



**STRATEGY
RESEARCH
PROJECT**

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

**RETIRED GENERALS AND PARTISAN POLITICS:
IS A TIME OUT REQUIRED?**

BY

**LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM R. BECKER
United States Air Force**

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:
Approved for Public Release.
Distribution is Unlimited.**

USAWC CLASS OF 2001

U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050



20010622 056

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

RETIRED GENERALS AND PARTISAN POLITICS: IS A TIME OUT REQUIRED?

by

Lieutenant Colonel William R. Becker
United States Air Force

Dr. Douglas V. Johnson
Project Advisor

The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, or any of its agencies.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:
Approved for public release.
Distribution is unlimited.

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: William R. Becker

TITLE: Retired Generals and Partisan Politics: Is a Time Out Required?
FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 10 April 2001 PAGES: 90 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

Retired general officer participation in partisan politics is increasing and many in the military and civilian sector believe this participation will politicize the military. Army War College students and faculty, and active duty general officers from the United States Air Force, Army, and Marine Corps provided 760 responses on this subject through a survey. The U.S. Military has a mixed history of apolitical behavior. This was proper when the United States was isolated in its early history, when there were an adequate number of veterans in governmental positions, and when the survival of the nation was at stake during the Cold War. Today, the U.S. is the world's only superpower, there are fewer veterans representing the military's interests in government, and future national security strategy must contend with a vague, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous world. While the active duty military must stay non-partisan, retired general officer participation in partisan politics will ensure national security strategy issues take a proper role in public debate. The support for a candidate by a retired general officer should be provided singularly. Forming a coalition of retired general officers carries a disproportionate weight and can have a negative impact on the Armed Forces.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	IX
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	XI
LIST OF TABLES	XV
RETIRED GENERALS AND PARTISAN POLITICS: IS A TIME OUT REQUIRED?	1
BACKGROUND	2
CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY	2
Subjective Versus Objective Civilian Control.....	2
Objective Civilian Control Realism	3
POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT FOR THE RETIRED GENERAL OFFICER.....	3
Civilian Employment	3
Professional Associations	4
Congressional Testimony.....	5
Personal Communication With Active Duty General Officers	5
Media Influence	5
Political Action Committees.....	5
Partisan Politics	6
WHY RETIRED GENERALS ARE PARTICIPATING IN PARTISAN POLITICS	6
OFFICERSHIP AS A PROFESSION	8
Professionalism Defined	8

Political-Military Fusionist Theory.....	9
HISTORY.....	10
CURRENT POLICY	13
Constitution of The United States of America.....	13
Department of Defense.....	14
Other Policy.....	14
CIVIL-MILITARY CULTURE GAP	15
MILITARY DEMOGRAPHICS	16
ANALYSIS	16
ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY	17
Questions 1-4	19
Comments	21
ACTIVE DUTY GENERAL OFFICER SURVEY.....	22
United States Air Force.....	24
Questions 1-6	24
Comments	26
United States Army.....	27
Questions 1-6	27
Comments	30
United States Marine Corps.....	30
Questions 1-6	30
Comments	33
1-Star Overall.....	34
Questions 1-6	34
Comments	37

2-Star Overall.....	37
Questions 1-6	38
Comments	40
3-Star Overall.....	41
Questions 1-6	41
Comments	43
4-Star Overall.....	44
Questions 1-6	44
Comments	46
Overall General Officer Survey Results.....	47
Questions 1-6	47
Comments	50
RETIRED GENERAL OFFICERS.....	50
Questions 1-6	51
Question #1	51
Question #2	51
Question #3	51
Question #4	51
Question #5	51
Question #6	51
Comments	51
FUTURE ISSUES.....	52
Military Political Demographics	53
Democratic Party Wakeup Call	53
Media Bias.....	53
Resignation.....	54
RECOMMENDATION.....	54
CONCLUSION.....	56

ENDNOTES	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	69

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project would not have been possible without the inputs a group of the world's busiest professionals—active duty general officers. The author wishes to thank this group for taking the time to fill out and submit the survey. The high percentage of survey inputs demonstrated that this is a salient subject among military professionals.

The author wishes to thank the extra effort provided by the Army War College Library Staff in placing the author on the appropriate vector to find needed research material. Mrs. Ginny Shope provided the lion's share of effort including spending hours on the worldwide web.

Thanks to Doctor Douglas V. Johnson, the research project advisor, for providing unending support to ensure academic freedom on this project.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY.....	18
FIGURE 2. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 1	19
FIGURE 3. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 2	20
FIGURE 4. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 3	20
FIGURE 5. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 4	21
FIGURE 6. GENERAL OFFICER SURVEY	23
FIGURE 7. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1	24
FIGURE 8. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2	24
FIGURE 9. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3	25
FIGURE 10. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4	25
FIGURE 11. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5	26
FIGURE 12. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6	26
FIGURE 13. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1	27
FIGURE 14. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2	28
FIGURE 15. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3	28
FIGURE 16. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4	29
FIGURE 17. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5	29
FIGURE 18. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6	30
FIGURE 19. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1	31
FIGURE 20. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2	31
FIGURE 21. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3	32
FIGURE 22. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4	32
FIGURE 23. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5	33
FIGURE 24. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6	33
FIGURE 25. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1.....	34

FIGURE 26. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2.....	35
FIGURE 27. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3.....	35
FIGURE 28. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4.....	36
FIGURE 29. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5.....	36
FIGURE 30. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6.....	37
FIGURE 31. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1.....	38
FIGURE 32. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2.....	38
FIGURE 33. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3.....	39
FIGURE 34. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4.....	39
FIGURE 35. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5.....	40
FIGURE 36. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6.....	40
FIGURE 37. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1.....	41
FIGURE 38. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2.....	41
FIGURE 39. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3.....	42
FIGURE 40. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4.....	42
FIGURE 41. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5.....	43
FIGURE 42. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6.....	43
FIGURE 43. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1.....	44
FIGURE 44. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2.....	44
FIGURE 45. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3.....	45
FIGURE 46. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4.....	45
FIGURE 47. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5.....	46
FIGURE 48. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6.....	46
FIGURE 49. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1.....	47
FIGURE 50. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2.....	48
FIGURE 51. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3.....	48

FIGURE 52. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4.....	49
FIGURE 53. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5.....	49
FIGURE 54. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6.....	50

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. EVOLUTION OF U.S. MILITARY ACTIVE DUTY AND RETIRED GENERAL
OFFICER PARTICIPATION IN PARTISAN POLITICS..... 13

RETIRED GENERALS AND PARTISAN POLITICS: IS A TIME OUT REQUIRED?

"In our society, the businessman may command more income; the politician may command more power; but the professional man commands more respect."¹

Samuel P. Huntington's statement focuses on the crux of the issue concerning retired general officers and partisan politics. The military professional commands great respect in our society. Today, although the United States is the world's only superpower, there are fewer veterans representing the military dimension of national security in government, and future national security strategy must contend with a vague, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous world. Because of this, many retired general officers are actively participating in partisan politics. They feel their voice will help the Department of Defense during a period when defense budgets are too low to sustain the military's strength.² This tactic is not without risks. The American public must continue to trust the military to get the job done in nonpartisan fashion. The use or abuse of retired military professionals by politicians may reduce society's respect for the most lethal element of national power—the military. A society that loses respect or trust for the military will be less apt to support funding at a level necessary to fulfill the national security strategy.

This paper discusses the merits of retired general officer participation in partisan politics. A background discusses civilian control of the military, avenues of political involvement for the retired general officer, why general officers are participating in partisan politics, officership as a profession, an historical evolution of retired general officer participation in partisan politics, current policy, the civil-military culture gap debate, and changing military demographics in relation to the rest of American society. An analysis of survey results solicited from Army War College students and faculty, and active duty general officers from the United States Air Force, Army, and Marine Corps was conducted. Survey results are broken down between the groups mentioned above, and among active duty 1, 2, 3, and 4-star general officers from the same groups. Overall general officer survey results are presented. Future issues concerning retired general officer participation in partisan politics discussed in the last section determine if this practice will be in the best interest to the Department of Defense in the coming years.

The author believes retired general officers should continue to participate in partisan politics based on the above research and results from the general officer surveys. While it is healthy to the military at this time for retired general officer participation, it should be as individuals and not coalitions. Coalitions will break down the purpose of involvement and tend to politicize the military, compromising any advantage of the overall act.

BACKGROUND

This section discusses civilian control of the military, methods for retired general officer participation in politics, and offers reasons why more retired general officers are becoming involved now than in the past. Officership as a profession is discussed, followed by a brief history of active duty and retired general officer participation in partisan politics. Current policy concerning retired general officer participation in partisan politics, the civil-military culture gap issue, and military demographics round out the background.

CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY

When mixing the military with politics, such as retired general officers supporting political parties or candidates, it is prudent to discuss civilian control over the military first. It has been said that civil-military relations constitute the arena where political considerations and military viewpoints merge.³ The Constitution of the United States gave the President executive power.⁴ It charged the Legislature with raising and supporting armies, providing and maintaining a Navy, making rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, declaring war, calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppressing insurrections and repelling invasions.⁵ This balance of power ensured no one branch of government emasculated the others. The founding fathers utilized the same concept when dealing with the military. They made a civilian the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the President of the United States.⁶

Civil-military relations are the primary institutional component of military security policy.⁷ The goal of this policy is to maximize military security at the least sacrifice of other social values, such as the right of free speech.⁸ Huntington listed two varieties of civilian control over the military. These are subjective civilian control and objective civilian control.⁹ Objective civilian control is the method used today, but there is more participation in policy by the military than Huntington may have envisioned.

Subjective Versus Objective Civilian Control

The first way military power can be minimized in relation to the society it protects is through subjective civilian control.¹⁰ The concept of subjective civilian control entails empowering civilian groups in relation to the military. Historically, these groups consisted of particular governmental institutions, social classes, and constitutional forms such as

democracy.¹¹ The rise of the military profession made this form of civilian control obsolete. The military required in the modern age is far stronger than any peer civilian group.¹²

The second method Huntington identified to minimize military power in relation to the society it protects is through objective civilian control.¹³ This method focused on maximizing military professionalism. It concentrated on the distribution of political power between military and civilian groups that was most conducive to the emergence of professional attitudes and behavior among members of the officer corps.¹⁴ Objective civilian control achieves its ends by making the military a tool of the state through military professionalism. "The antithesis of objective civilian control is military participation in politics: civilian control decreases as the military become progressively involved in institutional, class, and constitutional politics."¹⁵ There are dissenting views to Huntington's thesis of objective civilian control and the military's apolitical stance.

Objective Civilian Control Realism

Dr. Marybeth Ulrich believes Huntington's perspective does not sufficiently reflect the dynamics that operate within a democratic state.¹⁶ "In the politics of democratic states all institutions compete for resources and attempt to influence policymakers who make decisions affecting their organization. In reality, military institutions must cooperate with their oversight bodies to pass on professional expertise and lobby for the support of their professional recommendations regarding national security."¹⁷ Dr. Ulrich claims military personnel mirror the values of the state they serve.¹⁸ U.S. citizens are well aware of their first amendment rights and retired general officers are not afraid to use them when they feel national security is at stake. There are different methods for retired generals to participate in the policy process.

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT FOR THE RETIRED GENERAL OFFICER

There are seven types of political involvement available to the retired general officer. They consist of civilian employment, professional association activism, Congressional testimony, personal communication with active duty general officers, the media, political action committees, and direct participation in partisan politics.¹⁹ These avenues provide the greatest influence on the nation's policy process.

Civilian Employment

One method to influence the nation's policy process for retired general officers is through civilian employment. Retired general officers come into contact with a variety of civilian

enterprises and organizations. Many have extensive contact with civilian industries. On retirement, many general officers want to continue to do something they think worthwhile. Their skills are transferable and many new opportunities are available.²⁰

Retired General Perry M. Smith utilized the media to inform society and influence the nation's policy process. His employment with the Cable News Network placed him in millions of living rooms during Operation DESERT STORM as the network's military analyst. His resignation from CNN over the false Vietnam nerve gas story increased the American public's respect for the U.S. military.²¹

Some retired general officers choose employment with civilian contractors that do business with the U.S. Government. Retired general officers must be careful to follow government policy concerning conflict of interest issues. Title 18, U.S. Code, permanently restricts retired general officers from communication with any successor in the government position they vacated with the intent to influence that position for any reason, for example, to gain a contract.²² Title 18 also restricts a retired general officer for 2 years from making, with the intent to influence, any communication with any government agency concerning matters in which the retired general officer knew or reasonably should have been expected to know within a period of 1 year before retirement.²³ Professional associations are another method of influencing the policy process.

Professional Associations

Professional associations play a large role influencing the administrative politics of the various services. The Air Force Association, the Navy League, and the Association of the US Army all strengthen the social solidarity of the regular officer both during active duty and after retirement.²⁴

The Air Force Association is an independent, nonprofit, civilian aerospace organization that promotes public understanding of aerospace power and national defense. The association has some 300 chapters around the country and abroad and a membership of nearly 150,000.²⁵ The Air Force Association is the most active lobbying group of the three main service-related professional associations. The association gains annual consensus on critical Air Force issues, making these issues known through its magazine, informing congress, and through its annual policy and position website.²⁶

The Navy League is a civilian organization dedicated to the education of U.S. citizens, including elected officials, and the support of the men and women of the sea services and their families. Its primary objective is to provide the citizens of the U.S. information as to the

conditions of U.S. Naval and Maritime Forces. The Navy League has nearly 70,000 active members and works closely with the Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and US-flag Merchant Marine through a network of over 330 councils in the United States and around the world.²⁷

The Association of the US Army (AUSA) is a private, nonprofit, professional, educational Association of over 100,000 individual, business and organization members dedicated to maintaining a strong national defense with special emphasis on landpower and the essential role of the United States Army. "AUSA is the only professional organization uniquely supporting the needs and interests of all components of the Total Army (Active Duty, Army Reserve, National Guard, Department of the Army civilians, retirees, and family members). AUSA supports a strong defense industrial base."²⁸

Professional associations provide an avenue for retired general officers to speak out on policy issues. Another method of influencing the policy process is through congressional testimony.

Congressional Testimony

An experienced retired general officer may be called before Congress to give his opinion on various defense-related issues.²⁹ Information provided in this forum could have a major impact on the Department of Defense. The retired general officer is invited, and is thus able to present a personal agenda on policy topics. Another way of influencing the policy process is through personal contact with active duty general officers.

Personal Communication With Active Duty General Officers

Phone calls, email, or personal communication with active duty general officers are often used as a way of influencing the policy process.³⁰ This behind-the-scenes approach is unobtrusive but can be highly effective. An up-front approach is to use the media.

Media Influence

The media, in its various forms, can be a highly effective method of fueling debate over selected policy topics.³¹ While highly effective, the way in which the media is used, or the way in which retired general officers can be used by the media, can be highly controversial.³² Military political action committees are a new method of influencing the policy process.

Political Action Committees

Political action committees (PACs) help candidates win elections through support and advertising. National Defense PAC is a military-oriented organization devoted to helping

candidates with military backgrounds win elections.³³ To garner the PAC's support, candidates are asked questions concerning national defense.³⁴ If the answers are in line with the PACs objectives, the candidate is supported for election. The committee is chaired by a retired U.S. Navy Rear Admiral.³⁵ The remaining method for retired general officers to influence the policy process is through direct participation in partisan politics.

Partisan Politics

Some retired general officers may believe nonpartisan influence is insufficient to make any worthwhile change in national policy and select partisan politics to express their domestic political interests. Retired general officers may choose two different approaches to participate in partisan politics. One is to run for office and the other is to publicly support a specific party or candidate.

There are many roadblocks for retired general officers to enter professional politics. The military on the move weakens geographical affiliations with any one state.³⁶ This in turn reduces the chances for prospective candidates to develop the necessary constituency to win an election. Only a handful of retired generals succeed in attaining political office. This group is discussed in the History Section below. Issues such as these prevent many prospective military candidates from entering public office.

The second approach for a retired general to participate in partisan politics is to actively support a candidate or political party. Freed from the chain of command under the Commander-in-Chief, retired general officers are able to voice their opinions on national policy by endorsing a candidate or political party most in synch with their own views. This is especially prevalent when the active military does not agree with the policies of the President.³⁷

WHY RETIRED GENERALS ARE PARTICIPATING IN PARTISAN POLITICS

Retired general officers are among the most patriotic and involved citizens. There is one primary reason retired general officers critique national policy, and in turn, support political parties or candidates. It is their right to do so. Going beyond the obvious, the concept of civilian control over the military America's forefathers selected, professionalism, and the chain of command prevents military professionals from actively voicing their personal views on national security while on active duty.

The Constitution of the United States granted Congress, not the President, the power to raise, support, and regulate the military, and named the President as Commander-in-Chief only of those forces which Congress provides.³⁸ The Goldwater-Nichols DOD Reorganization Act of

1986 charged the Secretaries of the military departments to assign all forces under their jurisdiction to unified and specified commands and defined the chain of command as passing from the President through the Secretary of Defense to the combatant commanders.³⁹

The amalgamation of the above clearly placed civilian control over the U.S. Military. Military professionals are expected to obey their civilian superiors when there is a conflict between military obedience and political wisdom.⁴⁰ "Politics is an art, military science a profession. No commonly accepted political values exist by which the military officer can prove to reasonable men that his political judgment is preferable to that of the statesman."⁴¹

The National Security Act of 1949 muddied the waters. It permitted a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to present to Congress, on his or her own initiative, any recommendation relating to the Department of Defense.⁴² This opened up a two-way door. Congress may call the chiefs before a congressional committee at any time and ask any question. There is no political way of protecting the military chiefs against retaliation from the executive branch if the chief elects to criticize the President's recommendations.⁴³

"The annual psychic crisis of the Chiefs of Staff before the congressional appropriations committees is a new but apparently enduring phenomenon in American government. If the military chief accepts and defends the President's policies, he is subordinating his own professional judgment, denying to Congress the advice to which it is constitutionally entitled, and becoming the political defender of an administration policy. If the military chief expresses his professional opinions to Congress, he is publicly criticizing his Commander-in-Chief and furnishing useful ammunition to his political enemies. There is no easy way out of this dilemma."⁴⁴

Members of Congress are professional politicians. The Chiefs of Staff may be "sandwiched" when partisan politics enter the congressional hearing room. For the reasons above, these general officers may wait until retiring before voicing their own professional opinions on various issues.

Another reason general officers may elect to participate in partisan politics is a clash between a political appointee and the military professional. The service secretaries are political appointees and are normally junior in age, but always senior in rank to their respective Chiefs of Staff. While the most satisfactory role for the service secretaries is to represent the principle of decentralization by serving as spokesmen for the military needs of their services, the secretaries may take a more active role in the budget and policy process than desired by their Chief of Staff.⁴⁵ A service secretary that cuts or edits a chief's program through partisan politics may

create a second order effect of a strong general officer backlash through partisan politics when the Chief resigns or retires.

OFFICERSHIP AS A PROFESSION

The military profession is an honorable one. There is nothing nobler than an officer who has stepped to new heights of greatness through the respect of subordinates and nothing more admirable than the act of selflessly offering up one's life to preserve a greater good.⁴⁶ "No other profession expects its members to lay down their lives for their friends, families, or freedoms."⁴⁷ The fusionist theory explains why the 21st century military professional must understand politics, producing many retired general officer political activists.

Political-military fusionist theory applies to states with great military power. This theory is in contrast to previous beliefs that the role of the military professional was only in military matters. The political-military fusionist theory postulates that military leaders incorporate all the elements power into their profession.⁴⁸ When the military professional is expected to shift their focus from purely military matters to the other instruments of power, debate on national security strategy issues is more likely to develop.

Professionalism Defined

Webster's dictionary defines a profession as consisting of three elements. First, it is a calling requiring specialized knowledge and often long and intensive academic preparation. Second, the profession is a principal calling, vocation, or employment. Third, a profession is the whole body of persons engaged in the calling.⁴⁹ The officer corps in the active military fit into this definition.

Is the military professional a military professional for life, even after retirement? Huntington defines a profession as a peculiar type of functional group with highly specialized characteristics consisting of expertise, responsibility, and corporateness.⁵⁰ Within expertise, Huntington claims the professional inheres in the knowledge and skill and is capable of general application of the military art *irrespective of time* and place.⁵¹ Under this definition, a general officer is a military professional for life.

Morris Janowitz, a leading sociologist, believed that according to the definition of military honor, the professional soldier is "above politics."⁵² He stated that in domestic politics, active duty generals and admirals do not attach themselves to political parties or overtly display partisanship.⁵³ Janowitz claimed military men are civil servants, so that elected leaders are

assured of the military's partisan neutrality.⁵⁴ Janowitz detached retired general officers from the military on retirement and placed them in the "civilian" category of policy debaters.⁵⁵

Military officership is a profession. Using Huntington's definition of professionalism that a military professional is a professional for life and Janowitz's belief that the professional soldier is above politics, one could conclude the military professional should be above politics for life. General Omar Bradley stated "the best service a retired general can perform is to turn in his tongue along with his suit and mothball his opinions."⁵⁶ General Bradley's view worked well before the U.S. became the world's only superpower.

