1940 — and that is still quoted today — warned Black parents to steer their ambitious sons far clear of the Navy, lest they become "seagoing bellhops, chambermaids and dishwashers."

The Navy jailed the letter writers and discharged them dishonorably, triggering a tidal wave of protest.

The Navy touched on this largely forgotten history in January when it named its newest aircraft carrier for the Texas sharecropper's son who vexed segregationists by becoming one of the first heroes of the war.

Mess Attendant Doris Miller, known as Dorie, was collecting laundry aboard the battleship U.S.S. West Virginia when the Japanese attacked the American fleet at Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941. He vaulted to the bridge, where he aided the ship's mortally wounded captain. He fired on Japanese planes with an anti-aircraft gun that, as a servant, he had not been trained to use, and pulled men who would otherwise have died from the burning, oil-coated waters of the harbor. He was one of the last sailors to leave the foundering ship.



The U.S.S. West Virginia after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Credit...Associated Press  
Legislation that would have granted the Black messman the Medal of Honor died in Congress. Despite a distinguished service record that would have transformed a white serviceman's career, Dorie Miller was serving as a cook when he died two years later in the Pacific. He had a premonition of death not long before a Japanese submarine torpedoed and sank his ship, the U.S.S. Liscome Bay.

The U.S.S. Doris Miller — scheduled for delivery in 2032 — is an unmistakable emblem of racial progress. It attaches the Black messman's name to a class of supercarriers that already honors Presidents Gerald Ford and John Kennedy. It has the dual distinction of being the first carrier named for an enlisted sailor and the first named for an African-American. That the ship celebrates a descendant of enslaved Americans is especially resonant at a time when the country is poised to rename military bases that currently honor the very Confederate officers who fought the Civil War with the goal of preserving slavery.

To commemorate Dorie Miller's story truthfully, America will need to strip away the rose-colored mythology that obscures it. A nostalgia that the cultural historian Robert K. Chester describes as "retroactive multiculturalism" has transformed the messman's story from a truthful tale of racial exclusion into a false allegory of triumph over a brand of institutional

racism that long outlived him. In truth, Mr. Chester writes, “Segregation remained widespread well into the Korean War, diminishing then chiefly because of manpower shortages.”

Nevertheless, the messman is often cited as evidence that World War II — also known as the “good war” — precipitated a national epiphany on the need for racial equality. One of the best-known purveyors of this myth was Ronald Reagan. One of his favorite 1970s campaign narratives included a thrilling anecdote in which a Black sailor confined to “kitchen duties” ended “great segregation” by firing a machine gun at the enemy.

The Navy’s chief of operations, Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, was telling a different story at the start of the ’70s: He described the institution under his care as “the lily-white racist Navy.” Faced with shipboard conflicts and a recalcitrant management class, Admiral Zumwalt set about trying to root out racism. Amid this turmoil, the Navy gave Dorie Miller’s name to a destroyer escort that was decommissioned less than 20 years later and eventually scrapped.

The segregation-era military equated heroism with whiteness. The messman would probably not have been decorated at all had not the Black press and the civil rights community hammered down the door of the White House.

The Courier was dogging the military’s every step by the time Pearl Harbor was attacked. The paper’s editors pounced when early reports of the Japanese raid made brief mention of an unnamed Black messman who had performed heroically. A former Courier war correspondent, Frank Bolden, said decades later that the Navy initially claimed not to know the messman’s name.

A few months later, The Courier named the mess attendant, describing him as a Texas sharecropper’s son. The paper instigated a campaign in which readers wrote to the president, demanding that he be sent to the Naval Academy for training.

Navy Secretary Knox tried to settle the matter with a terse letter of commendation. Under pressure from The Courier — and a nudge from Attorney General Francis Biddle — Roosevelt belatedly pushed the Navy to award Dorie Miller the Navy Cross.

The campaign to win him the Medal of Honor foundered, partly because Mr. Knox steadfastly opposed it. In recent decades, those who have studied the case have often contrasted Dorie Miller’s valorous actions at Pearl Harbor with the deeds of the 15 white men who received Medals of Honor for their conduct on that day.

As recently as two years ago, the historians Thomas W. Cutrer and T. Michael Parrish made the case that “Doris Miller’s exploits aboard West Virginia were at least of equal distinction” to those of the white Navy men. Among those honored posthumously was Mervyn Sharp Bennion, the dying captain whom the messman aided as the ship was sinking. Bennion was incapacitated during the attack and was awarded the Medal of Honor because he “strongly protested” being removed from his post.

As Mr. Cutrer and Mr. Parrish write: “every flag or commanding officer who died at Pearl Harbor received the Medal of Honor for doing essentially what he was expected to or, in most cases it seems, for being unable to do very much.” Dorie Miller, by contrast, acted well outside his role as shipboard servant, consistent with the Medal of Honor definition of conduct “above and beyond the call of duty.”

The decision to name the new supercarrier for Miller reflects the Navy’s desire to break with its egregiously racist past. In pursuing this goal, however, the leadership needs to steer clear of the fable that casts the Black mess attendant’s story as one of victory over segregation. The whole, unpleasant truth is that segregation circumscribed the lives of Black servicemembers throughout the so-called good war.

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It is a truism, for a long time widely accepted by people in the national security community, scholars, and other observers, that armed forces reflect, to a greater or lesser degree, the society from which they come. The U.S. military goes to great lengths in training, in promoting core values, and through command leadership to build cohesion, teamwork, and mutual respect. Efforts to prohibit offensive behavior and symbols, particularly racism and white nationalism, go back many years. In this NPR interview, University of Chicago historian Kathleen Belew explains the more recent origins of far right extremism in the ranks, based on her extensive research on the subject and published in her 2018 book. The presence of many veterans in the crowd that attacked the Capitol on January 6 brought the issue to much greater public attention. In what ways does extremism pose a threat to the armed forces? How large is the problem? What can be done to combat it?

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2021/01/15/957421470/when-white-extremism-seeps-into-the-mainstream>

 NPR



<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/>

## When White Extremism Seeps Into The Mainstream

January 15, 2021 5:57 PM ET



**GENE DEMBY**



*Pro-Trump supporters gather outside the U.S. Capitol following a rally with President Donald Trump on January 6, 2021 in Washington, DC.*

*Samuel Corum/Getty Images*

During the chaos of the Capitol on January 6, it was impossible to miss the flags and symbols. Taken together, they allowed for a kind of brisk vexillology of the American right. There were the Trump 2020 flags, of course — and, as has been widely noted, one rioter brandished a Confederate flag in the Capitol building, a historical first. Some people waved "thin blue line" flags, meant to express support for the police and people who worked in law enforcement, even as they squared off with police officers.

But there were symbols and signs that branded many of the rioters as part of more fringe cohorts: the orange hats of the "Western chauvinist" Proud Boys; the banner of the Three Percenter Movement, a far-right militia group that sprouted up in response to Barack Obama's presidency; the Kek flag, popular among alt-right types on sites like 4chan and meant to invoke the Nazi war flag; the Gadsden flag, which has been repurposed by a slew of different neo-Nazi and militia groups.

Kathleen Belew, a historian at the University of Chicago, studied the rise of the modern far right for her book, *Bring The War Home: The White Power Movement and*

*Paramilitary America*. She finds a surprising genesis for the movement in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, when disaffected white veterans returned home to little celebration and a country being transformed by the civil rights movement. Belew spoke to us about the rise of the white power movement and the ways they affect the politics of the mainstream right. This conversation has been edited for clarity and length.

**How should we be thinking about the relationship between Trump supporters who are not white power types, but who were nonetheless at the Capitol alongside people who self-identify as such?**

What the relationship is between the people who were there simply to protest and exercise their First Amendment rights and the people who were to cause violence is going to be a matter of very, very critical work over the next weeks and months. That interchange between fringe and mainstream is something that is not very well understood, and it's something that will be really important to what happens next.

If you think about membership in the white power movement, it's helpful to think about a set of concentric circles. In the center are people who are violent, radical actors and people whose lives are entirely contained within this movement. Those are the people who educate their children at home using curricula written by white power activists. They go to white power churches. They marry other people in the movement. They have extended family and marital relationships within the movement, et cetera.

And then outside of that is a bigger circle of people who are still very active but less politicized. So those are people who might go to a Klan rally or regularly read Klan newspapers and who make financial contributions. Outside of *that* is a more diffuse circle of people who don't themselves give money and might not go to a rally, but who regularly consume ideas and materials. And that circle, I would guess, is even more populous, because it's very easy to consume this content online now without being directly tied into the movement.

And then outside of *that* is the circle that we really have to pay attention to: where somebody might not read something that's marked as a conspiracy theory, or content brought to you by your local Ku Klux Klan chapter. But they might agree with some of the ideas that are in those texts — especially if those texts are not presented in a straightforward way, or if they come to them through family relationships or social relationships. I'm thinking about Facebook forwards or things people say in a group chat or things that are circulating without citation or facts. That outer circle is really important because these ideas can very easily move into the mainstream, and those people in that outer circle can be located and pulled toward that radical center of action.

**Can we get to this history of this movement that you lay out in your book? Tell us what *Bring The War Home* is about.**

Immediately after the Vietnam War, a bunch of activists on the extreme right-wing fringe who previously were at odds with each other found enough common ground to

get together into the same social movement. Groups like neo-Nazis and Klan groups had been really warring before this moment. But the Vietnam War created a sense of a common enemy: It was understood as this profound government betrayal where people had been left to fend for themselves, where a corrupt state had not backed up soldiers with enough power to win the war. And I should be clear that that narrative, that understanding of the Vietnam War is not at all just on the fringe — that's kind of our mainstream narrative of the war. But this movement figured out how to opportunistically weaponize that story.

And it's not just veterans, although some veterans and active duty troops have had enormous impact on the level of violence white power groups can carry out. A lot of people are brought into this movement; in every way but race, we're talking about a considerably diverse social movement. This is men, women and children. This is people from every region of the country. We're talking about rural, urban and suburban people. We're talking about a variety of class and educational backgrounds, felons and religious leaders, civilians and active duty troops. It's really a large and complex groundswell.

### **Why were so many people ready to graft white nationalist ideas onto that post-Vietnam pessimism?**

I think it has to do with a broader historical pattern. If you look at the surges in Klan activity throughout its life from the late 1800s forward, the best predictor for a major surge in that kind of action is not economic need, anti-immigration fervor, populism or any number of explanations that people have sort of pointed to. The best predictor for rises in Klan activity is the aftermath of warfare. So when I first learned that, I wondered if I would find a story about veterans coming home and continuing the violence of combat.

But it turns out that that phenomenon of increased violence after warfare is much bigger than veterans, and in fact runs across all of American society. *Everyone* is more violent after warfare. All of our measures of violence, not just among people who have served, but across age groups, across gender, all of those measures go up after wars. So instead, what I think we're seeing is that these groups have figured out how to opportunistically mobilize after warfare because that's when they are able to gain purchase among a whole bunch of people who have this propensity for violence.

### **What animates this rise in post-war violence?**

Well, I think that's the million dollar question. One way of answering looks at warfare as the state monopoly on violence: The state has just mobilized all of this violence, and now is going to exercise its hold during the war. And then when it releases it, there's all this violence amped up and it's no longer so tightly controlled. Another reading has to do with a ricochet effect. And I think in the case of the Vietnam War, this is particularly tangible because the war is prosecuted through and characterized by incredibly efficient technologies of killing that very quickly become available to American civilians — like semiautomatic weapons. And the war is prosecuted in such a way that the lines between

enemy and civilian are particularly blurry. And I think that because of that, there's a lot of sort of overflow back home.

I will say that that overflow is not limited to extremist violence. The 1980s are also when we see a huge paramilitary culture.; People are going to paintball courses, reading *Soldier of Fortune* magazine and playing laser tag, and all that stuff is also about the ricochet effect of the Vietnam War. It's just one that's much less deadly.

***The Turner Diaries* is a widely circulated novel among people on the far right, and you saw similarities between what happened on Wednesday and what happens in the book. Walk us through what you saw.**

*The Turner Diaries* is a book that is deeply important to the white power movement, not because it is a good novel, but because it answers a really important, imaginative question for this movement: How could a small fringe movement hope to achieve what it set out to do in the 1980s and has been trying to do ever since, which is to violently overthrow the United States, the most militarized superstate in the history of the world? In the novel, I think they talk about this as the problem of a gnat trying to assassinate an elephant.

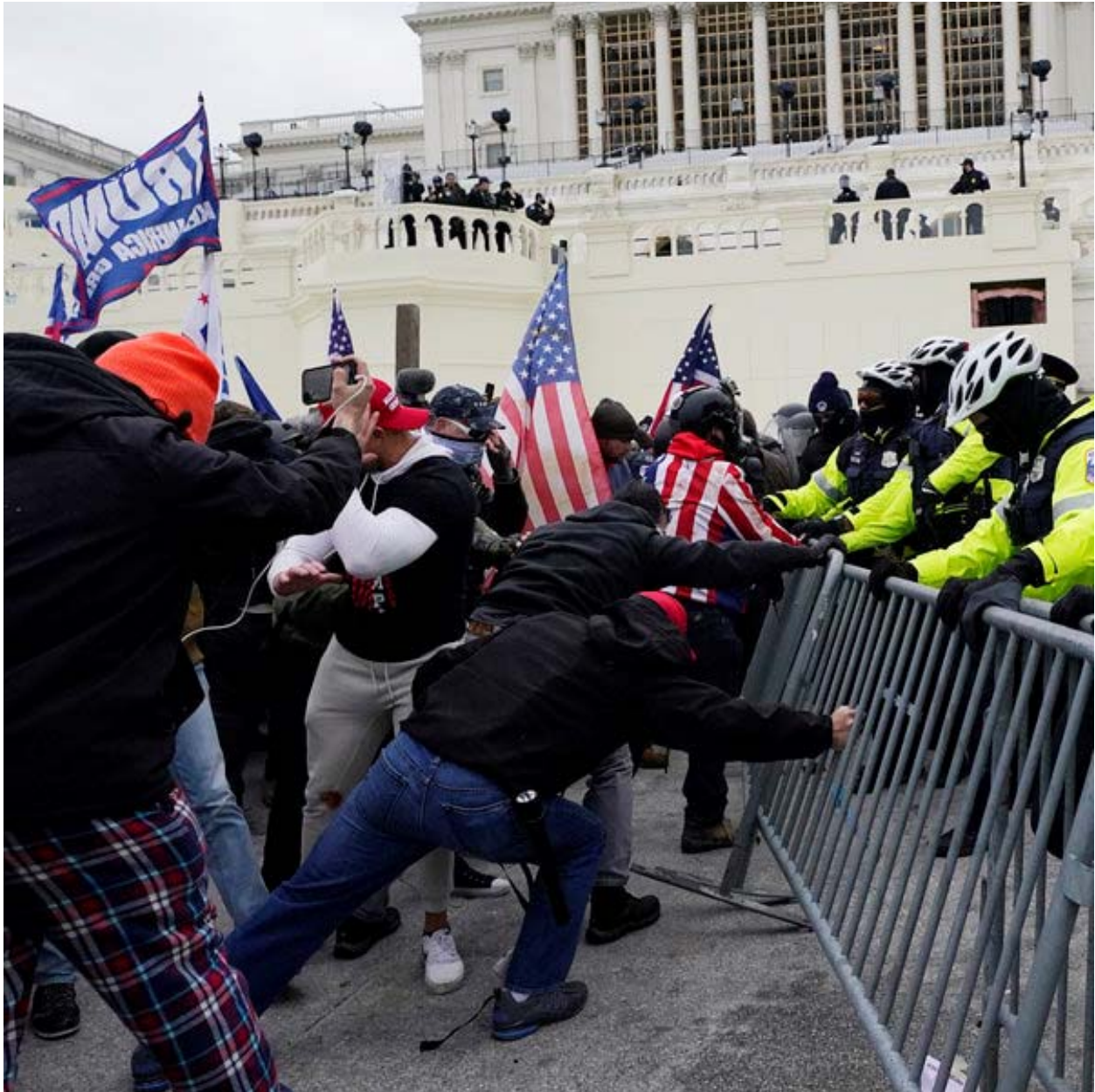
And what *The Turner Diaries* lays out is really a program of sabotage and guerrilla warfare, including a lot of mass casualty attacks and eventually leading to the genocide of all people of color, all Jewish people and everyone who is non-white throughout the world. So it really does lay out this profoundly violent vision of how they might go from a fringe movement to holding a white homeland, to overthrowing the United States, to achieving an all-white planet. It's a terrifying vision.

Now, this book is more than a novel because of all of the different places it has shown up throughout the life of the white power movement. The white power terrorist group, [The Order](#), kept a stack of them in the bunkhouse when they were training people. [*Editor's note: The Order was a group active in the early 1980s that carried out the killing of the Jewish talk radio host, Alan Berg.*] They distributed the book at paramilitary training camps; people traveled and sold the book. Timothy McVeigh traveled with this book in his car and sold it on the gun show circuit before he bombed the Oklahoma City building.

So here are the things in *The Turner Diaries* that appeared in real life: There is a string of huge mass casualty attacks, but there is also an attack on the Capitol building that is *not* a mass casualty attack. And this is an important distinction. Because there's one way to look at what happened this week and think, *OK, the bombs didn't detonate, the Molotov cocktails didn't ignite. The person who had a military grade weapon did not seem to fire that weapon. It was not a massacre. It was not a bombing.* The casualties were remarkably low.

**But it did show how vulnerable the Capitol building is.**

Exactly, and so the other way to read this is that this was never meant to be a mass casualty attack. This was meant to be something else. Because the attack on the Capitol in *The Turner Diaries*, it's not to augment the biggest body count it can. It's supposed to be a show of force that awakens other white people to the cause so that they can be recruited.



**What do you think is going to happen to the radical far right next — in relationship to mainstream conservatism and in regard to mainstream American politics more broadly?**

I think the most important thing to understand is that this is an opportunistic movement — which means that even though Trump seems to be able to incite these people, it does not mean he has the power to call them off. I don't think it is at all clear that he is in command of this as a force. At least insofar as we're talking about the white power contingent of the people who marched on January 6, I don't think it's at all clear that they're interested in political change or even in political activity, particularly. I think they're interested in mobilizing political discontent in order to wage war on democratic institutions. So one part of our conversation, of course, should be about President Trump's accountability, about what this means for the Republican Party, about responsible action by Republican lawmakers. I think that's an important set of conversations, but I'm not at all sure that that's what *these* activists are interested in. I don't think this was a move to dictate the future of the Republican Party. I think this is a move to bring about civil war and instigate civil strife.

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For decades, retired senior officers have participated in public in national security affairs, either as commentators in the media, as authors of articles and books, in testimony before Congress, and in other venues. However direct participation in partisan politics by retired generals and admirals is a relatively recent phenomenon, begun most visibly with the endorsement of Bill Clinton by the recently retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, ADM William Crowe, and several other retired flags, in 1992. Since then more and more have endorsed presidential candidates to the point where over 500 endorsed Mitt Romney in 2012. Beginning in 1996, retired flags also began speaking at the party nominating conventions, most recently when retired army LTG Michael Flynn and retired Marine GEN John Allen.

