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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

- Call Number: 355 /00240
 Author:
 Title: Sword and mace : twentieth--century civil-military relations in Britain
 Edition: 1st ed.
 Published: London : Brassey's Defence Publications, 1986
 Description: xv, 174 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.
 Notes: Cover title: Sword & mace. Bibliography: p. 153-169. Includes index
 Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN
 GREAT BRITAIN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT--20TH CENTURY
 Added Entries: Sweetman, John, ed.
 ISBN: 0080311814
- Call Number: 355.3 /00083
 Author:
 Title: Drei Jahrzehnte Innere Führung : Grundlagen, Entwicklungen, Perspektiven
 Edition: 1. Aufl.
 Published: Baden-Baden : Nomos, 1987
 Description: 195 p. ; 23 cm.
 Series: Militar, Rustung, Sicherheit ; Bd. 48
 Notes: Includes bibliographical references. Fragen an die Begründer der Inneren Führung / Wolf Graf von Baudissin, Heinz Karst -- Innere Führung, Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen des Wehrbeauftragten ... / Karl Wilhelm Berkhan -- Konzeptionelle Probleme der Inneren Führung / Armin Kolb -- Lagefeststellung und Frühwarnsystem Innere Führung / Klaus Heinen --
 Subject(s): MILITARY DISCIPLINE--GERMANY (WEST)
 CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--GERMANY (WEST)
 SOCIOLOGY, MILITARY--GERMANY (WEST)
 LEADERSHIP
 GERMANY (WEST)--ARMED FORCES--HISTORY
 Added Entries: Walz, Dieter, ed.
 ISBN: 3789014109
- Call Number: 355 /00291
 Author:
 Title: Gorbachev and his Generals : The Reform of Soviet Military Doctrine
 Published: Boulder, CO : Westview, 1990
 Description: viii, 239 p. ; 22 cm.
 Notes: Includes index. 'This book investigates the debate over Soviet military doctrine and changes in civil-military relations in the Soviet Union since 1985. It also examines whether or not the impetus behind the reform of Soviet military doctrine is primarily economic in character.'
 Subject(s): USSR--MILITARY POLICY
 GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL SERGEEVICH, 1931-
 CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--USSR
 Added Entries: Green, William C., 1956- , ed.
 Karasik, Theodore William, ed.
 ISBN: 0813378982

* This list contains material received as of January 2000 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 14 janvier 2000.

Call Number: 355 /00324
Author:
Title: The Military in the Service of Society and Democracy : The
Challenge of the Dual-Role Military
Published: Westport, CT : Greenwood Press, 1994
Description: xi, 229 p.; 24 cm.
Notes: Bibliography: p. 211-214. Includes index.
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--ISRAEL
Added Entries: Ashkenazy, Daniella, ed.
ISBN: 0313290040

Call Number: 355.2 /00090
Author:
Title: Communist Armies in Politics
Published: Boulder, CO : Westview, 1982
Description: xi, 225 p.; 24 cm.
Notes: Includes index. 'This book analyzes the historical and
contemporary political roles of armies in the majority of the
world's Communist countries, stressing the problems faced and
overcome by Communist parties in the creation and development
of legitimate and effective armies. Emphasized are such
variables as the nature of revolution, the role of civil war,
and the extent of external interference (particularly from the
Soviet Union). The authors show how these variables are key
factors in determining the path of army political
development.'
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
Added Entries: Adelman, Jonathan R., ed.
ISBN: 0891588809

Call Number: 355 /00346
Author:
Title: Democratic and Civil Control over Military Forces : Case
Studies and Perspectives
Published: Rome : NATO Defense College, 1995
Description: xvi, 188 p.; 23 cm.
Series: NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 3
Notes: 'This is a compilation of essays written by experts who were
brought together by the NDC on the occasion of the 1994
International Research Seminar in conjunction with the
Institute of International Studies in Sofia, Bulgaria.'
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
Added Entries: Gilman, Ernest, ed.
Herold, Detlef E., ed.
NATO Defence College (IT)
ISBN: 8890003626

Call Number: 355 /00151
Author:
Title: Civil-Military Relations in Communist Systems
Published: Boulder, CO : Westview, 1978
Description: xiii, 273 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
Notes: Includes index. 'This book represents the first attempt to
deal with the problem of how to conceptualize the
civil-military relations of communist systems within a common
intellectual framework. The opening chapters present three
major constructs originally designed for analyzing
civil-military relations in the USSR : the interest group
approach, the institutional congruence approach, and the
participatory model. In subsequent chapters the utility of
these approaches is tested against a wide variety of communist
systems, including those of Cuba, the USSR, China, Romania,
Hungary, the GDR and Poland. In probing these issues for the
first time, the authors shed considerable light on the
transnational differences and similarities among communist
systems, and the dynamics of civil-military relations in all

communist systems.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
Added Entries: Herspring, Dale Roy, ed.
Volgyes, Ivan, 1936- , ed.
ISBN: 0712908757

Call Number: 355 /00347

Author:

Title: Civil-Military Relations in the Soviet and Yugoslav Successor States

Published: Boulder, CO : Westview, 1996

Description: xxviii, 279 p.; 24 cm.

Notes: Includes index. 'From open civil war in Bosnia and Georgia to the Russian president's use of military units against an uncooperative parliament, civil-military conflicts in the former USSR and Yugoslavia are increasingly attracting world-wide attention and concern. This volume brings together fourteen essays that explore the roles of the armed forces in the ongoing struggles for control over the processes of state formation and government in these newly independent countries. Twelve chapters focus on the experiences of particular countries in the region; and introductory and concluding chapters draw out commonalities and differences among the cases, comparing them with one another as well as with post-authoritarian regimes elsewhere in the world.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--YUGOSLAVIA
FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--ARMED FORCES--POLITICAL ACTIVITY
YUGOSLAVIA--ARMED FORCES--POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Added Entries: Danopoulos, Constantine P., ed.

Zirker, Daniel, ed.

ISBN: 0813388465

Call Number: 355 /00354

Author:

Title: Civil-Military Relations and the Not-Quite Wars of the Present and Future

Published: Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1996

Description: viii, 34 p.; 23 cm.

Notes: 'In September 1995, the University of Kentucky's Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce and the US Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute hosted a symposium surveying the area between the high end of humanitarian intervention and the low end of low-intensity conflict in the not-quite wars that US forces have been engaging in since the end of the Cold War. The papers presented here on various aspects of civil-military relations resulted from this symposium. Military intervention is nothing new in American history. In their role as commander-in-chief, presidents resorted to this strategem with some regularity prior to World War II and have done so since 1945 with increasing frequency. But the symposium examined the argument that the pattern of interventions since the end of the Cold War, although sharing some characteristics with traditional patterns, represents a new trend.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)--USA

Added Entries: Davis, Vincent, ed.

US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Call Number: 355 /00358

Author:

Title: The Political Role of the Military : An International Handbook

Published: Westport, CT : Greenwood Press, 1996

Description: xv, 517 p.; 25 cm.