Political-Military Fusionist Theory

Past U.S. military norms focused on "technicism" and kept politics out of strategy. Antoine Henri Jomini, a 19th century military strategist, concentrated his writings on the "tip of the spear" portion of military art.⁵⁷ His writings focused on strategy, "the art of making war upon the map."⁵⁸ 19th century American military officers viewed Jomini as the final master on the larger aspects of military operations.⁵⁹ West Point's primary military education at that time was technical in purpose and content.⁶⁰

The professionalization of the American military followed the Civil War. General William T. Sherman advocated a complete military education, including liberal arts, military values, discipline, and advanced schools to provide officers knowledge of their profession and prepare them for higher positions.⁶¹ He advocated the divorce of military from politics, and began the tradition of military political neutrality.⁶² At the turn of the century, West Point shifted away from technicism, and war colleges were created for advanced military studies.⁶³

The war colleges brought the military art from the strategic to the grand strategic. The writings of Clausewitz and Mahan were included in the curriculum as well as the political, economic, informational, and military instruments of power. The military professional began to think of war in reference to political factors and conditions, learning that policy determined war's main lines of action.⁶⁴ The professional began to think of war in reference to cultural, political, economic, and human factors.⁶⁵ The end of World War II created a bipolar world, with the U.S. military focused on the threat from the USSR. The role of the military was clear, to deter and defeat the Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War heralded the manifestation of the political-military fusionist theory.⁶⁶ Senior military professionals took an active role in foreign policy formulation, often to the chagrin of the executive branch.⁶⁷ The Joint Chiefs no longer commanded attention as a

“disinterested body” and became architects of policy formulation.⁶⁸ They and the geographic commander-in-chiefs are responsible for incorporating flexible deterrent options into their war plans, which include a variety of responses that integrate all instruments of national power.⁶⁹ The geographic commander-in-chiefs also validate the political-military fusionist theory. They provide advice and assistance to U.S. Diplomatic Missions in their area of responsibility [informational], command regional security assistance organizations not under the U.S. Diplomatic Missions [political], and carry out advisory, planning, and implementing responsibilities relating to security assistance [economical].⁷⁰ Annual theater engagement plans focus on every instrument of power.⁷¹ Post-Cold War peacekeeping and nation building place the geographic commander-in-chiefs into expanded diplomatic and political roles.⁷²

The discussion above validates the political-military fusionist theory during the present time and the foreseeable future. Since the military professional is expected have a working knowledge of foreign policy, retired general officers are more knowledgeable on these matters than in the past, and will be more likely to voice their opinions through the forums discussed in the Political Involvement for Retired General Officers portion of this document. Professionalism can lead to involvement.⁷³

HISTORY

In the 225-year history of the U.S., a small number of retired general officers were involved in partisan politics. The table below provides a brief evolution of active duty and retired general officer participation in partisan politics.

YEAR	GENERAL	DESCRIPTION
1785-1794	Henry Knox	Secretary of War. His ideas on military training were the basis of creation for West Point and Annapolis. ⁷⁴
1789-1797	George Washington	U.S. President. Publicly resigned as USA's Commander-in-Chief after British surrender at Yorktown, ensuring civil governance. ⁷⁵
1801-1809	Henry Dearborn	Secretary of War. Served as Major-General in War of 1812 after serving as Secretary of War. ⁷⁶
1829-1837	Andrew Jackson	U.S. President. Defeat of British at Battle of New Orleans made him a national hero. ⁷⁷
1841	William Henry Harrison	U.S. President. His Indian fighting and treaty-making secured the Old Northwest Territories for settlement and established the reputation leading him to Presidency. Died after 1 month in office. ⁷⁸
1847-1865	Jefferson Davis	Senator, Secretary of War, President of the Confederacy. West Point graduate: had a life of public

		service alternating between military and civilian government jobs. ⁷⁹
1849-1850	Zachary Taylor	U.S. President. Led 2,300 soldiers into battle at Palo Alto. Never registered to vote, even in his election. ⁸⁰
1852	Winfield Scott	Candidate for Whig Party Presidential nomination. ⁸¹ Army march from Veracruz to Mexico City in Mexican War made him a national hero. Defeated by Franklin Pierce. ⁸²
1853-1857	Franklin Pierce	Political General. Injured in the Mexican War. ⁸³
1858	John Charles Fremont	Political General. Appointed by President Lincoln as Major General in Civil War after running for President in 1857. Removed from command after taking too radical a stance with Missouri slaveholders. ⁸⁴
1861-1863	John A. McClelland	Political General, Congressman. Relieved of command by Grant for publishing a self-ingratiating press release during Vicksburg Campaign. ⁸⁵
1862	John Beatty	Congressman. Commanded 3 rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Promoted to Brigadier General following heavy fighting at Stone River. ⁸⁶
1864	George McClellan	Candidate for Democratic Party Presidential nomination while on active duty. Resigned from USA on election day after winning only three states. ⁸⁷
1864-1890	Nathaniel Prentiss Banks	Political General with no prior military experience, Congressman, U.S. Marshall. Dubbed "Commissary Banks" after losing a huge amount of supplies after being routed by General Stonewall Jackson in Shenandoah Valley. ⁸⁸
1867-1875	Benjamin Franklin Butler	Political General, Congressman, Candidate for President. Military Governor of New Orleans in Civil War, earning the name "Beast." Removed from his post as governor and as active commander later in the War. "Regarded by many as an unprincipled demagogue of great ability, Butler aroused intense antagonisms and was nearly always in controversy." ⁸⁹
1868-1869	John M. Schofield	Secretary of War. Commanding General of the USA after his tenure as Secretary of War. ⁹⁰
1869	William T. Sherman	Secretary of War. Noteworthy for his absolute refusal to be drawn into politics. ⁹¹
1869-1877	Ulysses Simpson Grant	U.S. President. His record in office was marred by corruption of his personnel. ⁹²
1880	Winfield Scott Hancock	Democratic candidate for President. Defeated by James Garfield. Responsible for stemming Confederate attacks at Gettysburg. ⁹³
1877-1881	Rutherford Birchard Hayes	U.S. President. Issued an executive order forbidding federal civil servants to take an active part in politics. ⁹⁴
1881	James Abram Garfield	U.S. President. Assassinated 4 months after taking office. ⁹⁵
1889-1893	Benjamin Harrison	U.S. President. Civil War hero who advocated a two-

		ocean navy as President. ⁹⁶
1910-1914	Leonard Wood	Army Chief of Staff. Advocated U.S. preparedness for war, conflicting with President Wilson's policy. ⁹⁷ Republican candidate for President while still on active duty. ⁹⁸
1935	Patrick Hurley	Political General. Last political general to date. Appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. ⁹⁹
1945	Joseph M. Swing	Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Justice. Hired two other general officers to work for him in this department, and the act produced congressional criticism as representing excessive military influence in a particular agency. ¹⁰⁰
1947-1950	Roscoe H. Hillenkoeter	Director of the CIA. ¹⁰¹
1950-1953	Walter Bedell Smith	Director of the CIA. ¹⁰²
1947-1951	George Catlett Marshall	Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. Responsible for the Marshall Plan, the recovery plan of Europe. Earned the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1953. ¹⁰³
1947-1949	10 General Officers	Served as principal departmental officers and ambassadors under the Truman administration due to lack of other qualified personnel. The appointments produced considerable criticism. ¹⁰⁴
1951	Douglas MacArthur	Dismissed for "lack of responsiveness to directives from Washington." ¹⁰⁵
1952	Albert C. Wedemeyer	Chaired the Citizens for Taft Committee, which sought to obtain the Republican presidential nomination for Senator Robert Taft. ¹⁰⁶
1952	Bonner Fellers	National chairman for Pro-America political action group. Four other retired general officers were also members of this "far right" political organization. Its prominence declined with the political decline of Senator McCarthy. ¹⁰⁷
1953-1955	Kenneth Nichols	General Manager, Atomic Energy Commission. ¹⁰⁸
1953-1961	Dwight David Eisenhower	U.S. President. Apolitical stance resulted in both parties recruiting him for the Presidency. Made President within 2 years of resigning his commission. ¹⁰⁹
1955-1958	Paul Frederick Foster	General Manager, Atomic Energy Commission. ¹¹⁰
1958	Alvin R. Ludecke	General Manager, Atomic Energy Commission. ¹¹¹
1961	Arleigh A. Burke	Chief of Naval Operations. Reeled in by President Kennedy. President Kennedy banned all public statements by military officials who had not received clearance from the administration. ¹¹²
1968	Curtis Emerson LeMay	USAF Chief of Staff. Third party Vice Presidential candidate with George Wallace 3 years after retirement. Lost to Richard Nixon. ¹¹³
1981-1982	Alexander Meigs Haig, Jr.	Secretary of State, Vied for Republican Presidential nomination in 1988. ¹¹⁴
1990	Michael J. Dugan	USAF Chief of Staff. Dismissed for "poor judgment at

		a sensitive time” because of air power statements to the media after Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait. ¹¹⁵
1992	Colin L. Powell	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Utilized media in an attempt to preempt policy-making on intervention in Bosnia. ¹¹⁶
1992	James Bond Stockdale	Candidate for U.S. Vice President. Medal of Honor recipient and Vietnam POW for 7.5 years. 1992 Vice Presidential debate hurt his image. ¹¹⁷
1992	William J. Crowe (Retired Admiral) + 20 other retired General and Flag officers ¹¹⁸	Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, supported Bill Clinton in campaign 1992. ¹¹⁹
1996-	Barry R. McCaffrey	Director of the White House National Drug Control Policy. Took post immediately after serving as CINCSOUTHCOM. ¹²⁰
2000	Charles Krulak + 43 other retired General and Flag Officers (see notes)	Supported George W. Bush as a candidate for U.S. President in campaign 2000. ¹²¹
2000	John M. Shalikashvili and William Owens (Retired Admiral)	Supported Al Gore as a candidate for U.S. President in campaign 2000. ¹²²
2000-	James J. Carey (Retired Rear Admiral)	Chairman of the National Defense Political Action Committee. ¹²³

TABLE 1. EVOLUTION OF U.S. MILITARY ACTIVE DUTY AND RETIRED GENERAL OFFICER PARTICIPATION IN PARTISAN POLITICS

While a military career is required to become a general in this day and age, retired general officers can still enter politics. The political-military highway between being a politician and a general of the 19th Century turned into a one-way street in the 20th. The next section discusses the rules of retired general officers participating in partisan politics.

CURRENT POLICY

The Constitution of the United States sets forth the right of free speech. The Department of Defense is more restrictive, directing active duty military members to refrain from active participation in partisan politics. Even after retirement, commissioned officers forfeit some of their First Amendment rights. They cannot use “contemptuous words” against incumbent senior-level politicians.¹²⁴

Constitution of The United States of America

The Constitution of the United States of America contains the first ten Amendments named the Bill of Rights. The first ten Amendments were ratified effective 15 December 1791.¹²⁵ Amendment I states Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the

press, or the right of the people to peaceably to assemble.¹²⁶ By law, retired general and flag officers are free to participate in partisan politics the second their retirement is effective. The military restricts the right of free speech on its active duty members.

Department of Defense

The active duty military is very restrictive on participation in politics. A member on active duty cannot be a candidate for, or hold civil office except in minor nonpartisan positions, participate in partisan political management, campaigns, or conventions, make campaign contributions to another member of the Armed Forces or an employee of the Federal Government, or use their official authority or influence for interfering with an election, affecting the course or outcome of an election, soliciting votes for a particular candidate or issue, or requiring or soliciting political contributions from others.¹²⁷ As described above, military members relinquish significant rights while on active duty. The laws below restrict the rights of military retirees.

Other Policy

Congress and the Department of Defense have other laws restricting retired military personnel. Congress and the Department of Defense formulated these laws as "checks and balances" to guarantee civilian control and reduce conflicts of interest between the civilian and military portions of the U.S. Government.

The Secretary of Defense is a civilian, and no person may be appointed as Secretary of Defense within 10 years after relief from active duty as a commissioned officer of a regular component of the armed forces.¹²⁸ Congress waived this law once in 1950, appointing previous General of the Army George C. Marshall as Secretary of Defense.¹²⁹ The Department of Defense also restricts employment of military retirees.

Retired commissioned officers of a regular component of the armed forces that are entitled to pay relinquish some of their First Amendment rights. This group is still subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice after retirement.¹³⁰ Retired commissioned officers of a regular component may not use contemptuous words against the President, the Vice President, Congress, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of a military department, the Secretary of Transportation, or the Governor or legislature of any State, Territory, commonwealth, or possession.¹³¹ If a retired general officer uses contemptuous words against any individual cited above, the retired officer risks punishment under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Although a case of this nature has never been tried under the U.S. Supreme Court, similar historic cases

involving military personnel and the right of free speech do exist.¹³² Based on these cases, it is the author's view any retired general officer who uses "contemptuous words" against a member of the group cited above would defeat any challenge by the Department of Defense in court.

The Department of Defense restricts the appointment of a retired member of the Armed Forces to a position in the Federal service, in or under the Department of Defense for 180 days after retirement. The authority to approve an appointment within this time frame is delegated to the Heads of the Department of Defense Components.¹³³

The Constitution, Congress, and the Department of Defense all set forth policy on the way retired general officers can participate in partisan politics. Speaking out on issues related to the Department of Defense is important if there is a widening civil-military culture gap and the percentage of military veterans in governmental positions is decreasing.

CIVIL-MILITARY CULTURE GAP

The population of the United States of America continued to grow in the 1990s. Then, victory in the Cold War resulted in the U.S. military shrinking by approximately one third. The combined result was a smaller percentage of U.S. citizens having experience with military issues and concerns.¹³⁴ If the ethics of the U.S. military are not the same as the ethics of the U.S. public, a civil-military culture gap could form, affecting the cohesion between military professionals and the society they are sworn to protect. If there is a civil-military culture gap, one method to bridge it is through partisan political participation of retired general officers with the objective of informing the public on military issues.

There are opposing views to this issue. Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Shalikashvili stated: "I share deeply the concern that we are living through a period when the gap between the American people and their military is getting wider."¹³⁵ Current Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry Shelton, stated: "There has been a great deal written recently about the military becoming isolated from society. While I understand the concerns, I do not believe the people who wear the uniform of the United States are disconnected from the rest of American society or are in danger of becoming isolated."¹³⁶

Some academics believe there is a civil-military culture gap and that the active military must take an active role in politics.¹³⁷ "But only through constructive political engagement can military professionals legitimate their role in policy debates, provide a clear boundary between defense policy and merely partisan politics, and provide the American public with a clearer understanding of military life and culture."¹³⁸ This idea is difficult to achieve when the military elite's political demographics do not match those of the U.S. public.

MILITARY DEMOGRAPHICS

Although the military professes to be non-partisan, a large gap developed over the last 25 years where the U.S. military's elite officers, defined as officers selected for courses in residence at staff and war colleges, their National Guard and Reserve counterparts, and new general and flag officers, privately became partisan Republicans.¹³⁹ "Card-carrying" Republican elite military officers outnumber Democrats by a margin of eight to one.¹⁴⁰ The Executive and Legislative Branches of the U.S. Government are both aware of these statistics. The partisan underpinnings these numbers depict are exacerbated by the erosion of the veteran's advantage in Congress. There are now a lower percentage of veterans in the Senate and the House of Representatives than in a comparable cross section of the U.S. public.¹⁴¹

The background discussed above provided a brief discussion on factors influencing retired general officer participation in partisan politics. Current active duty military officers have diverse viewpoints on this issue. The author believes the military should control its own culture and that a survey is a valid instrument in determining what that culture is concerning the issue. This is the focus of the next section.

ANALYSIS

The author sent a survey to every United States Army War College student and faculty member as a method of gathering data on the subject of retired general officers and partisan politics. The Army War College survey also served as a "litmus test" for a proposed survey sent to all active duty general officers. Lessons learned from the Army War College survey resulted in changes to the survey sent to active duty general officers. The author sent the revised survey to every active duty U.S. Air Force, Army, and Marine general officer. The Navy did not participate. Privacy Act issues precluded the survey from being sent to retired general officers, although some volunteered information. The sample size from the retired general officers was too small to represent the entire retired general officer group, therefore, only general trends and comments from retired general officers are provided.

Survey results below provide responses from the Army War College students and faculty; active duty U.S. Air Force, Marine, and Army general officers; and retired general officers. Active duty general officer results are provided by service, overall by rank, and in total. These results provide survey data on differences between the services and grade while still ensuring the anonymity of respondents.

ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY

Students and faculty responses on the Army War College Survey provided qualitative comments on the survey's fairness and quantitative data on the survey itself. The author used constructive comments gained from students and faculty on the survey's fairness to edit the survey before sending it to active duty general officers. Quantitative results of the survey provided an analysis of prospective future general officers on the survey's subject. The Army War College survey results provided a baseline for field grade officers to compare with general officer opinion on the subject. Some responses caused the author to use judgment on the meaning of some answers. These judgments were made in the fairest way possible for each response.¹⁴² The survey sent to Army War College students and faculty consisted of four questions plus comments. It is presented in Figure 1 below.

USAWC SURVEY

RETIRED GENERALS AND PARTISAN POLITICS: IS A TIME OUT REQUIRED?

This survey solicits your views concerning retired general officers supporting political parties. This year, retired General Norman Schwartzkopf and others are supporting Governor George Bush while retired General John Shalikashvili is support Vice President Al Gore in their bid for President.

There are opposing views to this issue. General William T. Sherman believed "no Army officer should form or express an opinion" concerning party politics. Retired General Charles Krulak believes the day you retire you become free to voice your political preferences.

Please respond to the following survey:

1. Retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

2. General officers should refrain from endorsing political parties for what time period after retirement?

_____ (Specify time period in years, i.e. could be 0, 2 years, 1 year for every star, etc.)

3. A retired general officer's political endorsement tarnishes the military profession.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

4. A retired general officer's political endorsement hurts the Department of Defense if that candidate does not win.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

5. Additional comments:

FIGURE 1. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY

Various respondents had comments on the quality the survey. Some respondents believed the title of the survey was biased. The author removed "Is a Time Our Required?" from the general officer survey. Various respondents did not like the word "tarnish" in question number three. They felt this was too strong of a word and begged for a more critical response. "Tarnish" was taken out of the general officer survey and replaced with "adversely affect." Other respondents thought the survey was too one-sided in the way the question set was worded. Because of this, two additional questions were added to the general officer survey: "Constitutional rights of free speech apply immediately following retirement to all military members. This should never change." and "A retired general officer can help the military by endorsing a candidate with policies favoring the Department of Defense." United States Army War College survey results to questions one through four are presented below.

Questions 1-4

United States Army War College faculty and students had specific views on this subject. There were few neutral answers and most respondents expressed definite opinions.

One third of Army War College students and faculty thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties. Question one results are presented below.

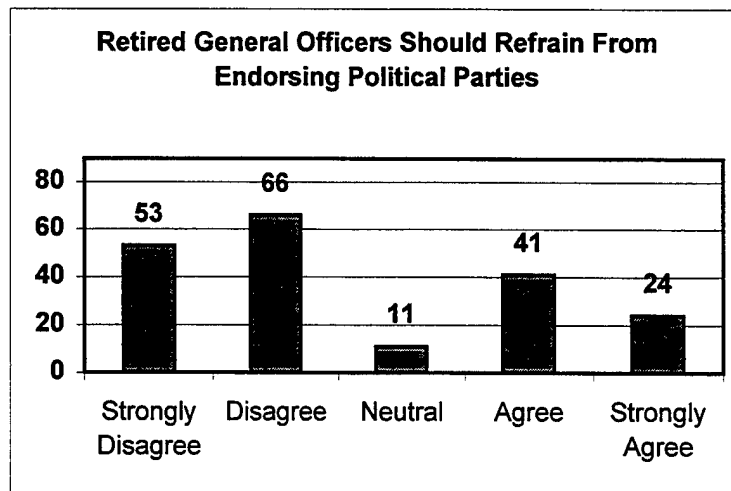


FIGURE 2. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 1

Almost half of Army War College faculty and students thought that some time period is required before general officers endorse political parties. The time periods varied in survey responses and are presented in Figure 3 below. The 91 responses in column two depict the cumulative total in all other columns except column number one.

