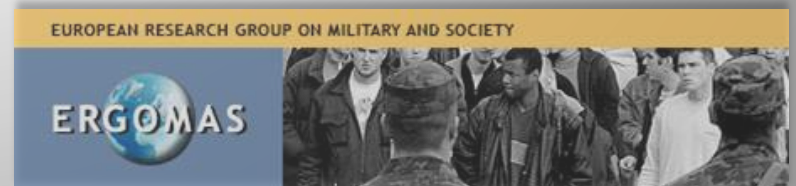


# Extending the Legacy of Morris Janowitz Pragmatism, International Relations and Peacekeeping:

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# Modern Civil Military Relations Traditions

Huntington

Democratic Control  
(Hobbes)

Janowitz

Citizen Soldier  
(Aristotle, Machiavelli, **Dewey**)

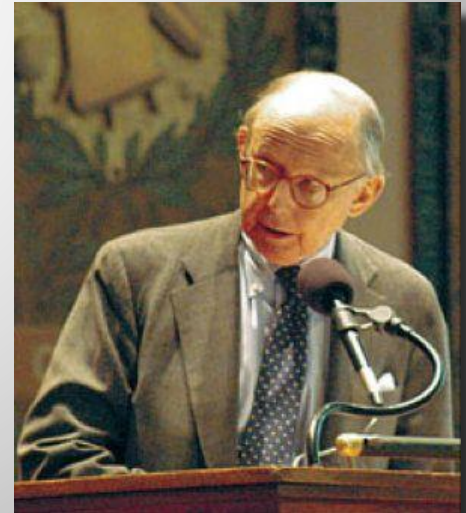
Civil Military Relations

```
graph TD; A[Huntington  
Democratic Control  
(Hobbes)] --> D[Civil Military Relations]; B[Janowitz  
Citizen Soldier  
(Aristotle, Machiavelli, Dewey)] --> D;
```

The diagram illustrates the convergence of two major theories of civil-military relations. At the top, two red boxes represent the 'Huntington' tradition (Democratic Control, associated with Hobbes) and the 'Janowitz' tradition (Citizen Soldier, associated with Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Dewey). Two purple lines originate from the bottom of these boxes and point towards a central red box at the bottom labeled 'Civil Military Relations', indicating that these two traditions are foundational to the broader field.

# Samuel Huntington

- Political Science
- Mass Army
- Liberal theory of democratic state
- Problematique -military strong enough to defend the state can threaten the polity
- Objective Control - regime loyalty/Professional autonomy
- **Hobbes**



*Soldier and the State*

# Morris Janowitz



*The Professional Soldier*

- Sociology
- Civic republicanism theory of democracy
- Citizen Soldier
- Functional Imperative (meet changing threat environment)
- **John Dewey – Chicago School (heir)**

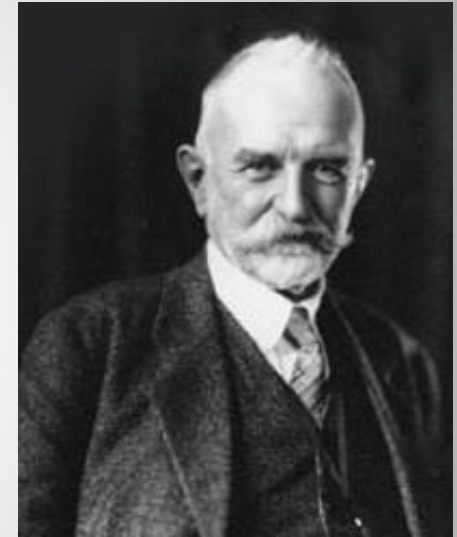
<b>Absolutist View Huntington</b>	<b>Pragmatist View Janowitz</b>
War basis of IR	War a tool of IR
Total victory	More than Victory/Defeat
End of War given	Adjustment between ends and means
Punitive objective	Political objective
States Role in IR – protect own interest	Reinforce commitments to a system of international alliances
Burk 2005 p. 156-157	

# Chicago School: Classical Pragmatism

John Dewey



Jane Addams



George Herbert Mead



Hull House

Milieu of pragmatism



# Hull-House 1890 - 1910



**Great Migration** – new immigrants [**diversity**]

**Problems** - Poverty, Health, Corruption, child labor, ethnic strife, weak Courts/police system, violent labor/industry strife, language barriers

Hull House “**Experimental effort** to aid in the solution of the social and industrial **problems** which are engendered by the modern conditions of live in a great city.” (Addams, 1930/1910 p. 125)

- Residents without political power – democracy
- Asked to mediate conflicts (labor/management; young/old; Old world/New world; ongoing ethnic conflict;)
- Education mission

\*Dewey & Mead active board of directors

## Peacekeeping Pseudo-Creed via Jane Addams

The *peacekeeping-mission*, then is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of *intra- and international conflict*....

