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Beliefs and the Politics of Modern Military Interventions

An analysis of how pre-conceptions about the nature of war and armed conflict shape the democracies' generation, use and direction of military force

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Publication date:
2009

Document Version
Også kaldet Forlagets PDF

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Trautner, J. P. (2009). Beliefs and the Politics of Modern Military Interventions: An analysis of how pre-conceptions about the nature of war and armed conflict shape the democracies' generation, use and direction of military force.

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Beliefs and the Politics of Modern Military Interventions

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SPIRIT PhD Series

Thesis no. 24



ISSN: 1903-7783

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Beliefs and the Politics of Modern Military Interventions
SPIRIT – Doctoral Programme
Aalborg University
Denmark
SPIRIT PhD Series
Thesis no. 24

ISSN 1903-7783

Published by
SPIRIT & Department Culture and Global Studies
Aalborg University

Distribution
Download as PDF on
<http://spirit.ihis.aau.dk/>

Front page lay-out
Cirkeline Kappel

The Secretariat
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Beliefs and the Politics of Modern Military Interventions

An analysis of how pre-conceptions about the nature
of war and armed conflict shape the democracies'
generation, use and direction of military force

a Ph.D Thesis by
Jeppe Plenge Trautner



European Studies & International Affairs
Aalborg University, Denmark
September 8, 2009

This thesis was submitted to the Department of History, International and Social Studies, Aalborg University, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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The manuscript was typeset with the `MIKTeX` distribution of `LATeX` using the `TeXnicCenter` editor. Bibliographical references were done by `BIBTeX` and handled with `JABREF`, and graphics included with the aid of `GHOSTSCRIPT` and its `GHOSTGUM` viewer. My warmest thanks to the Open Source community for these excellent tools, and to Associate Professor Lars ‘daleif’ Madsen of Aarhus University who worked out the code for the author index, displays and other complex `LATeX` customisations. My warmest thanks also to Annette Nielsen of Aalborg University for sanitising my ‘Denglish’. Remaining layout and language flaws are due to my limitations, not theirs.

Dansk Resumé

Den politiske, militære, akademiske og offentlige debat vedrørende militære og sikkerhedspolitiske problemstillinger er præget af dybtgående uenigheder i de veletablerede demokratier, og inden for den udenrigs- og sikkerhedspolitiske forskning er det bredt erkendt, at 'det sete afhænger af øjnene der ser'. Men hvorfor det forholder sig sådan, og i hvor høj grad der er et system i uenighederne, er omdiskuteret og kun i ringe grad udforsket på det sikkerhedspolitiske og militære område, der udgør afhandlingens genstandsfelt. I afhandlingen udvikles og afprøves en model, der sætter de forskellige syn på krig og væbnet konflikt i system.

Det er ikke ualmindeligt, at forskere forklarer forskelle i opfattelserne af krig og væbnet konflikt med nationale historiske oplevelser, traditioner og kultur, politiske ideologier og internationale strukturelle forhold. Sådanne forklaringer er plausible, men har vanskeligt ved at håndtere den uenighed, der splitter regeringer, partier og militære og civile ledere samt de ikke sjældne skift i de nationale tilgange til brugen af militær magt. (Danskere vil kende den dybtgående uenighed om rationalet bag og udførelsen af den militære side af dansk udenrigspolitik i de seneste to årtier, en uenighed ikke i så høj grad om målsætninger som om hvordan militære styrker kan bidrage til disses opnåelse).