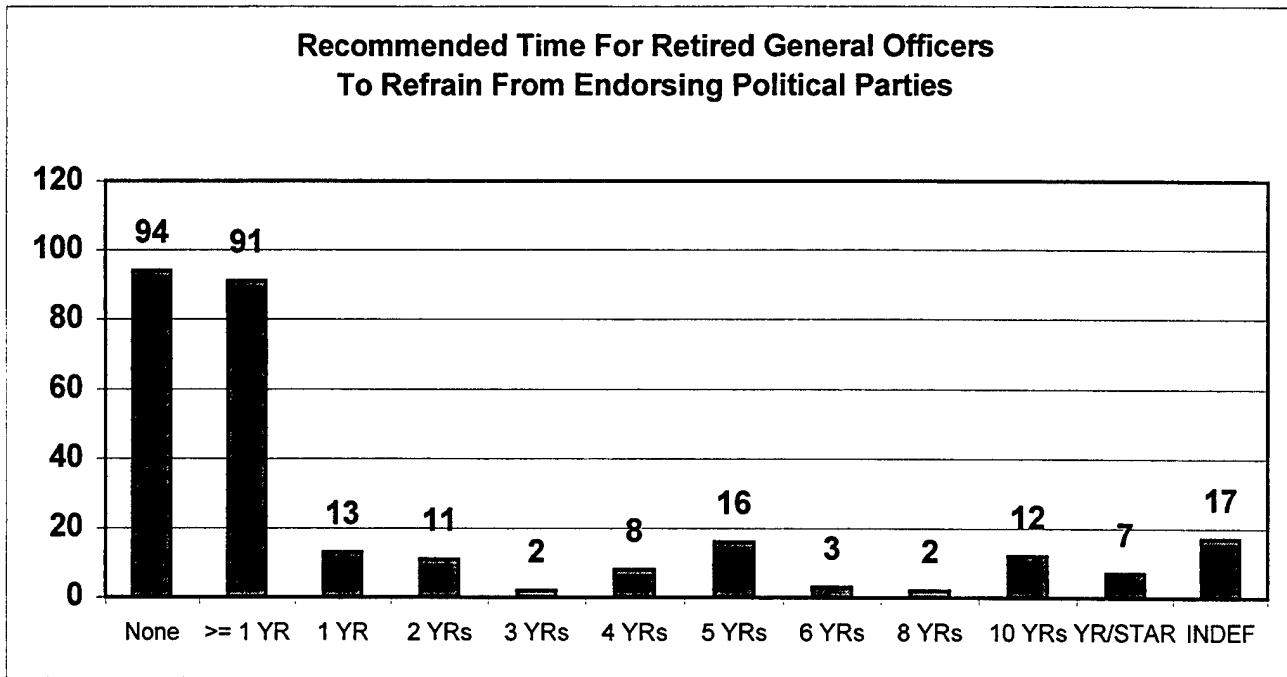


FIGURE 3. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 2

One third of respondents believed a retired general officer's political endorsement tarnishes the military profession. Army War College survey results for question number three are presented below.

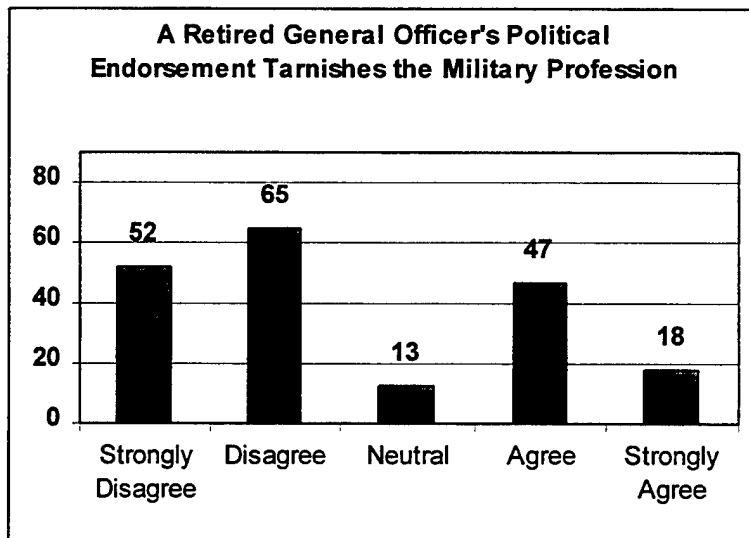


FIGURE 4. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 3

A smaller percentage of respondents believed that political parties would hold a "grudge" against the Department of Defense if retired general officers supported a candidate that did not

win the election. 23 percent of respondents believed a retired general officer's political endorsement hurts the Department of Defense if that candidate does not win the election. Army War College question number four survey results are shown below.

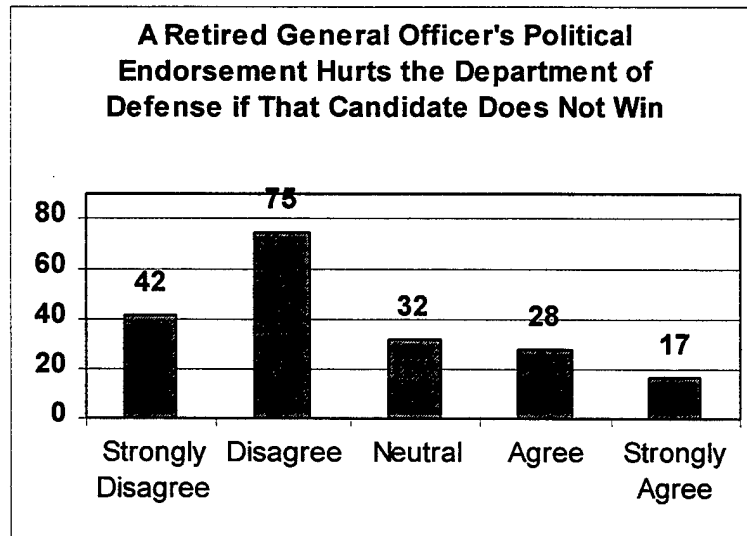


FIGURE 5. ARMY WAR COLLEGE SURVEY QUESTION 4

Comments

Respondent comments fell into three broad categories. Those that supported free speech immediately after retirement, those that felt retired general officers should remain non-partisan, and those that fell somewhere in between. A sampling of comments from representative responses is provided below.

"A soldier is a citizen first! Following military retirement, soldiers play an important role in educating the public about the critical role of 'civilian' leadership and their perceptions of how a candidate's qualifications, experience, abilities, and character will impact on his ability to lead/direct the military application of power. Retired general officers are uniquely qualified perform this function—the goal is to elect the most qualified civilian leader for the benefit of the nation. Who cares if there are negative implications in the short run for the military if, overall, you are better off in the long run. We should not sacrifice service to the nation for parochial interests—especially in retirement."

"The German Army had a tradition to avoid party politics before Hitler. Absence of political awareness/responsibility in the officer corps allowed Hitler to use the German Army improperly. The modern Bundeswehr takes note of this, and army officers are expected to have political responsibility. It is not prudent to set up similar conditions to the Bundeswehr in the United States. I may not agree with General Krulak, but neither do I want to impede him on the grounds that he is a general."

"We need to stay 'apolitical.' If we don't, we risk being disregarded by all parties. Our political opinions should remain private."

The author applied lessons learned from the United States Army War College Survey to the active duty general officer survey presented below.

ACTIVE DUTY GENERAL OFFICER SURVEY

75 percent of solicited general officers participated in the survey. Their views were as diverse as Army War College students and faculty. The author selected categories based on each service and grade. These categories consisted of Air Force General Officers, Army General Officers, Marine Corps General Officers, one, two, three, and four star general officers, and all general officers combined. A representative sampling of comments obtained are presented for each survey category. All four star general officer comments are included. When comments focused on a specific retired general officer in a negative tone, that officer's name was deleted and replaced with [a retired general officer]. The author utilized the same rules in analyzing survey data as in the Army War College Survey.¹⁴³ The survey sent to active duty Air Force, Army, and Marine Corps General Officers is shown in Figure 6 below.

USAWC SURVEY

RETIRED GENERALS AND PARTISAN POLITICS

Please respond to the following survey, circling the appropriate word that most matches your reaction to the following:

1. Retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

2. Constitutional rights of free speech apply immediately following retirement to all military members. This should never change.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

3. General officers should refrain from endorsing political parties for what time period after retirement?

_____ (Specify time period in years, i.e. could be 0, 2 years, 1 year for every star, etc.)

4. A retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

5. A retired general officer's political endorsement may hurt the Department of Defense if that candidate does not win.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

6. A retired general officer can help the military by endorsing a candidate with policies favoring the Department of Defense.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

7. Additional comments.

FIGURE 6. GENERAL OFFICER SURVEY

United States Air Force

QUESTIONS 1-6

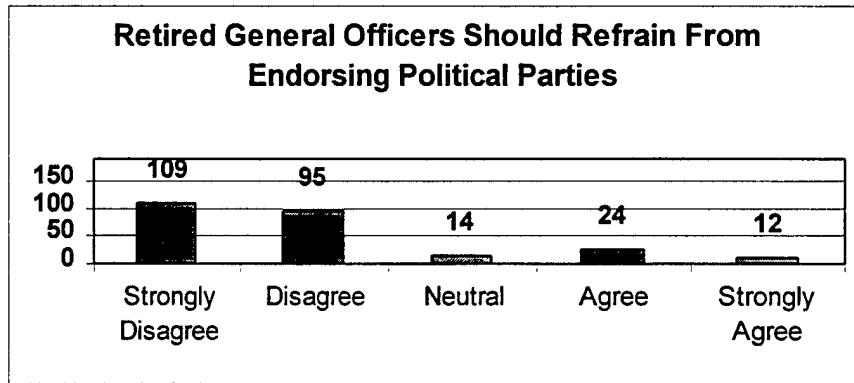


FIGURE 7. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

Only 14 percent of Air Force General Officers thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

Air Force General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 8 below.

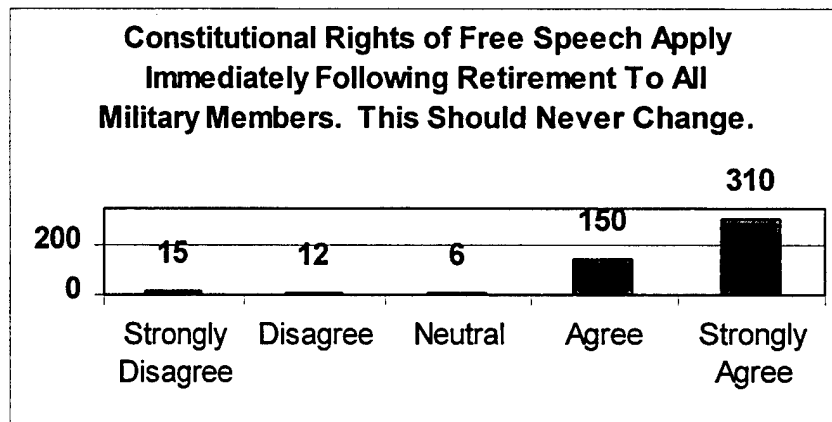


FIGURE 8. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

Air Force General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

Air Force General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 9 below.

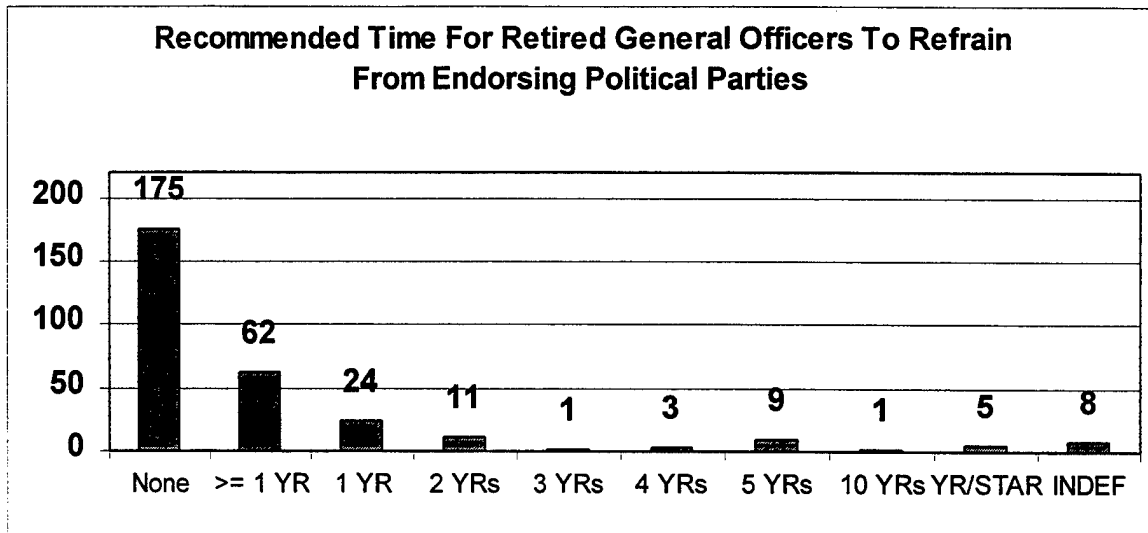


FIGURE 9. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

26 percent of Air Force General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

Air Force General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 10 below.

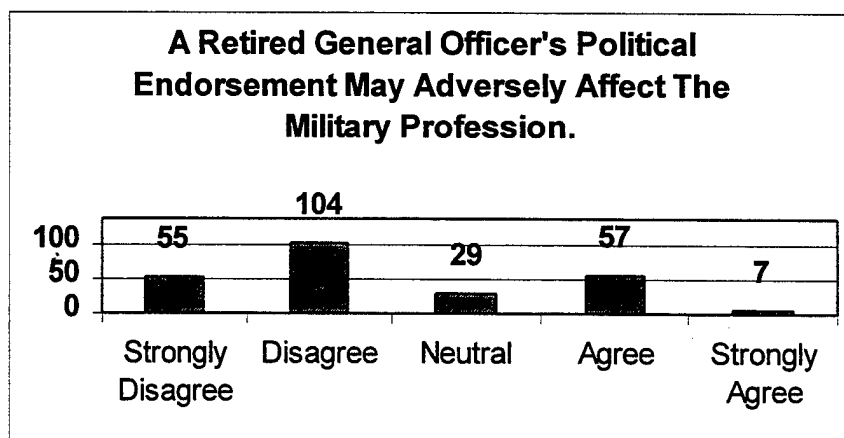


FIGURE 10. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

25 percent of Air Force General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

Air Force General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 11 below.

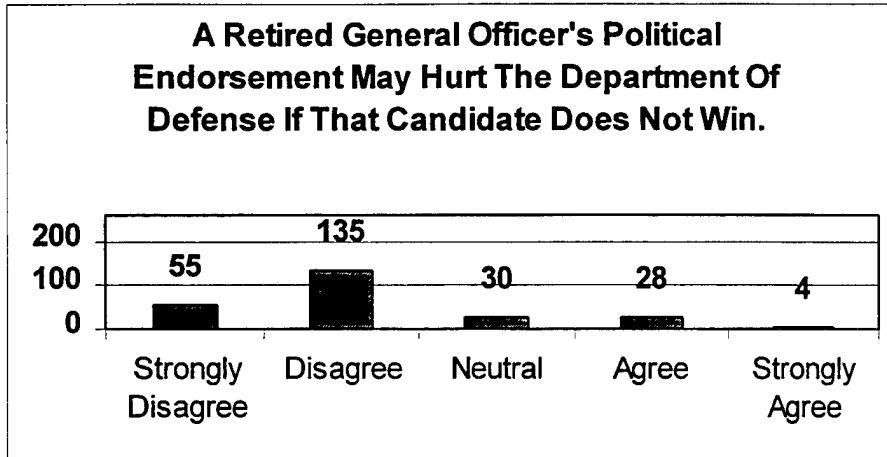


FIGURE 11. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

Most Air Force General Officers did not believe a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

Air Force General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 12 below.

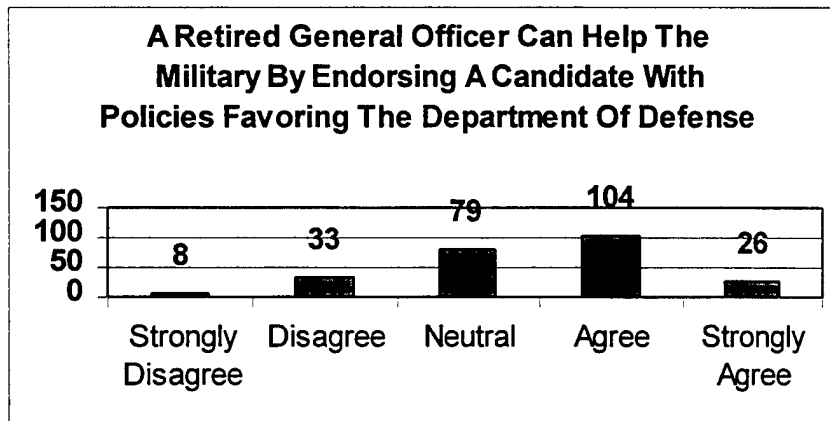


FIGURE 12. AIR FORCE RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

COMMENTS

"Don't think you can muzzle retired officers...that's why some officers retire—so they can talk."

"The issue isn't if a retired general officer participates in politics, it's how they do it that causes the problem. Today [2000 Presidential election], several retired general officers/flag officers are being used, even manipulated, by politicians and the media."

"(1) I would like to see more general officers/flag officers get active in politics as candidates. If we had a few more McCains in the Senate and House, we would have a much more active National Security Strategy debate, and I think that is

extremely healthy. In the end, what is good for DoD should be defined as what is good for America's defense, and that is defined as a by-product of the Congressional debate. Since to a greater and greater degree there is less military experience in Congress, I wholeheartedly support retired Generals as CANDIDATES. It follows, of course, that they would of necessity have to endorse a political party. Having said this, my contention is the individual would be considered as a candidate who has a wealth of military experience, not as a military officer endorsing politics...there is a big difference. (2) I also support the use of retired military officers as 'experts' my major media. Maj Gen Smith, for example, did an admirable job with CNN articulating military concerns for a long period of time. I do not think that retired military officers should disappear from the public eye just because they are retired. (3) I am in adamant disagreement with the latest process of public endorsement of candidates. There is a difference here with my argument in the first paragraph, because in this instance the retired general officer is perceived by the public as a 'military officer,' not as a candidate. I fear this process politicizes the military, it gives the perception that the military will support the military strategy of one party more than another, and, at an extreme, jeopardizes the long-term position of the military as isolated from domestic party politics. I do believe constitutional rights of the individual should be protected, but I believe that as a practice, we should be careful as to the long-term impact by involving ourselves in a casual way with partisan politics." (4) There are many reasons our military is respected so much by the citizenry of this country. In my view, one of the biggest reasons is the fact that we are servants of the people as defined by the oath we take to defend the constitution. I doubt many Americans will stop to reflect on the fact that all of these officers supporting one candidate this year are retired [2000 Presidential election]; they are just general officers, ones they recognize. If the American people come to the conclusion that our service and spirit of self-sacrifice is tied to an allegiance to a political party, I'm afraid we have come perilously close to compromising the integrity of our stature as servants of all the people."

United States Army

QUESTIONS 1-6

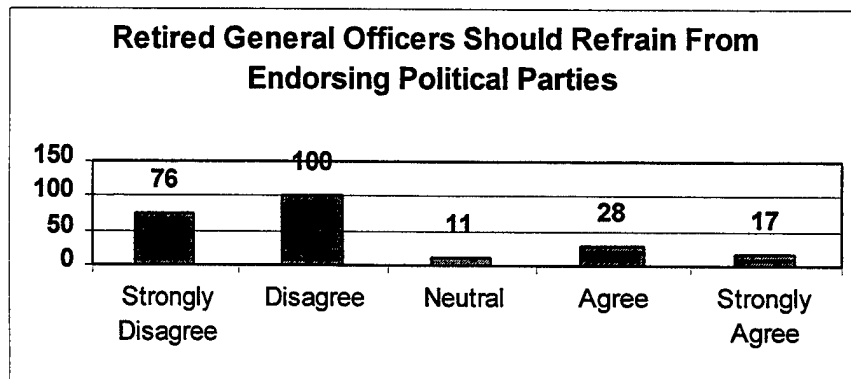


FIGURE 13. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

19 percent of Army General Officers thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

Army General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 14 below.

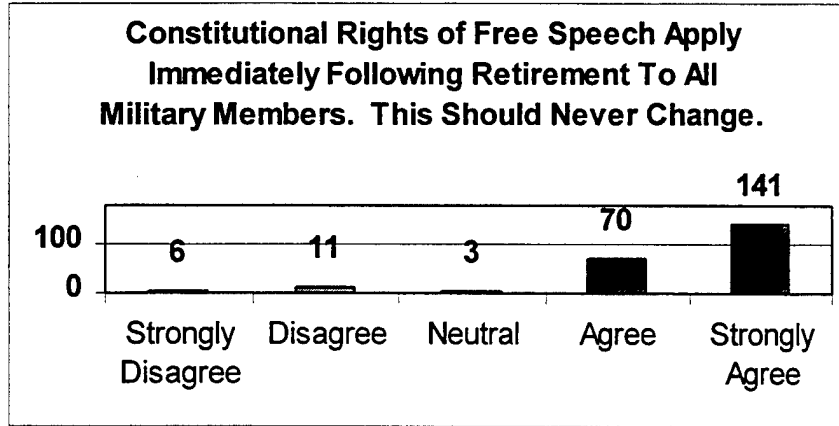


FIGURE 14. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

Army General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

Army General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 15 below.