Scholars of civil-military relations and many retired flags, the overwhelming majority of which have not engaged in such partisan activity, worry that endorsements erode the trust of political leaders and the public in the military profession. In a letter to *The Washington Post* and subsequent essay, retired Chairman Martin Dempsey makes these points. In anticipation of disagreement, GEN Dempsey differentiated retired flags opining to the public on areas of their expertise, or running for office themselves, with using their rank to make a personal endorsement for a presidential candidate. He also agreed that retired flags have the right to speak up. Thus a longstanding discussion about politicization and participation in national debate burst again into public view.

These readings raise the issue of whether there are limits or unspoken norms for public involvement in politics and national security by retired flag officers. Certainly they have the right to make their views known; some would say even the obligation. Are there implications for civil-military relations? Does testimony, such as that of retired LTG Flynn, affect the ability of active duty military leaders to serve their civilian superiors? If so, in what way? How do you think political leaders view such participation and endorsements in presidential campaigns? Do you think there is some “waiting period” after retirement for participation? Why or why not? If so, how long should it be? What is your view of the benefits and dangers of retired flag officers participating in presidential campaigns, partisan politics, and national policy more generally?

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[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/military-leaders-do-not-belong-at-political-conventions/2016/07/30/0e06fc16-568b-11e6-b652-315ae5d4d4dd\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/military-leaders-do-not-belong-at-political-conventions/2016/07/30/0e06fc16-568b-11e6-b652-315ae5d4d4dd_story.html)

## Letters to the Editor

### **Military leaders do not belong at political conventions**

***Washington Post, July 30***

The military is not a political prize. Politicians should take the advice of senior military leaders but keep them off the stage. The American people should not wonder where their military leaders draw the line between military advice and political preference. And our nation’s soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines should not wonder about the political leanings and motivations of their leaders.

Retired Marine Gen. John Allen and retired Army Lt. Gen. Mike Flynn weren’t introduced at the Democratic and Republican conventions, respectively, as “John” and “Mike.” They were introduced as generals. As generals, they have an obligation to uphold our apolitical traditions. They have just made the task of their successors — who continue to serve in uniform and are accountable for our security — more complicated. It was a mistake for them to participate as they did. It was a mistake for our presidential candidates to ask them to do so.

*Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, Raleigh, N.C.*

*The writer is former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.*

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<http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/08/keep-your-politics-private-my-fellow-generals-and-admirals/130404/>



### **Keep Your Politics Private, My Fellow Generals and Admirals**

By Martin Dempsey

August 1, 2016

The relationship between elected leaders and the military is established in the Constitution and built on trust.

As a matter of law, we follow the orders of the duly elected commander-in-chief unless those orders are illegal or immoral. This is our non-negotiable commitment to our fellow citizens.

They elect. We support.

From my personal experience across several administrations, the commander-in-chief will value our military advice only if they believe that it is given without political bias or personal agenda.

Generals and admirals are generals and admirals for life. What they say carries the weight of their professional judgment and the credibility of their professional reputation.

More than an individual reputation, retired generals and admirals enjoy a collective reputation earned by having been part of a profession. It is therefore nearly impossible for them to speak exclusively for themselves when speaking publicly. If that were even possible, few would want to hear from them. Their opinion is valued chiefly because it is assumed they speak with authority for those who have served in uniform. And their opinion is also valued because our elected leaders know that the men and women of the U.S. military can be counted upon follow the orders of their elected leaders.

This is where the freedom of speech argument often invoked in this debate about the role of retired senior military officers in election campaigns fails. Unquestionably, retired admirals and generals are free to speak to those seeking elected office. But they should speak privately, where it will not be interpreted that they are speaking for us all.

Publicly, they can speak to their experiences with the issues. Not about those seeking office. Not about who is more suited to be elected. That will be decided by the voters, and they have an obligation to learn about the candidates before casting their vote.

But not from us.

Because we have a special role in our democracy, and because we will serve whoever is elected.

So retired generals and admirals can but should not become part of the public political landscape. That is, unless they choose to run for public office themselves. That's different. If they choose to run themselves, they become accountable to voters. In simply advocating—or giving speeches—they are not.

One of the two candidates is going to be elected this November. They each now have reason to question whether senior military leaders can be trusted to provide honest, non-partisan advice on the issues and to execute the orders given to them with the effort necessary to accomplish them.

Moreover, if senior military leaders—active and retired—begin to self-identify as members or supporters of one party or another, then the inherent tension built into our system of government between the executive branch and the legislative branch will bleed

over into suspicion of military leaders by Congress and a further erosion of civil-military relations.

Worse yet, future administrations may seek to determine which senior leaders would be more likely to agree with them before putting them in senior leadership positions.

In the political world, trust is generally derived from party loyalty. In the interchange between civil and military, trust is derived from party neutrality.

Political candidates will continue to seek retired generals and admirals to endorse them. In the competition for public office, politicians will always seek to surround themselves with as many credible allies as possible. But we retired generals and admirals should not heed their request.

This is not something that needs to be fixed with law, policy, or administrative rule. All we have to do is say no.

The image of generals and admirals that is held in esteem by the American people is the image of loyal, determined, selfless professionalism keeping watch for threats to our country from abroad. It's not the image of angry speeches in front of partisan audiences intended to influence politics at home.

As I said, what we saw at the conventions is a mistake. Both by those who participated and by those who invited them.

I could be wrong. I suppose we could adopt a reality-TV model for our civilian-military interactions instead of the model based on our standing with the American people as a profession. Perhaps we could imitate "The Bachelor." We'll troop out as many retired generals and admirals as we can for each side, decide who has the most persuasive group, and make our decision about suitability to be commander-in-chief on that basis.

I don't think that's what we want.

*Martin Dempsey, a retired U.S. Army general, served as the 18th chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.*

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## **WAR ON THE ROCKS**

DANGER CLOSE: MILITARY POLITICIZATION AND ELITE CREDIBILITY

MICHAEL A. ROBINSON

AUGUST 21, 2018

### COMMENTARY

Speaking at a National Guard leadership conference in 2011, then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Martin Dempsey mused on a request he made to U.S. Army War College leaders to explain why the military was so popular: “Maybe if I knew what it would take to screw it up, I could avoid it.” If the ongoing debate over retired officers and the partisan political sphere is to be believed, the general can stop searching. Retired general and flag officers have risen lead the Pentagon, White House staff, the National Security Council staff — even a misfire attempt at Veterans’ Affairs — and become outspoken voices as commentators, analysts, and activists. What’s also risen is a concern over how an increasingly visible military presence in politics might affect the credibility of the military institution.

Why does the public credibility of the military matter? Aside from the inherent value of the public’s trusting an essential arm of their government, military leaders are critical sources of information. While many dispute the virtue of military figures engaging in opinion-shaping, even the most traditional civil-military scholars should accept that a military institution perceived as trustworthy is in the best interest of civilian leaders who rely on it for advice. But the public at large also benefits from a trusted military. When citizens need information or cues on how to think about subjects as diverse as torture, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights, foreign intervention, and relations with the press, they will likely seek out trusted voices in the discourse.

But if preserving a trustworthy voice is important, does using it damage the institution? The discussion over this question has largely depended on subjective critiques and conjecture. Dempsey’s remarks were in response to a 2011 Gallup survey on trust in institutions that ranked the military favorably, a trend that has not changed considerably since. If trust among the public has not shifted, do we have anything to fear about the military losing credibility? I argue that the answer is yes, by analyzing this question with a data-driven focus. If partisan activism is to threaten military credibility, there is likely to be two indicators: first, a loss of generalized trustworthiness when speaking on military issues, and, second, the loss of a broad audience.

To the first point, I discuss the results of original survey experimentation I conducted in a working paper probing how knowledge of a retired military officer's partisan history affected their influence. In order to examine the second idea, I explore the social media follower networks of several prominent retired military leaders and the ideologies of the audiences they cultivate. As Heidi Urben details at length, the realm of social media is one of the ungoverned spaces where military partisan expression is widespread. Across both domains, we can gain some visibility on a threat that, for many, has existed so far as normative alarmism.

## **How to Lose Trust and Politicize People**

Senior retired military officials can have a significant effect on how the public receives and interprets information on pressing issues. Being out of uniform has little bearing on their influence, as their credibility as a speaker comes from their erstwhile career: "Like princes of the church", historian and civil-military scholar Richard Kohn remarks, "They represent the culture and the profession just as authoritatively as their counterparts on active duty." But how does public knowledge of political activism affect their influence as a source of political information?

As part of my own research, I examined some of this question through several experimental survey instruments measuring public attitudes on the military and elite credibility. Over 1,000 respondents were given a short biography about a retired senior military officer whose background after service included either non-partisan research or a history of candidate endorsements and commentary on partisan cable networks. It then measured impressions of credibility for the general on a battery of questions regarding the individual's trustworthiness and expertise.

The study revealed several key patterns regarding how partisan generals fared against their non-partisan counterparts. Activist generals were seen as less credible, but only by those on the other side of the political spectrum. Co-partisans — those on the same political side as the activist general — actually found political generals to be slightly more credible. In a working paper based on this research, I find that generals who endorsed the other side scored considerably lower than the non-partisan in terms of credibility, even if both had identical qualifications. Exposure to a partisan general from across the aisle also damaged individual impressions of the military's trustworthiness and expertise, compounding the credibility problem.

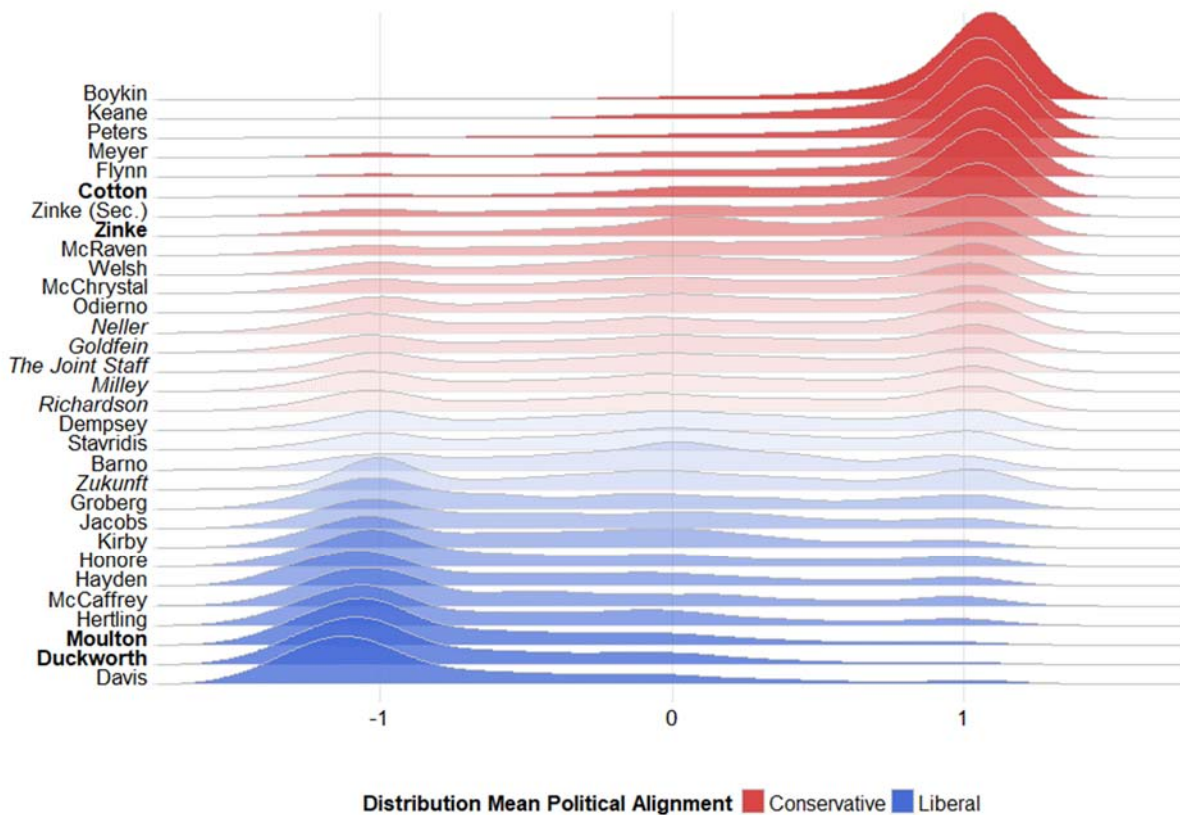
These voices were also far less effective when providing information to the public on policies within their expertise. The respondents were told that the figure they had seen endorsed a pre-emptive strike on North Korea's nuclear weapons program. Compared to hearing an endorsement from the non-partisan, public support for the policy was significantly degraded if it was being endorsed by a military officer with a history of activism. In addition to losing considerable credibility with a large portion of the country, the public's receptiveness to a perceived subject matter expert was curtailed. If information on foreign intervention can only be seen through partisan lenses, foreign policy attitudes will become polarized along partisan lines, with a multitude of negative consequences for coherent and wise policy.

Retired officers who are perceived as partisans risk the very credibility they leverage when speaking publicly. This is not to suggest these figures should remain out of expert debates on policy; to argue that several decades of hard-won subject matter expertise and experience should remain closeted benefits the American people none at all. But the effectiveness of that counsel is conditional on maintaining a non-partisan image for themselves and the military institution. As some of my own research suggests, failing to do incurs a high cost: an authoritative and credible voice in the information space.

### **More Partisan than Partisans**

In order to explore what I argue is the second element of credibility decay, loss of a broad audience, I examined how different retired officers at different levels of activism or commentary draw varied ideological distributions. To this end, I collected information on the social media follower networks of nearly three dozen high-profile military elites in November 2017, ranging from the active service chiefs to retired officers in academia, commentary, and activism. Using political ideology scores assigned from Adam Bonica's Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections dataset, the result is an ideological distribution of the Twitter follower audiences from each, ranging from very liberal (-1.5) to very conservative (+1.5). For reference, the bold-faced names in Figure 1 indicate actual politicians whose principal pre-Congressional careers were in the military, including Sens. Tammy Duckworth (D-IL) and Tom Cotton (R-AR). Rep. Seth Moulton (D-MA), and the Congressional account for Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke (R-MT).

**Figure 1: Ideological Distribution of Military Elite Follower Networks**



*The data reflect ideology scores of the followers for military elite Twitter accounts with at least 1,000 followers, subsetting to those followers who tracked at least two American politicians. Ideology score provided by Adam Bonica’s CF dataset. Twitter follower data collected October–November 2017, with exception of Kirby (April 2018) and Peters (July 2018). Ideology score re-scaled to between -1.5 (most liberal) to 1.5 (most conservative) with height of the distribution re-scaled to represent min-max. Bold names indicate members of Congress whose principal prior career was in the military. The italicized names indicate active service chiefs.*

Do activist or politically visible retired officers lose a broad audience? The short answer is yes. Those with regular media presence on cable news channels, such as retired Lt. Gen. Mark Hertling (CNN), retired Col. Morris Davis (MSNBC), retired Gen. Jack Keane (Fox), and retired Lt. Col. Ralph Peters (Fox), are among the most one-sided in the sample. Though these networks have decidedly partisan audiences, to see those ideological skews manifest in the follower networks of these military figures is particularly telling. Peters made headlines earlier this year when he left Fox News over the



network's "propagandizing for the Trump administration." Further analysis of his follower network in the future will reveal if doing so lent him a new audience among administration critics or cost him one among Fox die-hards.

Retired officials who have waded into turbulent political waters exhibit these one-sided audiences as well. Retired Lt. Gen. William Boykin, whose unabashed anti-Islamic comments created considerable turmoil in both civilian and military circles, captures among the most partisan audiences in the sample. President Trump's first national security adviser, retired Lt. Gen. Mike Flynn cultivates a similar audience, not unexpectedly given his close identification with the administration's inner circle. Though less severe in skew, similarly one-sided audiences emerge under retired Lt. Gen. Russel Honore, retired Gen. Barry McCaffrey (MSNBC), and retired Gen. Michael Hayden, who clashed with the administration over Hurricane Maria relief, Russia relations, and treatment of U.S. intelligence agencies, respectively.

While it is somewhat evident that the active service chiefs maintain broad audiences, politicizing forces still act on them. This is because the political floor has shifted considerably under the feet of the military, making some actions seem partisan by mere comparison. One example of this came in the social media response following the Charlottesville rally in 2017, in which the service chiefs issued near-simultaneous statements denouncing intolerance and racial extremism. This response was interpreted by many as an "unusually public move," likely because of the relative position of their sentiment to that of the White House, which was decidedly non-committal. The abruptness of the White House's new policy on transgender service members placed the chiefs in a similarly precarious situation following the previous administration's approval of their open service. Though in both cases senior leadership issued arguably uncontroversial statements, their sentiment relative to that being espoused by civilian leadership put them in the headlines.

But these voices, ones with more balanced audiences around the political center, can be some of the most influential. In this regard, it is important to note that though partisan activism might be damaging, honest subject matter expertise can be constructive to our discourse. Retired Adm. William McRaven's recent op-ed opposing the Trump administration's "McCarthy-era" revocation of former CIA director John Brennan's security clearance seized precisely on the legitimate need for "voices of criticism." A host of former intelligence professionals — including retired Gen. David Petraeus — quickly rallied around the rebuke. Their letter made specific mention of the fact that

though these intelligence professionals had chosen to “be more circumspect in [their] public pronouncements” on administration policy than Brennan, the circumstances demanded their public outcry. When officers with little record of partisan activism or media visibility speak on issues in their subject matter expertise, actual persuasion of public attitudes might be possible.

But for those closely aligned with a partisan establishment or media environments with strong partisan audiences, the opposite is likely true. What analysis of these audiences can tell us is that retired officers who engage in partisan activism, whether perceived or actual, may sacrifice a broad audience of Americans in favor of a narrow, ideologically coherent one. Taken together with results from the survey wherein individuals actually felt that co-partisan generals were in some cases *more* credible for engaging in politics, this creates an environment ripe for potential opportunism among those seeking a post-service career in that arena. Access to a public audience doesn’t require a long career of establishing qualifications and expertise; rather, simply aligning with a major partisan establishment can garner that following, even if it comes at the expense of a broadly authoritative voice.

### **The Future of Military Credibility**

The debate over retired officers and their activity in the political arena has typically focused on the implications such behavior has on civil-military relations, democratic norms, and organizational attitudes within the military. Heidi Urban finds that service members themselves are far more tolerant of political activism by retired officers than their active duty counterparts. My own findings suggest that the public may also be tolerant of such activity — conditional on such sentiment being in line with their own ideology. This is compounded by the fact that even if servicemembers see a difference between active and retired officials when it comes to activism, the public likely does not. The implications of such a slowly-unfolding trend are manifold.

First, future appeals to military elites may be limited in their effectiveness. If there is a breakdown in the American political discourse, it is in large part due to a similar breakdown in mechanisms of persuasion. Political scientists have long argued that the public looks for credible voices to help them find a position on policy; these voices provide the mental signposts required to reach a reasoned opinion without having to become an expert themselves. However, this process may in many ways be backward: Rather than credible voices leading us to reasoned opinions, pre-existing opinions dictate who is “credible” by their conforming or deviating from it. Policymakers would do well to note what this means for opinion shaping. High profile appointments of

retired officers to positions in government or consideration of them for a partisan ticket are often motivated by a desire to draw credibility from an apolitical institution. What I argue here is that rather than make politicians seem more like the military, it serves only to make the military seem more like politicians.