Afhandlingens tilgang til undersøgelsen af disse forskelle er socialkonstruktivistisk og institutionalistisk, idet det antages, at hver enkelt af os fortolker eller 'konstruerer' de sociale omgivelser og vores egne roller ud fra givne forståelsesrammer (kaldet institutioner). Forståelsesrammerne har den fordel for den enkelte, at de tillader os hurtigt at danne os en brugbar mening om situationer og problemer på grundlag af en ufuldstændig erfaring og viden. Vellykkede institutioner tilbyder klare og sammenhængende svar på deres genstandsfelts udfordringer, hvilket medvirker til, at deres tilhængeres praktiske handlinger oftere opnår de ønskede mål. Mindre heldige institutioner fører til, at deres tilhængeres handlinger og politikker fejler. Man kan sige, at institutioner konkurrerer, men der er ikke tale om fri konkurrence. Tværtimod fungerer disse institutioner, politiske ideologier kunne være et eksempel, netop ved at lukke vores opmærksomhed af for indtryk, viden og argumenter, der ikke passer ind i institutionernes oftest uformulerede grundforståelser. Den enkeltes loyalitet er blandt andet derfor ganske stor, og man udskifter ikke sine institutioner, med mindre de gentagne gange har fejlet særdeles klart. Gruppen af personer, der deler en institution, forsøger hellere at redde institutionen ved at udvikle hjælpeforklaringer som reaktion på uforudsete begivenheder og negative konsekvenser af de førte politikker end at forkaste den og foretrækker at implementere nye politikker inden for den etablerede forståelsesramme.

I afhandlingen identificeres et antal delvis uforenelige forståelsesrammer, der angår krig og væbnet konflikt. Disse 'krigsopfattelser' (eng. war concepts) fastslår, i hvor høj grad krigsførelse er 'rationel', og af hvem og i hvilken grad krige bør styres. Tre af krigsopfattelserne er udbredte i nutidens modne demokratier: Den Liberale opfattelses grundlæggende ide er, at krig i hovedsagen er en destruktiv, irrationel fejltagelse. Krigsførelsen ses som drevet af had og frygt og krig kun som sidste udvej. Først når alle fredelige tiltag har fejlet, kan krigsførelse retfærdiggøres. Krigen skal da i det omfang, det er muligt, opfylde de politisk fastsatte mål med krigen og skal underlægges den civile, politiske ledelses tilsyn for at sikre, at militæret ikke brutaliseres og forværrer og udvider konflikten snarere end at skabe en situation, hvor normal politik kan vende tilbage. Ifølge den Militær-Teknologiske krigsopfattelse, der lige som den Liberale opfattelse er ganske udbredt blandt de modne demokratiers befolkninger, er krig ikke nødvendigvis en irrationel fejltagelse, men af og til et nødvendigt instrument. Da der ses at være en betydelig grad af rationalitet i værk under krigsførelsen, er dybdeplanlægning af og solid politisk opbakning til militære aktioner ønskelige for succes. Det politiske niveau forventes at tilsikre, at soldaterne ikke hæmmes i krigsførelsen af civile uden den nødvendige ekspertise, og at medvirke til, at militæret har adgang til de nødvendige midler, herunder den nyeste teknologi, der er essentiel for militære forehavenders hurtige og gunstige afslutning. Den Clausewitzianske krigsopfattelses særkende er, at krige og væbnede konflikter i hovedsagen ses som udtryk for den samme rationelle logik, der i øvrigt præger politikken, hvorfor væbnede konflikter skal fortolkes som et udtryk for parternes politiske interesser og interne politiske og sociale dynamik. Af denne grund ser clausewitzianerne krigsførelsen som udtryk for et utal af politiske afvejninger, f.eks. af i hvor høj grad konventioner skal følges, civile og fjender skånes på bekostning af egne tab, værdier og liv forbruges og allierede tilgodeses. Clausewitzianere, der er et mindretal i forhold til de to førstnævnte krigsopfattelsers tilhængere, mener, at når de væbnede konflikter i høj grad er politiske, så bør politikerne med bistand af militær ekspertise aktivt og i dybden lede krigsførelsen for at sikre, at denne tilgodeser krigens politiske mål.

Det vises i afhandlingen, hvordan de tre krigsopfattelser leder til forskellige definitioner af krig og væbnet konflikt, til uforenelige ønsker til det politiske niveaus styring af militære indsatser og til delvis modstridende politiske strategier og militære doktriner. Dertil også til vidt forskellige tilgange til udviklingen af militære kapaciteter og til ledelsen af militære styrker, herunder til nutidens hastige udvikling af nationale og internationale juridiske kontrolredskaber relateret til militærvæsen og krigsførelse.