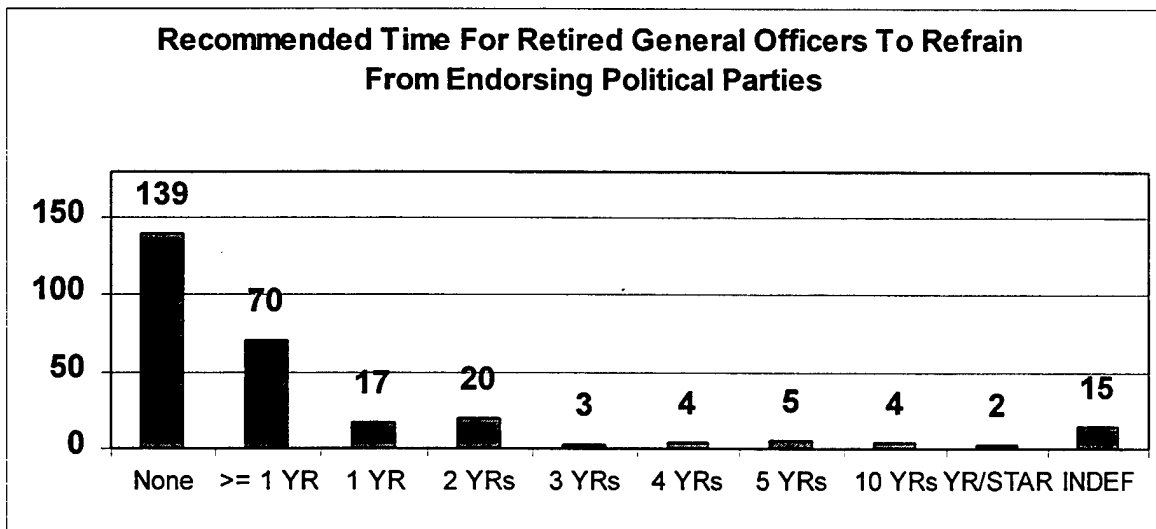


FIGURE 15. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

33 percent of Army General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

Army General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 16 below.

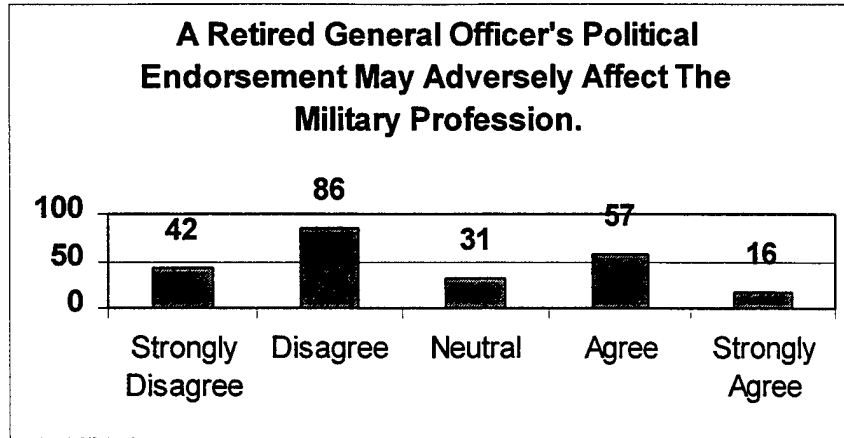


FIGURE 16. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

31 percent of Army General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

Army General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 17 below.

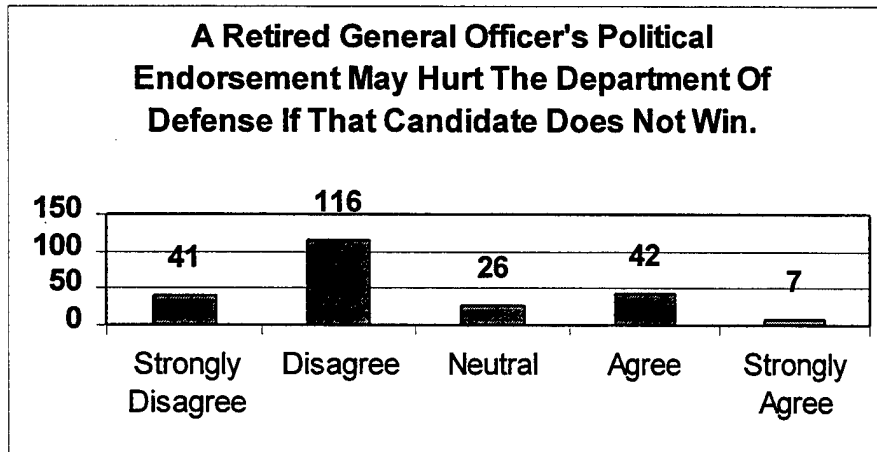


FIGURE 17. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

Most Army General Officers did not believe a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

Army General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 18 below.

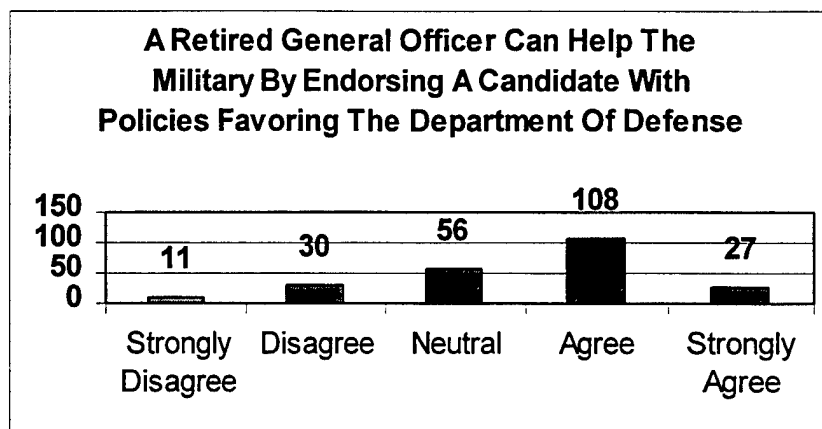


FIGURE 18. ARMY RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

The majority of Army General Officers believed they could help the military by endorsing a candidate with policies favoring the Department of Defense.

COMMENTS

“I strongly agree with [a recent politically active retired general officer]. First Amendment rights are one of the basic principles we’re charged to defend. At retirement, we become a citizen just like all the rest of Americans.”

“A retired general officer should act with discretion regarding political parties, but he should be free to do so.”

“Our tradition of an apolitical military is critical to our democratic system—the stance [a retired general officer] has taken as a recently retired ‘Chief of Service’ is a slippery slope toward [a] Banana Republic—and it is very unhelpful to the current chiefs of service. They can comment on military needs and issues—it is the outright endorsement of partisan candidates that is troubling.”

United States Marine Corps

QUESTIONS 1-6

Marine Corps respondent survey results contrasted with the United States Air Force and Army. A majority of Marine Corps General Officers believed they should refrain from endorsing political parties after retirement.

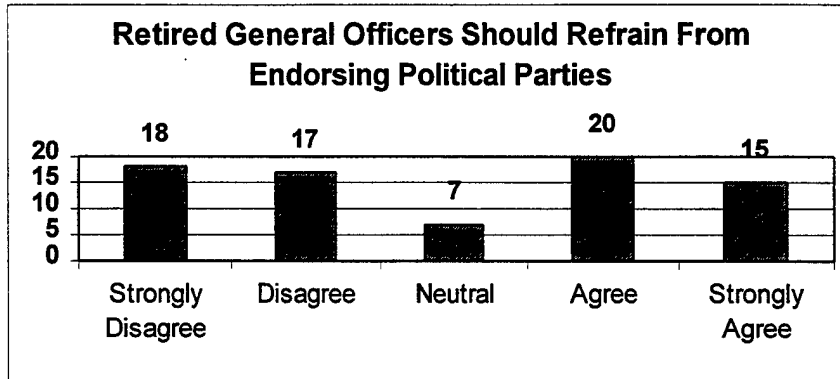


FIGURE 19. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

Half of Marine Corps General Officers believed retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

Marine Corps General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 20 below.

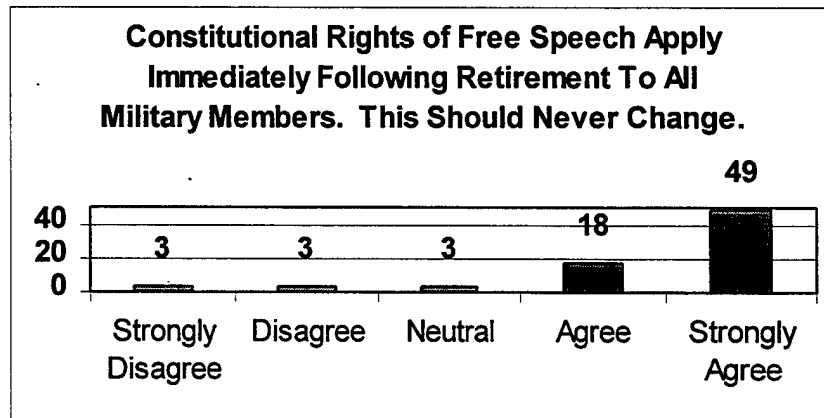


FIGURE 20. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

Marine Corps General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

Marine Corps General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 21 below.

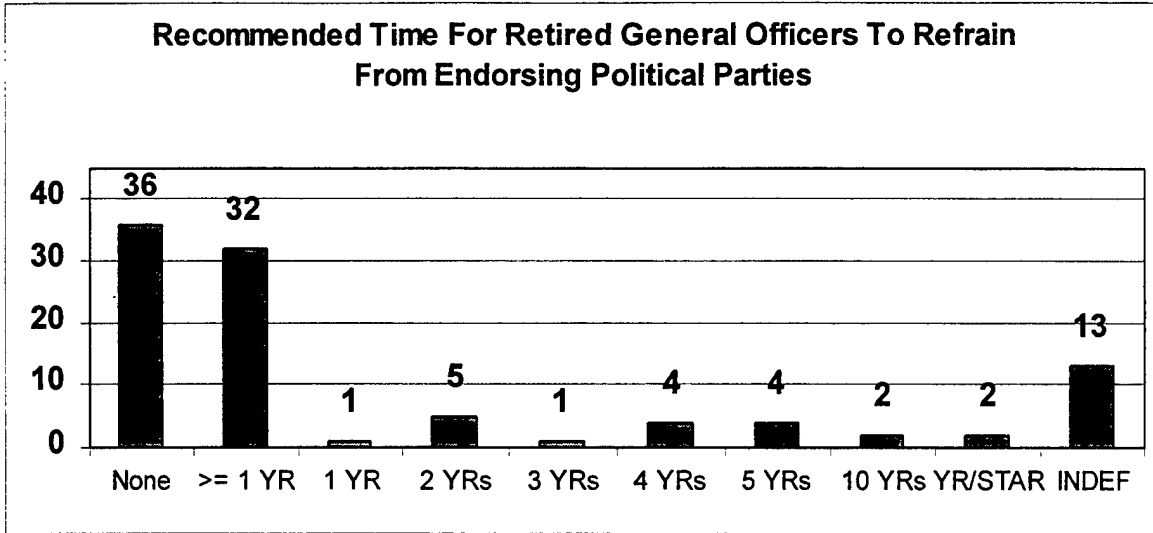


FIGURE 21. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

47 percent of Marine Corps General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

Marine Corps General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 22 below.

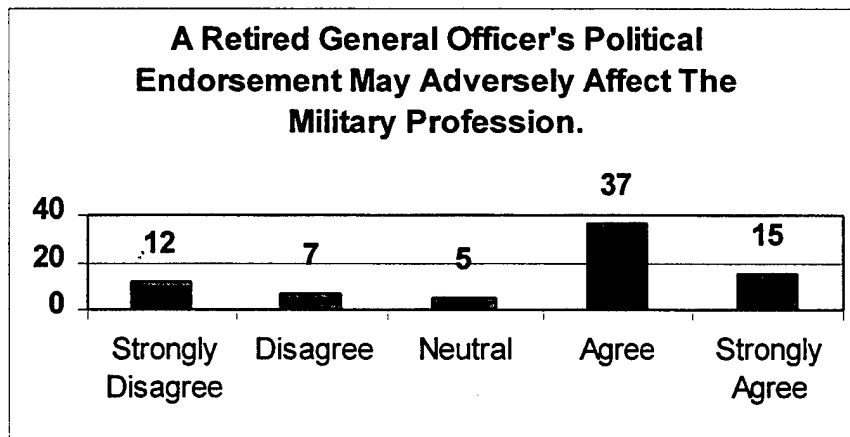


FIGURE 22. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

68 percent of Marine Corps General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

Marine Corps General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 23 below.

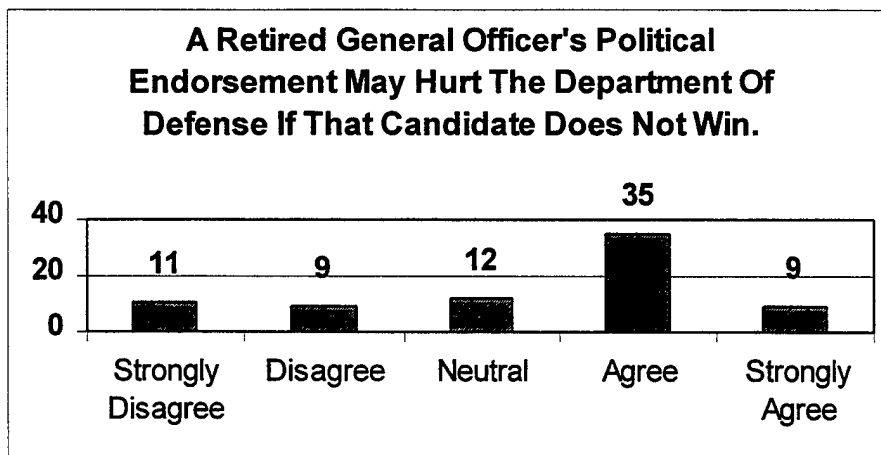


FIGURE 23. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

A majority Marine Corps General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

Marine Corps General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 24 below.

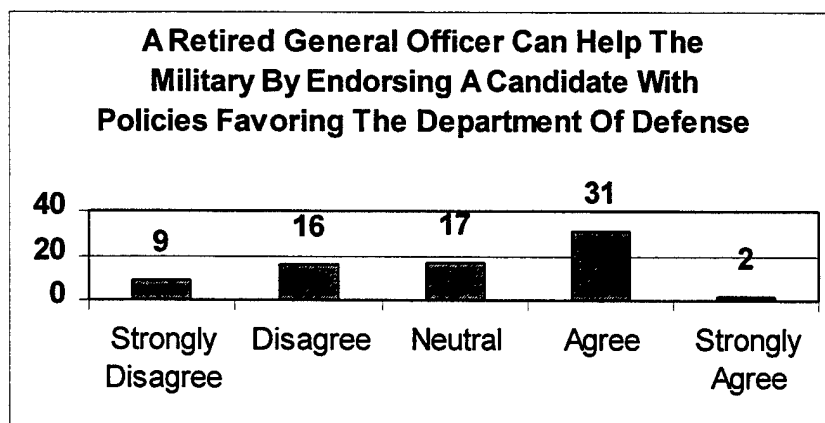


FIGURE 24. MARINE CORPS RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

COMMENTS

Marine Corps comments mirrored those of the other services.

"An individual who has spent his life either in defense of or preparing to defend the constitution against all enemies, foreign or domestic should, at some point in his life, be able to practice his or her right under that constitution and the Bill of Rights. We, as a body of officers, must adhere to strict regulation while on active duty, which if violated ends our careers. Those regulations cannot apply once we have left active duty. An elected official should have the welfare of the country paramount in his mind. One would hope that our elected officials are loyal enough to view support of an opponent as a right and not an attack on his person. Support for a political candidate should be based upon the country's

best interest. Finally, for our entire lives we have defended democracy ... after we retire we should be able to practice it!"

"God, Country, Corps! Don't ever forget about [the] order."

"I believe that our most senior military leaders form relationships with the civilian leadership that make it difficult for them to enter partisan politics with an open mind initially. While I would never want policy or statute to inhibit retired general officer's freedom of speech, I prefer that open political behavior wait for a short 'cooling off' period—perhaps two years or one national election."

"I would not have a problem with certain involvement if said officers refrained from using rank. I strongly believe that retired officers enjoy freedom of speech; however, they should do so as Mr. Jones vice MGEN Jones, etc. It appears that a large number of former generals/admirals find it impossible to be Mr."

1-Star Overall

QUESTIONS 1-6

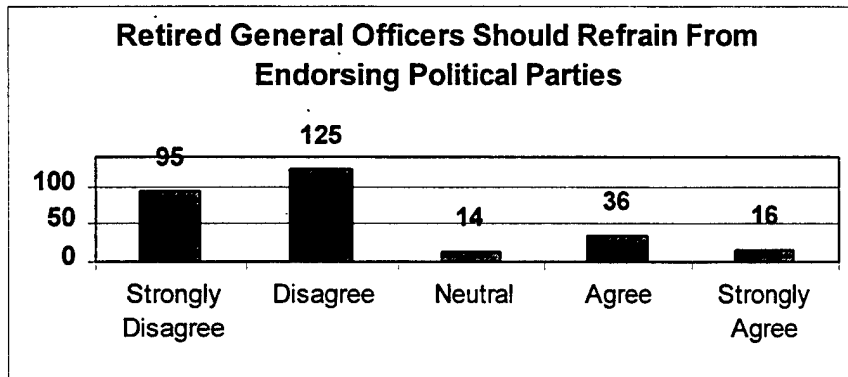


FIGURE 25. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

18 percent of 1-Star General Officers thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

1-Star General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 26 below.

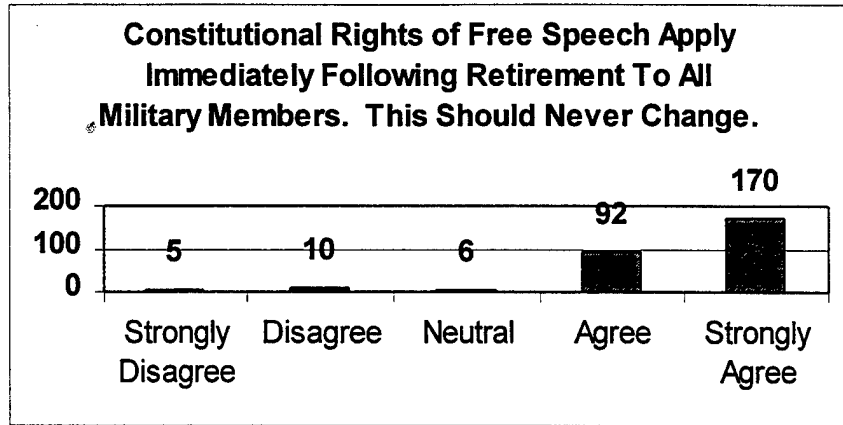


FIGURE 26. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

1-Star General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

1-Star General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 27 below.

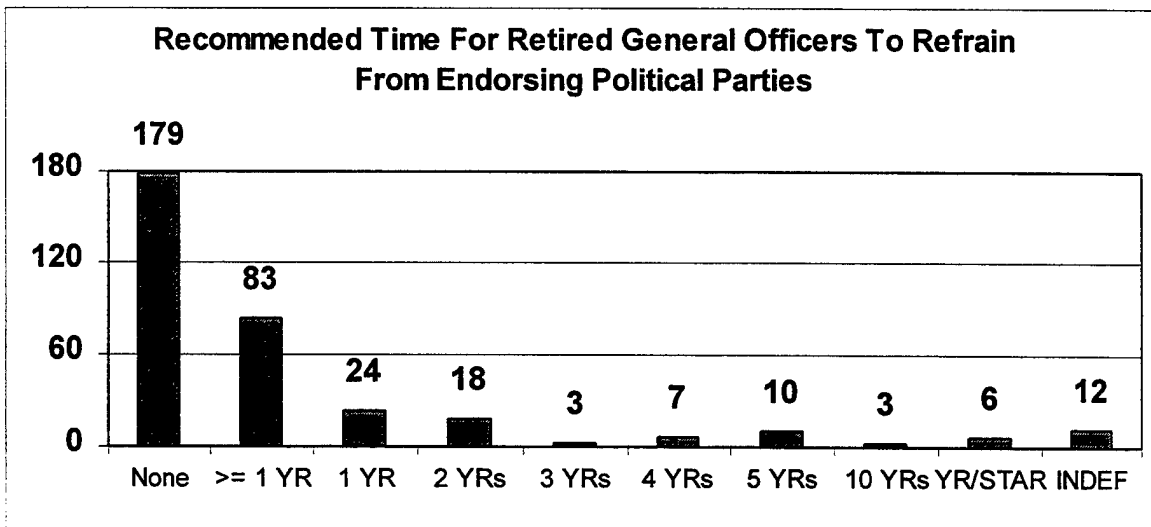


FIGURE 27. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

32 percent of 1-Star General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

1-Star General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 28 below.