Notes: Includes index. 'This handbook was designed to identify and explain the factors responsible for the political role of military organizations in different societies. The political role here means the substantial and purposeful involvement of the armed forces in the making and allocation of wealth and of social and political values, including national security. The relevant variables involve class, the size of the military organizations, recruitment patterns, the social background of the officer corps, professionalism, and geopolitical factors. In addition, economic factors such as trade, budgetary concerns, dependency, and the level of economic development are issues for consideration. Each contributor has chosen the relevant weighing of variables for the particular national context.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT

Added Entries: Danopoulos, Constantine P., ed.
Watson, Cynthia Ann, ed.

ISBN: 0313288372

Call Number: 355 /00360

Author:

Title: Military Assistance to the Civil Authorities in Democracies : Case Studies and Perspectives

Published: Frankfurt : Lang, 1997

Description: 145 p.; 21 cm.

Series: Euro-Atlantic Security Studies ; 4

Notes: 'This monograph examines from several national and comparative standpoints the framework within which military organizations can contribute to the well-being of civilian society when in need of support during normal times or periods of crisis in a domestic or international setting. It is therefore concerned, inter alia, with the risks and challenges posed by organized crime, unlawful drugs, terrorism, illegal or mass migration, and peacetime contingencies that will continually require updated and more sophisticated forms of supportive interaction between the civil and the military authorities.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
ARMED FORCES--CIVIC ACTION

Added Entries: NATO Defence College (IT)

ISBN: 0820431990

Call Number: 355 /00372

Author:

Title: Conference on Civil-Military Relations in the Context of an Evolving NATO

Published: Budapest : Ministry of Defence, 1997

Description: 236 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

Notes: Budapest, 15-17 September 1997.

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--CEE
NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added Entries: Ministry of Defence (HU)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (HU)

Call Number: 355 /00987

Author: Barylski, Robert V.

Title: The Soldier in Russian Politics : Duty, Dictatorship and Democracy under Gorbachev and Yeltsin

Published: New Brunswick, NJ : Transaction Publishers, 1998

Description: xii, 510 p.; 24 cm.

Notes: Bibliography: p. 491-498. Includes index. 'This is the first study to go beyond familiar accounts of the main events that brought down the Soviet state and began its reconstruction. It captures the interplay between soldier and civilian politicians in a major political history based on solid political-sociological analysis. The author uses the study of civil-military relations to explore new political and intellectual conditions and explain the historic relationship between changes in Western models of Russian reality and political change in the former Soviet Union. Examining the military's participation in every major, twentieth-century, political change from 1917 to 1991, the author demonstrates that every deep political transformation in Russia has military dimensions. Barylski discusses how the Russian presidency's power to command and control the military without legislative checks and balances led to armed conflict with Parliament in October 1993 and to the Chechen war of 1994-1996, and is unhealthy for long term democratic development. Barylski analyzes ministers of defense Yazov, Shaposhnikov, Grachev and Rodionov as political actors, traces the careers of ambitious political soldiers such as Aleksandr Lebed and Aleksandr Rutskoi and describes the military's growing political alienation from the Yeltsin administration. His final chapters cover the presidential elections, the short-lived Yeltsin-Lebed political alliance, the tensions associated with Yeltsin's ailments, and Yeltsin's efforts to rebuild his personal power and political effectiveness.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

ISBN: 1560003359

Call Number: 355 /00329

Author: Bichniewicz, Michal

Rudnicki, Piotr M.

Title: The Parliamentary Control over Defence Policy and the Armed Forces in NATO Countries : Solutions for the Visegrad Group countries

Published: Warsaw : Centre for International and Defence Studies, 1994

Description: [s.p.]; 30 cm.

Notes: Project supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Institutional Fellowships Programme on Democratic Institutions, 1993/94. 'The first part of this paper is an introduction to the theory of civil-military relations. The second and third parts of the study are devoted to the consideration of the principles of civil supremacy and civil control over the military in democratic societies. The fourth part of the research contains an extensive study of civil-military relations, and means of civilian control over the military in NATO countries (US, Netherlands and UK). A special attention is paid to the parliamentary regulations and activities of the parliamentary defence committees in NATO states. The guidelines for the Central European parliamentarians are laid down in the last part of the report.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--NATO

Added Entries: Centre for International and Defence Studies (PL)

Call Number: 355 /00341
Author: Bluth, Christoph
Title: The Collapse of Soviet Military Power
Published: Aldershot, UK : Dartmouth, 1995
Description: xii, 294 p.; 23 cm.
Notes: Bibliography: p. 273-286. Includes index. 'This is a study of Soviet military doctrine and capabilities and their relation to Soviet foreign policy objectives and East-West relations during the Gorbachev period. It assesses the role of military power in Gorbachev's foreign policy, and the dismantlement of the military confrontation in Europe. It describes the endeavour by Gorbachev to reduce the burden of military expenditure and the resulting political conflict with the military leadership over perestroika in the armed forces, military reform and arms control. The main theme is the military factor in the interplay of social and political forces which resulted in the end of the Soviet empire and the disintegration of the Soviet Union itself.'

Subject(s): USSR--MILITARY POLICY
USSR--NATIONAL SECURITY
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--USSR
ISBN: 1855214822

Call Number: 355 /00982
Author: Brooks, Risa
Title: Political-Military Relations and the Stability of Arab Regimes
Published: Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press, 1998
Description: 92 p.; 24 cm.
Series: Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 324
Notes: 'Since the 1970s, Arab leaderships have been remarkably stable, particularly given the frequency of military coups in the preceding years. Although coups have become less common, the military remains a key force in most Arab regimes; maintaining its loyalty is therefore essential if political leaders are to retain office. Regimes have used a range of methods to ensure the military's backing, from increasing non-military support by cultivating social, economic and religious groups to purging potential opponents within the armed forces, monitoring military activity and rotating commands. The need for Arab regimes to maintain political control can undermine the combat potential of their armed forces. In addition, the fact that regimes have successfully managed political-military relations in the past does not mean that they will automatically do so in the future. Regime stability cannot therefore be taken for granted.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--ARAB COUNTRIES
ARAB COUNTRIES--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
Added Entries: International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)
ISBN: 019922420X

Call Number: 323 /00291
Author: Browning, David
Title: Conflicts in El Salvador
Published: London : Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1984
Description: 22 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
Series: Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 168
Subject(s): EL SALVADOR--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--EL SALVADOR
Added Entries: Institute for the Study of Conflict (GB)

Call Number: 355 /00976
Author: Burridge, Brian
Title: Defence and Democracy : The Control of the Military
Published: London : Brassey's, 1998
Description: 97 p.; 21 cm.
Series: London Defence Studies ; 44
Notes: 'This paper offers a road map through some of the complexities of democratic government and the requirements of the democratic control of defence. It then examines the way in which these aspects are handled in the United States, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.'
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
Added Entries: University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