I afhandlingen inddrages skriftlige kilder fra politikere, forskere, soldater og civile, blandt sidstnævnte i særlig grad fra interesseorganisationer, der er involveret i den humanitære indsats i krigsområder. Desuden analyseres de mekanismer, som bl.a. Danmark, Storbritannien og den Europæiske Union har udviklet for at styre udsendte soldaters indsats, en serie af britiske parlamentsdebatter samt EUs reaktion på Darfur for at belyse krigsopfattelsernes indflydelse. Det konkluderes, at krigsopfattelser som teoretisk model leverer en brugbar synliggørelse af de sædvanligvis ganske skjulte og implicite forståelsesrammer, der former de modne demokratiers syn på og handlinger i forhold til krig og væbnet konflikt.

English Abstract

The thesis brings forward broadly held and often conflicting sets of beliefs and preconceptions about the nature of war and armed conflict, and analyses how and to what extent these shape the democracies' generation, use and direction of military forces. The focus is on the period after 1989 and on well-established democracies, and thus on how war-related beliefs influence the recent multi-national military interventions. Based on an analysis of political debates, military doctrine and scholarly literature, it is shown how adherents of conflicting war-related beliefs disagree over interpretations, policy and strategies. As the preconception about war and armed conflicts form recurrent patterns stable over the decades, they form distinct 'schools of thought' which may be modelled as 'war concepts'. The aims of the thesis are, firstly, to arrive at a robust model allowing war concepts to be identified; secondly, to analyse how war concepts influence the interpretation of today's military challenges and interventions; and thirdly, to assess the extent to which war concepts determine how democracies choose to lead their armed force elements deployed abroad.

Six war concepts are defined, and drawing on earlier institutionalist contributions the discursive characteristics of the war concepts are identified. The recent debates of the well-established, mature democracies reflect that three of the war concepts, the Liberal, the Military-Technological and the Clausewitzian, dominate the scholarly, military, political and public beliefs about how military force is to be developed, employed and led. In its core the Liberal war concept holds that war is an aberration, an irrational and emotion-driven slide away from politics, which can only be justified and joined where all other means have failed, and then only with a determined effort to restrain violence to allow for politics to re-enter and the situation to calm. Adherents of the Mil-Tech war concept see war as potentially a pragmatic and rational response in cases where politics fail to bring about a sensible solution, and given that the armed conflict is joined with clear aims and full political support, the latter including the political level's full acceptance that soldiers, not civilians, should lead military operations. Clausewitzians, a minority, view war and armed conflict as merely a continuation of the peacetime rationality, and neither emotion-driven nor apolitical, and insist on politicians leading the military effort beyond merely formulating the strategic aims. These fundamentally incompatible and most often unstated sets of fundamentally different views often prevent meaningful dialogue between their adherents, and lead to political disagreement over the use and direction of the military instrument, including intra-military disunity over doctrines and structures.

Based on the analysis of scholarly works, military doctrines, and political

discussions and instructions it is shown that war concepts in part underlie disagreements in the interpretation, doctrines and execution of current military ventures such as peacekeeping, peace enforcement, humanitarian interventions and counter-insurgencies. The intervention-related structures within UN, NATO and EU are investigated to assess how differing perceptions of how military force works and should be directed. The status and giving of humanitarian aid in conflict zones is a related issue, deeply entwined with the current use of military force, and the conceptions of impartiality, neutrality and inviolability of the civilian aiders and peacekeeping forces are shown to a large degree to reflect beliefs inherent in war concepts. Similarly, the current trend towards the deep implementation of national and international judicial oversight with armed forces abroad is shown to derive from war concept-related beliefs.

The issue of oversight with armed forces elements abroad is dealt with extensively, and it is shown how the conceptions inherent in war concepts lead scholars to reach incompatible conclusions as regards the political level's role in the oversight. Also, the subject of military and strategic cultures is touched upon, and it is proposed that these to a significant extent are expressions of underlying war concepts; yet, as war concepts are promoted by rival strategic elite groups, a change in influence between these groups may lead to significant although partial reorientations of the military forces and the political level's oversight systems within a short span of time. The British and Danish oversight systems for forces abroad are examined, and their development over the past two decades assessed to shed further light on the influence of war concepts, as is Danish and British parliamentary debates.