From its very nature it [*peacekeeping forces*] can stand for no political or social propaganda.... The one thing to be dreaded in a *peace support operation* is that it loses its flexibility, its power of quick adaptation, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand.

*Peacekeepers* must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. *They* must be hospitable and ready for experiment. *Peacekeeping missions* should demand from its *peacekeepers* a scientific patience in the accumulation of facts and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments for that accumulation (adapted from Addams, 1910, 125-126).



## Philosophy Pragmatism

- Logic of Inquiry
- Democracy

## Social Science Sociology

- Social Control
- Social Organization
- Institution Building

## Applied Fields

### Four Ps

- Practical
- Pluralistic
- Participatory
- Provisional



Categories useful distinctions, they interpenetrate, process connects them

# Constabulary Force revisited

**Definition:** “continuously prepared to act, [was] committed to the minimum use of force, and [sought] viable international relations rather than [military] victory”

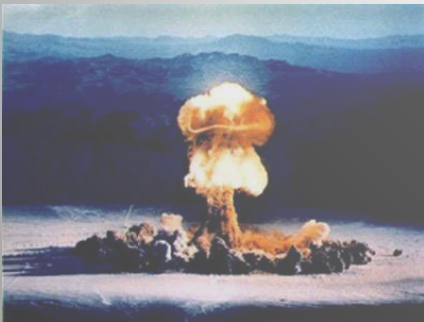
(Janowitz, 1971, 418)

- Approach to the use of force
- Does **not** specify a unique structure

# Conceptualized during the Cold War – United States Context

Objective: Apply Janowitz Constabulary  
force idea to 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peace Support  
Operations

Cold War



21<sup>st</sup> Century



Pragmatist View	Constabulary Force
War a tool of IR	tool of IR
More than victory/defeat	Success/effectiveness
Adjustment between ends and means	Fluidity between ends and means as context changes
Political objective	Emphasize political objectives
Reinforce commitments to a system of international alliances	Manage commitments to an international system of alliances

# Pragmatism's 4 Ps



- **Practical** — focus on problem, thinking and action
- **Pluralistic** — Diversity of perspectives
- **Participatory** — Engage in discussion, listen, shoemaker/shoe
- **Provisional** — Learn from actions change when necessary

Community of inquiry

# The 4 P's in DR Congo (MONUSCO); Explaining the Catch 22

## Being Practical...

- Too much budget spent on itself (“beast that feeds it self”)
- Too far away from where the evil happens (“too far, too little, too late”)
- Issues addressed are too general (“no filling of potholes”)

## Being Pluralistic...

- Force Commander is “son of Africa”
- Language problems (No French, no indigenous languages)
- Pluralism of having civilians and military insufficiently used -> no integration





# The 4 P's in Congo: explaining the Catch 22

## Being Participatory...

- 3,000 local workers in the mission
- No Congolese experts in the mission's strategic apex
- Hardly any voice in the country's media debates
- Hardly serious cooperation and learning from the FARC

## Being Provisionary

- Ambition to integrate the work of the stovepipes
- Difficulties in unlearning
- Hardly any cross-contingent diffusion and learning

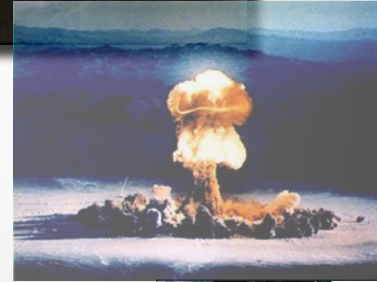
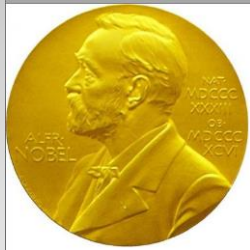


# Exploring Civil-Military Relations: Janowitz, Pragmatism & Peace Support Operations

Exploring – Preliminary analysis of CMR

Janowitz – reexamining and extending his pragmatism

- Connections between Dewey and Addams
- Beyond Cold War (constabulary force)
- Extensions to Applied Fields|
- Use four 4's to theorize about and evaluate peace support operations



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