Second, even if senior leaders in the active force redouble efforts to curtail partisanship among the ranks online or in public, they will continue to have little influence over a retired community that is arguably far more visible. While my own research shows that engaging in the partisan debate costs them credibility with roughly half of the public, this is the environment most suited for opportunism. If retired officers believe that engaging in activism after the end of their career can earn them a die-hard audience of followers, they are more susceptible to shaping a political “afterlife” while they are still in uniform, as many including retired Lt. Gen. David Barno have feared.

Instead, retired senior leaders should see these findings as some evidence that repeated entrance into the political debate is inherently self-defeating. While doing so can earn them a small, dedicated audience of potential ideologues, they do so at the cost of generalized credibility and access to a broad audience. Furthermore, they lose the ability to affect opinions among precisely those members of the public they need to: people who don’t already agree with them. Rather than oblige the service chiefs to pressure the retired community into silence, these results will hopefully convince that community that activism has real costs, for themselves and the institution.

In this respect, civil-military scholars and policymakers concerned about military politicization are not alarmists. The partisan polarization that has gripped so much of the public’s trust in institutions in government and private society has not left the military unharmed. Senior military leaders have continued to warn the active force and the public about these forces, even if they are largely outside the direct management of the organization. The intensity of the domestic political climate is likely to continue to draw the military into uncharted and uncertain waters. More importantly, the influence of retired activists will similarly continue to become fixtures of informational media. However, those same elites should heed this insight into the process of how the public views voices as “credible”. Those who want to cultivate broad audiences with credibility subvert those efforts by engaging in the partisan sphere — that way lies madness.

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**Although the use of the military as political props and the embrace of military heroes and “the troops” by presidents and other politicians go far back in American history, the last three decades have seen increasing explicit interventions by senior retired officers in political controversies and presidential elections. Scholars, commentators, and many senior military leaders believe this has reached dangerous levels. These two essays provide a convenient summary of the most recent evidence and propose some solutions. Do you find the dangers real? Is there any way to restrain political leaders from using the uniformed military for partisan purposes? Or senior retired officers from endorsing political candidates, using the reputation of the military for non-partisanship to commit political acts?**



## **GENERALS SHOULDN'T BE WELCOME AT THESE PARTIES: STOPPING RETIRED FLAG OFFICER ENDORSEMENTS**

HEIDI URBEN



Both the Democratic and Republican presidential nominating conventions that are just weeks away promise to be unlike any convention in recent memory ...due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The Democratic convention, which was already pushed from July to August, will still occur in Milwaukee, but with most convention delegates participating remotely. Meanwhile, after the Republican party hastily shifted its convention from Charlotte, North Carolina to Jacksonville, Florida due to COVID-19 restrictions, President Donald Trump abruptly cancelled convention activities, citing ongoing concerns about the spike in COVID-19 cases in Florida. While there is considerable uncertainty on how both conventions will unfold, the pandemic is unlikely to interfere with one tradition: Both candidates will still produce long lists of retired generals and admirals who endorse their candidacies, just as Hillary Clinton and Trump did in 2016.

Endorsements by retired general and flag officers have been a common feature of presidential campaigns since 1988, but many onlookers felt a particular line had been crossed in 2016, with both Lt. Gen. (Ret) Michael Flynn and Gen. (Ret) John Allen drawing the rebuke of former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Gen. (Ret) Martin Dempsey for their over-the-top convention

performances. Flynn's frenzied chants of "lock her up" directed against Clinton are what most probably remember from the convention, but Peter Feaver, who nonetheless condemned Flynn's theatrics, lamented Allen's explicit call for active duty military to join the partisan political fray as the real nadir.

There has been no shortage of commentary raising concern about the effect such endorsements have on the profession or advocating for greater restraint among retired generals and admirals, including calls for greater peer pressure among other retired flag officers to dissuade their colleagues from endorsements. The normative case for why retired flag officer endorsements in particular are bad business for the profession is clear: When retired generals and admirals lend their stars to a partisan cause, they allow themselves to be "exploited for their titles." These overt acts of partisanship threaten to erode the trust and confidence with which the American public regards the military and could further incentivize presidents to select senior military leaders based on their politics, not their professional excellence. And suggestions that the American public can distinguish between active duty and retired generals are simply unfounded, as evidenced by a poll Jim Golby and Feaver ran in June 2019 that will be featured in their forthcoming book, in which only 31 percent of Americans could correctly identify Secretary Jim Mattis's military status as retired.

While calls for an end to flag officer endorsements have largely fallen on deaf ears, there has never been a more important time in the All-Volunteer Force era for the military to fully recommit itself to the norm of nonpartisanship, as the past few years have exposed shortcomings in the military's adherence to the nonpartisan ethic and raised questions about to what extent the military has already been politicized. Past survey research I conducted from December 2015 to January 2016 found a willingness, even among active duty members, to publicly criticize elected leaders and the president on social media. More recently, Ronald R. Krebs and Robert Ralston have written persuasively on the lack of understanding of critical civil-military relations norms among the American public today, and Risa Brooks has raised valid concerns about increased instances of civilians politicizing the military. The use of active duty troops to quell domestic protests, punctuated by the regrettable incident in Lafayette Square in June, only reignited a debate on the perils of politicizing the military.

It is precisely because concerns over politicizing the military have been in the news so much that our current uniformed leaders should lead a renewed commitment to upholding and maintaining the norm of nonpartisanship — to include unambiguously extending it into retirement for retired flag officers. In

routine presidential election years, it may have sufficed for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs to pen an op-ed in *Joint Force Quarterly* about the importance of members of the active duty military keeping their politics private, but there is nothing about 2020 that is routine. Norms do not take hold in an institution overnight, but require constant teaching, reinforcement, and observable adherence if they are to be preserved. All of our serving general and flag officers, not just the Chairman, should communicate to their active duty troops the harm that can be done to the military's credibility as a nonpartisan institution when retired generals make partisan endorsements and give the appearance they still speak for the military. And when endorsements do emerge in the coming weeks, our most senior uniformed leaders should not hesitate from publicly condemning them as hurtful to the institution to the service of which these flag officers all ostensibly committed their professional lives.

My own survey research has found that most officers serving in the military today are fairly sanguine about the political outspokenness of retired flag officers — raising concerns about whether the tide of retired flag officer endorsements can truly ever be turned. From 2017 to 2020, I was part of a team that surveyed over 1,200 officers attending the National Defense University and Army War College and cadets enrolled at the U.S. Military Academy. The survey focused on a host of contemporary civil-military relations issues, including the role that retired officers, especially flag officers, play in politics. Only 24 percent of respondents disagreed with the statement that it is appropriate for retired general and flag officers to publicly express their political views, compared to 53 percent who agreed. Additionally, only 30 percent of those we surveyed agreed that retired officers — not just generals and admirals — should not publicly criticize senior civilian political leaders, compared to 47 percent who disagreed. Notably, these figures did not vary based on the rank, ideology, or partisanship of the respondents, but rather there was remarkable consistency across demographic variables.

Lastly, 43 percent of those surveyed agreed with the idea that more retired four stars should be encouraged to serve as political appointees, while only 17 percent disagreed and 39 percent were unsure. This likely is in response to the Trump administration's proclivity to appoint so many retired generals to key policy positions or the sentiment held by some that those retired generals critically served as the only "adults in the room." While openly serving in a presidential administration in a political role is different from using one's rank as the impetus behind a partisan endorsement, the survey response still indicates comfort among those serving today with retired flag officers filling



outsized political roles. It also reflects a growing trend where the public and politicians increasingly turn to the well-trusted, well-respected military for things outside the military's traditional realm of expertise. While that is a separate civil-military relations issue to unpack, this still underscores why the retired flag officer endorsement issue is so important: Partisan endorsements cash in on the military's position of trust.

These observations are not new. In 2009, I conducted a large-scale, random sample survey of more than 4,000 Army officers in the ranks of lieutenant through colonel, and found even less opposition to retired officers' political outspokenness. Back then, only 11 percent of active duty army officers felt it was inappropriate for retired generals to publicly express their political views and just 20 percent thought retired officers, regardless of rank, should not publicly criticize civilian leaders. If there is a silver lining to all this, there has been a slight increase in the proportion of active duty officers who are uncomfortable with retired officers publicly airing their politics.

If candidates in both parties continue to actively recruit endorsements from retired flag officers — and there has been nothing to suggest they will suddenly stop, even if such endorsements end up having little effect on public opinion — the only way to curb these endorsements is for retired flag officers to just say no. And even if, as Maj. Gen. (Ret) Charlie Dunlap noted in a recent Center for Strategic and International Studies podcast, the fraction of retired flag officers who make such endorsements is small, plenty have still been willing to oblige. In a way, the calls from two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs, both Dempsey and Adm. (Ret) Michael Mullen, to extend the norm of nonpartisanship into retirement, are outliers that have been roundly ignored by those retired flag officers eager to lend their stars to the next presidential hopeful's campaign. Notably, the most recent Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Gen. (Ret) Joseph Dunford, purposefully refrained from weighing in on the issue of retired officers speaking out on political issues, continuing to give credence to the idea this is an uncertain norm at best. Taken together, it is understandable why many interested civil-military relations observers might simply conclude that reversing the trend of partisan political endorsements by retired flag officers looks bleak.

An important side note: The call to eliminate partisan endorsements by retired flag officers does not mean senior military leaders should not speak out on critical issues relating to their expertise. Mullen and Dempsey by no means have been silent in retirement, and both quickly condemned Trump's use of the military to quell peaceful protests, but their criticism sprang from their views on the proper use of military force and concerns that the military would

be politicized in the eyes of the American public. Outspokenness in defense of preserving the military's norms is a far cry from a partisan endorsement, and the military and civilians alike should be able to distinguish between the two.

There is some hope the military can reverse the troubling trend of endorsements, although not necessarily for this generation of retired flag officers. First, as I indicated earlier, I have found slight increases in the percentage of active duty officers who are uncomfortable with retired generals making public political pronouncements over the past decade. This could be in response to the 2016 campaign and both parties' nominating conventions that year, although the exact reasons behind the modest shift are not entirely clear. Moreover, in that same survey research, I found nearly a quarter of respondents were ambivalent on the role that retired flag officers should play in politics, suggesting a portion of the officer corps is open to influence. It may be too late to convince our current cohort of retired flag officers of how damning their partisan endorsements are for the institution and maintaining the American public's trust and confidence. A more comprehensive campaign oriented on those currently serving — from which the next generation of generals and admirals will be chosen — may prove to be a wiser, albeit long-term, investment. Nearly two decades ago, Richard Kohn famously wrote that four stars, like "princes of the church," never truly retire, but forever represent the institution. This election season and beyond, let's hope members of the uniformed military head back to church, recommitting fully to the nonpartisan ethic and holding their princes to the same standard.

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# WAR ON THE ROCKS

## NATIONAL SECURITY

### WHAT CAN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN LEADERS DO TO PREVENT THE MILITARY'S POLITICIZATION?

RISA BROOKS

COMMENTARY

APRIL 27, 2020



When Capt. Brett Crozier's memo detailing the spread of COVID-19 on the USS Roosevelt leaked to the press on March 31, it painted a picture starkly at odds with the Trump administration's claim that it was firmly in control of the pandemic. Crozier described a dire situation and called for the Navy to get the sailors off the ship. Acting Navy Secretary Thomas

Modly — a civilian political appointee — questioned Crozier’s judgment, accused him (inaccurately) of recklessly copying his email to “20 or 30” recipients, and relieved him of command before an investigation by the military was complete.

According to his own account, Modly was worried about President Donald Trump’s reaction if he didn’t act quickly. The president “wants him [Crozier] fired,” Modly reportedly told a colleague. The acting secretary also feared for his job. Navy Secretary Richard Spencer, Modly’s predecessor, had “lost his job because the Navy Department got crossways with the president,” and he “didn’t want that to happen again.” Modly lost his job anyway — he was forced to resign after telling sailors assembled on the Roosevelt’s flight deck that Crozier was “too naive or too stupid to be the commanding officer of a ship like this.” Crozier, however, might yet get his command back. Navy leaders have recommended he be reinstated as the Roosevelt’s captain, although the Pentagon appears divided on this.

Crozier’s letter and the fallout raise many important questions about leadership and accountability in the Navy, tradeoffs between operational readiness and protecting sailors’ health, and the appropriateness of military dissent. This situation also, however, raises an important question about civil-military relations: What should military and civilian leaders do when political leaders politicize the military — when they exploit its resources and popularity or, as Modly apparently did, intervene in its affairs to advance partisan interests?

Neither military officers, nor their civilian leaders, have good answers to that question. The ways they have responded are inadequate and poorly suited to the magnitude of the challenge today. It’s time to come up with some new ways of keeping the military out of domestic politics — and domestic politics out of the military.

### Civilians Politicize the Military

Civilian politicization of the military is a common occurrence in civil-military relations around the world. Scholars and analysts have long observed how civilian leaders intervene in the military and rely on its influence to secure their positions in office. That this might happen in the United States is less surprising when seen in this broader context.

Indeed, civilian leaders in the United States sometimes involve the military in domestic politics, although usually on a lesser scale. Politicians seek photo-ops with military brass or vaunt their past military service in political campaigns. They at times seek to exploit the military’s influence in American society by calling on military leaders to publicly speak out or resign in protest against an opponent’s policies. Candidates from both parties since the late 1980s have also sought out retired officer endorsements to enhance their standing with voters.

There are nonetheless limits to how much and in what manner civilian leaders in the United States usually treat the military as a partisan ally or prioritize their political self-interests in decisions about its affairs. They mostly respect the military’s nonpartisan ethic — an ethic supported by the constitution, the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and Defense Department regulation, and sustained by informal norms and beliefs inculcated throughout an officer’s career.

This is why Modly's actions are so exceptional. That an acting Navy secretary might intervene in the military's affairs to safeguard the president's popularity, or to protect his own position, is remarkable by contemporary standards. Similarly striking are the many ways in which Trump has upended civil-military conventions. Trump has made overtly partisan comments to military audiences and asked troops to lobby on behalf of his policy priorities. He has also intervened in military justice to pardon or restore the rank of military personnel accused of war crimes and then invited the men to attend campaign events. The president has also warned his opponents that the military might "get tough" on them, signaling to Americans that the military is his political ally.

Some might be tempted to dismiss the problem of civilian politicization as particular to Trump's presidency, but it could be an enduring problem in the United States. Politicians have enormous incentives to exploit the military's popularity and treat it as partisan ally. There is also growing evidence that some Americans do not mind if the military acts like their co-partisan. Add to this that some in the military are not especially wedded to the nonpartisan ethic, and the ingredients are present for politicians to increasingly and successfully politicize the military. All of this makes it more important that both military and civilian leaders figure out how to prevent that from happening.

#### Four Bad Options

So, how have military and civilian defense leaders dealt with the challenge of politicization so far? They have reacted in four ways, none of which is fully adequate to the challenge.

The first is to simply try and avoid the problem — keeping the military out of the spotlight to prevent it from becoming ensnared in partisan debates. Former Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and Joint Chiefs Chairman Joseph Dunford seemed to have embraced this approach. They eliminated press briefings and public events, and generally sought to keep a low profile. While Defense Secretary Mark Esper has restored these briefings, he has also been careful to steer away from controversy. When asked about politically fraught issues, he has at times feigned ignorance, or cut off discussion while stating that the military is apolitical.

This approach comes at a cost. If Americans don't know what the military is doing — especially in areas that demand careful debate — how can they engage with its activities overseas and hold it accountable for its policies and actions? Civil-military relations analysts often lament that Americans lack both interest and knowledge about military affairs. Sealing off the military from the public is not going to help that.

Equally importantly, the approach does not eliminate the politicization problem. Silence or avoidance can suggest complicity or agreement with politicians' efforts to use the military as a political prop or employ its resources for partisan purposes. This was how some observers interpreted the Navy's apparent compliance with White House requests to obscure the USS John McCain from view during Trump's May 2019 Memorial Day visit to Yokosuka Naval Base. Another example occurred just days after Trump's inauguration when he chose to sign a controversial "Muslim ban" in the Pentagon's Hall of Heroes with military personnel assembled and Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis standing behind him. Americans could easily have

concluded that the military backed Trump's policies on immigration — one of his signature campaign issues in 2016.

A second approach is to do what civilians ask and follow orders on the grounds that it's not the military's business to pay attention to partisan politics. No question, the military is supposed to obey the civilian leadership, and officers from early in their careers are taught to stay in their lane and out of domestic politics. But this approach doesn't work well in a climate where some civilian leaders are not respecting the military's nonpartisan stance. It leaves the military vulnerable to being used by politicians who seek to take advantage of this unquestioning obedience.

Third, the military can formally comply with civilian demands, but subvert them bureaucratically. Philip Carter has used the term respectful disobedience to describe this sort of push-back; Peter Feaver calls it shirking. Some observers, for example, detected this dynamic in civilian and military leaders' reticence to hold Trump's military parade in 2018. This solution might seem like a necessary expedient to prevent politicization, but it is also flawed. Having executive departments undermine political leaders' initiatives is not a healthy way to run a government. It enables a broader shift whereby military leaders might act autonomously on policy or national security matters. The approach also suffers from the same drawbacks as silent obedience, doing nothing to address public perceptions that the military is acquiescing in its politicization.

The fourth option is to go public and raise the alarm if a political leader intervenes in the military in inappropriate ways, or if Pentagon decisions are being driven by partisan considerations. Retired officers might write editorials or otherwise speak out on behalf of their active-duty counterparts when they fear the military is being politicized. Prominent former military leaders have done precisely this when publicly criticizing Modly's actions in the USS Roosevelt affair. As former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Adm. Michael Mullen put it, Modly "has become a vehicle for the president. He basically has completely undermined, throughout the T.R. situation, the uniformed leadership of the Navy and the military leadership in general." One can debate whether dissent by retired officers is consistent with sound civil-military practices. Regardless, it can be counterproductive to solving the politicization problem. In today's highly polarized politics, criticism of a politician's decisions by military leaders (retired or not) is likely to be fodder for partisan debate. Rather than keeping the military out of politics, it might drag it in.

### What Should Be Done?

These inadequate options point to the need for new approaches, the responsibility for which must fall equally on military and civilian shoulders. The military cannot resist its politicization alone when so much of the challenge is rooted in civilian actions. Neither can the military remain ignorant of the ways its own actions feed into its politicization. There are three ways forward.

First, the military needs to do more to resist civilian leaders' efforts to involve it in partisan politics. Beyond just intimating disagreement, this might require military leaders to voice unequivocal opposition in private consultations if politicians push them to act contrary to the

military's nonpartisan ethic. Military leaders may need to act decisively to avoid being props in partisan settings. This includes declining to stand passively behind a political leader when he or she is making vitriolic statements about political opponents, or speaking about inflammatory domestic political issues. In March 2019 Australia's Defense Chief Gen. Angus Campbell showed how this might be done when he "pulled off a precision extraction of the military's top brass" in a press conference led by Defense Minister Christopher Pyne. Gen. Campbell politely asked the minister if he might remove military leaders when the topic turned to domestic politics. Pyne agreed and the officers withdrew from the briefing.