Overall, it is found that war concepts usefully contribute to make visible and explain largely neglected or unexplained scholarly, political and military trends related to modern military interventions.

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Preface

The work at hand was born a particularly beautiful morning in 1994 up high in the Himalayas, where as a UN Military Observer in Kashmir I was tracking a group of foreign militants. It was a time of strategic drift where in Bosnia capable soldiers stood by and political and military leaders entertained unworkable ideas about peacekeeping while civilians suffered. And in my tiny UN mission much came to naught because of Kiplingesque “sloth and folly”, although by no means “heathen” such as the local players mostly did well in contrast to the UN and our sending states. Having tea served in front of my tent I contemplated the apparent politico–military analytical incomprehension, and it dawned on me that I ought to write a concise introduction to how matters military were to be understood, its working title *Military Power — a Phrasebook*.

The combination of war, civil war, insurgency, great power rivalry, and Islamist intrusion in Kashmir over which my 36 colleagues and I watched on behalf of the Security Council did not allow for the phrasebook to be written, and instead I saw and learnt, in particularly because of the tasks and trust given to me by my chief General Ricardo Galarza and by Lt.Cols Bror Sundstrøm and Lars Kelstrup, who shared with me their ideas and experience in and on military affairs, politics and diplomacy, and the murky areas in between. Safely back at Aarhus University, professors Mehdi Mozaffari, Bjørn Lomborg, and Nikolaj Petersen prompted me to structure my observations and clarify my ideas, no small task for them or for me, and I am deeply grateful for their advice. My acquaintance with the writings of General Clausewitz led me to one of his Danish translators, Brigadier General Michael H. Clemmensen, and with the latter onwards to the Baltic states. My years at the Baltic Defence College brought me into daily contact with often brilliant fellow staff and students too numerous to be mentioned here, and with politicians, scholars, civil servants, and military leaders engaged in the political and military securing of the three Baltic states.

European Studies at Aalborg University offered me a Ph.D. scholarship, and my new colleagues, in particular Jean Monnet Professors Søren von Dönners and Henrik Plaschke, associate professor Poul Thøis Madsen, and Development Studies professor Mammo Muchie, and not the least Dr Jens Eistrup gave of their time and insights liberally, challenging me to refine my arguments, and always with good humour and civility.

The College of Europe professors Sieglinde Gstöhl and Dieter Mahncke allowed me to come aboard their newly created International Relations and Diplomacy department, where I taught intense educational role-playing Simulation Games on the politico–military intricacies of and diplomatic obstacles to

the European Defence and Security Policy. These simulations were developed and taught both in Aalborg and in Bruges together with my fine colleague associate professor Wolfgang Zank, with whom I thoroughly and most fruitfully disagree on a wide range of security policy issues. I owe to the Bruges IRD students of 2006–7 and 2007–8 my particular gratitude as they energetically acted as both fact-finders for and test drivers of many of the ideas and results found in this thesis.

During the writing a number of British, Danish, and EU-employed military and civilian practitioners patiently shared their experience with me. A few of them are thanked in the text, but many more are to remain unthanked in writing but not forgotten. What may be found of errors and incomplete interpretations cannot be blamed on you!

Above all, the single person who has given the strongest impetus to my academic development is Jean Monnet Professor, now *emeritus*, Staffan Zetterholm of Aalborg University. In what at times became marathon-sessions with twenty points of substantial advise on my todo-list he nudged me towards acceptance of the academic tradecraft, and tirelessly lifted me higher than anyone else could have done. As a practitioner turned academic and from a background where simplicity is highly rated I may have not been particularly receptive. Be there no doubt, the scholarly flaws and oddities in this thesis are mine, not his!

While I thoroughly enjoyed the writing process, my most intense pride and satisfaction does not, of course, come from this thesis. Such is on a daily base given to me by my wife Solvej and from our three children and their endless capacity for love and creativity.