Call Number: 355 /00345
Author: Butts, Kent Hughes
Metz, Steven, 1956-
Title: Armies and Democracy in the New Africa : Lessons from Nigeria and South Africa
Published: Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1996
Description: viii, 51 p.; 23 cm.
Notes: 'The authors reject here the notion that the political culture of African states allows or even encourages military intervention in politics. Drawing on case studies from Nigeria and South Africa, they contend that if the fragile democracies in Sub-Saharan Africa are to be sustained, African militaries must be extricated from politics and take decisive steps toward the type of military professionalism seen in stable democracies around the world. The authors also argue that if US strategic resources are used wisely in Africa, they can have the desired effect. In particular, the US military can play an important part in helping African militaries professionalize. They close with concrete proposals through which the US Department of Defense and the Army could more effectively support African democratization.'
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--AFRICA
DEMOCRACY--AFRICA
Added Entries: US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Call Number: 323 /00351
Author: Calvert, Peter
Milbank, Susan
Title: The Ebb and Flow of Military Government in Latin America
Published: London : Centre for Security and Conflict Studies, 1987
Description: 23 p.; 25 cm.
Series: Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 198
Subject(s): LATIN AMERICA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
LATIN AMERICA--ARMED FORCES--POLITICAL ACTIVITY
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--LATIN AMERICA
MILITARY GOVERNMENT--LATIN AMERICA
Added Entries: Centre for Security and Conflict Studies (GB)
Institute for the Study of Conflict (GB)

Call Number: 355.2 /00211
Author: Dandeker, Christopher
Paton, Fiona
Title: The Military and Social Change : A Personnel Strategy for the British Armed Forces
Published: London : Brassey's, 1997
Description: 85 p.; 21 cm.
Series: London Defence Studies ; 39
Notes: 'For all service personnel, change - and thus the need to be adaptable - is nothing new but is a natural feature of life in the armed forces. However, the pace of change since 1989 has been extraordinary and, despite many calls for a period of stability, as the armed forces of the advanced societies enter

the 21st century, one of the few things they can be certain of is further change. With the end of the Cold War armed forces in most industrial countries have experienced sharp cuts in the size of their establishments. At the same time, military personnel are being asked to be prepared for a wider variety of missions which raises a number of questions about appropriate structures, personnel and about the relationships between the military and society as a whole. Armed forces are having to adjust not only to a new environment of international relations but also to a social and cultural climate which poses a number of challenges to their unique cultural and organisational character. In a 'post-traditional' or 'post-deferential' society, and one which is increasingly litigious, a number of traditional features of military life have been called into question. It is increasingly difficult for the military to resist the argument that civilian models of business efficiency can be applied with success to the armed forces. Furthermore, it is now up to the military to prove that conforming to the changing norms and values of wider society would be likely to damage operational efficiency.'

Subject(s): GREAT BRITAIN--ARMED FORCES
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN

Added Entries: University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

Call Number: 355 /00352

Author: Diaconescu, Gheorghe
Serban, Floarea
Pavel, Nicolae

Title: Democratic Control over the Army in Romania

Published: Bucharest : Editura Enciclopedica, 1996

Description: 517 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--ROMANIA

Added Entries: Manfred Worner Association
ISBN: 9734501631

Call Number: 355 /00368

Author: Gow, James
Birch, Carole

Title: Security and Democracy : Civil Military Relations in Central and Eastern Europe

Published: London : Brassey's, 1997

Description: 54 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

Series: London Defence Studies ; 40

Notes: 'The present study has several aims : to set the transition from communism in the CEECs firmly in the context of the structural problems arising from the communist legacy; to analyse the evolution of civil-military relations and defence and security policy in the transition from communism against a background of developing links with the EU and NATO, as well as bilateral cooperation with individual members of either organisation; to provide an assessment regarding the condition of civil-military relations in the CEECs on the eve of NATO enlargement; and to argue the need for a policy towards all the CEECs, applicable irrespective of enlargement preferences, which actively fosters broad, dynamic, democratic security policy communities in the former communist countries what the UK Secretary of State for Defence has called 'defence villages', thereby strengthening effective and democratic management of defence, as well as enhancing both security and democracy in Europe as a whole.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--CEE

Added Entries: University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

Call Number: 323 /00530
Author: Gutteridge, William Frank, 1919-
Title: The Military in South African Politics : Champions of National Unity ?
Published: London : RISCT, 1994
Description: 29 p.; 25 cm.
Series: Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 271
Notes: 'In this analysis of the role the military are likely to take in the maintenance of stability and the creation of national unity, Professor Gutteridge offers a positive and pragmatic scenario for the future of South Africa. He charts the recent history of both the South African Defence Force and the military wing of the ANC and shows how their interests have converged in the establishment of the new South African National Defence Force. The study considers potential threats and dangers to national unity, but concludes that both Nelson Mandela, the new President, and former president de Klerk share a vision of national unity which the development of a professional and integrated defence force could help them realise, in the climate of conciliation which they have both been at pains to generate.'
Subject(s): SOUTH AFRICA--ARMED FORCES--POLITICAL ACTIVITY
SOUTH AFRICA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--SOUTH AFRICA
Added Entries: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB)

Call Number: 321 /00412
Author: Maniruzzaman, Talukder
Title: Military withdrawal from politics : a comparative study
Published: Cambridge, MA : Ballinger, 1987
Description: xiv, 250 p. ; 24 cm.
Notes: Includes bibliographies and index.
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
MILITARY GOVERNMENT
COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT
ISBN: 0887301479

Call Number: 355.4 /01142
Author: Mendel, William W.
Bradford, David G.
Title: Interagency Cooperation : A Regional Model for Overseas Operations
Published: Washington : National Defense University, 1995
Description: vi, 99 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
Series: McNair Paper ; 37
Notes: Bibliography: p. 95-98. 'This case study describes methods used to encourage and support multiagency cooperation. Drawing upon the experience of the US Southern Command in the early 1990s, it suggests ways that can assist civilian and military leadership to integrate the skills and capabilities of the many US government agencies that operate in an overseas region. These methods describe a process that can be important to civilian and military officials concerned with regional policy and strategy because it has proven helpful in resolving issues of interagency coordination in the Southern Region. Its methods can be applied in other areas as well.'
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
MILITARY PLANNING--USA
USA--ARMED FORCES--ORGANIZATION
MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AMERICAN
UNIFIED OPERATIONS (MILITARY SCIENCE)
Added Entries: National Defense University. Institute for National Strategic Studies (US)

Call Number: 323 /00457
Author: Michta, Andrew A.
Title: Red Eagle : The Army in Polish Politics, 1944-1988
Published: Stanford, CA : Hoover Institution Press, 1990
Description: xiv, 270 p.; 25 cm.
Notes: Bibliography: p. 252-261. Includes index. 'Professor Michta traces the evolution of the Polish army's involvement in the country's domestic affairs since World War II and analyzes the course of events that brought General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the military to center stage in Poland's unfolding political drama'.
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--POLAND
POLAND--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
POLAND--ARMED FORCES--POLITICAL ACTIVITY
ISBN: 0817988610