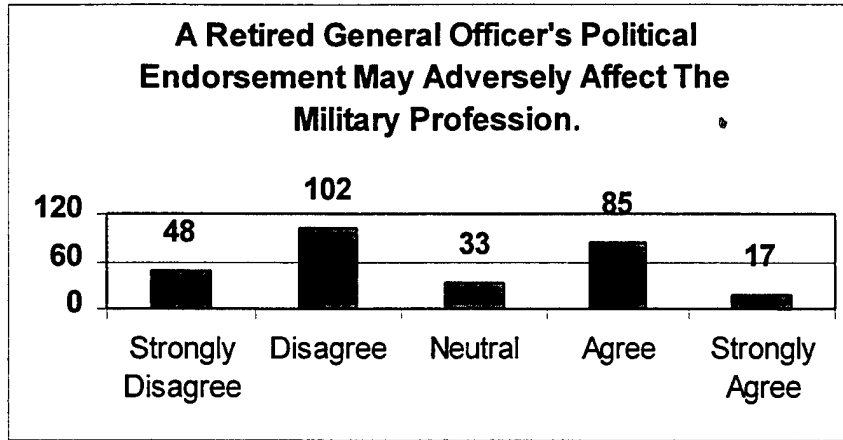


FIGURE 28. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

36 percent of 1-Star General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

1-Star General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 29 below.

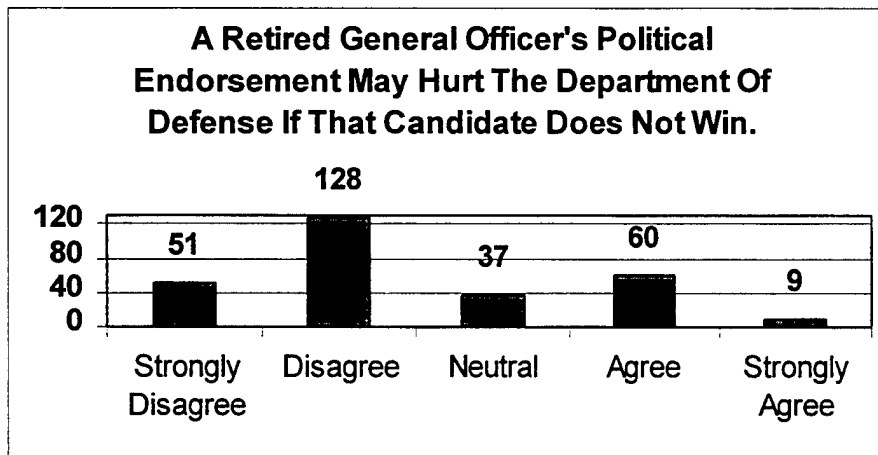


FIGURE 29. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

A majority of 1-Star General Officers did not believe a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

1-Star General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 30 below.

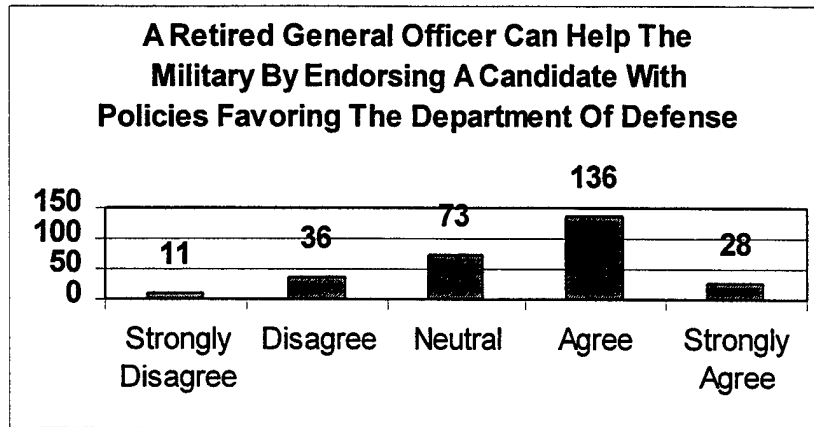


FIGURE 30. 1-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

Most 1-Star General Officers believed a retired general officer could help the military by endorsing a candidate with policies favoring the Department of Defense.

COMMENTS

A sampling of 1-Star General Officer comments are listed below.

“After 30-35 years of “towing the line,” I believe the retired general officer has a right to speak out...and the public has a right and a need to hear from ‘military experts.’”

“There is a fine line between using your military rank/career in a proper professional manner and treading on the trust the public places in us to not take sides in politics. Once retired, there is no legal reason why we cannot voice our opinions, but we must remember not to do it for personal gain or even the impression of such or we risk loss of that trust for those still in uniform. That is why I think at least one year is appropriate before becoming a political activist. In addition, most of us remain in retired reserve status for several years and could be returned to active duty in a national crisis.”

“The American military is held in high esteem by the American public because we remain neutral and nonpartisan. Once the institution is seen as ‘looking out for itself,’ instead of looking out for the country, we risk losing the trust of the American people.”

2-Star Overall

QUESTIONS 1-6

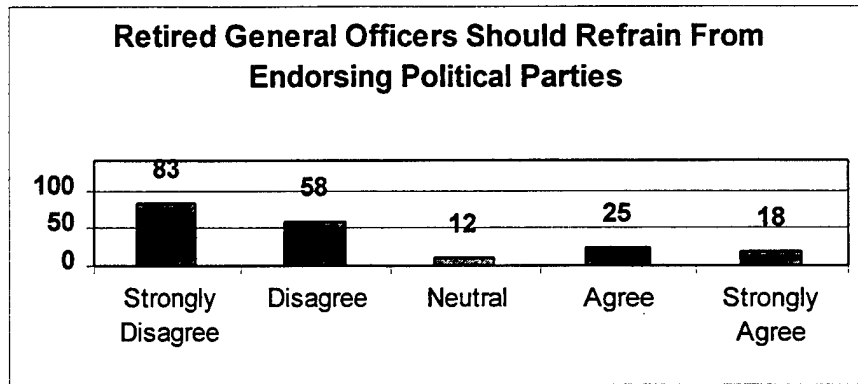


FIGURE 31. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

22 percent of 2-Star General Officers thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

2-Star General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 32 below.

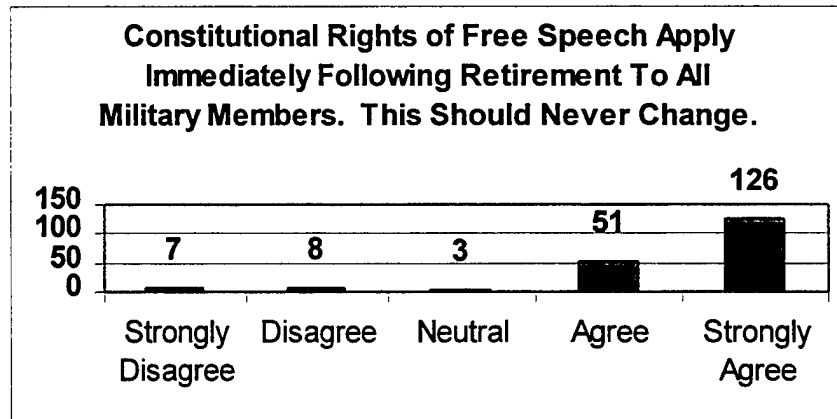


FIGURE 32. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

2-Star General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

2-Star General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 33 below.

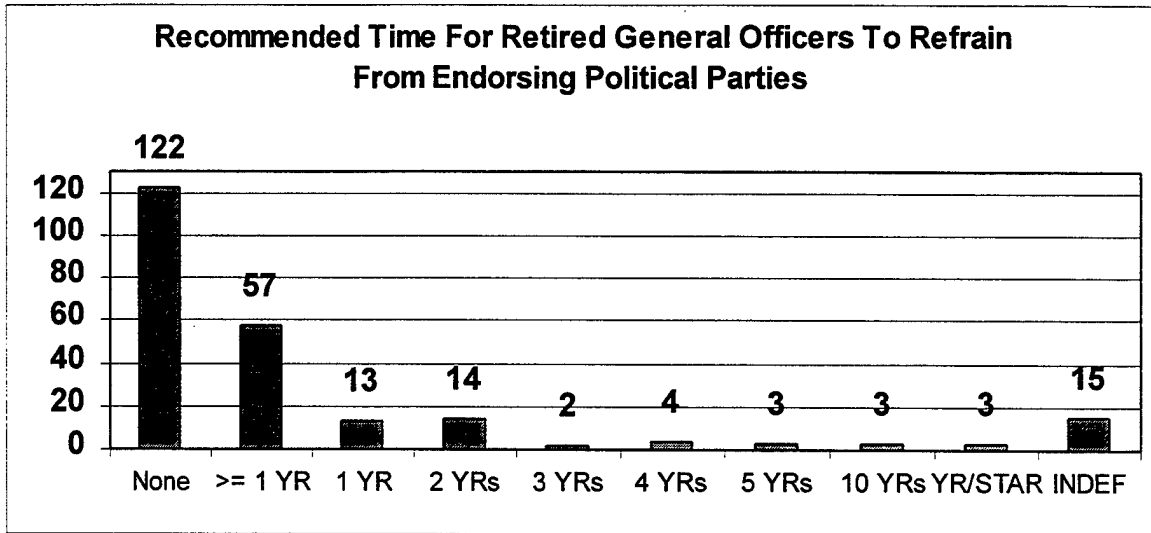


FIGURE 33. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

32 percent of 2-Star General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

2-Star General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 34 below.

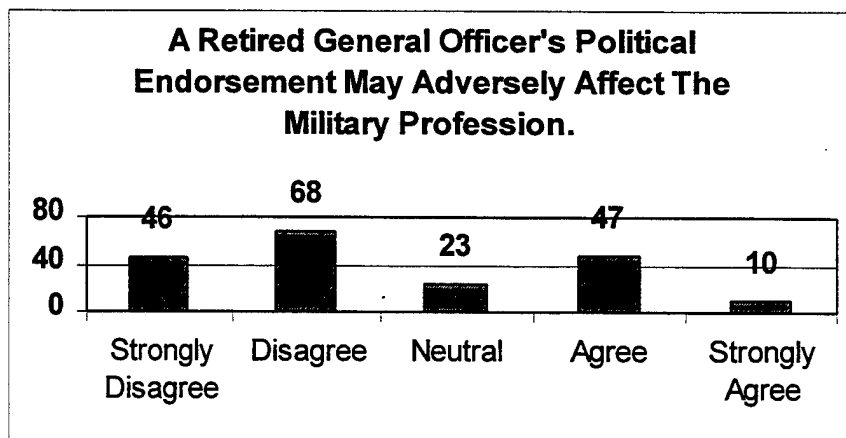


FIGURE 34. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

29 percent of 2-Star General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

2-Star General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 35 below.

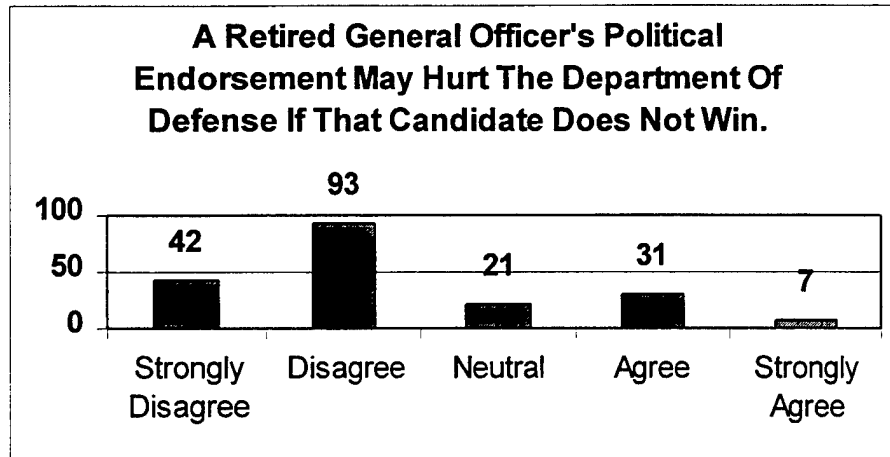


FIGURE 35. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

Most 2-Star General Officers did not believe a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

2-Star General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 36 below.

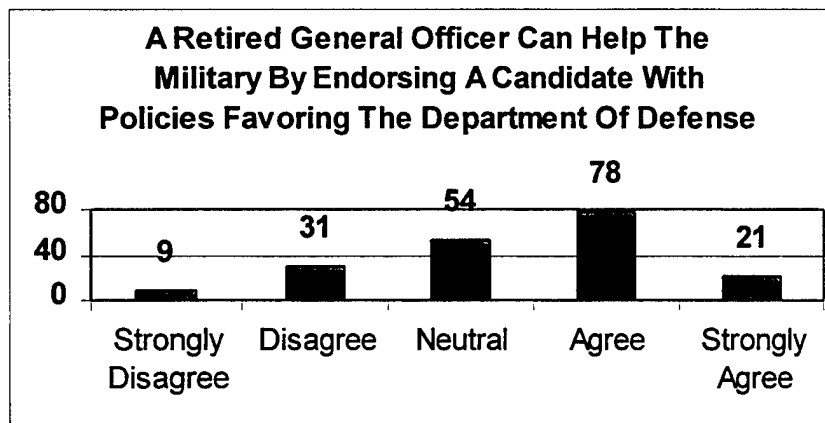


FIGURE 36. 2-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

COMMENTS

"Once retired, the choke hold put on anyone in uniform must be removed. No other profession even has a gag order and certainly it is not proper once service is complete."

"While everyone has the constitutional right to free speech, I feel that general officers should temper, or hesitate before endorsing a political party. Those on active duty need to be apolitical...and when retired general officers endorse a party, that erodes the apolitical base for those on active duty. The 'hurt' may not be to the DoD, but to the public image that military judgments and decisions are without regard to political party or affiliation or the current administration—that is the real 'hurt;' and generals should hesitate eroding that public view."

“My concern is the affect of a retired general officers commitment to a political party immediately after retirement on junior officers. Rather than the junior officer taking time to be fully informed on the current issues, there may be a tendency to blindly follow a senior that they admire for his/her service accomplishments.”

3-Star Overall

QUESTIONS 1-6

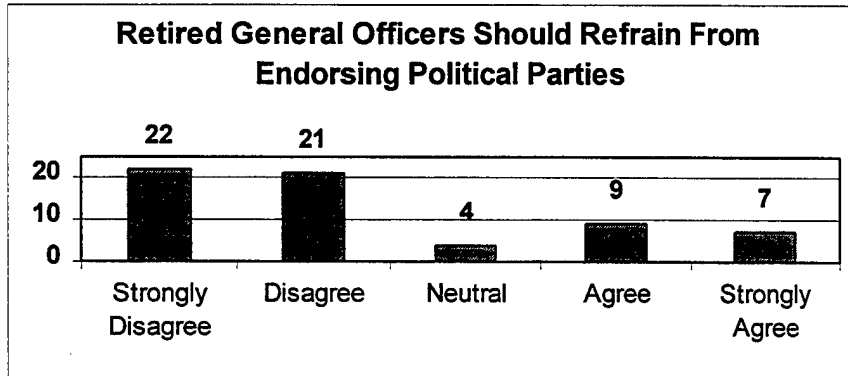


FIGURE 37. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

25 percent of 3-Star General Officers thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

3-Star General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 38 below.

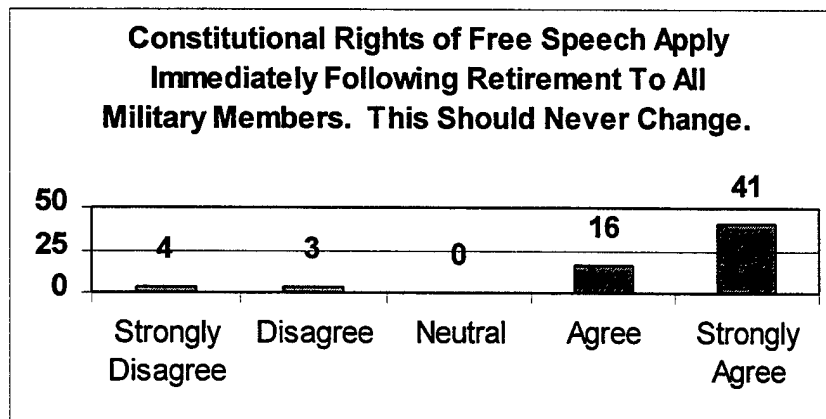


FIGURE 38. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

3-Star General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

3-Star General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 39 below.

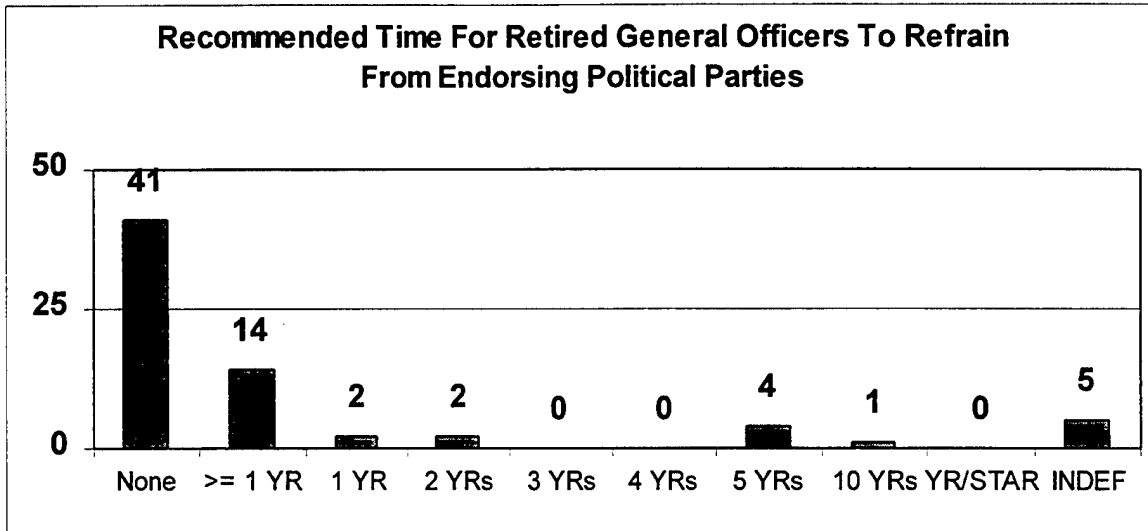


FIGURE 39. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

25 percent of 3-Star General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

3-Star General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 40 below.

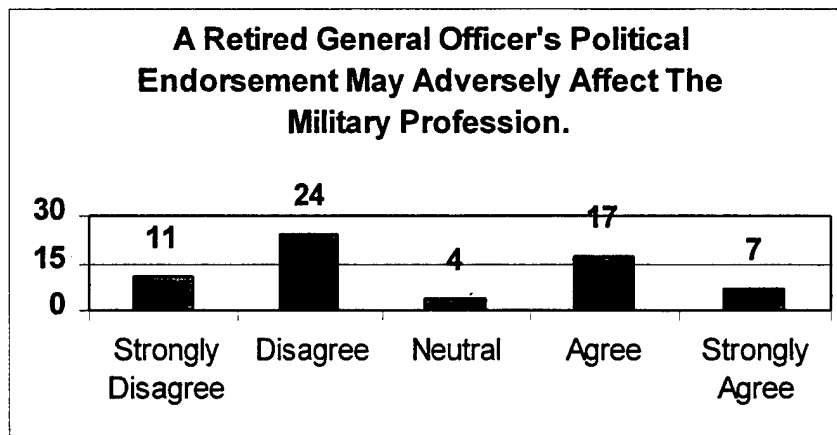


FIGURE 40. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

38 percent of 3-Star General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

3-Star General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 41 below.

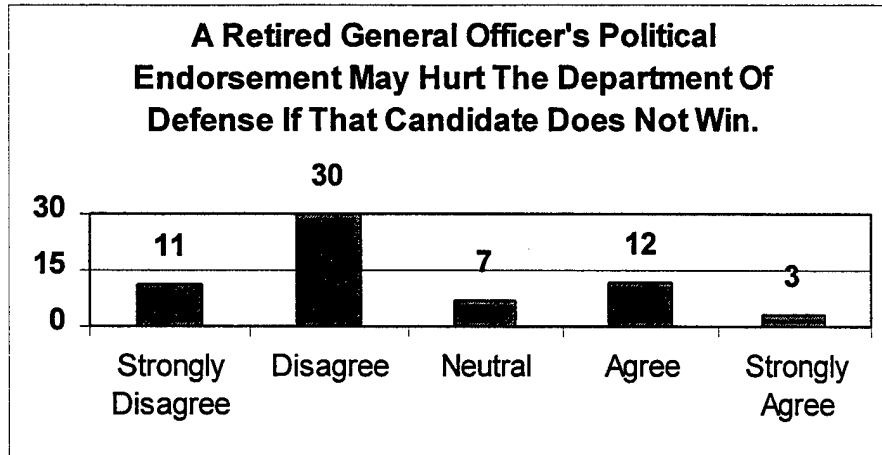


FIGURE 41. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

Most 3-Star General Officers did not believe a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

3-Star General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 42 below.