JPT

Part I

Intent and Framework

Introduction

1.1 Intent

We tend to disagree over armed conflict, and politicians, military officers, scholars and commentators often find themselves numbed by the incomprehension of their, in other matters, competent and respectable peers. On issues related to the interpretation of the use and direction of military force and the justifications for war and armed conflicts, substantially different preconceptions seem to be clashing.

In the mature democracies,¹ which through their wealth and military power dominate the global economy and security agenda, the disagreements over the use of military force are particularly interesting, and eased by their high degree of openness and debate. With the mellowing of Soviet power in Russia, the strategic situation of most of the mature democracies, a majority of which are members of NATO and the European Union, changed significantly to the better, and as the threat of major war receded defence budgets shrunk and the political attention to military affairs waned. The new strategic situation is, however, marked by increased complexity as a succession of relatively limited armed conflicts at or near the periphery of Europe and in the Greater Middle East and Africa have given rise to ‘out of area’ interventions involving the mature democracies. The UN, NATO and the European Union have acted as intervention organisers, and couple together military, diplomatic and civilian actions to these localised, yet long-drawn conflicts in which the intervenors seek to protect weak governments while local civilians often are the primary target of the local combatants.

The multinational military interventions in which the mature democracies participate are expected to remain the politico-military focus in the predictable future. Yet, while there is often a compulsion to intervene, the use of military means is fraught with disagreement over where, when and how military force is to be used. European and Transatlantic cohesion about matters related to military security has suffered, and success in the ventures have been either partial as in the Balkans and Iraq or absent as in Africa and Afghanistan,

¹ For Finer (1962, pp. 87–88) marked by “wide public approval of the procedures for transferring power”, “wide public recognition as to who and what constitutes the sovereign authority”, and a public (in the sense of ‘civil society’) which is “proportionately large and well mobilised”.

and a profusion of interpretations, approaches, doctrines and strategies have appeared. Is there a system to be found in the discord? A deeper understanding of these differences would be beneficial for the study of the external and defence policies of the mature democracies and their interventions-enabling organisations, in particular NATO and the European Union. This thesis explores the thinking behind the assessment of various aspects of armed conflict and the uses of armed force, and argues that a theoretical model, *war concepts*, brings a degree of orderliness and thus of understanding into the mass of differing perceptions.

1.2 Ideas and Actions

The thesis is built around two notions. The first is that while all people strive to act rationally in the sense that we seek to make our words and actions serve the purposes we intend, our rationality is bounded by perceptions. We act within the limits imposed by preconceived beliefs. The second notion is that our choices and actions related to military affairs (in the widest sense, including the organisation of the armed forces, its modes of operation, leadership and culture, and the efforts of the civil servants and of the politicians who oversee and direct the military) are strongly influenced by distinct sets of ideas. These partially incompatible sets of ideas, in the words of Lider (1977, p. 353) our “concepts of the nature of war”, hereafter ‘war concepts’, bound our perception of what armed conflict is and how it is played out.

Most social scientists will agree that perceptions and ideas influence human interaction and actions, and disagree over how and to what extent. While I am travelling with the social constructivist caravan and thus see much human thinking and endeavour as being influenced by perceptions rather than by an objective reality alone, I rest at rationalist or objectivist oases: Not everything is experienced through beliefs and done within social constructs. Across cultures and perceptions individuals share a capacity for perceiving a ‘baseline reality’ when challenged to do so by adversity, and thus possess a latent capability for independent and ‘reasoned’ thinking and action. In particular where the cost of failure is immediate, visible, and high as is often the case in war, individuals may readily adjust their thinking and actions.

War concepts, of which I define six major types, are based on fundamental ideas about the overall logic of *warfare* and on the interconnection between warfare and politics. While a host of academic studies and theories of wars and armed conflict revolve around their causes and effects, the study at hand is only marginally concerned with how or why such conflicts are initiated and what effects they have. What is of interest here is a person’s or a group of persons’ understanding of how warfare ‘works’ as this influences his, her or their prescription of what military means can achieve, of how force is to be wielded, and of how states should shape, direct and control their armed forces.