Call Number: 355 /00983
Author: Pecze, Zoltan
Title: Civil-Military Relations in Hungary 1989-1996
Published: Groningen : Centre for European Security Studies, 1998
Description: 82 p.; 21 cm.
Series: Harmonie Papers ; 2
Notes: Bibliography: p. 65-70. 'Starting from scratch the Hungarian government, the parliament as well as the military apparatus had to remodel their armed forces along the lines of the accepted (Western) model of democratic civilian control over the military, the more so compelling because of Hungary's immediately expressed desire to join NATO as soon as possible. Judging the decision of the sixteen member states of NATO in the Summer of 1997 to include Hungary into the first wave of enlargement, Hungary successfully achieved the level of 'appropriate democratic and civilian control of the defence forces' as spelled out in NATO's enlargement study of 1995. However, the author outlines in his study that the establishment of civilian control over the military, being perceived as part and parcel of the complete process of political and socio-economic restructuring of society, is not yet completed satisfactorily. Although one might say the formal, legal framework of civilian control was completed during premier Antall's reign, Pecze sharply reveals many setbacks in the process, especially in the field of implementing the formal procedures agreed upon. The day-to-day role of civilians at the Ministry of Defence, the level of expertise within Parliament, the involvement of non-governmental organisations and the sheer restructuring of the armed forces away from the outdated Warsaw Pact patterns are all matters still in need of real improvement. Therefore, Mr. Pecze's main conclusion is that the process of establishing civilian control over the military in Hungary, although formally achieved through legal measures, is still in its embryonic phase. His policy recommendations at the end of his study are in line with this judgment.'
Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--HUNGARY
Added Entries: Centre for European Security Studies (NL)
ISBN: 9076301026

Call Number: 341.2 /00240
Author: Seiple, Chris
Title: The U.S. Military/NGO Relationship in Humanitarian Interventions
Published: Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1996
Description: viii, 231 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
Notes: Bibliography: p. 216-224. 'For the near future the US military is more likely to participate in humanitarian interventions and in peacekeeping than it is to participate in war or in peace enforcement. In humanitarian interventions the military must work with civilians who are not only under the same

operational control, but whose field workers often claim substantial autonomy. Further, part of the military's mission is to work its way out of a job, to transfer its temporarily assumed duties to NGOs and other civilian authorities. The mechanism which Captain Seiple sees as crucial to the relationship between the military and the NGOs is the Civil Military Operations Center (CMOC) or its equivalent. He discusses how the function of the CMOC was fulfilled in each of the cases, and provides recommendations on how it may be planned for and fulfilled more efficiently in the future. Cases studied include Operation Provide Comfort, Operation Sea Angel, Operation Restore Hope and Operation Support Hope.'

Subject(s): HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--USA
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

Added Entries: US Army War College. Center for Strategic Leadership.
Peacekeeping Institute (US)

Call Number: 355 /00025

Author: Snyder, William Paul, 1928-

Title: The Politics of British Defense Policy : 1945-1962

Published: [s.l.] : Ohio State University Press, 1964

Description: xii, 284 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

Notes: Bibliography: p. 261-272. Includes index.

Subject(s): GREAT BRITAIN--MILITARY POLICY
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN

Call Number: 355 /00349

Author: Staar, Richard Felix, 1923-

Title: The New Military in Russia : Ten Myths That Shape the Image

Published: Annapolis, MD : Naval Institute Press, 1996

Description: xviii, 248 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

Notes: Bibliography: p. 233-238. Includes index. 'Drawing on Russian-language sources, this authoritative study of the military establishment in Russia since the dissolution of the USSR refutes the persistent claim that the country's military remains outside of politics. As proof the author points to the August 1991 coup, the October 1993 mutiny, and the pacification of Chechnya after December 1994. He further contends that the new military doctrine proclaiming the absence of enemies is contradicted by the document itself, which includes a list of potential threats. Richard Staar maintains that reform is nonexistent, as suggested by the inability to form new mobile forces, continued production of chemical and biological weapons, and violations of the conventional arms reduction treaty. The need for hard currency has forced Russia to sell its most advanced weapons abroad. Recent tests launches of a new ICBM demonstrate that Russia still maintains an advanced R&D capability. Arguing that a Russian national security concept does not yet exist, Staar presents possible scenarios for the future that include a civil war between regular armed forces and the president's elite troops resulting in a military dictatorship. Appendixes provide biographical sketches of 82 generals and admirals who have held command positions and descriptions of 42 Russian newspapers and journals cited in the text.'

Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--MILITARY POLICY
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ARMED FORCES
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ISBN: 1557507406

Call Number: 355 /00356

Author: Szemerkenyi, Reka

Title: Central European Civil-Military Reforms At Risk

Published: Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press, 1996

Description: 96 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

Series: Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 306

Notes: 'Given the different conditions in the four Central European states, this paper does not and cannot fully review their policies in the field of civil-military relations since 1989. Nor does it review the system of democratic accountability that has been set up to date. Rather, this paper analyses why certain problems have occurred and/or persisted; what trends these indicate for the democratisation process; and what the implications of these trends are for the Western policy community. The analysis of the nature and causes of the problems confronted, as well as of policy developments in both Central Europe and the West, leads to the conclusion that many of the current reforms in Central Europe are becoming distorted. Establishing truly democratic civil-military relations in Central Europe is clearly at risk in the mid- to long term.'

Subject(s): CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--CENTRAL EUROPE

CENTRAL EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

CENTRAL EUROPE--ARMED FORCES

Added Entries: International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

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Author: Williams, Michael C.

Title: Civil-Military Relations and Peacekeeping

Published: Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press, 1998

Description: 93 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

Series: Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 321

Notes: 'Peacekeeping in the late 1990s is a complex and diverse task. Missions involve military, political and humanitarian aspects and, as a result, civilian and military personnel are working together to a greater degree than ever before. Peacekeeping operations in the 1990s have been marked by insufficient military input at the strategic level; unclear mandates; and weak command and control by the UN. In the field, whether under UN or NATO auspices, missions are hampered by the culture clash between civilians and the military; by poor coordination of civilian and military tasks; by inadequate military training to meet peacekeeping's specific demands; and by differing approaches to human-rights issues and the media. This paper argues that steps must be taken to improve civil-military relations. Measures should include increased military input in framing peacekeeping mandates; improved political guidance for commanders on the ground; and training to meet peacekeeping's particular needs. Civil-military relations in peacekeeping require a continuing dialogue between the two sides to strengthen the effectiveness of international intervention and to minimise competition and argument.'

Subject(s): INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

Added Entries: International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

ISBN: 0199223769

PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

- Avant, Deborah

Conflicting Indicators of 'Crisis' in American Civil-Military Relations.

ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 1998, p. 375-387.

The indicators of the crisis in American civil-military relations can be disaggregated into three categories : (1) the level of military influence on policy; (2) the degree to which the military is representative of society; and (3) the level of civil-military tension. Behind each indicator is a different implicit theory about civil-military relations. These theories offer contradictory assessments about what we should want civil-military relations to be. Therefore, holding the current American civil-military relationship to all three standards is logically untenable. Reviewing the crisis literature and the various theories of civil-military relations underlying the different arguments suggests the need for a more nuanced research program examining the balance between efficiency and accountability inherent in the civil-military relationship.