At other times, keeping the military from being drawn into partisan debate might involve reiterating core organizational values and distancing the military from efforts to portray it as endorsing a particular viewpoint. This, no doubt, requires considerable care to avoid the kind of counterproductive outcomes of retired officer criticism. Positive examples include the service chiefs' condemnation of the Charlottesville white nationalist rally in August 2017, or the Coast Guard commandant's criticism of the partial government shutdown in January 2019 on the grounds that the lack of pay was harming service members. Publicly affirming organizational values before controversy strikes is also a way of girding against future affronts to those principles.

In addition, military leaders can stay true to their organizational routines and rules regardless of the domestic political fall-out. In the Crozier case, this means the top military leadership should make a final decision about whether to restore the captain's command based on the facts of the case in light of the Navy's recommendation, and not based on how the decision might play out in partisan politics. If the civilian leadership orders contradictory outcomes, military leaders might signal compliance, but not endorsement. Although tricky, military leaders might publicly state that they are following those orders, without also embellishing their comments to suggest agreement with measures that compromise the military's nonpartisan ethos or contravene its organizational processes. Importantly — and essential for the measures to work as intended — these practices need to be applied across the board, whatever the partisan leanings of the politician in question.

Second, politicians and civilian defense leaders need to do their part to defend the nonpartisan ethic and repair fraying civil-military norms. Defense leaders past and present must abide by these norms and urge their colleagues to follow suit. Members of Congress can model good behavior by reminding Americans that the military is a nonpartisan actor, and by not treating it that way themselves. When appropriate they can include in their speeches or interviews references to the military's nonpartisan stance and affirm its purpose and importance. They should also admonish those who violate the norms, especially when they are undertaken by members of their own party. In the event a politician does compromise the military's nonpartisan ethic, civilian defense and political leaders should speak-out and not leave the military to navigate the situation on its own.

It might also be appropriate for Congress and civilian defense officials to consider changing laws or Defense Department regulations to make it harder for politicians to use military resources or uniformed personnel in particular partisan settings or contexts, such as during political campaigns. Other measures might involve further limiting how non-active service members,

such as those in the reserves and National Guard, can use photographs in uniform and their ranks and titles in campaign advertisements.

Finally, there is a role for the general public — both in its education and its own approach to the military. Scholars and analysts can help Americans understand the country’s civil-military relations through their research and writing. In their reporting on civil-military controversies, journalists can remind readers of the military’s nonpartisan tradition. Military leaders can also help in that effort. Former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs Adm. Michael Mullen and Gen. Martin Dempsey in particular worked hard to educate the public about the importance of the military maintaining a nonpartisan ethic. American citizens need to understand that involving the military in domestic politics is bad for the country, even when a politician they support is behind the effort.

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**The belief has grown in the last generation that senior officers, when faced with policies or decisions from their civilian bosses that the officers believe to be unwise, immoral, unethical, or otherwise dangerous, should “resign,” that is, retire or ask for reassignment. The term “resignation” does not imply giving up their commissions and retirement benefits, but instead leaving their assignments or active duty, either protesting the policy/decision or simply walking away silently.**

**Many scholars and officers believe such an ethic would have a most deleterious effect on civil-military relations while others believe that officers have the right to disassociate themselves honorably from situations that violate their professional and personal ethics.**

**There is no tradition of “resignation” in the US armed forces. Why? What are the implications for military profession and for civil-military relations should such a tradition develop?**

**The blog postings below outline some of the arguments on both sides. They are from 2014 but the debate antedates these writings and continues today.**



# SHADOW GOVERNMENT

Notes from the loyal opposition

## **Should Senior Military Officers Resign in Protest if Obama Disregards Their Advice?**

BY PETER FEAVER

October 7, 2014

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/10/07/should-senior-military-officers-resign-in-protest-if-obama-disregards-their-advice/>

Should senior military officers resign if the president disregards their advice and orders them to execute assignments that, in their judgment, are ill-defined, inadequately resourced, or otherwise flawed?

There is a lively debate among commentators on American civil-military relations on this topic; given the related debate about Obama’s responsibility for America’s deteriorating global position, the commentary is not idle. I have already weighed in on some civil-military challenges confronting the administration, but the resignation idea deserves more attention than I have given it so far.

In the last couple of weeks, several prominent commentators have urged Gen. Martin Dempsey, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other senior military to resign in protest of President Obama’s poor leadership of the various wars in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan. If they do

not resign, critics argue, the senior officers become complicit in a doomed strategy. The commentators differ on which Obama misstep is most damning. But the overall thrust is that the president has consistently ignored the good advice of senior military advisors and so, they argue, those advisors are well within their rights to resign rather than execute flawed policies they recommended against — so argues a former senior defense official in the Wall Street Journal, a retired Marine colonel here in Foreign Policy, and a conservative pundit in The American Thinker, among others. Even a Republican congressman from Colorado has joined in, urging military officers to resign.

The thinking behind this is what I call "McMasterism," after a particular reading (or misreading) of *Dereliction of Duty*, by Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster. I read McMaster's book as criticizing the American military leaders of the Vietnam War for not correcting the record when President Lyndon B. Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara misled the public about the nature of the general's advice. Others read him as merely criticizing the American military leaders for letting service parochialism color their military advice.

Several of the more outspoken calls for Dempsey to resign in protest explicitly invoke McMaster in defense of their position. They read his book as criticizing the senior leaders for not resigning in protest when President Johnson not only misreported their advice, but ignored it altogether. In other words, the "McMasterism" thesis is that the military should not merely advise but also insist on its advice and, if the president disregards that advice, the military then has the right to resign in protest, or, at a minimum, to blow the whistle on civilians and mount a vigorous public protest.

Advocating resignation and protest like this is bad counsel and would do much to undermine healthy civil-military relations if it ever became accepted practice among senior officers. There is, in fact, no tradition of resignation in protest within the U.S. military. It has happened, but far more rarely than advocates realize. To be sure, there are probably many quiet retirements that come early because the senior officer believes that he or she cannot continue to serve, given the direction of policy. But retiring and foregoing promotions is a far cry from resignation in protest. Even the most famous case of such a retirement — Air Force Chief of Staff Ron Fogleman's decision to step down — took a very different form from resignation in protest: Fogleman stepped down because he believed that his civilian bosses had lost confidence in his judgment and they deserved to have a chief in which they had greater confidence.

A resignation in protest or a threat to resign in protest subverts civilian control and is what I have called "shirking." It seeks to coerce civilians into aligning with military preferences, rather than having the military implement the strategies selected by the civilians. It would undermine military professionalism over the long haul, because it would drive civilian leaders to politicize the process of selecting senior military officers. Political leaders would promote generals and admirals based on whether they thought the officers would be sufficiently pliant, rather than on whether they thought the officers were the most capable men and women for the job. I realize the stakes of failed civilian policies can be quite high — indeed, the dramatic revelations in former Defense Secretary Leon Panetta's memoir make this point vividly. Panetta argues that the rise of the Islamic State can be traced in large part to President Obama's mishandling of Iraq policy in the first term. Panetta's revelations largely confirm the criticisms heard for years, including some aired out here on Shadow Government. While the counterfactual

cannot be proven beyond all doubt, it is likely that if President Obama had heeded the advice he was receiving from his generals in the first term, he would face a better array of options and choices in his second term. But the political actors empowered by the Constitution to hold the president accountable for these missteps are the members of Congress and, ultimately, the voters — not the military.

Moreover, the military is not always correct, and so it is not wise policy for the commander-in-chief to simply do whatever the generals say. Indeed, senior military leaders disagree amongst themselves. The usual challenge of command is not deciding whether to listen to generals but, rather, deciding which generals best understand the strategic situation and provide the best counsel.

In the most famous instance of dissenting generals, the so-called "revolt of the generals" in 2006, the retired generals who spoke out against Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld did not in fact offer a better strategy. Their critiques were far out of date by the time they went public, while their recommendations were largely in synch with then-existing policy. They merely reinforced the conventional wisdom, as reflected in the Baker-Hamilton Commission. President George W. Bush wisely rejected that conventional wisdom when he adopted the surge and, because he did, the U.S. military was able to reverse the trajectory in Iraq.

A useful thought exercise for those advocating a more expansive use of military resignations in protest is to ask: Would I welcome a general or flag officer resigning in protest against a policy I myself have recommended as right? To those Republicans who would like to see generals stick it to President Obama: do you think it would have been healthy for national security if the military had resigned in protest under President Bush? And for those Democrats who wanted to see the military do more to subvert President Bush's policies: would you likewise endorse the "right" of the military to do that to Obama?

This does not mean the military lacks all recourse whatsoever. On the contrary, it has three courses of action available to a dissenting senior officer, all well-grounded in democratic civil-military norms.

First and most importantly, the military has both the right and the duty to speak up in private policymaking deliberations, offering its counsel on the likely risks and benefits of different courses of action. Especially when civilians do not want to hear such advice, the military has an obligation to speak up — but in private, to the policymakers themselves, and not to the policymakers through the media. Indeed, the chairman, the vice chairman, and all of the service chiefs have the explicit right to request a private meeting with the president to give their full and frank advice. Officers below that rank have ample opportunity in the interagency policymaking process to make their views heard.

Second, when asked to do so in sworn testimony in congressional hearings, all flag and general officers have not just the right but the obligation to offer their private military advice even if it differs from administration policy. In fact, all flag and general officers have already sworn under oath that they will do just that — it is the first question on the confirmation form for all senior officers, and the Senate will not confirm them to their promoted rank if they fail to promise to

provide such candid advice. The constitutional fix for bad military policy by the executive branch is better oversight from the congressional branch, and since Congress represents civilian control just as the executive branch does, its members have a right to hear military views.

Third, the military has the right — and, I would argue, the obligation — to clarify the public record when senior civilians misrepresent the content of their advice in public. This is a tricky right, I acknowledge, and should be used sparingly to correct egregious misrepresentations rather than every distortion, however slight. Senior military officers serve at the pleasure of the president, and any president is going to lose pleasure in a general who rushes to clarify every misstated jot and tittle. But when the president mischaracterizes military advice in important ways, the military can clarify the record, provided it does so through one of the two courses of action described above. Dempsey properly fulfilled this obligation a year ago when President Obama mischaracterized the general's advice about the costs and consequences of delaying possible air strikes against Syria's chemical weapons arsenal.

These protections are adequate to ensure that our political leaders are making policy with the benefit of the best military counsel available. These protections may not guarantee that the chosen policies will be optimal. But conducting business this way rather than through resignations of protest guarantees that we not inadvertently lose something even more precious than optimal policy: democratic civil-military relations.

## On principled resignation: A response

By Lt. Gen. James M. Dubik, U.S. Army (Ret.)

October 14, 2014

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/10/14/on-principled-resignation-a-response/>

Justice in the conduct of war sometimes demands principled resignation of senior political and military leaders. In this, Colonel Anderson is right. But while the current situation calls for a straightforward, no-holds-barred discussion between the president and his military advisors, the criteria for resignation are not present — at least not yet.

When fighting war, soldiers and their leaders are not mere instruments, automatons, or programmed killing machines. Even in battle, they remain capable of making moral judgments, hence retaining responsibility for their decisions and actions. This is what separates legitimate killing from butchery, murder, and massacre. And this is why Americans expect their soldiers and leaders to protest commands that would require them to violate the rules of war. Senior political and military leaders who wage war also remain moral agents. How well they identify war aims; choose the military and non-military strategies, policies, and campaigns necessary to attain those aims; and use their bureaucracies to take action and adapt as a war unfolds determine the length of a war, the costs of a war, and ultimately the success or failure of a war. To say it plainly, the decisions and actions associated with waging war determine whether the lives used in fighting are used well or in vain.

Principled resignation must meet two important criteria.

One, the matter must be more than just "disagreement with the final decision" or "feeling one's advice is being ignored" or "not getting one's way." It must cross the threshold into illegality or immorality. Waging war becomes unjust when the lives of citizens in military service are being wasted. Part of war's hellishness lies in this: war necessarily uses lives, and sometimes honest mistakes of omission and commission results in lives lost in battle. But when lives are wasted in avoidable ways like promulgating manifestly inept policies and strategies, or conducting campaigns that have no reasonable chance of success because they are neither properly resourced nor connected to strategic aims worthy of the name — lives are not used, they are wasted. Senior political and military leaders are co-responsible for the lives of the citizens-now-soldiers they use in waging war. The purpose of the sometimes-heated dialogue among these senior leaders is to increase the probability of wise war-waging decisions and actions.

Central to this first criteria is Colonel Anderson's claim that "without American combat troops...to physically clear the cities and towns that [ISIS has] occupied, we are in for a long and frustrating open-ended conflict that the American people will quickly tire of." At the very least, this claim is debatable. This much is clear: without adequate numbers of combat advisors that enhance the capacity of Kurds and Sunni tribes, link Iraqi troops to well-targeted air strikes, help the Iraqis reconstitute their units, and help them coordinate and sustain a nation-wide air/ground counteroffensive, such a counteroffensive is unlikely to succeed. Also clear is the requirement

for U.S. quick-reaction forces, medical-evacuation elements, and search and rescue forces to support the advisors who will be on the ground. But whether American ground combat troops are necessary to do the fighting is not clear at all. Also unclear is whether Americans will tire more of U.S. troops clearing cities and towns or of Americans helping Iraqis to do that. Regardless of who does the fighting, the counteroffensive will take long and frustrating years, U.S. assistance and commitment will be needed throughout, and some of that assistance will take the form of uniformed American troops.

The second necessary criterion is that principled resignation cannot threaten civil control of the military — one of the bedrocks of a democracy. Resignation must be a private affair over principle, not a public affair over primacy. "Going public" changes the character of the resignation from a matter of principle to a political matter. Private resignation, like voiced objection, provides a legitimate way to help our government know when what it is doing isn't working or is wrong. Both objection and resignation help ensure our democracy is not robbed of the ability to recognize and restore deteriorating quality in its decisions and actions. Both contribute to better governmental performance.

Meeting both criteria is difficult. It should be. Principled resignation should be a morally anguishing matter. Perhaps it is time for the closed-door meeting Colonel Anderson describes, but the situation is not yet ripe for resignation by a senior military leader over a matter of principle.

*General Dubik is a retired infantryman, paratrooper, and ranger. He held positions of command in Haiti, Bosnia, and Iraq. His last job on active duty was to accelerate the growth and capacity of the Iraqi military and police during the surge of 2007-8. He recently was awarded a Ph.D. in philosophy from Johns Hopkins University and is a senior fellow at the Institute for the Study of War.*



## **Military Resignation in Protest Is Still a Bad Idea**

BY PETER FEAVER

October 24, 2014

The debate over whether it is proper for senior military officers to resign in protest continues to bubble along. I made my case for a highly restrictive norm, one that would leave almost no room for resignation in protest. I was rebutting those who were urging a norm that would greatly expand the practice. Now, partly in response to my own post, two other distinguished commentators have weighed in with what might be considered a middle ground option. I have great respect for both of these commentators and so I take their arguments seriously but, in the end, I think they muddy the waters. If anything, the case they make for a middle ground makes me even more convinced of the need for the bright line I propose in my original article.

But first, a point that bears even greater emphasis than I gave it initially: the military has a legal, ethical, and professional obligation to resist illegal orders. It is not merely acceptable for the military to resist illegal orders, it is obligatory that they do so. If the President of the United States ordered General Dempsey to do something illegal, then Dempsey should resist the order up to the point of resigning in public protest. Every expert I know who writes or comments on this topic would agree with that. All of the debate is about orders that are legal but otherwise problematic.

Now the obligation to resist illegal orders itself comes with some additional clear constraints. It is not up to the individual officer to adjudicate the legality of the order. While it is appropriate for the military to have a presumption in favor of the legality of orders that come from the president through the chain of command, there is a large military legal community that is professionally empowered to help military officers determine that such orders are, in fact, legal. Moreover, these military lawyers operate within the larger civilian legal framework that is itself hierarchical, and in which the military is clearly subordinate. So if the military determines that an order might be illegal but the competent superior civilian legal authorities have determined that it is legal then, for the purposes of applying this norm, the order is legal. The military should obey it. The point is made clear by considering one of the most infamous orders in American military history: the order to round up and intern Japanese-Americans during World War II. Whatever your views on the wisdom or ethicality of that order, from the point of view of American civil-military relations there can be no reasonable debate about whether the order was legal under the United States Constitution. The Supreme Court unambiguously made it so. You are free to regret that decision today, but it would have been a gross violation of democratic civil-military norms for Gen. George Marshall to say to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "I know the Supreme Court disagrees with me, but I think that order is illegal and so I refuse to implement it." The military is simply not competent to make that judgment. There is a name for military officers determined to rescue their country from their own constitution: dictator.

Another point that bears re-emphasis is that the policymaking process should provide ample room for the military to present a contrarian view to civilian leaders — to dissent from proposed courses of action. In my hypothetical, it would have been entirely appropriate for Gen. Marshall to recommend against interning Japanese-Americans.

Likewise, senior military officers have some latitude to quietly retire, if they believe that a policy trajectory is legal but problematic. This option is also circumscribed by caveats that require case-by-case adjudication. "Retiring" with a letter to the editor denouncing the president as a warmonger just ahead of an anticipated order to deploy to the combat zone is different from quietly transitioning to civilian life because you doubt that women can be effectively integrated into Special Operations units and do not want to be obliged to try to make that work. The former violates the norm, the latter does not.

I also outlined other forms of recourse available to the military, including testimony to Congress and correcting the public record if their own views have been misstated. So those like me who hold what might be considered a fairly absolutist position against resignation in protest nevertheless give the military ample opportunity to "dissent," including dissent in public. For that reason, I do not see why there is a need to expand the wiggle room for the military still further, as some of my colleagues try to do.

Consider this argument by Gen. James Dubik (Ret.), one of the most thoughtful people in the business (also, as an aside, one of the funniest people in the business — he has stories about his early job as a zookeeper that leave me literally falling out of my chair laughing). Dubik's piece is mainly devoted to rebutting those who are urging Dempsey to resign now. Dubik argues, rightly, that the current policy challenges come nowhere close to meeting the standards for resignation in protest. Moreover, he rightly says that the military should not resign just because they disagree with the final policy or feel that their advice is being ignored. And he wisely limits resignation to a private matter. But then, I fear, he muddies the waters by admixing "illegality" and "immorality."

He writes: Waging war becomes unjust when the lives of citizens in military service are being wasted. Part of war's hellishness lies in this: war necessarily uses lives, and sometimes honest mistakes of omission and commission results in lives lost in battle. But when lives are wasted in avoidable ways like promulgating manifestly inept policies and strategies, or conducting campaigns that have no reasonable chance of success because they are neither properly resourced nor connected to strategic aims worthy of the name — lives are not used, they are wasted. Senior political and military leaders are co-responsible for the lives of the citizens-now-soldiers they use in waging war.