Quite some academic effort has been devoted to the investigation of the foundational beliefs underlying politico-military action, often labelling such beliefs ‘strategic cultures’. Few claims resulting from these efforts have made a lasting impact, perhaps because strategic cultures are often perceived as being monolithic within nations or states, built on stable geographical, cul-

tural or historical foundations and thus too rigid to explain national variance or national policy shifts well.² The most well-known recent ‘strategic cultures’ claim by Robert Kagan (2002) had that Americans are ‘from Mars’, power-conscious and responsible, and Europeans ‘from Venus’, post-modern and legalist appeasers. Kagan sees the international distribution of military might, history, and thus (continental) nationality as the key variables determining a strategic cultural dichotomy. The view is provocatively simplistic, and probably served a political purpose in addition to its academic. Yet Kagan’s claim resounded widely because it struck at observable and intriguing differences, which plausibly have significant political effects. In contrast to Kagan’s duality the six war concepts presented here are not tightly bound to geography, political ideologies or national historical experience but to the belief systems of individuals. I also assume that war concepts are carried by and fairly constant with individuals whose differing views co-exist and in many respects well. Yet, when confronted with questions related to armed conflict they group with those sharing their own war concept to promote policies and military structures compatible with their shared perceptions. Changes of and in governments and among the senior defence civil servants and military officers may tilt the balance in favour of one war concept or the other, and thus effect fairly sudden changes in the national use of military power not well accounted for by ‘strategic culture’ theories.

1.3 Thesis Aim

The thesis sets out, firstly, to systematise the often conflicting beliefs about the nature of war and armed conflict found among the public in mature democracies, and in particular among politicians, practitioners and scholars engaged in such issues into the least useful number of war concepts understood as distinct families of internally coherent knowledge structures. Secondly, the thesis investigates how adherents of the three predominant war concepts differ in their interpretation of today’s armed conflicts and of the multinational military interventions in which most mature democracies are currently engaged, and thus disagree over when military force should be used and how it should be applied. Thirdly, paying particular attention to how war concepts provide for different understandings of the military instrument and its use, the thesis charts how mature democracies are directing and controlling their armed forces abroad, hereunder by generating political advice and applying judicial restraints. Parts I, II and III of the thesis each address one of these aims.

Academic research generally investigates the questions of *why*, *when* and *where* armed conflicts and military interventions occur.³ This research has shed much light on the international legal and political framework within which interventions are launched, on the decisions leading to national participation, and on the military co-ordination with non-military entities, but only to a lesser degree on the internal ‘workings’ of the interventions. The *how*-question of multinational military interventions has been left relatively

² As argued by Johnston (1995).

³ As discussed in Chapter 6.

unattended: How are interventions actually led, how does the use of force impact on the original parties to the conflict, and how do the intervenors share risks, costs and gains? It will be shown that the pre-assumptions inherent in war concepts may well shape the prioritisation of scholars, and thus relegate the *how* of military interventions to a less than prominent place.

The approach of the thesis raises two major queries. The first concerns the degree of certainty with which war concepts are identified from the words of individuals and groups and from e.g. the organisational structures and routines built to direct multinational military interventions. The second is the extent to which war concepts, as a theoretical construct, in general contribute to an improved understanding of political and military choices and of clashes of interpretations and opinion. The thesis reaches positive answers to both queries; war concepts are found to be both identifiable and useful. Still, although of significant importance, war concepts are but one element in the formation of opinions and sympathies, and ultimately of policies and actions related to armed conflicts. A strong claim that individuals, armed forces or states will act in a certain way once their war concept (for national governments and militaries their dominant war concept) is identified cannot be made. Yet, as will be seen, war concepts provide for useful insights into how military force is generated, applied, led and affects the original parties to a conflict.