- Avant, Deborah D.

Are the Reluctant Warriors Out of Control ? Why the US Military is Averse to Responding to Post-Cold War Low-Level Threats.

SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 6, no. 2, Winter 1996/97, p. 51-90.

Conservative military advice has not led the military to be reluctant to act once civilian leaders have made a decision. In Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, civilian decisions have carried the day in policy outcomes. Furthermore, the generally conservative military advice has not removed civilian options. In the cases examined, the plans of even a few activist military leaders provided civilian leaders with a range of policy options. The conservatism of military advice has done more to cause civilians to give greater consideration to the use of force than to prevent it. To the degree that conservative military advice makes leaders think twice about using US force, it reduces the potential that civilians will pursue a policy that cannot be sustained. Some believe that is a positive outcome. Nevertheless, to the extent that there is a problem with the US willingness to use force, it is not a problem that will be solved by discouraging conservative military advice. The solution to the problem is to generate civilian consensus. Until there is a consensus about the conditions under which responding to low-level threats is important to American security, the military will not abandon its cautionary role.

- Bebler, Anton

The evolution of civil-military relations in Central and Eastern Europe.

NATO REVIEW, vol. 42, no. 4, August 1994, p. 28-32.

- Bebler, Anton

Transformationsprobleme in Mittel- und Osteuropa - vor dem Hintergrund der beabsichtigten NATO-Erweiterung.

OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 35. Jg., Heft 4, Juli/August 1997, S. 413-420.

** This list contains material received as of January 2000 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 14 janvier 2000.

- Biddle, Stephen
Zirkle, Robert
Technology, Civil-Military Relations and Warfare in the Developing World.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 19, no. 2, June 1996, p. 171-212.

The purpose of this article is to contribute to an understanding of civil-military relations as cause, rather than just as effect. The authors argue that an understanding of this causal role is essential both for formulating sound national security policy, and for understanding the underlying phenomena of armed conflict generally. They focus on one issue to demonstrate the potential importance of civil-military relations for explaining the outcomes of armed conflicts, namely the effectiveness of advanced weapon technology in the developing world.

- Bland, Douglas L.
A Unified Theory of Civil-Military Relations.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 26, no. 1, Fall 1999, p. 7-25.

This article's thesis is that civil control of the military is managed and maintained through the sharing of responsibility for control between civilian leaders and military officers. Specifically, civil authorities are responsible and accountable for some aspects of control and military leaders are responsible and accountable for others. Although some responsibilities for control may merge, they are not fused. The relationship and arrangement of responsibilities are conditioned by a nationally evolved regime of principles, norms, rules, and expectations concerning civil-military relations. Although a regime may be stable for long periods, it can change as basic causal factors such as values, issues, interests, personalities and threats change. Alterations of rules and decision-making procedures account for the dynamic nature of civil-military relations, while alterations of norms and principles account for conflict in civil-military relations. Regime differences between states account for the particular national character of civil-military relations, much as like-minded regimes account for cross-cultural similarities in civil-military relations.

- Brement, Marshall
Obstacles to Transformation of Defense Establishments in East and Central Europe.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997, p. 82-94.

- Campbell, Kenneth J.
Once Burned, Twice Cautious : Explaining the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 1998, p. 357-374.

The Pentagon's reluctance to use force in recent conflicts in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Rwanda stems ultimately from the organizational trauma the US military suffered in Vietnam. The near total disintegration of the military in the early 1970s created an organizational survival imperative that produced the military's lessons of Vietnam and its doctrine on the proper use of force. The Weinberger-Powell Doctrine, despite frequent criticism, has steadily gained legitimacy over the years since Vietnam and is preeminent today in the American foreign policy community. Military leaders, by applying the doctrine, have succeeded in avoiding new Vietnam-type quagmires by constraining the imperial impulses of the presidency, but the inherent ambiguity of international conflict in the post-Cold War era will make it more difficult for the promulgators of this doctrine to continue to negotiate the fine line between quagmires and appeasement in the twenty-first century.

- Caparini, Marina
The Challenge of Establishing Democratic Civilian Control over the Armed Forces of Central and Eastern Europe.
CANADIAN DEFENCE QUARTERLY, vol. 27, no. 2, Winter 1997, p. 16-24.

- Carnovale, Marco
NATO Partners and Allies : Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Control of the Armed Forces.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 2, March 1997, p. 32-35.

This article offers a view of what it means to achieve healthy civil-military relations and democratic control of the armed forces. It looks at various problems related to that effort, such as how long it takes to make progress and how to measure it. It also illustrates some of the activities that NATO and partners are developing in this sphere. It argues that achieving democratic control of the military is not a rigidly structured endeavour, but rather a long process, which is difficult to measure and does not lead to universally definable results. Nonetheless, it remains an indispensable task for new and old democracies alike.

- Cohen, Eliot A.
Are U.S. Forces Overstretched ? Civil-Military Relations.
ORBIS, vol. 41, no. 2, Spring 1997, p. 177-186.

The three core problems discussed here are the politicization of the military, the growing divide between civil society and those who wear the uniform, and the centralization of military power in the Joint Staff and in the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS).

- Coughlan, Elizabeth P.
Democratizing Civilian Control : The Polish Case.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 24, no. 4, Summer 1998, p. 519-533.

This article explores the theoretical and practical considerations of establishing democratic civilian control over the post-communist military in Poland. It argues that problems with civilian control lie not only within the military establishment but within the political system. It highlights the difference between simple civilian control and democratic civilian control and points out that there can be systemic obstacles to moving from one to the other. It is impossible to establish democratic control over the military until there is a consensus among the population and the politicians about where the locus of that control should lie. In the case of Poland, the military has been used by the president in his attempts to sway the public in favor of a presidential system. The article argues that perhaps the single largest factor in keeping the military out of politics is the development of a stable political system.

- Dauber, Cori
The Practice of Argument : Reading the Condition of Civil-Military Relations.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 1998, p. 435-446.

The author approaches the question of civil-military relations from the perspective of argument studies. Viewed as an argument formation, the Weinberger Doctrine functions as a template that privileges technical argumentation in considerations of possible uses of force. As a result, public forms of argument, centered more on the value of the potential intervention than the methodology, becomes more difficult. The acceptance of the Weinberger Doctrine in the public forum, therefore, independent of whether or not the various services officially subscribe to the doctrine, produces a situation where civil-military relations are distorted. The military side of the ledger, determining the possible cost of an intervention, trumps the civil side, determining whether the cost is worthwhile. The result is an argument within which it is almost impossible to successfully defend interventions on purely humanitarian

grounds.

- Davenport, Brian A.
Civil-Military Relations in the Post-Soviet State : "Loose Coupling"
Uncoupled?
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 21, no. 2, Winter 1995, p. 175-194.
- Desch, Michael C.
Soldiers, States, and Structures : The End of the Cold War and
Weakening US Civilian Control.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 1998, p. 389-405.