That sounds good in theory, but is almost impossible to apply in practice. More to the point, it is a loophole so wide that it risks allowing back in all of the bad forms of resignation in protest Dubik is seeking to rule out of bounds. Every military officer who resigns in protest is going to claim that he is doing so on these terms, not because they merely "disagree" with the policy or are "frustrated" that their advice is ignored. Every controversial decision I can think of can be recast in these terms: canceling the F-22 will needlessly cost us lives, invading North Africa in 1942 will needlessly cost us lives, conducting the 2003 Iraq invasion force without such-and-such civil affairs unit will needlessly cost us lives, conducting the 2007 Iraq surge will needlessly



cost us lives, and so on. At the end of the day, in our system, the military is competent to advise on all of these questions, but the rightness of the decision hinges both on irreducible unknowables and trade-offs across different forms of risk. In a democracy, choices that have those qualities are the proper responsibility of the civilian leadership to make, for good or for ill.

Or consider this contribution from Don Snider, one of the leading thinkers of military professional norms and another man I deeply respect. Snider invokes the work of two other thought-leaders and friends, Martin Cook and James Burk. (If all of these cross-cutting encomia strikes you as excessively clubby, I accept the critique. All of us working on this issue have been arguing amongst ourselves for years and have developed the mutual respect that comes from civil debate.) Snider, Cook, and Burk seek to make sure the military develops the capacity of high professions to become truly expert, and not mere robotic implementers of civilian directives. To reach this level of expertise, they argue, the military needs a certain amount of autonomy. I agree and would further assert that the U.S. military, one of the most professionalized and expert militaries in the world, readily enjoys that level of autonomy. Now it is the case that in some settings and on certain issues, civilians might restrict that autonomy a bit more than in others — for instance, President Obama is doubtless scrutinizing and circumscribing military operations in Syria more than he is in Iraq more than he is in Afghanistan more than he is in the United Kingdom more than he is in Texas. That is entirely proper. The dividing line between what can rightly be "left up to the military" and what needs to be decided by the civilian shifts with circumstances and it is the civilian's prerogative as to where to draw it. Moreover, the military might prefer even more autonomy across the board. But in even the most restrictive areas I know about, the degree of civilian imposition does not come close to eroding military professionalism. The forms of imposition might be unwise — I think some of President Obama's restrictions have been unwise — but they are not of the sort that threatens military professionalism, which is the threshold Snider, Cook, and Burk are establishing for the military to publicly rebuke civilians.

Snider's error, I believe, is to fail to distinguish clearly enough between dissent and resignation in protest. He says that a professional military has to be able to offer dissent, and I agree. The military can dissent in the form of presenting unwelcome advice during the policymaking process. And the military can dissent in the form of explaining to Congress how and why that advice differs from the course of action the President ultimately took. But the current debate concerns resignation in protest over decisions that are unambiguously legal yet arguably unwise. It is hard to see how the military can do that without undermining the democratic foundations that military professionalism is supposed to protect.

And, finally, nothing I or any of these other experts say should be construed as seeking to insulate our civilian leaders from critique. When the President is pursuing unwise policies, the President's boss — all of us — should be vigorous in offering our dissent. We just should not seek to enlist the military in that public effort. They have more important things to be doing.

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*While civil-military relations focuses largely on the interactions of the President, White House, and Congress with the senior military leadership, a great deal goes on across the military establishment with political appointees at top levels in the Pentagon, as well as elsewhere. The extent to which civilian control of the military affects policy, planning, decision-making, and other critical activities of the armed forces, depends often on civilians at levels that often escape notice or comment in the defense community. In this recent essay, three experienced and knowledgeable observers believe civilian control has weakened inside the Pentagon, the product of vacancies in key positions and increased influence of military staffs. Is this a legitimate worry? Are there downsides to a diminished civilian perspective in these key defense areas?*

<https://www.defenseone.com/voices/mara-e-karlin/13220/?oref=d-article-author>

## **Two Cheers for Esper's Plan to Reassert Civilian Control of the Pentagon**



**BY LOREN DEJONGE SCHULMAN LEON E. PANETTA SENIOR FELLOW,  
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**SEPTEMBER 9, 2019**

**One might believe that leaving more decisions to uniformed experts would depoliticize policy. The opposite is true.**

*Updated with a response from a spokesman for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and a response from the authors.*

The longest-ever gap in civilian leadership atop the Department of Defense came to an end on July 23, when Mark Esper was sworn in as secretary of defense. His presence in the chain of command, second to Trump, may seem enough to ensure civilian control of the Armed Forces. But the implementation of this American tenet is more complex. Civilian control is a process, not simply a person. And out of sight of most Americans, civilians are losing control over key processes that manage war plans, deployment decisions, and the programs that determine what kind of military the U.S. builds for the future.

Many see no problem with this tilt toward military management of the department. The U.S. military is one of the most-respected government institutions, its technical and operational expertise seemingly unrivaled. It can seem counterintuitive for civilians to manage key decisions of war planning, conflict, and building the future military. But even those who urge civilian deference to military expertise know strategist Carl von Clausewitz's observation that "war is the continuation of politics by other means." Statute, and history too, have determined that America is better served when politicians shape the nation's approach to its defense, even though it is messy, difficult, and naturally infused with tension.

This balance between civilian and military influence over defense policy shifts frequently. But last year, the bipartisan, congressionally mandated National Defense Strategy Commission warned that "civilian voices have been relatively muted on issues at the center of U.S. defense and national security policy." We three authors have all advised defense secretaries on these areas — one of us also worked on the Commission — and we fear that these recent changes privilege military perspectives with consequences for democratic control of the armed forces. Disrupting this balance is not simply a matter of law or scholarship. It upends comparative advantages that servicemembers and civilians can bring to bear on complex security challenges, and it deeply increases the risk of politicizing the military.

Secretary Esper seems attuned to the general problem. During his Senate confirmation hearing, he told Chairman Inhofe and Senator Shaheen that he intended to fill extended vacancies in key civilian roles. He pledged to work closely with the Congress on budgetary matters to ensure that defense resources are in line with national interests and priorities. And during a recent press conference, he asserted the importance of civilian control over the military. We applaud his approach so far. And we urge him to do more.

Digging into the war plans should be at the top of Esper's to-do list. Title 10 instructs the secretary of defense to provide military planners with up-front policy guidance for war planning and then to periodically review those plans, ultimately approving of or rejecting the final product. In his own confirmation hearing, William Perry said his top priority would be "reviewing and assessing war plans and deployment orders." As the 19th defense secretary understood, these issues are rife with high-stakes, political-military consequences and require critical oversight by civilians. Concerns about the faithful execution of the law in recent years has led to language in the annual Defense authorization bills re-emphasizing the importance of civilian oversight of war planning and reviews.

Over the last several years, formal engagements for civilian review of war plans have been cut back, with significantly less secretary-level oversight. Guidance to the Joint Staff also eliminated several of the secretary's in-progress reviews, a key component of civilian control over the planning process. Instead, planning revisions and the role of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have evolved to become more symbiotic. The Chairman now serves as the "global integrator" of war plans requiring a global view of the potential crisis. Such practice, though conceptually attractive, can impute to the military the kind of strategic, diplomatic, and political context that civilians traditionally provide.

Civilian oversight and input of war plans is not only an expectation of Congress, but a logical division of labor. War-planning is an inherently political endeavor, reliant on not only the operational options the military uniquely provides, but also the domestic and geopolitical choices embedded in deterrence, escalation management, and acceptable costs and risks. Moreover, civilians have shown that when offered war plans that ignore political-military interests, they will develop their own options that poorly consider military capacities. Esper can reassert civilian oversight of this process immediately by restarting planning reviews.

Title 10 also gives authority to the defense secretary to direct the deployment of the U.S. military. How, where, and in what ways the military operates plays a crucial role in shaping and setting the global security environment in line with U.S. national security priorities. The secretary generally offers long-term guidance on the regular allocation of forces and provides specific approval for crisis deployments, with inputs from his civilian and military staff. But under the "global integrator" approach, this practice has shifted to enable the Chairman to make his own tradeoffs of forces against global needs and threats below a particular threshold. On the margins, such changes are not a catastrophic release of civilian control, and a compelling case can be made that time sensitive or low-impact decisions of small numbers of forces do not merit the secretary's attention. But cumulatively and over the course of many secretary-chairman relationships, this arrangement may erode the secretary's power over military activities. As the National Defense Strategy Commission asserted, "Put bluntly, allocating priority—and allocating forces—across theaters of warfare is not solely a military matter. It is an inherently political-military task, decision authority for which is the proper competency and responsibility of America's civilian leaders."

Secretary Esper should review at length the delegation authority given to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs in deploying forces, adjusting the number, type, and purpose for which he feels comfortable signing away his Title 10 authority. As importantly, he should involve the defense undersecretary for policy in shaping these decisions.

Finally, Title 10 also requires the defense secretary to direct the "goals, priorities, and objectives" for building the future U.S. military. He is responsible for managing more employees than Walmart and leading an institution whose annual budget is more than three times larger than ExxonMobil. In doing so, the secretary must consider how best to spend the hundreds of billions of dollars requested of the Congress to ensure the military has a force that appropriately balances among capability, capacity, and readiness to ensure it can win future wars. This requires not only broader political context, but also choosing winners and losers across the military services.

In 2018, Secretary Mattis released a blunt defense strategy that refocused the military away from fighting terrorists and wrestling with Middle East conflicts toward competing with China and Russia. Yet the strategy faces real challenges in its implementation. From near-term crises with Iran to competing strategies that offer alternate priorities, there is no shortage of distractions in time, attention, and resources.

Esper will need to ensure that his priorities drive the military's priorities in guiding the future force's shape and purpose, not the reverse. Implementing the National Defense Strategy will only occur through his vigilant supervision and willingness to take risk in those areas where the military will be reluctant. It is not easy for a generation of military leaders who have grown up fighting wars in the Middle East to deprioritize the region. Nor is it simple for the defense institution to give up long-standing assumptions on force structure. But Esper has to be the one to calculate the political and policy risks on these sensitive issues, which can give the military the space needed to generate the innovative operational concepts only it can build.

Perhaps it is tempting to believe that if the military assumes one or more of these political decisions, the questions will lose political relevance and therefore can be answered in a purely technocratic way. And here is an area where Esper's instincts may be failing him. At the end of August, he declared that he will keep DoD out of politics, in part, by acting "in an apolitical way" himself. Perversely, this is much more likely to lead to the politicization of the military. Military officers will be used by political leaders for their own ends; senior leaders will be promoted based less on their service branch's institutional interests and more on domestic political considerations. The defense secretary and his staff serve as a crucial buffer between the military and the political whims precisely by being the ones to engage in politics on behalf of the Department. Esper should not dodge these bullets; he should take them so the military does not have to.

Esper should take a zero-tolerance approach to politicization of the military. And he should strengthen the technocratic bulk of the civil service to ensure that he and his successors have a professional class who can support him in these crucial roles.

To be clear, the goal is not civilian micromanagement. The Founders and their successors determined a division of labor between civilian and military servants that maximizes their comparative advantages while also demanding frustrating but productive friction. But in the end, that division is designed to favor the judgment of elected politicians. For Esper to shift power back toward civilian officials while demanding excellence from both elements of his staff in these three processes—planning, force allocation, and sizing and shaping the military—is not only by the book, it's a democratic outcome.

*Defense One received a response to this piece from Col. Patrick S. Ryder, USAF, Special Assistant for Public Affairs to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff:*

Your Sept. 9 op-ed titled 'Two Cheers for Esper's Plan to Reassert Civilian Control of the Pentagon', while properly highlighting the constitutional importance of civilian control of the military, inaccurately characterizes the role and authorities of the Chairman of the Joint

Chiefs of Staff. Everything the Chairman and the Joint Staff do is done under the principles of civilian control of the military. To be clear, no Soldier, Sailor, Airman or Marine deploys anywhere worldwide without oversight from the Secretary of Defense and input from DoD civilian policymakers. Contrary to the authors' assertions, the Chairman exercises no operational control over any U.S. military forces and his duties as global integrator are purely advisory in nature in accordance with Title 10 and his role as principal military advisor to the President and Secretary of Defense. In fact, rather than eroding civilian control of the military as the authors suggest, the Joint Staff's global integration efforts are all focused on enhancing the ability of the Secretary and DoD civilian policymakers to make globally informed decisions as they lead the Department of Defense.

***The authors respond:***

We appreciate the enthusiastic and thoughtful response that this piece has generated across the defense community. Civilian control of the military remains a strongly held principle among defense practitioners. We also welcome the spokesman's serious engagement with the piece. But we believe some of his assertions are flawed. First, the piece makes no claims about changes in operational control, but about deployment and posture decisions. Second, we do not argue that civilian control has evaporated, but that it is weakening significantly, as demonstrated by the trends in important DoD processes we describe and supported by a wide range of defense community members from across the political spectrum. Principle may exist without the processes to support it; without those, principle is an aspiration rather than a practice. Everyone in the defense community is familiar with Huntington's work on civil-military relations; however, Huntington made a later argument that "structural decisions" such as the ones we highlight often have constraining effects on strategic matters in defense policy. It is this slow reduction in civilian control over structural defense matters that we call attention to in our piece.

We welcome further engagement with the Joint Staff and other interested parties on these issues. **D**

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- Mara Karlin is Associate Professor of Practice of Strategic Studies at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Her most recent position in the U.S. Defense Department was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Strategy and Force Development

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**During the first week of June 2020, there occurred what one respected publication (the British magazine *The Economist*) called America’s “worst civil-military crisis for a generation, one that threaten[ed]to do enduring harm to democratic norms and the standing and cohesion of its armed forces.”**

**The President spoke publicly of his desire to use active duty forces to restore order across the country during demonstrations against the killing of George Floyd; the Chairman and SecDef, in what was reported as heated arguments inside the White House, talked him out of it. US Park Police (backed up by Washington police and National Guard) cleared Lafayette Park of demonstrators using pepper spray and tear gas, before the local curfew went into effect. Immediately thereafter, Gen Milley and Secretary Esper accompanied the President and senior members of his administration from the White House to St. Johns Episcopal Church next door, where Mr. Trump posed for photographs.**

**Within days, the public demonstrations, already large and widespread, expanded although with far less violence and looting of that first week. Almost immediately, senior retired flag officers criticized the possible use of regular troops if local law enforcement and National Guard could keep order, although there was plenty of precedent for the use of active duty forces in American history. Four former chairmen and other retired flags argued publicly that active duty troops were for foreign foes and should not be arrayed against the citizenry except when no other military forces could handle civil unrest. A few, including one former chairman and for the first time, former SecDef Jim Mattis and White House Chief of Staff John Kelly, criticized the President (for whom they had worked directly), severely and personally.**

**The events of June 2020 raise some fundamental questions about civil-military relations. Was *The Economist* correct that “America” was “in the midst of its worst civil-military crisis for a generation, one that threatens to do enduring harm to democratic norms and the standing and cohesion of its armed forces?” If there was ample precedent for the use of the regular military in domestic disorders when law enforcement and the National Guard could not restore order, why did the military leadership, active and retired, react so strongly, opposing the use of regular forces publicly and disagreeing with the President? Was public disagreement wise, or proper? Under what circumstances should retired flag officers, who after all are still subject to the UCMJ after they have left active duty, violate longstanding norms about silence and subordination? What is the role of regular forces domestically? Does the active military leadership need to opine about political controversies when their views contradict those of the President, in order to safeguard the diversity of the force? Should the Chairman have “resigned” (i.e., asked for retirement or reassignment—there were public calls for him to do so, and reportedly he considered it)? Or the Secretary of Defense? Were the public statements of the Chairman, the nominee for Chief of Staff of the Air Force and the Chief Master Sargent of the Air Force necessary to preserve the integrity and diversity of the armed forces, or their respect and support from the American people?**

“America’s top brass break with Donald Trump,” *The Economist*, June 7, 2020, <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2020/06/07/americas-top-brass-break-with-donald-trump>

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“Civil-Military Relations Amid Domestic Crisis,” Johns Hopkins SAIS, June 18, 2020, with SAIS Dean Eliot Cohen, and professors Mara Karlin, Nora Bensahel, Paula Thornhill, and David Barno, the latter two being retired generals from the Air Force and Army respectively. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6OFK28Dn0&feature=youtu.be> .



## No longer his generals [;] America's top brass break with Donald Trump

The president's threat to send the troops into American cities alarms commanders

JAMES MATTIS, a revered former general, had largely kept his views to himself since resigning as President Donald Trump's first secretary of defence in December 2018. On June 3rd he ended his silence with a blistering attack on his former boss. General Mattis recalled the oath he had taken to defend the constitution. "Never did I dream that troops taking that same oath would be ordered under any circumstance to violate the Constitutional rights of their fellow citizens," he said. "Donald Trump is the first president in my lifetime who does not try to unite the American people—does not even pretend to try." He was hardly alone among generals—serving and retired—to distance themselves from Mr Trump's demand for an iron-fisted security response to days of protests and riots in American cities.

America is in the midst of its worst civil-military crisis for a generation, one that threatens to do enduring harm to democratic norms and the standing and cohesion of its armed forces. Mr Trump's call to use military force to quell the most widespread unrest in half a century—sparked by the killing by a white police officer of George Floyd, an unarmed black man—has caused unease and alarm up and down the chain of command. Two events, in particular, seem to have prompted the generals to speak out. On June 1st Mr Trump

threatened to deploy active-duty troops under the Insurrection Act of 1807. He also decided to walk to a church near the White House to stage a photo-op, flanked by Mark Esper, the secretary of defence, and General Mark Milley, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, America's top military officer. Peaceful protesters had been forcibly cleared away with tear gas from the site moments earlier, even before the city's curfew had taken effect.

On June 3rd a chastened Mr Esper broke with the White House, saying that he did not support invoking the Insurrection Act over the heads of American governors, none of whom have asked for troops. General Milley, for his part, wrote a letter to service chiefs promising that the armed forces would "operate consistent with national laws", implying a worry that he might be given illegal orders. Army leaders sent a joint letter to soldiers clarifying that their oath to the constitution "includes the right of the people peaceably to assemble".

Such anxious dissent from within, and open fury from the ranks of former leaders—General Mattis was just one of several retired generals and admirals to express his alarm—is extraordinary. "We are at an inflection point, and the events of the past few weeks have made it impossible to remain silent," said Admiral Mike Mullen, one of General Milley's predecessors as chairman of the joint chiefs. The problem was a larger one that cut to the heart of America's civil-military relations, he said. "Too many foreign and domestic policy choices have become militarised; too many military missions have become politicised."

Scholars of civil-military relations are troubled. "This is absolutely the only time I can think of that this many current and former high-ranking military officers have made a very clear pushback against the domestic use of the military," says Lindsay Cohn of the Naval War College (who stressed that she was speaking in her personal capacity). That pushback is rooted not only in moral qualms over troops' possible involvement in the suppression of First Amendment rights they are sworn to protect, but also practical concerns over the implications for the reputation of the armed forces and their long-term cohesion.