1.4 Methodology

The public, political, scholarly and military professional debates of wars and military affairs revolve around recurring themes or notions, which appear to present themselves in regular patterns stable over at least decades. In the social constructivist perspective (developed in Chapter 2) such patterns are taken to be an expression of ‘institutions’, which are broadly shared sets of beliefs which give meaning to and structure human interaction. Based on the assumption that the observed patterns of argumentation about war and armed conflict are expressions of underlying institutions, in the thesis these patterns are ‘reverse engineered’ in order to, in the words of Chilofsky and Cross II (1990, p. 15), “identify the system’s components and their interrelationship and create representations of the system in another form or at a higher level of abstraction.” War concepts are simply a model of the sets of underlying ideas, the institutions, which currently shape the war-related argumentation in mature democracies. The model has evolved from a two-concept dichotomy primarily based on my previous experience and a review of Danish politico-military debates (Trautner 1998), and which has been made more complex and robust through its confrontation with still more empirical material. Such piecemeal development of theory based on testing and experience rather than on clearly formulated hypotheses may be seen as methodologically problematic by the adherents of some research traditions, while others will recognise this ‘by inferences’ method as Peircean scientific pragmatism.⁴ The standard to be upheld for abduction to be a valid method is, as Yu (1994) sums up Peirce’s

⁴On Peircean scientific thought, see e.g. Yu (1994) and Bertilsson (2009, Chp. 3); for a consonant non-Peircean view, Rothchild (2006).

views, that previous research and alternative explanations are considered, and that clarity is striven for to facilitate criticism.

It is inherent in institutional theorising in general and in the model in particular that institutions such as war concepts must have a fair degree of consistency to serve their adherents well. Glaring omissions and self-contradictions would leave them impractical in relation to many questions and highly vulnerable to criticism, and they would soon be abandoned in favour of seemingly stronger institutions by most of their adherents. The assumed high degree of internal consistency implies that it is possible to hypothesise about how a given war concept's adherents probably would respond to new phenomena even where substantial empirical evidence cannot be presented. The aim of expanding on the understandings following from the war concepts model is to make it richer and more differentiated, and, not least, to make the internal structures and perceptions of the individual war concepts more transparent.

Armed conflict is a mainstay of our culture, perhaps of all cultures, and martial references are found in ancient tales, in children's songs and in modern literature and films, so it is likely that all humans may possess at least a rudimentary war concept. Those personally faced with armed conflict or motivated by professional interests and responsibilities will develop more detailed, coherent and better articulated ideas on armed conflict within the framework of understanding provided by the war concept to which they adhere. For this reason this investigation focuses on scholars, politicians and practitioners (military officers as well as defence civil servants) who are concerned with today's armed conflicts, and in particular with the direction of multinational military interventions. The empirical material on which the thesis is built is thus primarily texts from the hands of scholars, practitioners and politicians or groups of such, in some cases representing official views and decisions, e.g. ministerial speeches, strategic and doctrinal documents, and international treaties. To address the problem that people and organisations do not always do what they say they do, a number of themes are approached through different sources and from different perspectives. In particular the British and Danish politico-military experiences during the last two decades are recurrent themes, the two countries being chosen primarily for the ease of access to written material as well as to interviews with officials with a key role in the direction of forces abroad.⁵ Also North American experiences appear recurrently in the thesis, primarily as a reflection of the primacy in military affairs of the U.S. as well as of the wealth of relevant scholarly works. A number of case studies are included to broaden the material to which war concepts are applied. In addition to the studies of the British and Danish systems for the exercise of control with forces abroad (in Chapter 12), the thesis includes a brief analysis of the interpretations underlying EU's policies on Sudan and Darfur in the period 2003–05 based on EU material and academic sources (in Chapter 8)⁶ and a

⁵ The British system for directing forces abroad is described in Section 12.1.2 (p. 189), the Danish in Section 12.2.2 (p. 195). Interviews were conducted with officials at the British MoD and the Danish Defence Command to allow me to complement the publicly accessible written material, and thus to achieve an overview of the formal direction and co-ordination systems and their use (rather than of the personal views of those interviewed).