While there is no 'crisis' in US post-Cold War civil-military relations, it seems clear that the United States is now experiencing a weakening in civilian control of the military, at least compared with the Cold War. In a previous article, the author argued that militaries with primarily external missions were more amenable to civilian control than militaries with internal missions. This article looks in more detail at how variation in international and domestic threats affects the strength of civilian control of the military relations as well as the role that military doctrine plays in strengthening or weakening civilian control in structurally indeterminate threat environments. The author's argument is that in structurally indeterminate threat environments, externally oriented military doctrines are necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for civilian control of the military.

- Desch, Michael C.
Why the Soviet Military Supported Gorbachev and Why the Russian
Military Might Only Support Yeltsin for a Price.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 16, no. 4, December 1993, p.
455-489.

The prospects for peace and stability in the post-Cold War world are vitally dependent upon the successful transition from an authoritarian to a civilian democratic regime in the Former Soviet Union. One key obstacle to this would be a breakdown in civilian control of the military because that is a prerequisite for a democratic regime. Thus, the issue of civil-military relations in Russia has become central.

- Donnelly, Chris
Defence Transformation in the New Democracies : A Framework for
Tackling the Problem.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 1, January 1997, p. 15-19.

All nations in Europe are confronted by problems stemming from the restructuring, reform and downsizing of their armed forces but nowhere is this more acute than in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The author argues here that the new democracies must find their own national solutions to the problem of defence transformation though, as a contribution to the debate, he puts forward ideas on how a solution might be sought.

- Donnelly, Chris
Developing a National Strategy for the Transformation of the Defense
Establishment in Post-Communist States.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997, p. 63-81.

- Donnelly, Christopher
Developing a National Strategy for the Transformation of the Defence
Establishment in Post-Communist States.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 1-16.

- Epperson, Robert H.
Russian Military Intervention in Politics, 1991-96.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 10, no. 3, September 1997, p. 90-108.

Why has the Russian military decided to intervene in politics ? First, military professionalism typically contributes to political neutrality. However, the current social, political and economic conditions in Russia have made military professionalism a catalyst for intervention. Second, no universally accepted idea of the Russian state currently exists. A firm concept of state must exist if the army is to understand its relationship and responsibilities to the government. Finally, civil-military relations are extremely weak in Russia. Strong civil-military relations must exist if the military is to remain neutral in politics. This is especially true if the concept of state is fragmented, or the state faces chronic domestic, social or economic crises.

- Facon, Isabelle
L' armee russe, menace ou recours ?
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 64eme annee, no. 2, ete 1999, p. 291-306.

Existe-t-il un risque de coup d'Etat militaire en Russie en raison des graves difficultes materielles et morales que traverse l'armee russe ? Certes, l'armee et les militaires manifestent une grande defiance a l'egard du pouvoir politique, mais la tradition de non-intervention dans le jeu politique, les dissensions internes, en particulier entre la haute hierarchie militaire et le reste des forces, ne constituent pas des facteurs susceptibles de favoriser une telle eventualite. En tout cas, la crise de l'armee est le reflet d'une crise plus generalisee de l'Etat russe.

- Facon, Isabelle
Les consequences de la crise de l' armee sur les relations civil-militaire.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, nos. 8/9, aout/septembre 1999, p. 17-28.

L'armee constitue-t-elle une menace pour la stabilite politique en Russie ? Cette question, liee a la crise materielle et morale que vivent les forces russes depuis la disparition de l'Union sovietique, figure au nombre des preoccupations qui, a Moscou comme en Occident, ont ete renforcees par la crise financiere et politique qui a frappe la Russie a l'automne 1998.

- Feaver, Peter D.
Crisis as Shirking : An Agency Theory Explanation of the Souring of American Civil-Military Relations.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 1998, p. 407-434.

The alleged crisis in American civil-military relations is best explained by grounding it in a general theory rather than in an ad hoc exegesis of recent events. This article introduces the agency model, a simple game-theoretic understanding of civil-military relations. According to agency theory, the current friction in American civil-military relations reflects the conflict associated with intrusive monitoring by civilians coupled with military shirking. Such a concurrence is one of the predicted outcomes of the agency model and, consistent with the model, there are demonstrably strong values on several of the parameters the model identifies as important in producing this monitoring/shirking outcome. The model suggests that post-Cold War developments have had a profound effect in reducing the perceived costs of monitoring, reducing the perceived expectation of punishment, and increasing the gap between what civilians ask the military to do and what the military would prefer to do.

- Feaverl, Peter D.
The Civil-Military Problematique : Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 23, no. 2, Winter 1996, p. 149-178.

The alleged crisis in American civil-military relations has revived a long-standing theoretical debate about the determinants of civilian control. So far, the debate has followed lines of analysis laid by the original dispute between Samuel Huntington and Morris Janowitz. Viewed from a post-Cold War perspective, however, neither model is attractive. In this article, the author defines the basic problematique both the Huntingtonian and Janowitzean theories attempt to explain : how to reconcile a military strong enough to do anything the civilians ask them to with a military subordinate enough to do only what civilians authorize them to do. Next, he critically evaluates and calls into question the continued validity of key propositions of each theory and especially their reliance on 'professionalism'. The article concludes with a brief summary of the criteria that should guide the development of a new theory of civilian control.

- Fedorov, Iouri E.
L' institution militaire, le pouvoir et la societe civile en Russie.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61eme annee, no. 4, hiver 1996/1997, p. 777-789.

Les evenements des annees 90 ont montre que, lors des crises aigues du pouvoir, l'attitude de l'elite militaire jouait un role determinant. L'armee reste centralisee, a bien des egards autonome, peu liee aux elites regionales malgre une structure theoriquement capable, en cas de besoin, d'exercer un controle sur tout le territoire. L'opinion des etats-majors influence de facon tangible la politique etrangere de la Russie et la definition des interets strategiques de l'Etat. Toutefois, on ne peut affirmer qu'en Russie, l'armee soit une force politique dominante. En fait, les elites civile et militaire entretiennent des relations tres compliquees.

- Foster, Gregory D.
Confronting the Crisis in Civil-Military Relations.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 20, no. 4, Autumn 1997, p. 15-33.

- Gibson, Christopher P.
Snider, Don M.
Civil-Military Relations and the Potential to Influence : A Look at the National Security Decision-Making Process.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 25, no. 2, Winter 1999, p. 193-218.

This article argues that the civil-military turbulence witnessed at the outset of the Clinton Administration was a contemporary manifestation of longer-term systemic trends of professional preparation among top-level civilian and military officials. The US military since Vietnam has altered its attitude towards political-military knowledge, experience, and higher education. At the same time, civilian officials have declined in national security expertise - this trend partially caused by the end of the draft and the civilian reaction to Vietnam. The confluence of an increasingly politically savvy military and less militarily experienced civilian leadership has resulted in more military influence in the national security decision-making process. When civilian and military preferences diverged in 1993, civil-military tension heightened as military arguments prevailed. However, the key to restoring the balance in US civil-military relations lies not in restraining military behavior, but in enhancing and promoting civilian professional preparation.