For one thing, most active-duty troops are trained and equipped to deliver lethal force under the laws of war, not crowd control under domestic law. "Trying to figure out what would constitute a lawful versus an unlawful order would be very difficult," says Dr Cohn. Many of the soldiers and marines that deployed to Los Angeles in 1992, when President George H.W. Bush dispatched forces on the request of California's governor, say that they were ill-suited to such duties. The legacy of the Kent State shooting in 1970, when Ohio National Guard troops shot 13 unarmed students protesting against the Vietnam war, killing four, is a searing reminder of the breach that can open up between the public and the army when things go wrong.

That the protests have been about mostly white police forces killing mostly black men is a particularly sensitive issue for the armed forces. Black Americans are no longer vastly over-represented in the services as they were in the years after the Vietnam war. They make up around 13% of America's population and 16% of its active-duty force. But 72 years after Harry Truman abolished segregation in the ranks, African-Americans comprise only 9% of

commissioned officers, and almost none of its senior echelons. Only two of the 41 most senior commanders in the armed forces are black, according to the *New York Times*.

Here, too, the legacy of Vietnam casts a long shadow. During the war, anger among black and other minority soldiers about racial injustice at home prompted widespread unrest, desertion and even hints of mutiny aboard American warships. Many of the 551 “fragging” incidents in Vietnam, in which soldiers turned their grenades on officers, were rooted in racial grievances. Tapes of Malcolm X, a radical black activist, spread through barracks. A study in 1970-71 found that 47% of soldiers, many of them conscripts, had engaged in some form of dissent or disobedience, and rebellions at American bases were common.

Military leaders are acutely conscious of how today’s racial tensions might ripple through the force again. General C.Q. Brown, nominated to be the first black head of America’s air force, released a poignant statement reflecting on his experience of “living in two worlds”, often as “the only African-American in the room”. On June 1st Kaleth Wright, the most senior enlisted member of the US Air Force, admitted that his “greatest fear” was “that I will wake up to a report that one of our black airmen has died at the hands of a white police officer.”

Finally, there are the wider political consequences. Any decision to use active-duty forces to control American cities (some governors have brought in the National Guard, the state-level reserve force, to help police) would compound a politicisation of the armed forces that was long under way, but accelerated under the Trump administration. The president stacked his cabinet with retired officers (“my generals”, he called them), mused about military parades in Washington and gave charged political speeches to troops abroad. That militarism appeared to seep into those around him last week. In a controversial op-ed published online by the *New York Times* on June 3rd, Tom Cotton, a Republican senator from Arkansas, called for the use of active-duty forces and “an overwhelming show of force to disperse, detain and ultimately deter lawbreakers.”

Mr Esper’s exhortation to governors on June 1st to “dominate the battlespace” and General Milley’s decision to roam the streets of Washington later that night in combat uniform went down badly among many Americans, Republican and Democrat, who thought both men had allowed themselves to be co-opted by Mr Trump as political props. On June 5th, 89 former defence officials, including four former secretaries of defence—among them Chuck Hagel, a former Republican senator—sharply criticised both Mr Esper and General Milley in an open letter, warning that Mr Trump’s actions risked “diminishing Americans’ trust in our military [...] for years to come.”

Americans hold the armed forces in greater esteem than any other institution—ahead of small business, the police and the presidency. But research by Jim Golby, an army officer, and Peter Feaver, a professor at Duke University, shows that support among Republicans and Democrats falls markedly if the forces are seen to back the rival party.

The use of troops by a Republican president to quell protests supported by a majority of Democratic leaders might well be viewed as such a partisan military intervention. “This

may be the moment when civilian politicisation of the military is at a tipping point,” notes Risa Brooks, a professor at Marquette University. “No country recovers easily after that point has been reached.” It is all too easy to imagine Mr Trump using the armed forces as electoral props ahead of November’s presidential election—or, in the nightmare scenario discussed by some worried officers in Washington, calling on military support in the aftermath of a disputed result.

In many respects, Mr Trump has placed military leaders in an invidious position. Last week’s revolt of the generals was intended as an effort to keep the armed forces out of the political fray. Yet the act of rebuking the president—implicitly, like General Milley, or explicitly, like General Mattis—is inevitably and intensely political. That this task fell to military leaders in the first place is a symptom of a broader malaise.

A cardinal principle of American democracy is that civilians are in charge. It ought to have been Mr Esper, as well as other civilian Pentagon officials and lawmakers, who sounded the alarm about Mr Trump exceeding the limits. But they were unable or unwilling to shoulder this responsibility. In part as a result of the weakness of civilian leadership under Mr Trump, and in part because of his own love of military brass, military officials at the Pentagon have grown steadily more powerful than civilian ones over the last few years. In April Mr Trump nominated yet another retired general to take over as the Pentagon’s policy chief, replacing a civilian who resigned in February.

That the generals are willing to defend civic norms against a wayward president is reassuring. That it falls to them to do so is an indictment of the state of American politics. “Civil-military relations scholars would absolutely say that it is not a good idea to look to the military to save democracy,” says Dr Cohn. “No matter how bad the situation is.”

## Bloomberg Opinion

<https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2020-06-08/why-military-leaders-like-me-are-speaking-out>

### **Why Military Leaders Like Me Are Speaking Out**

A retired four-star admiral explains how a troubling trend is becoming a constitutional crisis.

By James Stavridis

June 8, 2020, 2:59 PM EDT



Photographer: Brendan Smialowski /AFP/Getty Images

*James Stavridis is a Bloomberg Opinion columnist. He is a retired U.S. Navy admiral and former supreme allied commander of NATO, and dean emeritus of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He is also an operating executive consultant at the Carlyle Group and chairs the board of counselors at McLarty Associates.*

The demonstrations set off by the death of George Floyd are creating remarkable crosscurrents in American society, from new ideas about police reform to an increased focus on the disparate health and economic damage African-Americans have suffered from Covid-19. There is increasing turmoil in terms of the use of the military as well.

A number of retired generals and admirals have spoken out with alarm over the last week about adding active-duty military to law enforcement, and using the Insurrection Act to do so. The appearance of National Guard troops to make the area around the White House safe for a presidential photo-op was very troubling as well.

The consistency of the commentary across the four-star retired community was remarkable. I've never seen such unanimity on any issue, particularly on what is essentially a domestic situation. Many recently retired officers who have been reticent to speak publicly were suddenly very vocal. This group included retired Marine Corps Generals Jim Mattis and John Kelly, who served, respectively, as secretary of defense and White House chief of staff under President Donald Trump.

On Sunday, Colin Powell, the former Joint Chiefs chairman and secretary of state, called out Republican lawmakers for having "nothing to say" about Trump's militarization of protest security.

Some retired officers who have been consistently critical of Trump also spoke up, including Air Force General Michael Hayden and Navy Admiral William McRaven, who commented that "every man and woman in uniform recognizes that we are all Americans and that the last thing they want to do as military men and women is to stand in the way of a peaceful protest."

Other voices included Army Generals Wesley Clark and Barry McCaffrey (the most highly decorated four-star officer in recent military history), and another former chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Admiral Mike Mullen. I know all of these men well and count several as mentors. (After much consideration, I spoke out as well about what I see as a threat to the soul of the military.)

Every member of the military swears a simple oath each time he or she is promoted: "To support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic."

But the word "domestic" does not mean that military personnel are an arm of law enforcement. The generals and admirals I cited are concerned about damage to the Constitution if active-duty troops are used to suppress protests protected by the First Amendment. None of us wants to see them pulled into an increasingly vitriolic political season in the run-up to the November election.

The active-duty military should be used domestically only when state governors request its assistance specifically if they feel unable to handle challenges with local law enforcement and the National Guard. The founders dreaded the idea of a large standing army that could be employed within the nation's borders. This was in part a result of their experiences with



British troops in the lead-up to the Revolutionary War, leading specifically to the Third Amendment of the Constitution, forbidding the forced quartering of troops in private homes.

The Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 further limited the use of the military inside the country, and ought to be respected in all but the most extreme of circumstances — certainly not to squelch unarmed and largely peaceful protests such as those at Lafayette Square outside the White House.

As Admiral Mullen put it: “We have a military to fight our enemies, not our own people.”

Former high-ranking officers are also concerned about the mix of the military and politics. This includes General Mark Milley, the current chairman of the Joint Chiefs, accompanying the president in Lafayette Square. And the troublesome refusal by Milley and Secretary of Defense Mark Esper to testify before the House Armed Services Committee. Going back, there was Trump’s intervention in the cases of accused war criminals, and the covering of the name of the destroyer John S. McCain during what was essentially a campaign rally in Yokosuka, Japan.

Yes, other administrations have tried to wrap themselves in the prestige of the military — remember George W. Bush’s “Mission Accomplished”? But it is far more worrisome with the country now so deeply divided under a president with no shame.

Our 1.2 million men and women in uniform have a solemn duty not to any one individual, but to the Constitution. In the coming months, they should not be seen wearing MAGA hats, or for that matter “No Malarkey” buttons in support of Democrat Joe Biden. Retired officers should continue to speak out — not for or against any candidate or party, but about the immense danger of pulling the military ever further into politics.

*This column does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the editorial board or Bloomberg LP and its owners.*

# WAR ON THE ROCKS

## MILITARY PRESTIGE DURING A POLITICAL CRISIS: USE IT AND YOU'LL LOSE IT

JIM GOLBY AND PETER FEAVER

JUNE 5, 2020

### COMMENTARY



*Image: White House (Photo by Shealah Craighead)*

Gen. Mark Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, walked himself into a civil-military problem when he strode across Pennsylvania Avenue earlier this week. Milley was literally following President Donald Trump, who was on his way to be photographed in front of St. John's Episcopal Church in order to counter stories about the president holed up in his basement while riots raged outside. Milley has since tried to distance himself from the visuals.

The damage, however, may have already been done.

Our research suggests that linking the prestige of the military to controversial policies carries with it unintended consequences, including the potential for reduced overall confidence in the military and increased doubts about the military's competence, truthfulness, and other dimensions of trustworthiness.

In survey experiments we conducted last June, we found that priming the public to think the military supported or opposed the president on another politicized issue — Trump's border policy — significantly damaged public trust in the military, causing drops of eight to 11 points overall. The precise results varied with both the partisanship of the respondent and whether the military was depicted as supporting or opposing the measure. But, the overall effect was marked: Wrapping the military uniform around a controversial policy comes at a price in overall public attitudes about the military.

Of course, our research shows that there is also an understandable reason for which political leaders are willing to politicize the military and, thereby, risk these unintended results. Interestingly, while the policy gets a very small increase in popularity if the public is told the military is in support of the measure, it decreases in popularity if told the opposite. As a result, hugging the military is something of an insurance policy for political leaders when they are facing severe criticism on a given measure.

For decades, American senior military officers have been complaining about being asked to serve as “wallpaper,” standing behind the president to lend gravitas — and perhaps the penumbra of public confidence in the military — to shore up the political position of a struggling administration.

However, therein lies the problem for both the military and the nation. Presidents who are struggling politically have a powerful incentive to wrap themselves in military garb precisely because the American public holds the military in high esteem. But, when the language of national security is stretched to provide cover for what is otherwise viewed as a nakedly partisan effort, it jeopardizes the very esteem for the military on which the administration relies.

Civil-military specialists have long worried about this phenomenon as a potential problem. In our experiment, we demonstrated that this problem is real. We randomly divided respondents into groups and gave them each different prompts about Trump's decision to deploy troops to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border. Then, we asked them all a battery of questions about their support for the policy, assessment of the threat, and opinions about the military.

When we gave respondents information claiming that polls showed that most troops — 65 percent in our prompts — had taken a clear side on the policy, we observed large effects. While military support for the policy had little effect on public support of the same policy, telling respondents that 65 percent of troops opposed the border policy

decreased public support of the same policy by 12 points down to 28 percent, with larger downward shifts among Republicans than Democrats.

On the other hand, reports that the military had taken a side — either side — significantly damaged public trust. Compared to the experiment's control, telling respondents that most troops supported Trump's policy decreased their confidence in the military by 11 points, from 68 percent to 57 percent. Telling them that most troops opposed Trump's policy decreased confidence slightly less with only a seven-point drop to 61 percent. Public assessments of military competence, truthfulness, partisanship, and shared values showed similar decreases, though the effects varied slightly by political party.

Interestingly, our research suggests that these effects hinge on who is sending the signal. When told it is either Trump or congressional critics who are describing military support, there is minimal effect. When the military's view of the policy is described more neutrally as a fact, alleged military support or opposition has a bigger effect on public attitudes to that same policy.

This observation then brings us to the present case: We think a picture — the picture of Milley walking out of the White House compound behind Trump on the way to the photo op at St. John's — may be worth a thousand words as it conveys the idea of support without requiring a controversial political leader to explicitly make the claim.

To be sure, defending the border from intrusions can be a legitimate national security mission for the military. Likewise, so can putting down a domestic armed insurrection. However, when there is not a consensus in the public that putting down an armed insurrection is what the military is really being asked to do — when it could look very much like a partisan political stunt rather than a serious national security concern — then partisan politics can distort the legitimacy of the action. It is precisely in such moments when political leaders will also be most tempted to attach their actions to military prestige and attempt to capitalize on the presumption of good faith that the public's trust in the military bestows.

Yet, the very act of using military prestige — and using the military — in this manner undermines the foundations of that prestige. Having the military give voice to and visually undertake politicized maneuvers erodes the very trust that leaders want to appropriate.

However, our research suggests that what Trump says about the military may matter far less than how the military and its leaders respond. Can the military continue to be non-partisan and trustworthy when it is put squarely in political crosshairs and asked to take a side?

By midweek, we had a partial answer as all of the service chiefs and particularly Milley himself had delivered thoughtful and carefully precise messages to their rank and file of

how to think and act professionally in this extraordinary moment. If the White House lets them lead in this way, the senior officers might navigate a way out of this crisis.

When the crisis is a political one rather than a national security one, public confidence in the military may be a “use it and lose it” proposition. Moreover, the consequences of lost trust amidst the volatility of the current crisis could be far more consequential for the military — and the nation — than bad poll numbers.

*Jim Golby is a defense policy advisor at the U.S. Mission to NATO. These views do not represent the U.S. Mission to NATO, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. Army.*

*Peter D. Feaver is a professor of political science and public policy and director of the American Grand Strategy Program at Duke University.*

*The New York Times*

***Milley Apologizes for Role in Trump Photo Op: ‘I Should Not Have Been There’***

President Trump’s walk across Lafayette Square, current and former military leaders say, has started a moment of reckoning in the military.

Milley, America’s Top General, Walks Into a Political Battle

By Helene Cooper

Published June 11, 2020 Updated June 12, 2020

WASHINGTON — The country’s top military official apologized on Thursday for taking part in President Trump’s walk across Lafayette Square for a photo op after the authorities used tear gas and rubber bullets to clear the area of peaceful protesters.

“I should not have been there,” Gen. Mark A. Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in a prerecorded video commencement address to National Defense University. “My presence in that moment and in that environment created a perception of the military involved in domestic politics.”

General Milley’s first public remarks since Mr. Trump’s photo op, in which federal authorities attacked peaceful protesters so that the president could hold up a Bible in front of St. John’s Church, are certain to anger the White House. Since the killing of George Floyd in police custody in Minneapolis, Mr. Trump has spent the days taking increasingly tougher stances against the growing movement for change across the country.

The back-and-forth between Mr. Trump and the Pentagon in recent days is evidence of the deepest civil-military divide since the Vietnam War — except this time, military leaders, after halting steps in the beginning, are positioning themselves firmly with those calling for change.

Associates of General Milley’s said he considered resigning, but he decided not to.

On Wednesday, the president picked another fight with the military, slapping down the Pentagon for considering renaming Army bases named after Confederate officers who fought against the Union in the Civil War. The Marine Corps has banned display of the Confederate battle flag, and leaders of both the Army and the Navy have in recent days expressed a willingness to move forward with renaming installations.

At the same time, the Senate Armed Services Committee, with bipartisan support, voted to require the Pentagon to strip military bases of Confederate names, setting up a possible election-year clash with the president.

Mr. Trump's walk across Lafayette Square, current and former military leaders said, has started a critical moment of reckoning in the military. General Milley addressed the issue head-on.

"As a commissioned uniformed officer, it was a mistake that I have learned from," General Milley said. He said he had been angry about "the senseless and brutal killing of George Floyd" and repeated his opposition to the president's suggestions that federal troops be deployed nationwide to quell protests.

General Milley's friends said that for the past 10 days, he had agonized about appearing — in the combat fatigues he wears every day to work — behind Mr. Trump during the walk, an act that critics said gave a stamp of military approval to the hard-line tactics used to clear the protesters.

During his speech on Thursday, General Milley, after expressing his disgust over the video of the killing of Mr. Floyd, spoke at length about the issue of race, both in the military and in civilian society.

"The protests that have ensued not only speak to his killing, but also to the centuries of injustice toward African-Americans," General Milley said. "What we are seeing is the long shadow of our original sin in Jamestown 401 years ago, liberated by the Civil War, but not equal in the eyes of the law until 100 years later in 1965."

He called on the military to address issues of systemic racism in the armed forces, where 43 percent of the enlisted troops are people of color, but only a tiny handful are in the ranks of senior leadership.

"The Navy and Marine Corps have no African-Americans serving above the two-star level, and the Army has just one African-American four-star," he said, referring to officers who are generals and admirals. "We all need to do better."

After protesters were cleared from areas opposite the White House on June 1, General Milley believed he was accompanying Mr. Trump and his entourage to review National Guard troops and other law enforcement personnel outside Lafayette Square, Defense Department officials said.

In the days after the photo op, General Milley told Mr. Trump that he was angered by what had happened. The two had already exchanged sharp words last Monday, when General Milley engaged the president in a heated discussion in the Oval Office over whether to send active-duty troops into the streets, according to people in the room.

General Milley argued that the scattered fires and looting in some places were dwarfed by the peaceful protests and should be handled by the states, which command local law enforcement.

Mr. Trump acquiesced, but he has continued to hold out the threat of sending active-duty troops.

Last week, Defense Secretary Mark T. Esper called a news conference to announce that he, too, opposed invoking the 1807 Insurrection Act to deploy active-duty troops across the country to quell protests, a line that a number of American military officials said they would not cross.

Although Mr. Esper's comments at the Pentagon made clear that a rise in violence in cities nationwide could prompt a change in his stance, his statement was clear. Saying that the Insurrection Act should be invoked only in the "most urgent and dire of situations," he added that "we are not in one of those situations now."

The president, aides say, has been furious with both Mr. Esper and General Milley since then. Defense Department officials say they are unsure how long either will last in their respective jobs, but they also note that Mr. Trump can ill afford to go into open warfare with the Pentagon so close to an election. And the uproar comes days before the president is to give the commencement address at West Point.

Since last Monday, General Milley has spoken with lawmakers, including Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California and Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, both Democrats. He has also spoken with many of his predecessors, as well as with Republican congressional leaders, according to people with knowledge of the conversations. In most of the exchanges, General Milley said he deeply regretted the park episode.

The Lafayette Square events brought extraordinary public criticism from a number of high-profile former military officials, including Adm. Mike Mullen, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama, and Jim Mattis, Mr. Trump's first defense secretary before he resigned in December 2018.

In fact, the episode prompted Mr. Mattis, who had avoided publicly criticizing Mr. Trump, to write a statement denouncing his former boss.