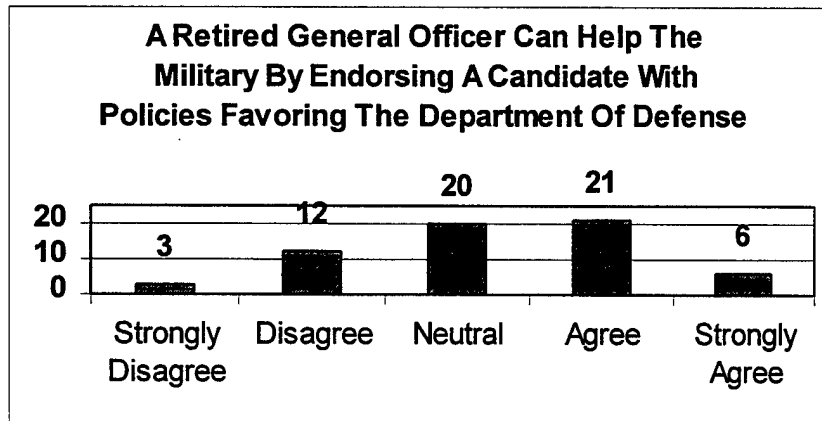


FIGURE 42. 3-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

COMMENTS

3-Star comments follow.

"It can help the nation. There's too little informed debate in National politics concerning national security. Who better to remedy this situation than a retired flag officer?"

"Not a 'black and white' issue. If situations exist that are overwhelming, retired general officers have a duty to get involved. They should refrain from being involved with political campaigns that will show little improvement in our military posture. Fight the big fight, don't attach to campaigns that the candidates will actually provide very small gain. E.G. If a candidate, or party stated they would

continue reduction of the military—all retired general officers should get involved [versus] ruining their reputation over small issues.”

“My principle issue on this matter is the influence that retired general officers continue to exert (perhaps indirectly or unintentionally) on those who remain on active duty. As such, they can draw us into the fray. Our nation has been very successful with an apolitical military, let’s keep it that way!”

4-Star Overall

QUESTIONS 1-6

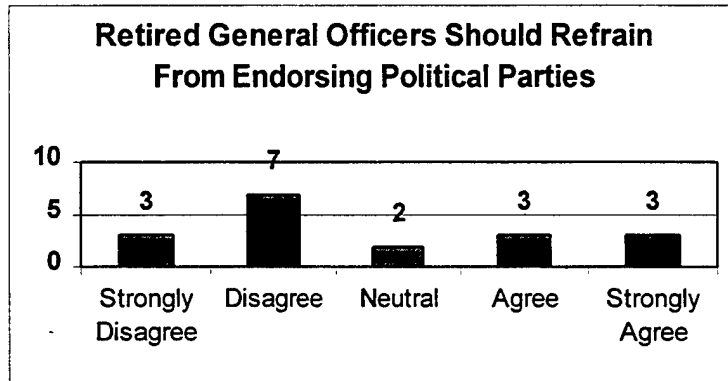


FIGURE 43. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

33 percent of 4-Star General Officers thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

4-Star General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 44 below.

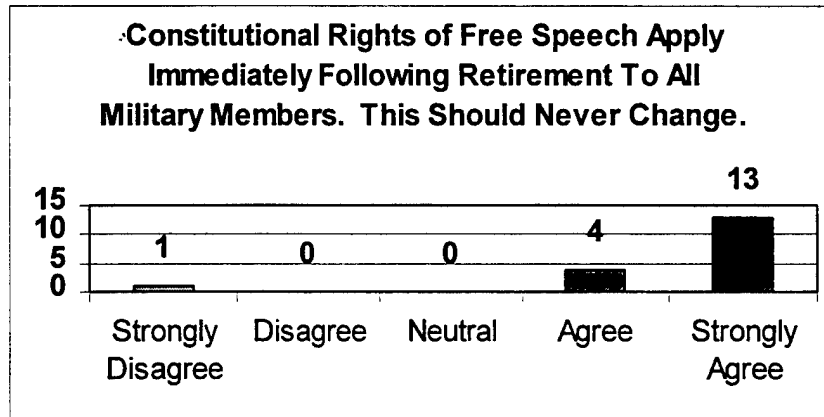


FIGURE 44. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

4-Star General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

4-Star General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 45 below.

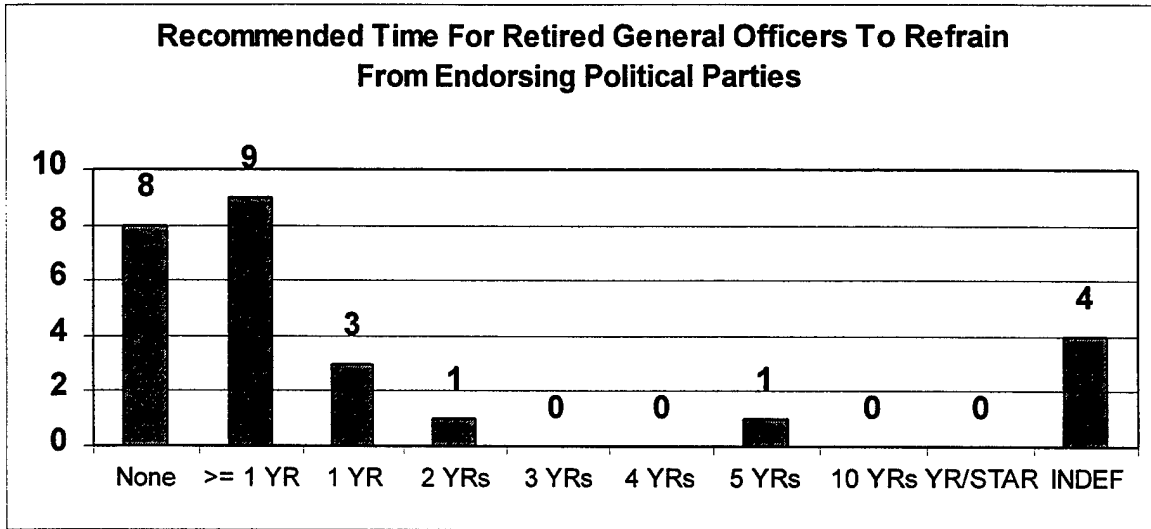


FIGURE 45. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

53 percent of 4-Star General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

4-Star General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 46 below.

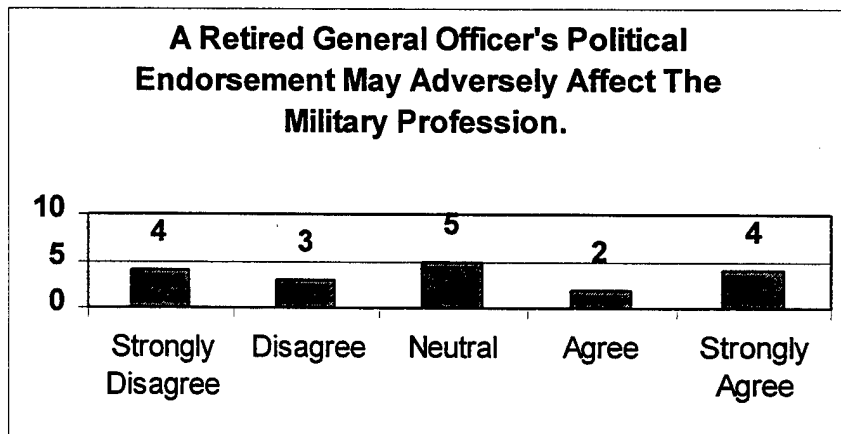


FIGURE 46. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

33 percent of 4-Star General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

4-Star General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 47 below.

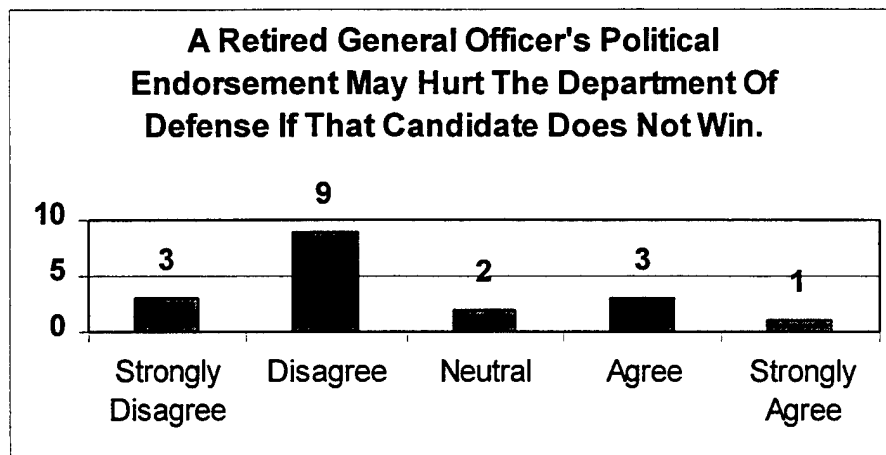


FIGURE 47. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

Most 4-Star General Officers did not believe a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

4-Star General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 48 below.

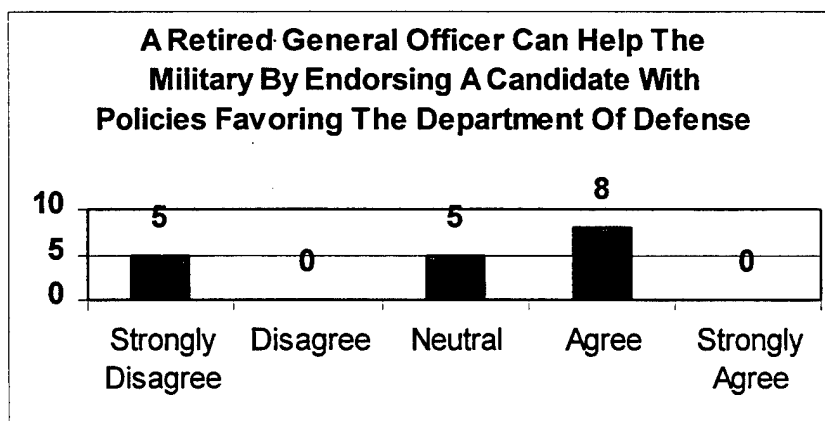


FIGURE 48. 4-STAR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

COMMENTS

"In my opinion, as long as a retired general officer/flag officer is speaking as an individual it is appropriate. When ganging up as a group and taking positions they wouldn't stand on while on active duty it is not. I strongly disagree with [a retired general officer's] approach."

"My answers are predicated on the individual general officer—not joining a coalition of retired general officers which I 'strongly agree' is dead wrong, carries a disproportionate weight, and has a negative impact on the Armed Forces."

"The military is increasingly used for political purposes (to fill the vacuum of no foreign policy). Therefore, it is proper for retired general officers to speak up."

“Upon retirement, general officers have all the rights of citizens not otherwise in government. However, should they indorse a political party or candidate their usefulness to their service or DoD as a military expert becomes compromised!”

“Constitutional rights is not the issue. Judgment is. The public doesn’t distinguish between active duty General [officer] and retired General [officer]. As a result, the entire military is politicized. If a retired general officer elects to run for office and enter the process that is fine—but not otherwise.”

“As a culture, we have stayed away from politics, as a general rule. Nothing against it, just wouldn’t do it myself. Every general officer should have the right, as per question number two...that should never be in debate.”

“Once a military officer supports a political course, his/her military advice is suspect and not of much use. Very senior retired military officers (especially recently retired individuals) who choose political sides taint those senior officer (and not so senior) still on active duty. Of course, it’s a citizen’s right to free speech. The question is, does one want to be perceived as a military professional or political advisor/candidate.”

“[General] Krulak said it all.”

“We will damage the armed forces if we are perceived to support one party or the other. Vote, send money, etc. But even after retirement, an officer’s affiliation with the Armed Forces will be evident to all. We must be perceived as nonpartisan. Question—If it were not for his service in the USMC would you know [a retired general officer]? The answer is no. Therefore, his endorsement only holds weight because of his military affiliation! Same with all the others. If they want to run for office themselves, fine...they are the public figures!”

Overall General Officer Survey Results

QUESTIONS 1-6

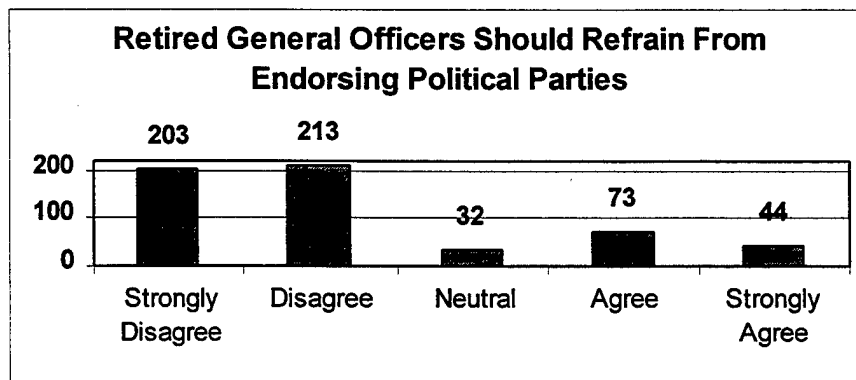


FIGURE 49. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 1

21 percent of overall General Officers thought retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

Overall General Officer response to question two is shown in Figure 50 below.

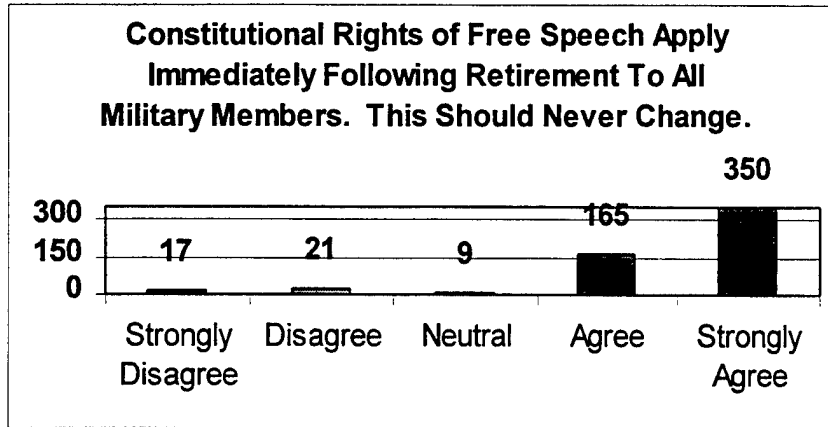


FIGURE 50. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 2

Overall, General Officers believed retired general officers should have the right of free speech immediately following retirement.

Overall General Officer response to question three is shown in Figure 51 below.

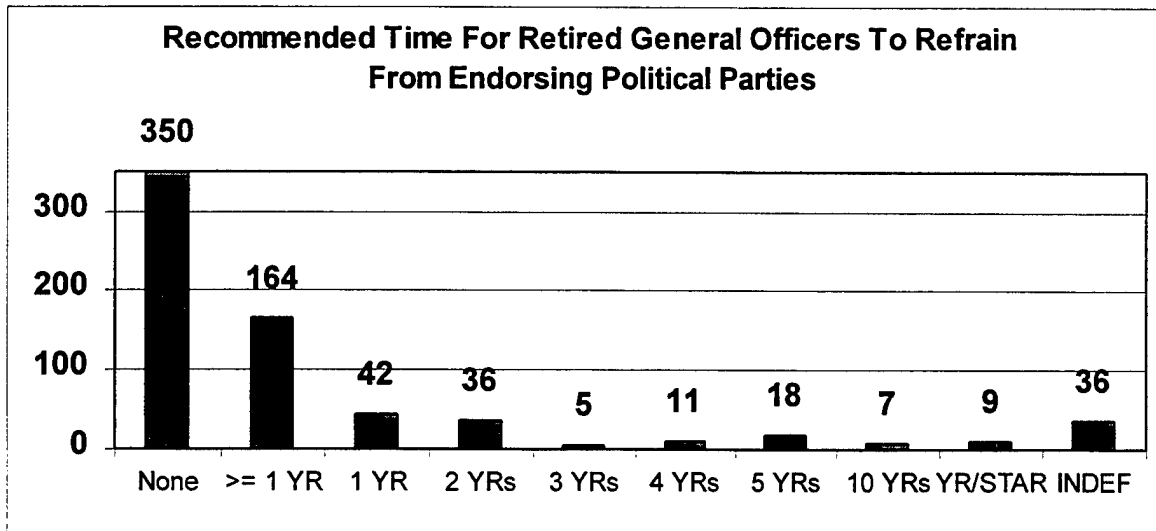


FIGURE 51. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3

32 percent of overall General Officers believed there should be some time period before retired general officers endorse political parties.

Overall General Officer response to question four is shown in Figure 52 below.

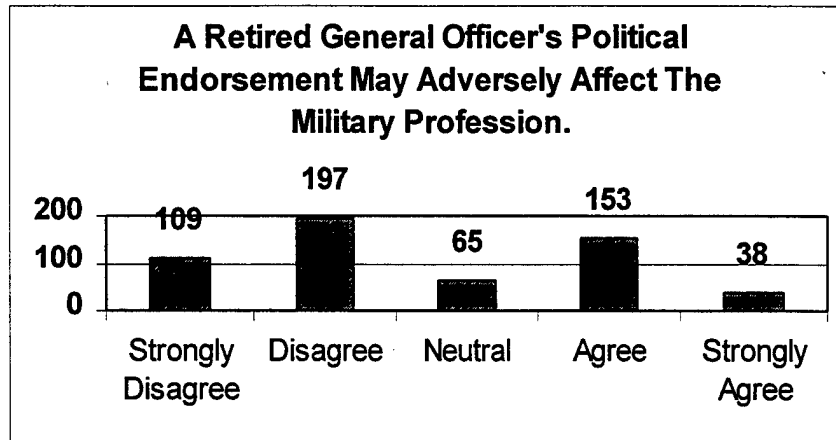


FIGURE 52. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 4

34 percent of overall General Officers believed a retired general officer's political endorsement may adversely affect the military profession.

Overall General Officer response to question five is shown in Figure 53 below.

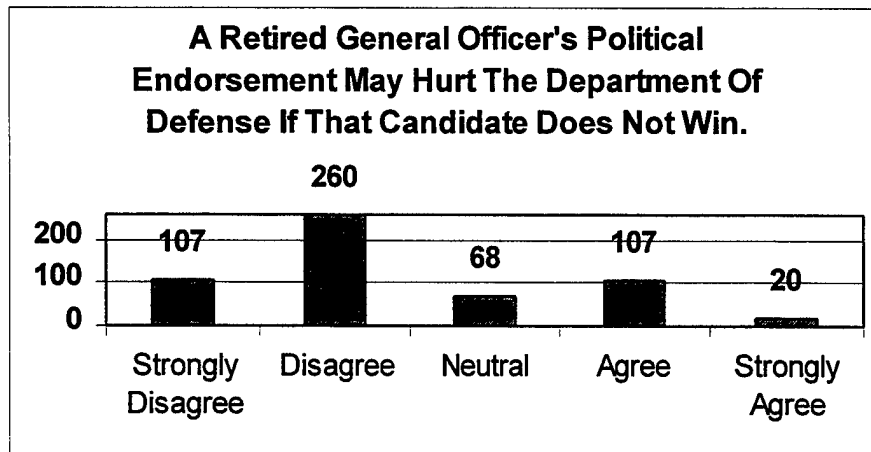


FIGURE 53. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 5

Most General Officers did not believe a retired general officer's political endorsement would hurt the Department of Defense if the endorsed candidate did not win the election.

Overall General Officer response to question six is shown in Figure 54 below.

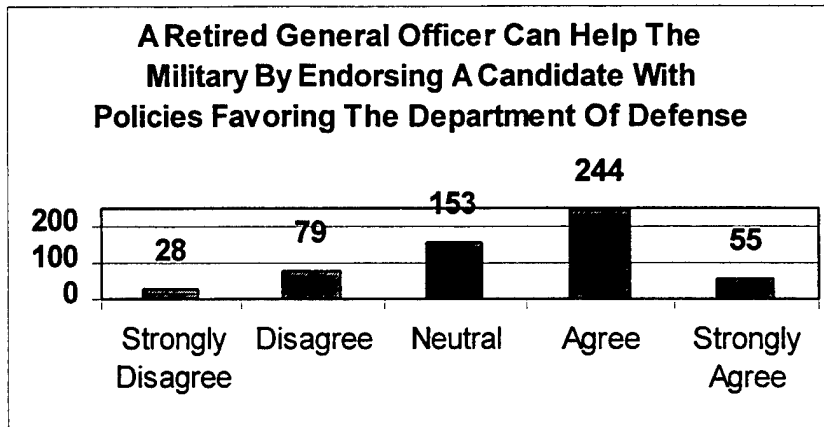


FIGURE 54. OVERALL RESPONSE TO QUESTION 6

Most general officers thought they could help the Department of Defense by endorsing a candidate with favorable defense policies.