- Goldstein, Lyle
Pinpricks that Bleed : The Civil-Military Relations of Aerial Terror
Weapons.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 8, no. 1, Autumn 1998, p. 75-107.

The author examines whether the question of how to deal with antipopulation terror weapons such as the German v-1s and v-2s and the Iraqi Scuds, created distinct patterns of tension in American civil-military relations. Is it the case that civilian and military elites have different, even clashing, perspectives on missile attacks of minor destructive value against civilian targets ? Goldstein examines the tensions in civil-military relations during operation Crossbow, the Second World War allied campaign against German v-weapons in 1943-45, and Desert Storm, and finds important continuities of civil-military interaction given the challenge of aerial terror weapons. Goldstein's findings have important policy implications. The problem of aerial terror weapons will grow in the future as ballistic missile technology continues to proliferate, and as chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons technologies become more readily available. In addition, the US military will continue to be largely responsible for guarding allied civilian populations in South Korea, Japan, the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, and other places. For these challenges America needs military leaders with a great diplomatic sophistication, capable of stepping into the shoes of their allies if and when they come under attack. The civilian leaders must be mindful of the inevitable diversion problem, but also ready to rein in military tendencies to sacrifice political imperatives to the 'main effort'.

- Goldstein, Lyle J.
Russian Civil-Military Relations in the Chechen War, December
1994-February 1995.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 10, no. 1, March 1997, p.
109-127.

It is the volatile nature of Russian civil-military relations that currently poses the greatest threat to Russian stability and thus European security. This instability was particularly evident during the initial stages of the Chechen conflict when senior officers openly condemned the government's policies. This article explores the actions of several senior 'dissident' officers in the hopes of gaining a better understanding of contemporary Russian civil-military relations.

- Griffiths, Robert J.
South African Civil-Military Relations in Transition : Issues and
Influences.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 21, no. 3, Spring 1995, p. 395-410.

- Heper, Metin
Guney, Aylin
The Military and Democracy in the Third Turkish Republic.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 22, no. 4, Summer 1996, p. 619-642.

In the mid-1990s, civil-military relations in Turkey came close to the liberal-democratic model. The military was essentially interested in contributing to public policy in matters it deemed important - matters that pertained to the internal and external defense of the country. Officers thought that they should make such a contribution not because they were the ultimate guardians of some substantive norms but because they had the necessary expertise. However, they became impatient if civilian governments bypassed them in the making of policy decisions deemed critical. Concerning such matters, sometimes they suggested that the people should act as arbiters in the conflict between them and civilian governments. However, officers gave the impression that if indeed the people's opinion was asked and the people supported them rather than the civilian government they would not force the civilian government to act in the way they thought best.

- Herspring, Dale R.
Samuel Huntington and Communist Civil-Military Relations.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 25, no. 4, Summer 1999, p. 557-577.

Contrary to Huntington's hypothesis, analysis suggests that the relationship between the party-political apparatus and line elements of the armed forces of the former Soviet Union and the former German Democratic Republic was less confrontational and more symbiotic. In the USSR, Huntington's subjective control measures accurately described the situation that existed during the early 1920s. However, as Soviet officers internalized the regime's value structure, the relationship became more symbiotic and was increasingly characterized by what he called objective control measures. In the case of East Germany's National People's Army, the relationship between political and line officers was never as confrontational as Huntington expected. To encompass the communist experiment, Huntington's model would have to be modified to take into account the fact that subjective control measures can change into objective ones over time. The nature of civil-military relations in communist countries was more dynamic than Huntington assumed.

- Holsti, Ole R.
A Widening Gap between the U.S. Military and Civilian Society ? Some Evidence, 1976-96.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 23, no. 3, Winter 1998, p. 5-42.

- Johnson, M. Mae
Civil-Military Relations and Military Reform in Bulgaria.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 4, no. 3, Autumn 1995, p. 488-518.

- Kaminski, Antoni
Gogolewska, Agnieszka
Civilian Control of the Russian Military since 1991.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 4, Winter 1996, p. 588-603.

- Kaufman, Stuart J.
Organizational Politics and Change in Soviet Military Policy.
WORLD POLITICS, vol. 46, no. 3, April 1994, p. 355-382.

- Kuzio, Taras
Civil-Military Relations in Ukraine, 1989-1991.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 22, no. 1, Fall 1995, p. 25-48.

The article surveys civil-military relations in Ukraine during the last two years of the former USSR. It covers the role of political parties, civic groups, the media, parliament and local councils in publicizing the demand for separate armed forces and the negative hostility towards Soviet institutions and Moscow's rule of Ukraine. The article also describes the growing awareness of interethnic violence and conscript brutality within the Soviet armed forces as factors that encouraged Ukrainians to view the Soviet security forces in an increasingly hostile manner. Finally, it points out how civic groups and public opinion helped to smooth the peaceful and rapid transition from Soviet armed forces to the security forces of independent Ukraine.

- Lombardi, Ben
An Overview of Civil-Military Relations in Central and Eastern Europe.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 1, March 1999, p. 13-33.

Encouraging civil-military reform is an important component of Western countries' outreach programmes to Central and Eastern Europe. This article examines the progress so far achieved by organizing the analysis under six general categories : civilian minister of defence; civilian

officials in defence ministries; political non-involvement of the military; legislative supervision of defence policy; publicly known budgets and defence policies, and public discussion of defence issues. By surveying developments throughout the region, the article concludes that considerable reform has already been undertaken, though the achievements vary according to the country. As civil-military relations are an ongoing political process, much remains to be done to bring the countries of the region up to generally-recognized Western standards.

- Luttwak, Edward N.
From Vietnam to Desert Fox : Civil-Military Relations in Modern Democracies.
SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 99-112.

The ability of the US and other advanced democracies to use force has been reduced by the evolution of civil-military relations since Vietnam. Profound changes in such societies have greatly reduced their ability to tolerate combat casualties - or to inflict them on enemy civilians. Technological change was supposed to favour civilian control over military operations through better telecommunications. But mass-media applications of the same technology have given visibility to military commanders, increasing their power. Because they often use their power to discourage combat actions proposed by diplomats and political appointees, there is a reversal of roles : military officers advocate diplomatic solutions, forcing civilians to advocate combat actions even though they lack the necessary expertise. The outcome of all these changes is illustrated by the December 1998 Operation Desert Fox air attack on Iraq : maximum mass-media publicity; minimum casualties; and ambiguous results.

- Lynch, Dov
Manoeuvring with the Military.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 11, November 1997, p. 275-277.

It was once the world's largest fighting machine, but now humiliated by the retreat from Eastern Europe and the Chechen conflict, the successors to the Red Army lack direction. Can Moscow's military be reformed while funding is cut, and still work out its relationship with politicians and civilian advisers ?

- Maisonneuve, Eric de la
Le soldat et la politique.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, no. 6, juin 1996, p. 61-71.

- Matus, Janos
Defense Establishments in the Central European Countries.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 1, 1997, p. 117-129.