"When I joined the military, some 50 years ago, I swore an oath to support and defend the Constitution," wrote Mr. Mattis, a retired Marine four-star general. "Never did I dream that troops taking that same oath would be ordered under any circumstance to violate the constitutional rights of their fellow citizens — much less to provide a bizarre photo op for the elected commander in chief, with military leadership standing alongside."

A combat veteran who peppers his speech with references to the history of warfare, General Milley has usually gotten along with Mr. Trump, mixing banter and bluntness when he speaks with his boss, officials say. The general went against the wishes of his own father — who fought at Iwo Jima as a Marine — when he joined the Army.

In the tumultuous hours and days since the walk across Lafayette Square, General Milley has taken pains to mitigate the damage. Two days afterward, he released a letter that forcefully reminded the troops that their military was supposed to protect the right to freedom of speech. He added a handwritten codicil to his letter, some of it straying outside the margins: "We all committed our lives to the idea that is America — we will stay true to that oath and the American people."





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**A change in presidential administration always requires something of a reset in civil-military relations at the top of the government, just as changes in the makeup of Congress, particularly of the armed services and appropriations committees, can require the armed services to adjust to new civilian bosses and perhaps different policies and focuses. The changes in the wake of the 2020 election make for a significantly different civil-military relations environment: not only people, but policies, procedures, and priorities. This article compares and contrasts the Trump administration and the expectations as of January 1 of what the incoming Biden administration will look like. It might be helpful to make a list of what's likely to change and what's likely to remain the same, or similar. Using your own list, how should the armed forces adjust to the new administration? (The reading after this one contains some suggestions for building trust with civilians, not only in the White House but in OSD and the service secretaries, and other agencies and organizations.)**



<https://warontherocks.com/2021/01/biden-inherits-a-challenging-civil-military-legacy/>



## **BIDEN INHERITS A CHALLENGING CIVIL-MILITARY LEGACY**

JIM GOLBY AND PETER FEAVER

JANUARY 1, 2021

COMMENTARY



Joseph Biden will be the most experienced first-time president in nearly 30 years when he enters office, but he and his team will inherit a civil-military relationship as tenuous as any in recent memory. Not only will they have to deal with the fallout of President Donald Trump’s unusual legacy as commander-in-chief, they will need to try to avoid some of the unhealthy civil-military dynamics left over from the Obama administration. Biden and his team will grapple with all of this through a national security establishment that has changed in some important ways since Democrats last were at the helm. This would be a daunting assignment even in a stable time, but — given the potential threats on the horizon and the other crises Biden inherits — restoring a healthier civil-military balance will be especially challenging. Civilians may have the right to be wrong, but the margin for error in this environment is slim.

### **Trump’s Civil-Military Legacy**

By any measure, Trump’s tenure was a difficult one for civil-military relations. This problematic legacy can be grouped into the “4 P’s”: the president, people, processes, and politicization. The problems started at the top, with the president suffering from a civil-military tin ear — one not attuned to, and perhaps openly disrespectful of, the norms and traditions that shore up best-practices in the making and implementation of national security policy. Trump was the least-prepared occupant of the Oval Office in American history, particularly with regard to his role at the top of the national security chain of command. He also is the president who grew the least while in office, ending

his four-year term with egregious examples of the same sort of deviant practices that marred his earliest days.

To be sure, Trump had some genuine avenues of appeal to the military. He obviously admired certain aspects of military tradition — the pomp and circumstance of parades and the macho appeal of battle cries. He earned some credit by insisting on reversing the projected defense cuts of the Obama era. Polls showed that, like previous Republican candidates, more veterans preferred him to the Democratic alternative, although here his advantage was markedly less than that enjoyed by his predecessors. During his first two years in office, Trump granted the military a somewhat freer hand to pursue counter-ISIL operations, openly contrasting this approach with perceptions of Obama-era micromanagement that chafed some in the military.

But these instrumental appeals were matched with a personal style that seemed to demand personal loyalty to him rather than to the Constitution. Time and again, Trump treated his senior military leaders as if they were courtiers, rather than the professional servants of the state that they consider themselves to be. Perhaps no single moment captures this gulf better than the televised first meeting of the full Cabinet on June 12, 2017. As the camera panned the room, secretary after secretary offered up cringe-worthy paeans of personal praise to Trump until it was the turn for Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis, who reversed the tables by speaking of the honor of representing the “men and women of the Department of Defense.” The gulf remained large throughout Trump’s tenure and was reinforced in the final months when, in the midst of the president’s unprecedented efforts to overturn his electoral defeat, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mark Milley pointedly emphasized that the military “do[es] not take an oath to a king or a queen, a tyrant or a dictator. We do not take an oath to an individual. ... We take an oath to the Constitution.” That this boilerplate statement was deemed newsworthy and treated as an implicit rebuke of the president speaks volumes about the strain that Trump’s personalistic style has caused for civil-military relations.

Trump also struggled to recruit and retain experienced professionals, especially in the national security arena, in part because so many of the Republican civilian national security establishment had signed letters openly refusing to support his candidacy, even after he secured the party’s nomination. As a consequence, Trump created acute civil-military imbalances by over-relying on current and recently retired military officers to fill key political roles usually reserved for civilians. Though serving in civilian political roles, Trump referred to them as “my generals,” and he made it clear that he relied on them for military advice as much as, if not more than, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other service chiefs — the ones identified by statute as the president’s key military advisers. The administration further hollowed out the civilian ranks by filling in lower-level positions with less-qualified or impossible-to-confirm appointees who were kept on in an “acting” status to make them function more like disposable errand boys than like fully empowered executive officers. Trump’s tumultuous personnel policies carried over into even the top political positions. After Mattis departed, the Department of Defense

endured a full six months of being led by a series of acting secretaries, unprecedented in the department's history.

The combination of unfilled civilian positions and weakened oversight processes helped the Joint Staff and the combatant commands become even more powerful as bureaucratic actors, further eclipsing the civilian Office of the Secretary of Defense in the policymaking process within the Department of Defense. Again, the failure of the administration to evolve over time has been evident, with the problems bedeviling the administration in the first six months of Trump's term becoming even more acute in its last six months. The Trump administration is ending with the weakest civilian staff of any modern president.

The uneven policy processes of the Trump administration exacerbated these difficult civil-military dynamics. On issues where the president did not personally engage, an orderly process emerged roughly akin to what previous administrations developed. But when the president did engage personally, that process was jettisoned and rendered irrelevant. In its stead was an approach of "policy-by-tweet" and "advised-by-cable TV-pundits" through which the president wrong-footed his own team over and over again.

For instance, the administration produced two major strategies — the *National Security Strategy* and the *National Defense Strategy* — that were well received and well integrated with each other, as intended by statute. But they were largely irrelevant to any issue on which the president himself personally engaged. Thus, the *National Security Strategy* emphasized the importance of allies and America's treaty commitments, while Trump's personal involvement entailed denouncing allies and calling into question America's treaty commitments. It identified Russia as a principal geopolitical foe, while Trump expressed undisguised admiration for Putin and bent over backwards to excuse Russian meddling in American elections.

This dysfunction further weakened civilians vis-à-vis the military. Traditionally, civilians at lower levels in the national security policymaking process derive their influence from the extent to which they reflect the power of the president himself. But if the president rules by capricious tweet, the civilian policy adviser becomes mostly irrelevant and little of consequence stands between the commander-in-chief and the uniformed military officials who implement the orders.

These approaches fed into an overall politicization of civil-military relations, accelerating a trend that predated Trump but that became dramatically worse during his tenure. Trump spoke of the military as his natural political base — or what, in his mind, should be his base, if it had not been corrupted by "deep state" enemies determined to undermine his presidency. Thus, in a stroke, everyone in the establishment became partisan friend or foe.

If a friend — or, more accurately, *while* a friend, since, for Trump, loyalty down the chain of command was ephemeral — then no favor was too great. Trump gave the most extreme blanket pardon ever given by a president to retired three-star general Mike

Flynn, who had pled guilty to felony charges of lying to hide suspicious contacts with Russian interlocutors. Trump likewise overruled the chain of command and intervened in a precedent-breaking way to grant pardons and commutations to servicemembers charged with war crimes. These individuals repaid the president by attending campaign fundraisers for his reelection and by denouncing Trump's political enemies as if they were enemies of the United States. But if deemed a partisan foe, then no slur was too great. When the president was stung by multiple reports that he had been heard denigrating dead and wounded American veterans as "suckers and losers," Trump lashed out at senior generals and admirals as political opponents "because they want to do nothing but fight wars so that all of those wonderful companies that make the bombs and make the planes and make everything else stay happy."

As the 2020 campaign season intensified, Trump fed concerns that he would reject any electoral outcome that did not result in him getting a second term, which, in turn, led otherwise responsible observers to speculate about a possible role for the military in enforcing the electoral results on a recalcitrant incumbent. Milley sought to distance the military from this kind of speculation by underscoring the military oath to the Constitution and by emphasizing that the Constitution identified no such role for the military. Trump's stubborn refusal to allay doubts even led to the widely publicized transgression of a taboo: Senior former officials from Democratic and Republican administrations war-gamed a previously impossible-to-imagine contingency: open partisan contestation after the election that escalated to armed conflict. That war game in turn led former senior Trump officials to call for pro-Trump "counter coup" planning. Some reports even suggest that Trump recently asked the pardoned Flynn about wild conspiracy theories the latter has been spreading in the media stating that Trump has the authority to deploy the military to seize voting machines in swing states and "basically rerun an election in each of those states." The military will not follow illegal orders if Trump gives them. However even this speculation in the Oval Office is causing damage that may change expectations about the military's role in politics after Trump departs.

This legacy is disturbing, but it remains to be seen how enduring the harm will be. The nomination of retired general Lloyd Austin, only four years after Trump ignored the norm against appointing a retired general as secretary of defense, suggests some of Trump's actions may have fundamentally transformed the civil-military playing field. But it is worth distinguishing between a civil-military violation — which can range from minor to severe — and the lingering consequences of that violation — which can range from transient to enduring. To be sure, the more severe the violation, the more likely it is that the damage will take some time to undo. But not always. It is also worth noting that some parts of the civil-military system may recover from the same harm sooner than other parts.

Austin's nomination may complicate the return to regular order in the Pentagon, especially if he is not attentive to the civil-military challenges he inherits. Even so, the effects of Trump's norm-breaking behavior may be less likely to persist as long within the Defense Department and the civil-military processes that involve it as they are in the broader political and cultural milieus that feed into and underlay the policymaking

process. In breaking so many taboos for short-term political advantage, seemingly without paying an immediate price for doing so, Trump may have shaped the incentives for future presidents and other public officials to seek similar short-term political expediency. If so, the harm to civil-military relations could linger longer than a return to a semblance of regular order within the Department of Defense might suggest.

### **Lessons from the Obama Era**

Biden's team is surely lamenting the civil-military legacy it is inheriting from the Trump administration, but members of the team should also recall the flawed civil-military legacy the Obama administration left at the end of President Barack Obama's term in 2016. Although these missteps pale in comparison to the legacy Trump leaves behind, mutual mistrust often colored interactions between civilian and military leaders well before Trump entered the scene.

The Obama team's civil-military record was uneven, marred by high levels of friction and micromanagement, some real and some perceived. The Defense Department chafed against restrictions imposed by an inexperienced commander-in-chief and enforced by a National Security Council staff that had grown so large that even its own director admitted reform was necessary. Within the Department of Defense, successive changes also created challenges for the recruitment, retention, and management of the civilian professional staff with statutory responsibility for providing oversight on a daily basis. By the end of the Obama era, the secretary of defense already was starting to bypass his own civilian staff, turning instead to their military counterparts for policy advice and operational management.

Some of the responsibility for these problems also falls on senior uniformed leaders who pushed the boundaries of their policy influence by limiting options for civilian decision-makers and embracing the practice of offering what they called "best military advice." These dual trends had the effect of creating political pressure for elected leaders to accept military recommendations. Even before Trump took office, the balance between the influence of members of the Joint Staff and the Office of the Secretary of Defense was beginning to lean heavily toward the Joint Staff — a pattern that intensified in the Trump years.

Moreover, while Biden has the great advantage of having campaigned as a unity candidate, he brings in other baggage by presiding over a divided party. It is notable that the first high-profile Cabinet post that progressives within his own party chose to contest on ideological grounds was the position of secretary of defense. The divisions within the Democratic Party on defense spending, nuclear modernization, counter-terrorism, China, and even how to respond to climate change are at least as big, and perhaps bigger, than those that separate Biden from many Republican leaders in the House and Senate. Biden may have compounded this problem by nominating a retired general to a post that will require strong political skills to work across a divided party and with a divided Congress while also trying to reestablish atrophied processes in a Defense Department that looks much different than it did four years ago.



Biden's team may also suffer the negative consequences of the repeated appeals made by Democrats, Never Trump Republicans, and others during the Trump era for the military to function as "the adults in the room" by checking Trump as he sought to implement controversial policies. A military bureaucracy that has been praised for slow-rolling policies it does not like probably will not quickly unlearn those techniques. Indeed, many of these habits were evident even before Trump. It may be only a matter of time before the Biden team encounters some bureaucratic friction of its own. These unhelpful military tendencies may well be exacerbated by the gender and, perhaps, age dynamics that veterans of the Obama administration identified and lamented. It is highly likely that the Biden team will boast placing a record number of women national security professionals in key positions throughout the administration. Some may also be significantly younger than their military counterparts, even though most will have had significant Defense Department experience of their own. The Obama administration discovered that it took time for the military to adjust to these changing social realities: There were far too many episodes of gross unprofessionalism, many by military leaders who failed to show women political appointees the respect they deserved in the process.

To be sure, the new Biden team will not be a carbon copy of the Obama team and even those that return will do so with new perspective and their own lessons learned in the interval. However, they would be wise to recognize that a rapid shift in leadership styles now may create a sort of civil-military whiplash. The Biden team almost certainly will want to reestablish processes that provide greater civilian direction for war plans, budgeting, and global priorities. After four years of relative autonomy for the Joint Staff and combatant commands, combined with reduced daily civilian oversight due to under-filled political positions in the Pentagon, a micromanagement narrative could almost write itself. Biden and his team will need to be attuned to these dynamics and look for early opportunities to establish trust and clarify their expectations about the civil-military relationship while also providing senior military officers a real voice in the policy process that makes them feel respected and heard.

### **The Institutional Context**

Biden's team will have to manage these challenges with a toolbox that is under severe fiscal constraint and with military leaders who already believe they are strapped thin. Trump did manage to increase defense spending trends and slightly decrease the number of American military personnel deployed abroad, resulting in a meaningful reinvestment in defense capabilities and a moderate decrease in operational tempo. But future defense budgets will be under severe pressure, perhaps rivaling in the aggregate the kinds of cuts imposed by the Budget Control Act, though hopefully with more flexibility and predictability to manage them in more sensible ways than the threat of a sequester straitjacket permitted. Moreover, the decline in foreign deployments was matched, and in some cases exceeded, by a decline in "permanent" foreign basing. The result is that the strains of military deployments on military personnel and their families are as great as in earlier periods, when a larger number and a greater scale of deployments were supported by more robust foreign basing infrastructure. To pick just

one example: A shorter NATO rotation to Germany or Poland without family accompanying (and without combat pay as a sweetener) could impose more strain on morale than a longer rotation with family. There are few signs that civilian and military leaders fully understand these challenges or that they are willing to make difficult tradeoffs.

In the meantime, the last four years have seen a failure to make the needed investments in the other tools of statecraft, particularly diplomacy and development. While morale in the foreign policy and national security ranks will likely improve, at least initially, with the return of something resembling establishment values, the damage caused by deferred or dysfunctional approaches to human capital will hobble the Biden team for some time to come and will, in particular, make it hard to quickly rebuild the capacity of civilian services to match advances in the uniformed ranks — especially in the face of the prolonged resource fights to come. The Trump team was especially vigorous in burrowing in some of its most partisan and suspect appointments into civil service positions and on bipartisan boards within the national security establishment. An early challenge for the Biden team will be deciding — likely on a case-by-case basis — whether the restoration of the “above-partisan-politics” norm in these areas requires engaging in the seemingly partisan practice of cleaning house, or whether the norm would be made stronger through greater forbearance. None of these choices will be straightforward.

In terms of the institutional environment, legislative changes and four years of weak civilian control mean that Biden will face a much stronger chairman of the Joint Chiefs and associated Joint Staff than he faced barely four years ago. The 2017 National Defense Authorization Act granted the chairman additional responsibilities for global integration, technically expanding only his advisory role. In practice, these powers have become more expansive, with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff taking on some roles that traditionally had fallen to the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Trump administration officials also changed some of the procedures for war plan reviews and political guidance, reducing the number of interactions between military leaders and mid-level political appointees that previously had provided the civilian Office of the Secretary of Defense more opportunities to play an active oversight role. Trump’s unorthodox and tumultuous personnel policies also shifted practical authority to the Joint Staff. Long nomination delays and unfilled civilian posts resulting from Trump administration infighting weakened that office further, leaving Mattis and his successors more beholden to the advice and influence of the better-staffed and more efficient Joint Staff. Trump’s first chairman, Gen. Joe Dunford, enjoyed an unusually close and trusting relationship with Mattis, whom Dunford had served under as a marine. A similar dynamic also existed between Milley and Secretary of Defense Mark Esper, who had led the Army as chief of staff and secretary, respectively, during the early days of the Trump administration.

The appointment of Austin risks exacerbating this unbalance, unless he takes pains to develop and empower a capable team of civilians in his immediate office and within the larger Office of the Secretary of Defense — a point that has already been emphasized.

The initial signs on this front are encouraging. The announcement that the Biden administration will nominate Kathleen Hicks as the first female deputy secretary of defense and Colin Kahl as the undersecretary of defense for policy ensure that strong, experienced civilian leaders who take civil-military issues seriously will hold key roles in the Pentagon assuming the Senate confirms their appointments, as we fully expect. The unofficial reports that Austin will pick Kelly Magsamen as his chief of staff, likewise puts a well-connected civilian with political experience in a key position. We both know all these individuals well, and one of us has worked for Hicks (who oversaw Golby's work on the "Thank You for Your Service" podcast) and Kahl (who was Golby's direct supervisor on Vice President Biden's national security staff).

Even with these capable selections, the civil-military dynamics awaiting the new secretary of defense and his team in the Pentagon will be daunting. Because of the policy and personnel dynamics during the Trump administration, the Joint Staff and the combatant commanders have become accustomed to a greater degree of autonomy and influence. Biden's political appointees, sitting at the head of the table and asking detailed questions, will immediately cause some friction between these groups. They also will find themselves with smaller staffs, fewer resources, and a shorter institutional memory than their military counterparts. Some of the savviest members of the Biden team will recognize in these challenges echoes of the challenges political appointees faced late in the Obama years. But their intensity in combined form will stretch Biden and members of his team in new ways. They must not let their well-intentioned — and much needed — desire to reestablish processes of civilian oversight undermine the trust necessary for effective civil-military cooperation.