COMMENTS

“For certain it will help if that candidate wins [question number six]. But the issue is one of undue influence. For a single general officer to endorse a political party/candidate is one thing. But when they UNITE and form some sort of military coalition, that reflects on the entire military, both retired and active duty.”

“Free speech should apply to retired general officers but it depends on how they use that free speech—may have positive or negative effects on DoD. Transition training for retiring military officers should spell out potential problems with post-retirement politics versus legislating controls on retirees.”

“Once you accept general/flag officer status, you cannot turn back the clock. We have a strong, essential tradition of an apolitical officer corps. Political parties are seldom concerned with junior service member’s political endorsements; generals should not prostitute themselves playing to one party in any public manner.”

RETIRED GENERAL OFFICERS

Retired general officer comments proved all have an everlasting love and respect for their country. The author received nine unsolicited responses from retired general officers and one survey response from a recently retired general officer. Due to the small sample size, results will be limited to percentages. Comments from retired general officers demonstrated free speech abounds in the civilian sector. A sample of the unemotional comments is provided below.

Questions 1-6

QUESTION #1

30 percent of retired general officers believed their group should refrain from endorsing political parties.

QUESTION #2

80 percent of retired general officers believed their constitutional rights of free speech applied immediately following retirement.

QUESTION #3

50 percent of retired general officers believed there should a period of time after retirement before they could endorse a political party. Two retirees believed retired general officers should forever remain apolitical.

QUESTION #4

30 percent of retired general officers believed their political endorsement could adversely affect the military profession.

QUESTION #5

20 percent of retired general officers believed their political endorsement could hurt the Department of Defense if that candidate did not win.

QUESTION #6

70 percent of retired general officers believed they could help the military by endorsing a candidate with policies favoring the Department of Defense.

Comments

"Upon retirement, a general officer has all the same rights and privileges as any other retiree and should be allowed to exercise those rights as he/she feels appropriate."

"Retired general officers should be issue-oriented, not political party oriented. If they agree with a particular candidate, they should feel free to speak out on his or her behalf. Endorsing political parties could be most harmful in the long term."

"My responses to question 2 and question 3 may seem inconsistent; I believe a general officer should wait a year before entering the political fray—but I think that should be a voluntary action on the part of the retired officer. Constitutional protection of free speech does not extend to inflammatory speech—at no time should a retired officer encourage disrespect in the ranks of the active duty military to our elected officials. Retired officers (generals and below) should

clearly state that the political opinions they express are their own as individuals. Retired officers also have an obligation to support civilian control of the military and should ensure their comments are not construed as otherwise. Nonetheless, I also believe that retired officers are citizens with constitutional protection of free speech and have an obligation to speak out when [p]roposed policies will have an adverse impact on national security and the status of the armed forces. To do otherwise—and to allow foolhardy policies to be adopted without challenge—may indeed cost lives in future conflicts. Retired officers still must be loyal to the nation and the Constitution—as well as to the soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines who are in uniform. Meekly sitting back, drawing retirement pay, and not being engaged (and, at time, enraged) when foolhardy policies and half-truths are thrown about in the political arena is the epitome of disloyalty. Well thought out comments on policies and political candidates can have a positive impact on the political process—even if the preferred candidate is not elected. These comments can bring the issues at hand to the forefront for discussion at the electoral process, in the halls of Congress, and in the living rooms of enlightened citizens. If the comments and endorsements are well supported, they can have a positive impact on the entire process. If the comments and endorsements are poorly supported, they can have an adverse impact on the process. Because of their status as retired general officers, retired officers such as [a retired general officer] have access to be heard in the press and have a personal obligation to ensure they use that access wisely and prudently.”

“I admit to some bias on this matter, for I have (and am) been involved actively in the political process since retiring. As citizens, we set aside some rights when we are on active duty, but we should never tolerate life-long muzzling. Career military officers, in fact, are some of our most informed citizens. Besides, if all refrained, we would not have had George Washington, at the start, or Ike more recently, and quite a few in between. Seems to me the precedent has been fully and strongly set across two centuries.”

“My views are that a retired general officer should temper his or her political involvement for some period—5 years—and then be free to exercise their full right to participate in the political process. I think this fits the professional military perception of politics and I think it fits the public perception of how professional senior military officers should conduct themselves. Think of this as the political ‘cooling off’ component of the general officer career, similar to the period of time and those proscriptions against doing business with former subordinates or organizations in which the general served.”

FUTURE ISSUES

The American public’s continued trust of the U.S. Military is crucial. Retired general officers who involve themselves in partisan politics must be careful to do it properly or the American public could lose this trust. This is especially important given future military political demographics caused by lack of support from the Democratic Party. The U.S. Military’s impact

on general elections, media bias, and the possibility of resignation by active duty general officers also may impact the U.S. Public perceptions of the military.

Military Political Demographics

Factors point to an ever-increasing "Republicanized" military, one being the all volunteer force.¹⁴⁴ The all-volunteer force discourages short-term service, especially since the military is becoming more technical inside the current Revolution in Military Affairs. The number of cadets and midshipmen who are children of military parents is rising, and most are coming from middle-class America with a high percentage of Republicans.¹⁴⁵

Democratic Party Wakeup Call

How much impact the partisan political support of the retired general officers had on the military vote in the 2000 Presidential election is impossible to answer, but the end result is the military made the difference in the outcome. Without including federal absentee ballots, Vice President Gore had 202 more votes in Florida than Governor Bush. Governor Bush obtained 1,575 federal absentee ballots versus 836 for Vice President Gore. Federal absentee ballots enabled Governor Bush to win Florida by 537 votes, and therefore the presidency.¹⁴⁶ The closeness of the 2000 election, and the huge impact Florida military absentee ballots had on the outcome, with three Republican votes for every Democratic vote, is a wakeup call to the Democratic Party on their policies toward the Department of Defense. There is a perception of many officers that the Democratic Party has attacked the military institution and its underlying culture.¹⁴⁷ "Many officers believe that all too often the Democratic Party has treated military culture not as something that contributes to military effectiveness, but as a problem to be eradicated in the name of multiculturalism, sexual politics, and the politics of 'sexual orientation.'"¹⁴⁸ Over the years, the Democratic Party has distanced themselves from military matters and military people.¹⁴⁹ The Democratic Party may improve their chances for success on the next election if they review their policies concerning the Department of Defense.

Media Bias

Retired general officers risk adverse public opinion focused against the Department of Defense when publicly endorsing political parties or candidates. The national press responds critically to retired officers involvement in partisan politics, raising the issue of a politicized military. "Our political culture is fraught with tension, and the role of the media is an inherent and constant element of that friction."¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately, many in media will criticize the military more when retired general officers support the Republican Party.¹⁵¹ The American public's

continued trust of the U.S. military is crucial. Biased reporting against the Department of Defense by the media may reduce this trust.¹⁵²

Resignation

One method to influence the policy process while on active duty is resignation. The general officer must be circumspect in this decision. On one hand, resigning sends an immediate signal to the government and the people on one's disagreement over policy. On the other, many general officers elect to continue on, "for the good of the service." General Maxwell Taylor stated in 1959, "Having made every effort to guide his civilian superiors in the direction which he believes right, the Chief of Staff must accept the decisions of the Secretary of his service, of the Secretary of Defense, and of the President as final and thereafter support them before Congress. The alternative is resignation."¹⁵³ Napoleon discussed resignation of senior military leaders as well, "It is his [general officer's] duty to represent his reasons, to insist upon a change of plan; in short to give in his resignation rather than allow himself to become the instrument of his army's ruin."¹⁵⁴ General Ridgway said, "Finally—and this is the essential point—I said that the civilian authorities must scrupulously respect the integrity, the intellectual honesty, of its officer corps. Any effort to force unanimity of view, to compel adherence to some politico-military 'party line' against the honestly expressed views of responsible officers, I pointed out, is a pernicious practice which jeopardizes rather than protects the integrity of the military profession."¹⁵⁵

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the above research and results from the general officer surveys, the author believes retired general officers should continue to participate in partisan politics. The survey results demonstrate that retired general officer participation in partisan politics is a contentious issue. It is imperative retired general officers understand the ramifications of partisan political intervention before taking the first step. Based on the survey, the author believes the issue be presented in transition assistance between active duty and retirement.

The military-political fusionist theory and the post Cold War order make it necessary for active duty general officers to deal with politically significant questions and offer politically significant council.¹⁵⁶ The active duty military should stay non-partisan, but retired general officers have a right to express an opinion. There is no better group to advance political ideas beneficial to U.S. National Security. While it can be healthy to the military for retired general officer participation in politics, it should be done in the right way. When general officers form

groups or coalitions that start lobbying or campaigning, support for the military is overshadowed by support to the candidate or political party. Coalitions will break down the purpose of participation and politicize the military in the public eye, taking any advantage away from the overall act.

CONCLUSION

Retired general officers and partisan politics—is a time out required?

Our nation's civil-military relations are one of objective civilian control. Participation in politics for the active duty officer is a dilemma. On one hand, Hoffman states, "Politicization of the military must be avoided, but since the nature of war, and democracy, mixes political factors and military considerations, the military is and must be politically conscious."¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, the more intervention in politics the military professional undertakes, the more competition that takes place between military and civilian authorities. This act breaks down the military profession into subjective control.

U.S. Military history is ripe with examples of participation in partisan politics by retired general officers. There are many methods today for retired general officers to participate in partisan politics. Since general officers are more knowledgeable about policy than in the past, they are more apt to participate in partisan politics upon retirement. Many of our nation's best civilian leaders wore general or flag officer rank.

The Army War College and U.S. General Officer Surveys validated the fact that retired general officer participation in partisan politics is a contentious issue. The statistics are mixed. One half of United States Marine Corps General Officers believe retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties. Over one half of 4-star General Officers believe some time out is required before participating. One quarter of Air Force, Army, and 1,2, and 3-Star General Officers believe retired general officers should refrain from endorsing political parties.

The future will see more involvement in policy by active duty general officers. It is imperative the military's civilian leadership develop a sense of military issues. "Civilian officials need to spend a greater amount of time studying the military, understanding its challenges as a profession, and wrestling with the intricacies of its employment."¹⁵⁸ This will reduce the amount of partisan political activity required by retired general officers. Until this is done, retired general officers have a duty to stand up for their profession when the situation dictates. It is important they do it in the right way.

The American public is well versed in media operations. They understand the difference between standing up for what is good for the country and standing up for a politician. The best way for the retired general officer to highlight policy concerns is through a solo performance. Participating in a flight, or a retired general officer coalition reduces the message and highlights the demonstration.

Retired general officers and partisan politics—is a time out required? It depends.

WORD COUNT = 13222

ENDNOTES

¹ Samuel P. Huntington, The Soldier and the State, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1957), 7.

² Congressional Budget Office, Budgeting for Defense: Maintaining Today's Forces (Washington, D.C.: Congress, September 2000), Section 2, CBO's Estimate of Sustaining Budget for National Defense; available from <<http://www.cbo.gov/showdoc.cfm?index=2398&sequence=1&from=7>>; Internet; accessed 1 October 2000.

³ F.G. Hoffman, Decisive Force: The New American Way of War (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 12.

⁴ Constitution of the United States, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Nineteenth Edition, 1997), 9.

⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁷ Huntington, 1.

⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁹ Ibid., 80.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 81.

¹² Ibid., 83

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Marybeth Peterson Ulrich, Democratizing Communist Militaries, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 7. Marybeth Peterson Ulrich is Associate Professor of Government, Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S. Army War College.

¹⁷ Ibid., 8.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier, (New York, New York: The Free Press, 1960), 372. Morris Janowitz was a professor of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Born in 1919, he was an undergraduate at Washington Square College, New York

University, and received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1948. After teaching at the University of Michigan from 1951 to 1961, he returned to the University of Chicago. His publications and writings have led him to be regarded as the nation's foremost sociologist on military institutions and the social and political consequences of war. Among his studies in this field are The New Military: Changing Patterns of Organization (1967) and The Role of the Military and Political Development of New Nations (1964).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Perry M. Smith, Statement About CNN Retraction Of Nerve Gas Story

Smith was a former military analyst for CNN; available from <<http://www.west-point.org/class/usma1989/smithonretraction.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000. This is his statement: "I am pleased that Tom Johnson, the CEO of the CNN News Group, has made a complete retraction of the nerve gas story. However, I think this can only be the first step in a process of restoring the credibility of CNN as a news network of substance that people can trust. For three and a half weeks, many heroic Americans stood accused of the most heinous of war crimes. To correct this terrible wrong there must be full accountability at CNN; those who created this terrible production must be unequivocally and permanently removed from CNN employment. In addition, CNN should initiate a serious ongoing educational program relating to ethics and integrity so that every producer, writer, editor, reporter and executive is fully aware and completely supports the highest of ethical standards. The Tailwind debacle should be the lead case study in that program. CNN has a special responsibility in the area of ethics because it is an international network which reaches the people of more than 180 nations. In addition, it is long overdue for CNN to create a full-time ombudsman to keep a close eye on the content and integrity of its programming. I am hopeful that CNN can learn from this dreadful experience. My heart goes out to those patriotic and heroic soldiers, airman and Marines who did not deserve to be vilified for what was one of the most dangerous and most successful operations in the entire Vietnam War."

²² Crimes and Criminal Procedure, U.S. Code, vol 18, sec 207 (1994).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Janowitz, 382.

²⁵ Air Force Association, Homepage description; available from <<http://www.afa.org/>>; Internet; accessed 10 November 2000.

²⁶ Air Force Association, Policy and position website; available from <<http://www.afa.org/library/policy/policy.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

²⁷ Navy League of the United States, Mission statement; available from <<http://www.navyleague.org/about.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

²⁸ Association of the US Army, "About" statement; available from <<http://www.ausa.org/about/index.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

²⁹ Don M. Snider and Michael P. Peters, "A Military Too Politicized," Armed Forces Journal International, (September 1996): 74.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ National Defense Political Action Committee website; available from <<http://64.82.55.222/index.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

³⁴ Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough, "Inside the Ring," The Washington Times, 27 October 2000; available from <https://ca.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/ebird?doc_url=/Oct2000/e20001027inside.htm>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

³⁵ Gertz.

³⁶ Janowitz, 388.

³⁷ Huntington, 414.

³⁸ Uldric L. Fiore, Jr., "Defense Secretariat Reform," Joint Force Quarterly, (Autumn/Winter 1999-2000): 76.

³⁹ Armed Forces Staff College, The Joint Staff Officer's Guide, AFSC Pub 1 (Norfolk, Virginia: Armed Forces Staff College, 1997), Chapter 2, p. 11; available from <<http://www.afsc.edu/pub1/afsc0210.htm#p204>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁴⁰ Huntington, 76.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 416.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 417.

⁴⁵ Huntington, 431.

⁴⁶ Charles Jones and R. Manning Ancell, Four-Star Leadership for Leaders, (Mechanicsburg, PA: Executive Books, 1997), v.

⁴⁷ Ronald R. Fogleman, "The Profession of Arms," Air Power Journal (Fall 1995): 4.

⁴⁸ Huntington, 351.

⁴⁹ Henry B. Woolf, Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1977), 919.

⁵⁰ Huntington, 7,8.

⁵¹ Ibid., 8.

⁵² Janowitz, 233.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 382.

⁵⁶ Omar Bradley, New York Times, 31 March 1959, p. 7; quoted in Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier, (New York, New York: The Free Press, 1960), 388.

⁵⁷ J.D. Hittle (Ed.), Jomini and His Summary of the Art of War, by Antonine-Henry Jomini (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Military Service Publishing Co., 1947), reproduced with permission from Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania in U.S. Army War College Department of National Security and Strategy Course 2, Volume III Readings (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000): 26.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 38.

⁵⁹ Huntington, 197.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 198.

⁶¹ Ibid., 231.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 237.

⁶⁴ Carl von Clausewitz, On War, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, rev. ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 607.

⁶⁵ Colin S. Gray, Modern Strategy (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8.

⁶⁶ Russell F. Weigley, "The Soldier, The Statesman, and The Military Historian," Journal for Military History, (October 1999), Vol 63, no. 3, pp. 807-822, published by the Society for Military History, reproduced with permission from the Society for Military History, Lexington, Virginia, in U.S. Army War College Department of National Security and Strategy Course 2, Volume II Readings (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000): 205.

⁶⁷ Colin L. Powell, "U.S. Forces: Challenges Ahead," Foreign Affairs 72 (Winter 1992-93): 32.

⁶⁸ Huntington, 385.

⁶⁹ Hoffman, 114.

⁷⁰ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Unified Command Plan (Washington, D.C.: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1999), training use only unclassified document in U.S. Army War College Department of Command, Leadership, and Management Course 3, Volume I Readings (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000): 133-134.

⁷¹ Anthony C. Zinni, "1998 Posture Statement, U.S. Central Command," statement to U.S. House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on National Security (17 March 1998), reprinted in Air War College Directorate of Nonresident Studies Regional Studies Book 2, 9th Edition (Maxwell AFB, Alabama: Air University Press, 1998-99): 100-105.

⁷² Dana Priest, "A Four-Star Foreign Policy?" The Washington Post, 28 Sep 2000, sec. A01.

⁷³ S.E. Finer, The Man On Horseback: The Role of Military in Politics rev. ed. (Baltimore, Maryland: Peregrine Books, 1976), 20.

⁷⁴ Thomaston Historical Society, "Major General Henry Knox;" available from <<http://www.mint.net/thomastonhistoricalsociety/genknox.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁷⁵ Fiore, 124.

⁷⁶ SeacoastNH.com, "Framers of Freedom: Henry Dearborn," SeacoastNH.com; available from <<http://seacoastnh.com/framers/dearborn.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁷⁷ State Library of North Carolina, "Andrew Jackson," North Carolina Encyclopedia (March 1998); available from <<http://statelibrary.dcr.state.nc.us/nc/bio/public/jackson.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁷⁸ Grolier Inc., "William Henry Harrison, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/09pharr.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁷⁹ Rice University, "Chronology of Jefferson Davis," Rice University (1999); available from <<http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~pjdavis/chron.htm#mexwar>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸⁰ Grolier Inc., "Zachary Taylor, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/12ptayl.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸¹ Fiore, 124.

⁸² Thinkquest.org, "Winfield Scott Biography;" available from <<http://library.thinkquest.org/12587/contents/personalities/wscott/ws.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸³ Grolier Inc., "Franklin Pierce, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/14ppier.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸⁴ Hans Gregory Schantz, "John Charles Fremont: Explorer, Politician, Man of Principle" (1993); available from <<http://www.schantz.com/fremont.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸⁵ Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant, reprint. (New York, New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1982), 285.

⁸⁶ Barnes and Noble.com Book Review; available from <<http://shop.barnesandnoble.com/bookSearch/isbnInquiry.asp?sourceid=00002379821728035920&ISBN=0803261411&bfdate=11-07-2000+22:27:20>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸⁷ Civil War Biographies, "George Brinton McClellan Biography;" available from <<http://www.civilwarhome.com/macbio.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸⁸ Civil War biographies, "Nathaniel Prentiss Banks Biography;" available from <<http://www.civilwarhome.com/banksbio.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁸⁹ Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, "Benjamin Franklin Butler," (Online: Columbia University Press, 2000); available from <<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0809622.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹⁰ Ilcivilwar@outfitters.com, "Famous Illinoisians With Civil War Ties;" available from <<http://www.illinoiscivilwar.org/schofield-jm.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹¹ Civil War Biographies, "William T. Sherman;" available from <<http://www.civilwarhome.com/sherbio.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹² Grolier Inc., "Ulysses Simpson Grant, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/18pgran.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹³ Encarta, "Hancock, Winfield Scott," Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia (2000); available from <<http://encarta.msn.com>>; © 1997-2000 Microsoft Corporation; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹⁴ Grolier Inc., "Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/19phaye.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹⁵ Grolier Inc., "James Abram Garfield, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/20pgarf.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹⁶ Grolier Inc., "Benjamin Harrison, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/23pharr.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹⁷ Encarta, "Leonard Wood," Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia (2000); available from <<http://encarta.msn.com/find/Concise.asp?ti=051C3000>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

⁹⁸ Mackubin Thomas Owens, "Civil-Military Relations: Should Retired Senior Military Officers Stay Out of Political Campaigns?" Armed Forces Journal International (November 2000): 10.

⁹⁹ Janowitz, 388.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Encyclopedia Britannica, "Marshall, George C." Britannica.com Online (1999-2000); available from <<http://www.britannica.com/bcom/eb/article/0/0,5716,52370+1,00.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹⁰⁴ Janowitz, 379.