- Moran, John P.
Praetorians or Professionals ? Democratization and Military Intervention in Communist and Post-Communist Russia.
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 15, no. 2, June 1999, p. 41-68.

Approaches to civil-military relations that rely on a measure of 'professionalism' within a military's officer corps appear inadequate when applied to the post-Soviet Russian military. Corrupt, suffering a catastrophic decline in prestige, riddled with delinquency in the ranks, and apparently lacking political support, and in other ways showing a lack of professionalism and respect, on reasonable expectations the Russian military would by now have intervened in the country's developing democratic processes. That has not happened : indeed, the general level of 'praetorian' behaviour appears to have declined despite declining professionalism. This poses a challenge to conventional theories of

civil-military relations in political science.

- Morike, Andrea

The Military as a Political Actor in Russia : The Cases of Moldova and Georgia.

INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 33, no. 3, July-September 1998, p. 119-131.

Was the Russian military intervention in Moldova and Georgia in 1992-95 an attempt by Moscow to regain the geopolitical space lost after the collapse of the Soviet Union as some scholars claim ? What were the role and the interests of the Russian military in these two conflicts ? It is argued here that there was no geopolitical design underlying the two interventions, since Russian foreign policy was/is characterised by a plurality of actors with no single institution able to work out and implement a political strategy.

- Nelson, Daniel N.

Civil Armies, Civil Societies, and NATO's Enlargement.

ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 25, no. 1, Fall 1998, p. 137-159.

As NATO's membership and function widen, it transits from a 'latent war community' to something akin to an international regime aimed at collective security. During and after such a process, successful integration into the 'new' alliance will have little to do with a state's military contribution or strategic advantage. Instead, principal emphasis will be placed on how a state and its army behave. This discussion concerns the behavioral standards of a 'civil army' - an ideal type to which no system can lay claim, but which allows comparative assessments. In a brief survey of east-central and southeast Europe, attention is given to signs of criminality, procurement fraud, limited civilian roles in defense, diminished public image of armies, low compliance of high commands, and other evidence that building civil armies requires further effort. Concluding comments note policy alternatives for US and NATO efforts to accelerate civil-military transitions.

- Odenthal, Hans

Civil-Military Relations : The German Experience.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 5, no. 1, 1999, p. 90-105.

- Paltiel, Jeremy T.

PLA Allegiance on Parade : Civil-Military Relations in Transition.

CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 143, September 1995, p. 784-800.

- Phillips, William R.

Civil-Military Cooperation : Vital to Peace Implementation in Bosnia.

NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 22-25.

NATO's programme of Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) reflects the Alliance's broad approach to security coupled with the recognition that there are civil ramifications to a military operation. According to the author, CIMIC has proved an essential aspect of the IFOR/SFOR operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in view of this, has become an integral part of NATO commanders' training, planning and operations.

- Rizvi, Hasan-Askari

Civil-Military Relations in Contemporary Pakistan.

SURVIVAL, vol. 40, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 96-113.

Despite the restoration of the democratic process in Pakistan, the military continues to be the most formidable actor in the political process. Top military leaders may not be interested in assuming power, but they have a significant input into decision-making on foreign policy,

security affairs and key domestic issues. Their disposition towards the civilian government is shaped primarily by their professional and corporate interests. They are prepared to work with a government as long as it can cope with the problems of governance in an effective and transparent manner and does not threaten their interests. The civilian government enjoys sufficient freedom for political and economic management, but it has to give due consideration to the military's sensibilities.

- Sarkesian, Sam C.
The U.S. Military Must Find Its Voice.
ORBIS, vol. 42, no. 3, Summer 1998, p. 423-437.

- Sarvas, Stefan
Attitudes of the Czech Public toward National Security, the Military, and NATO Membership.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 11, no. 3, September 1998, p. 56-88.

Drawing upon extensive sociological research, the author catalogues the attitudes of the Czech population towards three vital security issues, including national security as a whole, the role and condition of the Czech military, and future Czech membership in NATO. He documents the scope of the problem faced by the Czech political leadership as it charts its way through the harrowing process of military reform and constructive participation in European security systems. His analysis helps explain why both military reform and alliance integration will likely be difficult and time-consuming processes.

- Schiff, Rebecca L.
Civil-Military Relations Reconsidered : A Theory of Concordance.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 22, no. 1, Fall 1995, p. 7-24.

This article offers a new theory for examining civil-military relations. The current theory assumes that the military should remain separate from civilian political institutions in order to prevent domestic military intervention. By contrast, concordance theory, proposed in this article, argues that three partners - the military, the political elites and the citizenry - should aim for a cooperative relationship that may or may not entail the separation of political and military institutions. As a descriptive and prescriptive theory, concordance does not limit itself to one civil-military scenario, and it explains the institutional and cultural conditions that affect the distinctive relationships among the three partners. Furthermore, if these partners agree on four indicators - the social composition of the officer corps, the political decision-making process, recruitment method and military style - domestic military intervention is less likely to occur.

- Umbach, Frank
The Role and Influence of the Military Establishment in Russia's Foreign and Security Policies in the Yeltsin Era.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 9, no. 3, September 1996, p. 467-500

This article particularly explains whether the growing power of the military in directing Russia's foreign policies especially in 1995 was the result primarily of the declining influence of the foreign ministry and its minister who resigned in January 1996 or whether we have to analyze the role and influence of the military in the context of the current civil-military relationship in Russia and its specific Soviet heritage.

- Vladimirov, Aleksandr
Civil-Military Relations in Russia : From Traditions of the Past
Towards A New Army of the Democratic State.
BELARUS IN THE WORLD, no. 1, 1998, p. 76-81.

- Weiss, Thomas G.
Learning from Military-Civilian Interactions in Peace Operations.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 112-128.

Civilians humanitarians working with peacekeepers or peace-enforcers in complex emergencies do not function cohesively but rather as a loose collection of independent actors pursuing separate agendas. Although 'lessons-learned' has become a buzzword in post-Cold War parlance, few lessons have actually been learned if the definition includes fundamental institutional changes and not just rhetoric. In particular within the humanitarian arena, the so-called United Nations reform of 1997 failed to move towards better operational orchestration and fewer moving parts. The best way to improve military-civilian interactions would be more consolidation, which would represent a 'shake-out' for independent intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

- Yasmann, Victor J.
Imperiale Ideologie fur die russische Aussenpolitik. Die Rolle von Militar und Sicherheitsapparat.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 49. Jahr, 9. Folge, 10. Mai 1994, S. 248-256.

- Zandee, Dick
Civil-Military Interaction in Peace Operations.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 47, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 10-13.

The international community is increasingly involved in supporting the transition from war to peace in situations of internal armed conflict. When military forces are deployed as part of the peace implementation effort, an effective interface is needed on the ground with the various civil organisations that carry out political, humanitarian and socio-economic tasks, as with NATO's Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The author argues, however, that a structural approach to civil-military interaction needs to be introduced at the higher political level, to help better coordinate civil-military interaction at an early phase, something that should be incorporated into the Alliance's new Strategic Concept when it is adopted at the Washington Summit in April 1999.

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