At the same time, senior military officers on the Joint Staff and at the combatant commands should prepare their staffs for increased expectations of public transparency, civilian interaction, and intrusive questioning than that to which they have become accustomed in recent years. A culture that pronounces micromanagement at the first sign of tough questioning can also undermine the trust required for effective civil-military communication. Iterative discussion and questioning are an essential part of the process of aligning military ways and means with political ends. More developed process and predictability can benefit the military, too, but there will be conflict and misunderstanding as these institutional muscles learn to flex again. However, the Biden team will bear the primary burden of demonstrating that its goal is not civilian control for the sake of control, but rather civil-military trust and cooperation geared toward the shared goal of effective national security policies.

## **The Societal Setting**

Perhaps the aspect that will take the Biden team the longest to adjust to is the new societal context — the social milieu in which these civil-military dynamics take place. In a nutshell, the Biden administration must adjust to deeper political polarization and changing attitudes about the appropriate role of serving and retired military officers in foreign policy and national security debates.

Two survey comparisons underscore this challenge: a 2014 YouGov survey — the closest thing we have to a comparable survey from the time Biden was in the White House — and nationally-representative surveys of 4,500 Americans that the National Opinion Research Center conducted on our behalf in 2019 and 2020 (and that are proprietary until we finish a book on this topic) that reflect the environment today. We do not have enough active duty military in these samples to offer statistically meaningful descriptions of the attitudes of the actual personnel who will constitute the “military” in civil-military policymaking, but previous surveys have shown that the attitudes of veterans, particularly of recent veterans, is a satisfactory proxy that can guide our understanding. While some civil-military gaps we explored in both surveys are overstated because they are driven primarily by demographic differences, others have grown and will create sharper civil-military challenges for the Biden administration. We also have found several areas where civilian and veteran respondents largely agree, but in ways that undermine civilian control over policy processes.

Among the most striking findings from the 2014 snapshot was a “familiarity gap” tied to the lack of public knowledge about the military. Despite numerous ongoing American troop deployments, many civilian respondents — often as many as a quarter or a third — would not even venture to answer basic questions about the military. Civilian and veteran respondents also expressed very different views about whether and how to use military force. In general, veterans were more reluctant to express support for the use of military force than civilian respondents, but civilians were more likely to favor troop limits or other restrictions when troops were deployed. Both civilian and veteran respondents expressed growing support for various forms of military resistance to unwise civilian orders. With respect to traditional civil-military norms and best practices, these findings — including that majorities of nearly all subgroups supported the idea of military resignation in protest — were somewhat troubling. In part, these civil-military trends were likely the result of broader societal trends reflecting lost public confidence in elected officials. In 2014, nearly 80 percent of all respondents reported that political leaders do not share the public’s values. In contrast, nearly three-quarters of Americans expressed confidence in the military, with only small differences between civilian and veteran populations. These attitudes extended and intensified long-standing patterns seen in other surveys during the post-Cold War Era.

Today, this dynamic persists and is intensified still further. In 2020, approximately 69 percent of Americans express “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of confidence in the military, down slightly from 74 percent in 2019 and 2014. Even at 69 percent, esteem for the military is higher than it is for any other national institution, and indeed far higher than it is for Congress, the Supreme Court, or the presidency. The public’s confidence in the military is highly conditioned on partisanship, with 82 percent of Republicans expressing confidence in the military compared to just 60 percent of Democrats, reflecting a five-point larger difference between parties than in 2014. Biden’s slice of the electorate in 2020 also contains large groups that harbor serious concerns about the military. Only 53 percent of self-identified liberals express confidence in the military, with confidence dropping below 49 percent for both women liberals and non-white liberals. Our research suggests even these numbers may overstate the public’s true confidence in the military

by as much as 20 percentage points due to social pressure, however. Yet, the fact that many Americans feel this pressure is itself a sign of the military's influence in American society and politics.

The five-point drop in confidence from 2019 to 2020 may, in part, be due to the military's involvement in a number of controversies related to the Black Lives Matter protests during the summer of 2020. Although Trump ultimately decided against invoking the Insurrection Act to use active duty troops in support of law enforcement on domestic soil, members of the National Guard did back up federal law enforcement in Washington, D.C. on June 1, when they cleared Lafayette Square prior to Trump's photo op at St. John's church. We did find differences between civilian and military attitudes about the use of the Insurrection Act, however. As many as 57 percent of veterans told us they would support the use of active duty troops if protests continued compared to only 41 percent of civilians. We also primed a subset of respondents with reports suggesting the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff opposed the use of active duty troops. The views of civilians who received this prompt did not change at all, but support among veterans who received this prompt dropped 8 points to 49 percent. While pundits and national journalists focused on the electoral implications of retired generals' comments, our survey suggests their statements were likely more influential in shaping the attitudes of veterans and service members on this narrow issue.

The Biden administration's commitment to restoring normal processes may give it an initial civil-military honeymoon, but it should not expect that to translate automatically into deference or an easy civil-military relationship. In our 2020 survey, 62 percent of all veterans and 66 percent of post-9/11 veterans agreed with the statement, "Civilians who have not been to war should not question those who have." In contrast, 42 percent of civilians agreed with the statement while only 30 percent disagreed, suggesting that pressure for civilian leaders to defer to military officers emanates from both groups. Post-9/11 veterans — who volunteered to serve in America's all-volunteer force during America's longest military conflicts with no full-time mobilization of society — also expressed some open contempt in our survey for those who did not volunteer. A full 60 percent of post-9/11 veterans "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that the eligible Americans who did not volunteer to serve during wartime should feel guilty compared to just 43 percent of older veterans and 22 percent of civilians. Given perceptions that the Biden team will be prone to micromanagement, members of the Joint Staff may find it easy to fall back into those familiar narratives when new political appointees enter the Defense Department prepared to reestablish oversight and processes that have laid somewhat dormant since the Obama years.

The Biden team should also expect some normal points of civil-military friction on policy and missions to emerge. In general, veteran and military respondents in our survey are more likely to believe the military's most important role is to compete with great powers like China and Russia, especially when compared to Democratic respondents. Veteran respondents are also more hawkish on Iran than civilian respondents. They also tend to be more optimistic, though only slightly so, on the success of military operations in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Although only 13 percent of all civilians and 10 percent of

Democrats agreed that these operations have been “very successful,” 24 percent of post-9/11 veterans said the same. Veterans were also particularly optimistic on progress in Afghanistan, though there are notable generational divides: 44 percent of post-9/11 veterans “agree” or “strongly agree” that the United States has accomplished its goals in Afghanistan while 39 percent “disagree” or “strongly disagree.” Older veterans and civilians break 30-47 and 21-39, respectively. Post-9/11 veterans are also particularly supportive of troop reductions in the context of the deal with the Taliban with 54 percent in support and only 29 percent against. While there is some civilian support among civilians for troop reductions as part of a deal with the Taliban, a 40 percent plurality of civilians chose “no opinion” when asked about both troop reductions and military success in Afghanistan. Most Americans simply are not paying much attention.

## **Conclusion**

Civil-military relationships are not an end in themselves. These relationships exist only to provide effective national security policies in a given geopolitical environment in the context of democratic accountability. Unfortunately, the environment is not benign. As they sort through the civil-military and institutional baggage — the items they bring with them and the items they inherit — Biden’s team must also navigate intensified great-power conflict, persistent instability in the broader Middle East, strained ties with key allies, and little progress on all of the other stubborn problems that have bedeviled leaders in the post-Cold War era, including: the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, transnational networks of terrorism, failed states, and ethnic rivalries. And, of course, Biden must still lead the country out of the worst pandemic in a century while recovering from all of the associated economic upheaval. There will be no strategic holiday during which the Biden team can painstakingly sort through its civil-military affairs.

The new commander-in-chief starts with the enormous advantage of being “not Trump.” He will need all of that advantage — and will need to have learned from Obama-era missteps — in order to navigate through the tricky civil-military waters we have described above. Members of the Biden team come in as seasoned professionals, but we hope that leads them to caution and humility rather than unwariness and hubris as they conduct national security policy. If Lloyd Austin wins over the critics and proves himself to be both fully sensitive to these civil-military realities and savvy in how he seeks to overcome them, he may yet emerge as the successful and strong secretary of defense the Department of Defense so desperately needs. The early slate of civilian nominees named for key roles is a welcome sign. The initial weeks after the inauguration will be of particular importance in setting the tone, especially after the tumultuous and stressful transition. Even so, the norm of civilian management of the Defense Department will be more difficult to reestablish, like so many other civil-military norms that have weakened in recent years, if Congress does grant another recently-retired general permission to serve as secretary of defense. Biden, and Austin, will need all the top civilian defense talent they can get.

Notwithstanding all of the other urgent priorities vying for his attention, neglect of the civil-military file would likely impose intolerable costs on Biden down the road — a price that would be vividly evident, sooner or later, when an urgent national security crisis takes center stage. The only prudent course is for the Biden team to attend to both policy and process at the same time — to move out quickly on the pandemic and the economy, while also setting the national security establishment on the path to healthier civil-military relations. Problems in the civil-military foundations of an administration must be fixed before a crisis lays bare the rot that may lie just out of view.

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**The literature on Civil-Military Relations often leaves professional officers and political leaders in a state of uncertainty. Scholars, observers, and practitioners often disagree. What are the essential issues that cause tension, disagreement, and misunderstanding? How should each behave in the interaction, and treat the other? What might the future bring in this relationship, so crucial to the nation's security and overall well-being?**

### **Civil-Military Behaviors that Build Trust**

Richard H. Kohn

(Adapted from Kohn, "Building Trust: Civil-Military Behaviors for Effective National Security," *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era*, ed. by Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009], 2264-289, 379-389.)

#### **For Senior Military:**

1. Do everything possible to **gain trust with the civilians**: no games, no leaking, no attempts at manipulation, no denying information, no slow rolling, no end runs to Congress or up the chain, but total openness. Many, and probably most, civilians come into office without necessarily trusting the military, knowing that they have personal views, ideologies, ambitions, institutional loyalties, and institutional perspectives and agendas. There has been so much controversy, friction, and politicization in the last decades that they'd have to be Rip Van Winkles to think otherwise. Some, perhaps many, both fear and are jealous of senior military leaders: for their accomplishments, achievements, bravery, rank, status, and legitimacy in American society.
2. Insist on the right to give the military perspective, without varnish. But do not be purposefully frightening so as to manipulate outcomes--but straight, thoughtful professional advice. At the same time, do not speak out: that is, **speak up but not out**. Keep it confidential and don't let subordinates or staffs leak the advice or let it become public unless it arises appropriately in testimony before Congress. If the civilians want your advice known, let them make it known.
3. **Do what's right from a moral and professional perspective, and don't let the civilians force anything otherwise**. Help them. If they are making mistakes, warn them but then leave it at that. They have the right and the authority to make mistakes, and if they insist, then the military leadership should not prevent it by behaviors that undermine civilian control, which is foundational in American government. Military leaders have neither the experience, perspective, or functional responsibility to judge fully implications and outcomes. The integrity of our system of government overrides any conceivable national security problem short of the survival of the Republic—again, a judgment beyond the military profession.
4. **Anticipate the civilians in military policy** in terms of changing, reforming, adjusting, and thinking through national security problems, innovation, alternative thinking, etc. Evolution, transformation—however labeled—is ongoing and managing it is a chief professional duty. The standard is what's best for national defense, best for the country, broadly conceived—not necessarily what benefits one's service, or command, or the military in general. If some change or policy is in one's best professional judgment deleterious, say so when appropriate but leave it at that.

5. **Resist pressures.** Five come to mind but indeed there may be more.

A. First, **Careerism.** The pressure to conform, to stay silent, to go along, to do what'll advance one's career, while universal, is one of the most deadly behaviors for effective civil-military relations. Do not remain silent. Do not suppress open discussion and debate in one's unit, command, or service in order to avoid angering civilian superiors. National defense requires that the military communicate honestly inside its institutions the proper courses of action, in the studying of warfare and current and past operations, in projections about the need for weapons, in doctrine and strategy and tactics, and in a large variety of professional issues and concerns. One cannot keep faith with subordinates or the American people by avoiding proper professional behavior. The military profession respects most, and requires, physical courage. All professions require and respect moral courage.

B. Second, what could be called **Institutionalism:** doing what's best for one's service, command, unit, etc. when the larger national interest suggests otherwise. Few things arouse more suspicion and engender more distrust from civilian leaders, Congress, and the American people. This lowers the reputation and credibility of the military.

C. **Politicization.** Don't be driven by personal ideology or belief about what are the best policy outcomes in offering advice or any other behavior. An officer's political leanings or affiliation should never come up or become known. To function as the neutral servant of the state, the military must be seen to be not non-partisan, but un-partisan—simply above and beyond partisan politics. George C. Marshall wrote: "I have never voted, my father was a democrat, my mother was a republican, and I am an Episcopalian." Any discussion of partisan politics is out of bounds because it politicizes. If you vote, keep it private as a personal matter. There is a reason that in the old Navy, three subjects were out of bounds for discussion in the wardroom: sex, religion, and politics. All of them can cause dissension or can erode the neutrality and objectivity of an officer and the military as an institution. A distinguished senior general was once called by the White House personnel office, considering him for a job requiring Senate confirmation, to inquire of his party affiliation. The General told his aide, "tell them it's none of their business." Ten days later they called again; same response. Actually, the General should have told them, "as an officer in the American armed forces, I have no party affiliation."

D. **Manipulation.** Do not carry the water for the civilians on political as opposed to professional issues. Defending the necessity of a war, promoting a particular policy or decision, explaining how the war is going from anything other than a strictly military viewpoint is not the military's role, but merely politicizes the military, and if the issues are at all contested, reduces the military's credibility as the neutral servant of the state and its legitimacy in national life, both with the public and opposition political leaders, with attendant harm to civil military respect and trust. A recent Chairman of the Joint Chiefs on more than one occasion told public audiences that terrorism was the most dangerous threat the country faced since the Civil War. Not only did this lack believability as a historical interpretation, but it politicized the Chairman and injected him into partisan political debate.

E. **Resignation.** Personal and professional honor do not require request for reassignment or retirement when one's service, command, unit, department, or

government pursues something with which you disagree. The military's role is to advise and then execute lawful orders. One individual's definition of what is morally or professionally ethical is not necessarily the same as another's, or society's. Even those officers at the top of the chain of command—much less those below—are in virtually all cases unaware of all the larger national and international considerations involved, which is the realm of the politicians, elected and appointed. If officers at various levels measure all policies, decisions, orders, and operations in which they are involved by their own moral and ethical systems, and act thereon, the military would be in chaos.

Resignation—the act, the threat, even the hint—is a threat to the civilians to use the prestige and moral legitimacy and standing of the military in American society to oppose a policy or decision. It inherently violates civilian control. Nothing except lying does more to undermine civil-military trust. A senior officer whom the President permits to retire or reassigns can abandon their troops and the country if he or she feels the absolute necessity, in a most extraordinary situation. If so, however, the leaving must be done in silence in order to keep faith with the oath to the Constitution, that is, to preserve, defend, and protect it—because pervasive in that document is civilian control.

6. Finally, there are **professional obligations that extend into retirement** for the most senior military officers that connect directly to civil-military relations. The most important dictates against using one's status as a respected military leader to summon the reputation of the American military for disinterested patriotism, impartial service, and political neutrality, to commit political acts that in fact undermine civil-military relations and contribute to the politicization of their profession. Officers do not hang up their profession norms and values with their uniform, any more than lawyers or doctors do when they retire, or for that matter any other professional. When college professors retire, they do not suddenly promote or condone plagiarism. To endorse presidential candidates or to attack an administration in which they served at a senior level when it is still in office violates an old, and well-established professional tradition; it uses the legitimacy of the military and its reputation for impartiality for what is or inevitably becomes a partisan purpose. It tells officers still on active duty that it's OK to be partisan; it suggests to the American people that the military is just another interest group with its own agenda, rather than the neutral servant of the state; it warns politicians not to trust officers, and to choose the senior military leadership more for political and ideological loyalty and compatibility than for professional accomplishment, experience, candor, strength and steadfastness of character, courage, and capacity for highest responsibility. And it suggests that senior military officers cannot be trusted in the civil-military dialogue to keep confidences, not to abuse candid interchange, or not to undermine their bosses politically—in other words, it corrupts the civil-military relationship for those who still must work with civilians in the most intimate circumstances of policy and decision-making to defend the country.

#### **For Senior Civilians:**

1. **Get to know the military:** the people, the profession, the institutions, the culture and its needs, assumptions, perspectives, and behaviors in order to permit proper and informed decisions on the myriad of issues that decide peace and war. Read, travel, interact, and listen. Delegate but do not make the mistake of thinking that military issues, weapons, processes, behaviors, systems, strategies, operations, or even tactics are so esoteric or technical that they cannot be understood, and that civilian authority must be surrendered to uniformed personnel. Responsibility in the end will not be delegated with the authority. Ask many questions, continually, until there are answers that can be understood, and that make sense.

2. **Treat military people and their institutions with genuine respect**, and if that proves personally difficult or is insincere, serve elsewhere in government, or not at all. See to the needs of the troops insofar as at all possible, for it is one of the prime norms of military service that leaders take care of their people--their physical and emotional needs--before they take care of their own, down to the lowest enlisted ranks and most recent recruits.

3. **Support and defend the military** against unwarranted and unfair criticism and attacks, represent their needs and viewpoints elsewhere in government even if you are pursuing policies, or making or executing decisions that they do not like, such as cuts in forces or resources. Throwing them under the bus strains their loyalty and candor in spite of their professional obligations. It is not the job of civilians in the executive branch to criticize the military personally or institutionally. Political leadership includes political cover; if you want the military to stay out of politics, then you have to assume the responsibility.

4. At the same time, **work to de-politicize national defense**: don't use it for partisan advantage just as one attempts to avoid others from using it for partisan purposes against the Administration. Partner with the Congress in every way possible to avoid the *ménage à trois*.

5. **Hold the military accountable** for its actions, within the normal, legitimate processes of the services and the Department of Defense. Do not be afraid to relieve or replace officers who do not perform their duties satisfactorily, as long as this is accomplished after due consideration, and in a fair and appropriate manner. Officers who need to be relieved do not need to be dishonored or disgraced, after a lifetime of service that qualified them and earned them high rank, for mistakes or malfeasance. The firing is enough of a penalty.

6. Likewise **do not hide behind the military** for your own, or your colleagues, mistakes or when bad things happen. Be personally accountable and responsible; one gains enormous credibility and respect for taking the political heat, and for protecting the military and not trying to shift the blame to them and leave them exposed because of civilian decisions or unexpected developments that they were not necessarily responsible for anticipating. If civilian control means civilians have the ultimate authority, they also have the ultimate responsibility and accountability.

7. **Exercise authority gracefully and forcefully** but not abusively, or peremptorily, or at the expense of anyone's personal or professional dignity. Military people want and respect forceful leadership. They want decisions, guidance, instructions, goals (in as explicit and comprehensive form as possible), and above all, in a timely fashion so that time, money, and most importantly lives are not wasted because of indecision or uncertainty. If they cannot have that, be certain to explain exactly why not. The military wants and needs as ordered and as predictable a world as possible in order to deal with the chaos and unpredictability of war; make every effort to meet deadlines and keep to schedules so that they do not succumb to the feeling that dealing with you is . . . war.