⁶ Drawing on the working paper "The Politics of Multinational Crisis Management: The European Union's Response to Darfur" (Trautner 2005b).

study analysing the views of 33 British politicians in a series of parliamentary debates on the war in Bosnia in 1995 based on debate transcripts (Chapter 13).⁷ The ambition is not to reach complete and firm conclusions about these cases as much as it is to test the utility and viability of war concepts as a theoretical device.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 of PART I outlines the theoretical setting of this thesis and its view of the sociological framework in which political and military actors manoeuvre, and sets its social constructivist foundations. The chapter also proposes a view of how war concepts are applied and compete as Lakatosian ‘research programmes’, and influence a number of interrelated academic fields. Chapter 3 delves into the dimensions and aspects which make up the war concept theory. Six war concepts of which three are of current importance are outlined and explained, and their discursive characteristics identified. The chapter also expands on the methodological issues related to the application of war concepts as a theoretical device.

In PART II it is investigated how the adherents of the three most widely found war concepts differ in their interpretations of common manifestations of armed conflict in which the mature democracies have recently engaged. Chapter 4 shows that the adherents of the three war concepts disagree over what constitutes war, over how actorness is conferred to the warring parties, and over what the recent changes in the character of warfare are an expression of. After introducing a typology of military interventions Chapter 5 pays attention to *peacekeeping* and *peacemaking*, and investigates how adherents of different war concepts understand these ventures, and how they present incompatible views of the ‘neutrality’ and ‘impartiality’ of intervention forces and of humanitarian actors. In Chapter 6 the attention is turned towards the more demanding and violence-prone military ventures, namely *peace enforcement* and *humanitarian intervention*, with particular attention to how war concepts lead to differing prescriptions for how intervention forces should present themselves and use armed force towards the original parties to a conflict. Chapter 7 focuses on *expeditionary war*, and it is seen how the interpretation of the Just War tradition and the willingness to use force right up to the level of ‘Total War’ is related to war concepts, and it is shown that the expanding judicial framework being built to restrain military action is influenced by war concepts. The currently most difficult military and political challenge in which the mature democracies have engaged, *counter-insurgency* as in Iraq and Afghanistan, is dealt with in Chapter 8 where the variation in doctrines⁸ and in the integration of civilian and military efforts are explained as resulting from war concepts to a considerable degree. A case study

⁷ Drawing on the working paper ‘Perceptions of warfare: ‘Senseless Slaughter’ or ‘the Continuation of Politics’? British politicians and the case of Bosnia, May-July 1995’ (Trautner 2003c).

⁸ Military doctrines are documents in which armed forces establishes their commonly agreed terminology, interpretations and overall procedures for the military to use as guidelines for a certain class of events.

of how different war concepts lead to starkly conflicting interpretations of the insurgency in Darfur ends the chapter.

PART III consists of a string of ‘under the bonnet’ explorations into how the armed forces of mature democracies are, in the widest sense, controlled. This entails the investigation of how war concepts influence the armed forces, the international and national organisations and arrangements, and the national political debates which set the frame for the exercise of democratic control and generates direction to the forces abroad. In Chapter 9 it is investigated how military systems in their structures, doctrines, professional attitudes and management reflect war concepts, and how the shifting influence of *strategic elite groups* leads to political and military reorientation. Chapter 10 is concerned with the scholarly contributions in the field of democratic control with the armed forces, and it is seen how war concepts influence research and prescriptions in this field. Chapter 11 focuses on the generation of political direction for and control with multinational military interventions organised through the UN, NATO, and EU, and in particular how war concepts shape the prescriptions for how actively the political level should direct forces abroad. Politico–military control instruments such as *Rules of Engagement* and *Caveats* are discussed, as are the judicial control instruments which increasingly supplement and supplant control by political and military leaders. Chapter 12 follows up on this discussion with a case study of the system which enables British and Danish control with forces deployed abroad, and of how war concepts and to a lesser degree changes in strategic elite group influence lead to reorientation of the control effort, and shape the political level’s direction and control. Chapter 13 presents a case study of a British parliamentary debate on the use of British forces in Bosnia in 1995 as this sheds light on how the war concepts of individual politicians and groups of politicians shaped the formulation of policies. In PART IV the findings are summarised, and a conclusion presented.

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