¹⁰⁵ William Manchester, American Caesar (New York, New York: Dell Publishing, 1978), 768.

¹⁰⁶ Janowitz, 390.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 379.

¹⁰⁹ Grolier Inc., "Dwight David Eisenhower, Biography," The American Presidency; available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/34peise.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹¹⁰ Janowitz, 379.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Elias P. Demetracopoulos, "Muzzling Admiral Burke," Proceedings 126 (January 2000); available from <<http://www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles00/PROdemetracopoulos.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹¹³ Encyclopedia Britannica, "Curtis Emerson Lemay," Britannica.com Online (1999-2000); available from <<http://www.britannica.com/seo/c/curtis-emerson-lemay/>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹¹⁴ Encyclopedia.com, "Haig, Alexander Meigs, Jr." Infonautics Corporation (1999); available from <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/articles/05560.html>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹¹⁵ Richard P. Hallion, Storm Over Iraq (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992), 144-145.

¹¹⁶ Weigley, 205.

¹¹⁷ Peter Carlin and Ken Baker, "Stockdale Says He Earned Better than Perot," People Magazine; available from <<http://europe.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1996/news/9610/02/stockdale.people/index.shtml>>; AllPolitics (1997); Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹¹⁸ Rowan Scarborough, "Most in Military Plan to Vote For Bush-Cheney Ticket," The Washington Times, 30 October 2000; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Oct2000/e20001030ticket.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹¹⁹ Thomas E. Ricks, "Bush's Brass Band Raises Some Questions," The Washington Post, 22 September 2000, Sec A, p. A23.

¹²⁰ Executive Office of the President of the United States, "Barry R. McCaffrey, Biography;" available from <http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/about/bio_full.html>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹²¹ GeorgeWBush.Com, "Former Marine Corps Commandant Endorses Governor Bush;" available from <<http://www.georgewbush.com/News.asp?FormMode=NR&Search=1&ID=397>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000. The list includes the following retired general and flag officers. Major General Evan "Curly" Hultman (Ret.), Major General Maurice Phillips (Ret.), General Robert Sentman (Ret.), Major General Robert L. Gamrath (Ret.), Major General Merle Evans (Ret.), Brigadier General Russell Eggers (Ret.); available from <<http://www.georgewbush.com/News.asp?FormMode=NR&ID=147>>; General Robert H. Reid (Ret.) at <<http://www.georgewbush.com/News.asp?FormMode=NR&Search=1&ID=153>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000. Rear Admiral Thomas Morris (Ret.), Major General Jim Dozier (Ret.), Brigadier General Rufus Lazell (Ret.), and Brigadier General Jim Hart (Ret.); available from <<http://www.georgewbush.com/News.asp?FormMode=NR&Search=1&ID=151>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000. Brigadier General Sal Villano, Air Force (Ret.), Brigadier General R. Stephen Ritchie, Air Force (Ret.), and Brigadier General Jim Hall, Air Force (Ret.); available from <<http://www.georgewbush.com/News.asp?FormMode=NR&Search=1&ID=149>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000. General Norman Schwarzkopf (Ret.); available from <<http://www.georgewbush.com/News.asp?FormMode=NR&Search=1&ID=1979>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000. Maj. Gen. Robert Bernstein, USA (Ret), Austin TX; Lt. Gen. John Conaway, USAF (Ret), General Ray Davis, USMC (Ret.), Stockbridge, GA; Lt. Gen. Charles Dominy, USA (Ret.), Gen. Ronald R. Fogleman, USAF (Ret.), Brig. Gen. Joe Foss, USMC, (Ret.), General Chuck Horner, USAF (Ret.), Maj. Gen. Evan Hultman, USA (Ret), Lt. Gen. Neal Jaco, USA (Ret.), Adm. Jay Johnson, USN (Ret), Lt. Gen. Donald Jones, USA (Ret), Gen. P.X. Kelley, USMC (Ret), Gen. Frederick Kroesen, USA (Ret.), Maj. Gen. James Livingston, USMC (Ret.), Gen. Merrill McPeak, USAF (Ret.), Adm. Thomas Moorer, USN (Ret.), Gen. Carl Mundy,

Jr., USMC (Ret.), Lt. Gen. Carol A. Mutter, USMC (Ret), Lt. Gen. Dave Palmer, USA (Ret), Maj. Gen. Edward Philbin, USAF (Ret.), Brig. Gen. Patrick Rea, USAR (Ret.), Lt. Gen. Gordon Sumner, Jr., USA (Ret.), Lt. Gen. Herman Thomson, USAF (Ret), Brig. Gen. Sue Turner, and USAF (Ret), Gen. Anthony Zinni, USMC (Ret.); available from <<http://www.georgewbush.com/News.asp?FormMode=NR&Search=1&ID=1419>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000. General Colin L. Powell, USA (Ret.): Steven Lee Myers, "The 2000 Campaign: Support of the Military; Military Backs Ex-Guard Pilot over Pvt. Gore," The New York Times, 20 September 2000, Sec. A; p. 1.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ National Defense Political Action Committee website; available from <<http://64.82.55.222/5.htm>>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2000.

¹²⁴ Armed Forces, U.S. Code, vol 10, sec 802 (1999).

¹²⁵ Constitution, 21.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Department of Defense, Political Activities by Members of the Armed Forces on Active Duty, Department of Defense Directive 1344.10 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 15 June 1990), 2-3.

¹²⁸ Armed Forces, U.S. Code, vol. 10, sec. 113 (1999).

¹²⁹ Fiore, 124.

¹³⁰ Armed Forces, U.S. Code, vol 10, sec 802 (1999).

¹³¹ Ibid., sec 888.

¹³² U.S. Supreme Court, Greer v. Spock, 424 U.S. 828 (1976); available from <<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-.../getcase.pl?navby=case&court=us&vol=424&invol=82>>; Internet; accessed 27 November 2000 and Parker v. Levy, 417 U.S. 733 (1974); available from <<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?navby=case&court=us&vol=417&invol=733>>; Internet; accessed 27 November 2000.

¹³³ Department of Defense, Employment of Retired Members of the Armed Forces, Department of Defense Directive 1402.1 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 21 January 1982), 2.

¹³⁴ Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, "Project on the Gap Between Military and Civilian Society," Triangle Institute for Security Studies (1999), reproduced with permission from Peter D. Feaver, Associate Professor of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, NC, in U.S. Army War College Department of National Security and Strategy Course 2, Volume II Readings. (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000): 187.

¹³⁵ Gregory D. Foster, "Civil-Military Gap: What Are the Ethics?" Proceedings 126 (April 2000); available from <<http://www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles00/foster.htm>>; Internet; accessed 12 November 2000.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Sam C. Sarkesian, "The U.S. Military Must Find Its Voice," Orbis 42 (Summer 1998): 423.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Feaver, 187.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 188.

¹⁴² The following provide a description of actions utilized by the author for specific question responses. Questions left unanswered were not used for statistical analysis. Time periods for question number two varied. If the time period was stated as one day or a short period of time less than six months, the response equaled zero days. If there was a spread of time, for example, two to four years, the average time period was used, in this case, three years. If a response said 6 years, 6 months, the response was taken up to the next higher year, in this case 7 years.

¹⁴³ The following provide a description of actions utilized by the author for specific question responses. Questions left unanswered were not used for statistical analysis. Time periods for question number four varied. If the time period was stated as one day or a short period of time less than six months, the response equaled zero days. If there was a spread of time, for example, two to four years, the average time period was used, in this case, three years. If a response said 6 years, 6 months, the response was taken up to the next higher year, in this case 7 years. If a mark was made between answers, for example, between agree and strongly agree, the answer closest to the response mark was used for analysis.

¹⁴⁴ Deborah Avant, "Conflicting Indicators of "Crisis" In American Civil-Military Relations," Armed Forces and Society, vol 24, issue 3 (Spring 1998): 375; available from <<http://proq.../pqdweb?TS=970676614&Did=000000032064374&Mtd=1&Fmt=3&Sid=4&Idx=1&Deli=1&RQT=309&Dtp=>>>; Internet; accessed 4 October 2000.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Florida Department of State, Division of Elections November 7, 2000 General Election Official Results; available from <<http://enight.dos.state.fl.us/Report.asp?Date=001107>>; Internet; accessed 6 January 2001.

¹⁴⁷ Mackubin Thomas Owens, "Civil-Military Relations: Should Retired Senior Military Officers Stay Out of Political Campaigns?" Armed Forces Journal International (November 2000): 12.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Hoffman, 129.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 128.

¹⁵¹ Rowan Scarborough, "Media Hits Endorsements For Bush By Ex-Military Officers," The Washington Times, 4 October 2000, p. 8; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Oct2000/e20001004media.htm>>; Internet; accessed 4 October 2000.

¹⁵² Tim Graham, Pattern of Deception (Alexandria, Virginia: Media Research Center, 1996), 3.

¹⁵³ Maxwell D. Taylor, The Uncertain Trumpet (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1959), 112; quoted in Harry G. Summers, Jr., On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War (New York, New York: Dell Publishing, 1982), 81.

¹⁵⁴ David G. Chandler, The Military Maxims of Napoleon, trans. Lt.-Gen. Sir George C. D'Aguilar, repr. of 1901 edn. (New York, New York, 1988), 79; quoted in Colin S. Gray, Modern Strategy (New York, New York: Oxford Press, 1999), 44.

¹⁵⁵ Matthew B. Ridgway, Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway (New York, New York: Curtis Publishing Company, 1956), 270.

¹⁵⁶ Philip Gold, "Politics and the Military," Washington Times, 6 October 2000; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Oct2000/e20001006politics.htm>>; Internet; accessed 6 October 2000.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 13.

¹⁵⁸ Hoffman, 131.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Air Force Association. Homepage description. Available from <<http://www.afa.org/>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

_____. Policy and position website. Available from <<http://www.afa.org/library/policy/policy.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

U.S. Code. Armed Forces. Vol. 10, sec. 113, 802, and 888 (1999).

_____. Crimes and Criminal Procedure. Vol 18, sec. 207 (1999)

Armed Forces Staff College. The Joint Staff Officer's Guide. AFSC Pub 1. Norfolk, Virginia: Armed Forces Staff College, 1997. Available from <<http://www.afsc.edu/pub1/afsc0210.htm#p204>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Association of the US Army. "About" statement. Available from <<http://www.ausa.org/about/index.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Avant, Deborah. "Conflicting Indicators of "Crisis" In American Civil-Military Relations." Armed Forces and Society, vol 24, issue 3 (Spring 1998): 375-387. Available from <<http://proq.../pqdweb?TS=970676614&Did=000000032064374&Mtd=1&Fmt=3&Sid=4&Idx=1&Deli=1&RQT=309&Dtp=>>>. Internet. Accessed 4 October 2000.

Barnes and Noble.com Book Review. Available from <<http://shop.barnesandnoble.com/bookSearch/isbnInquiry.asp?sourceid=00002379821728035920&ISBN=0803261411&bfdate=11-07-2000+22:27:20>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Bradley, Omar. New York Times, 31 March 1959, p. 7. Quoted in Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier. 388. New York, New York: The Free Press, 1960.

Carlin, Peter and Baker, Ken. "Stockdale Says He Earned Better than Perot." People Magazine. Available from <<http://europa.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1996/news/9610/02/stockdale.people/index.shtml>>. AllPolitics (1997). Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Civil War Biographies. "George Brinton McClellan Biography." Available from <<http://www.civilwarhome.com/macbio.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

_____. "Nathaniel Prentiss Banks Biography." Available from <<http://www.civilwarhome.com/banksbio.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

_____. "William T. Sherman Biography." Available from <<http://www.civilwarhome.com/sherbio.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Chandler, David G. The Military Maxims of Napoleon. trans. Lt.-Gen. Sir George C. D'Aguilar, repr. of 1901 edn. New York, New York, 1988, 79. Quoted in Colin S. Gray, Modern Strategy, 44. New York, New York: Oxford Press, 1999.

Clausewitz, Carl von. On War, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, rev. ed. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia. "Benjamin Franklin Butler." Online: Columbia University Press, 2000. Available from <<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0809622.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Congressional Budget Office. Budgeting for Defense: Maintaining Today's Forces. Washington, D.C.: Congress, September 2000. Section 2. CBO's Estimate of Sustaining Budget for National Defense. Available from <<http://www.cbo.gov/showdoc.cfm?index=2398&sequence=1&from=7>>. Internet. Accessed 1 October 2000.

Constitution of the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Nineteenth Edition, 1997.

Demetracopoulos, Elias P. "Muzzling Admiral Burke." Proceedings 126 (January 2000). Available from <<http://www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles00/PROdemetracopoulos.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Department of Defense. Employment of Retired Members of the Armed Forces. Department of Defense Directive 1402.1. Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 21 January 1982.

_____. Political Activities by Members of the Armed Forces on Active Duty. Department of Defense Directive 1344.10. Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 15 June 1990.

Encarta. "Leonard Wood." Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia (2000). Available from <<http://encarta.msn.com/find/Concise.asp?ti=051C3000>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

_____. "Hancock, Winfield Scott," Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia (2000). © 1997-2000 Microsoft Corporation. Available from <<http://encarta.msn.com>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Encyclopedia.com. "Haig, Alexander Meigs, Jr." Infonautics Corporation (1999). Available from <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/articles/05560.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Encyclopedia Britannica. "Curtis Emerson Lemay." Britannica.com Online (1999-2000). Available from <<http://www.britannica.com/seo/c/curtis-emerson-lemay/>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

_____. "Marshall, George C." Britannica.com Online (1999-2000). Available from <<http://www.britannica.com/bcom/eb/article/0/0,5716,52370+1,00.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Executive Office of the President of the United States. "Barry R. McCaffrey, Biography." Available from <http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/about/bio_full.html>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Feaver, Peter D. and Kohn, Richard H. "Project on the Gap Between Military and Civilian Society." Triangle Institute for Security Studies (1999). Reproduced with permission from Peter D. Feaver, Associate Professor of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, NC, in U.S. Army War College Department of National Security and Strategy Course 2, Volume II Readings. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000: 186-198.

Finer, S.E. The Man On Horseback: The Role of Military in Politics. Rev. ed. Baltimore, Maryland: Peregrine Books, 1976.

Fiore, Uldric L. Jr., "Defense Secretariat Reform," Joint Force Quarterly. Autumn/Winter 1999-2000, 76-82.

Florida Department of State, Division of Elections November 7, 2000 General Election Official Results. Available from <<http://enight.dos.state.fl.us/Report.asp?Date=001107>>. Internet. Accessed 6 January 2001.

Fogleman, Ronald R. "The Profession of Arms," Air Power Journal (Fall 1995): 4-5.

Foster, Gregory D. "Civil-Military Gap: What Are the Ethics?" Proceedings 126 (April 2000). Available from <<http://www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles00/foster.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 12 November 2000.

Gertz, Bill and Scarborough, Rowan. "Inside the Ring." The Washington Times, 27 October 2000. Available from <https://ca.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/ebird?doc_url=/Oct2000/e20001027inside.htm>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Graham, Tim. Pattern of Deception. Alexandria, Virginia: Media Research Center, 1996.

Gold, Philip "Politics and the Military." Washington Times, 6 October 2000; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Oct2000/e20001006politics.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 6 October 2000.

Grant, Ulysses S. Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant, Reprint. New York, New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1982.

Gray, Colin S. Modern Strategy. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Grolier Inc. "Benjamin Harrison, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/23pharr.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

_____. "Dwight David Eisenhower, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/34peise.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

_____. "Franklin Pierce, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/14ppier.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

- _____. "James Abram Garfield, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/20pgarf.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- _____. "Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/19phaye.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- _____. "Ulysses Simpson Grant, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/18pgran.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- _____. "William Henry Harrison, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/09pharr.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- _____. "Zachary Taylor, Biography." The American Presidency. Available from <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/12ptayl.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Hallion, Richard P. Storm Over Iraq. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992.
- Hittle, J.D. (Ed.) Jomini and His Summary of the Art of War by Antonine-Henry Jomini. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Military Service Publishing Co., 1947. Reproduced with permission from Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania in U.S. Army War College Department of National Security and Strategy Course 2, Volume III Readings Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000: 26-54.
- Hoffman, F.G. Decisive Force: The New American Way of War. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1996.
- Huntington, Samuel P. The Soldier And The State. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1957.
- llcivilwar@outfitters.com. "Famous Illinoisians With Civil War Ties." Available from <<http://www.illinoiscivilwar.org/schofield-jm.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Janowitz, Morris. The Professional Soldier. New York, New York: The Free Press, 1960.
- Joint Chiefs of Staff. Unified Command Plan. Washington, D.C.: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1999. Training use only unclassified document in U.S. Army War College Department of Command, Leadership, and Management Course 3, Volume I Readings. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000: 130-147..
- Jones, Charles and Ancell, R. Manning. Four-Star Leadership For Leaders. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Executive Books, 1997.
- Manchester, William. American Caesar. New York, New York: Dell Publishing, 1978.

- Myers, Steven Lee. "The 2000 Campaign: Support of the Military; Military Backs Ex-Guard Pilot over Pvt. Gore," The New York Times, 20 September 2000, Sec. A; p. 1.
- National Defense Political Action Committee website. Available from <<http://64.82.55.222/index.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Navy League of the United States. Mission statement. Available from <<http://www.navyleague.org/about.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Owens, Mackubin Thomas. "Civil-Military Relations: Should Retired Senior Military Officers Stay Out of Political Campaigns?" Armed Forces Journal International (November 2000): 10-12.
- Powell, Colin L. "U.S. Forces: Challenges Ahead," Foreign Affairs 72 (Winter 1992-93): 32-42.
- Priest, Dana. "A Four-Star Foreign Policy?" The Washington Post, 28 Sep 2000, sec. A01.
- Rice University. "Chronology of Jefferson Davis." Rice University (1999). Available from <<http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~pjdavis/chron.htm#mexwar>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Ricks, Thomas E. "Bush's Brass Band Raises Some Questions," The Washington Post, 22 September 2000, Sec A, p. A23.
- Ridgway, Matthew B. Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway. New York, New York: Curtis Publishing Company, 1956.
- Sarkesian, Sam C. "The U.S. Military Must Find Its Voice." Orbis 42 (Summer 1998): 423-437.
- Scarborough, Rowan. "Media Hits Endorsements For Bush By Ex-Military Officers." The Washington Times, 4 October 2000, p. 8. Available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Oct2000/e20001004media.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 4 October 2000.
- SeacoastNH.com. "Framers of Freedom: Henry Dearborn." SeacoastNH.com. Available from <<http://seacoastnh.com/framers/dearborn.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Scarborough, Rowan. "Most in Military Plan to Vote For Bush-Cheney Ticket," The Washington Times, 30 October 2000. Available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Oct2000/e20001030ticket.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Schantz, Hans Gregory. "John Charles Fremont: Explorer, Politician, Man of Principle" (1993). Available from <<http://www.schantz.com/fremont.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.
- Snider, Don M. and Peters, Michael P. "A Military Too Politicized." Armed Forces Journal International. (September 1996): 73-74.

State Library of North Carolina. "Andrew Jackson." North Carolina Encyclopedia (March 1998). Available from <<http://statelibrary.dcr.state.nc.us/nc/bio/public/jackson.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Taylor, Maxwell D. The Uncertain Trumpet. New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1959, 112. Quoted in Harry G. Summers, Jr., On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War, 81. New York, New York: Dell Publishing, 1982.

Thinkquest.org. "Winfield Scott Biography." Available from <<http://library.thinkquest.org/12587/contents/personalities/wscott/ws.html>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Thomaston Historical Society. "Major General Henry Knox." Available from <<http://www.mint.net/thomastonhistoricalsociety/genknox.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2000.

Ulrich, Marybeth Peterson. Democratizing Communist Militaries. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

U.S. Supreme Court, Greer v. Spock. 424 U.S. 828 (1976). Available from <<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?navby=case&court=us&vol=424&invol=82>>. Internet. Accessed 27 November 2000.

_____. Parker v. Levy. 417 U.S. 733 (1974). Available from <<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?navby=case&court=us&vol=417&invol=733>>. Internet. Accessed 27 November 2000.

Weigley, Russell F. "The Soldier, The Statesman, and The Military Historian." Journal for Military History. (October 1999). Vol 63, no. 3, pp. 807-822. Published by the Society for Military History. Reproduced with permission from the Society for Military History, Lexington, Virginia, in U.S. Army War College Department of National Security and Strategy Course 2, Volume II Readings. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2000: 199-210.

Wolf, Henry B. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1977.

Zinni, Anthony C. "1998 Posture Statement, U.S. Central Command." Statement To U.S. House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee On National Security (17 March 1998). Reprinted In Air War College Directorate Of Nonresident Studies Regional Studies Book 2, 9th Edition. Maxwell Afb, Alabama: Air University Press, 1998-99: 100-108.