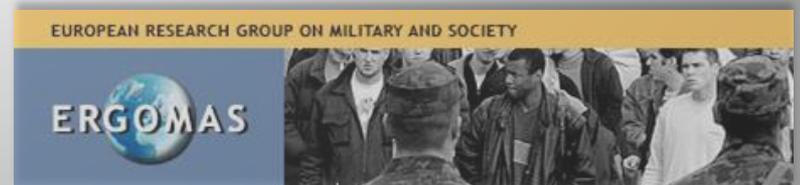


Extending the Legacy of Morris Janowitz Pragmatism, International Relations and Peacekeeping:

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Modern Civil Military Relations Traditions

Huntington

Democratic Control
(Hobbes)

Janowitz

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

Civil Military Relations

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graph TD; A[Huntington] --- B[Civil Military Relations]; C[Janowitz] --- B;
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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)**

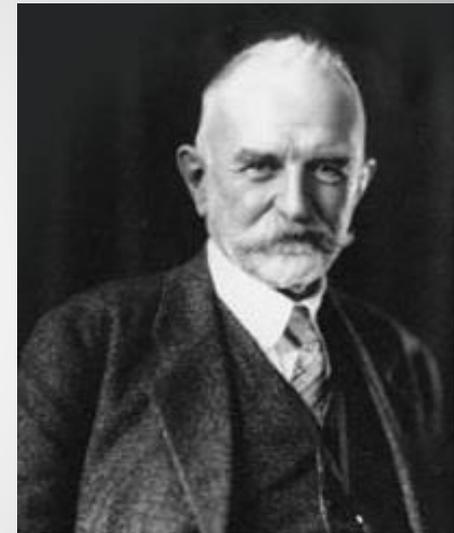
| Absolutist View Huntington | Pragmatist View Janowitz |
|---|--|
| War basis of IR | War a tool of IR |
| Total victory | More than Victory/Defeat |
| End of War given | Adjustment between ends and means |
| Punitive objective | Political objective |
| States Role in IR – protect own interest | Reinforce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

Chicago School: Classical Pragmatism

John Dewey



Jane Addams



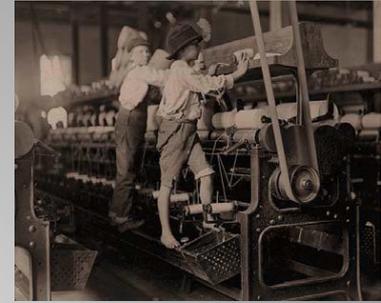
George Herbert Mead



Milieu of pragmatism

Hull House

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 21st Century Peace Support
Operations

Cold War



21st 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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