

Appendix

Table A.1 Protracted war observations

<i>Case</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Regime Type^a</i>	<i>Casualties (KIA)</i>	<i>Outcome (End State)</i>	<i>Total Ldrs</i>	<i>New Ldrs</i>	<i>Mil Obs^c</i>	<i>Mil Fac^d</i>
China in Tibet	1956–59	-8	40000	Success	1	0	1	0
Egypt in Yemen	1962–67	-7	1000	Withdrawal	1	0	0	1
Ethiopia in Somalia	2006–09	-2	2700	Withdrawal	1	0	0	1
France in Algeria	1954–62	5 ^b	17456	Withdrawal	7	5	7	0
France in Cameroon	1957–62	5 ^b	600	Success	4	2	4	0
France in Indochina	1946–54	10	20685	Withdrawal	11	10	9	2
France in Madagascar	1947–48	10	350	Success	2	1	2	0
France in Tunisia	1952–55	10	2141	Withdrawal	5	4	5	0
Great Britain in Cyprus	1955–59	10	358	Withdrawal	3	1	3	0
Great Britain in Indonesia	1945–46	10	622	Withdrawal	1	0	0	1
Great Britain in Kenya	1952–60	10	300*	Success	3	2	3	0
Great Britain in Malaya	1948–60	10	1443	Success	4	3	4	0
Great Britain in Palestine	1945–48	10	754	Withdrawal	1	0	1	0
India in Sri Lanka	1987–90	8	1200	Withdrawal	2	1	0	2
Israel in Lebanon	1982–85	9	664	Withdrawal	3	1	1	2
Netherlands in Indonesia	1946–49	10	3000	Withdrawal	2	1	2	0

Continued

Table A.1 Continued

<i>Case</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Regime Type^a</i>	<i>Casualties (KIA)</i>	<i>Outcome (End State)</i>	<i>Total Ldrs</i>	<i>New Ldrs</i>	<i>Mil Obs^c</i>	<i>Mil Fac^d</i>
Portugal in Angola	1961–75	-9	2991	Withdrawal	3	1	1	2
Portugal in Guinea-Bissau	1963–75	-9	2070	Withdrawal	3	1	1	2
Portugal in Mozambique	1964–75	-9	3229	Withdrawal	3	1	1	2
Russia in Chechnya I	1994–96	3	6000	Withdrawal	1	0	0	1
Russia in Chechnya II	1999–09	6	6300	Success	3	1	3	0
South Africa in Namibia	1966–89	4	2200	Withdrawal	2	1	1	1
US in Korea	1950–53	10	33651	Withdrawal (armistice)	2	1	1	1
US in Vietnam	1962–73	10	58220	Withdrawal	3	1	3	0
USSR in Afghanistan	1979–89	-7	14453	Withdrawal	4	3	3	1
USSR in Baltic States	1945–52	-7	20000	Success	1	0	1	0
USSR in Hungary	1956–58	-7	2260	Success	1	0	1	0
Vietnam in Cambodia	1979–89	-7	15000	Withdrawal	4	3	3	1
					81	44	61	20

^aPolity IV score.

^bPolity IV score drops from 10 to 5 in 1958 (corresponds to establishment of 5th Republic).

^cNumber of political leaders with obstructive military leadership.

^dNumber of political leaders with facilitative military leadership.

* Different sources cite British casualties ranging from 63 to 519 KIA. The discrepancy seems to come from the extent to which indigenous security forces are included in the count.

Notes

1 An Unexplained Lacuna of the Politics of War

1. William R. Corson, *Consequences of Failure* (New York: Norton, 1973), 44.
2. Fred Charles Iklé, *Every War Must End*, Columbia Paperback (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 85.
3. Morton H. Halperin, "War Termination as a Problem in Civil-Military Relations," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 392(1970): 86–95.
4. Zeev Maoz and Randolph M. Siverson, "Bargaining, Domestic Politics, and International Context in the Management of War: A Review Essay," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25(2008): 178.
5. *Ibid.*, 173, 85. In contrast, there is substantial work focused on civil-military relations and decisions to initiate armed conflict. See Richard K. Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*, Morningside ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Peter Feaver and Christopher Gelpi, *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
6. Previous applications of the bargaining construct to war termination focus on the interaction between belligerents. See Paul R. Pillar, *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). Also, Robert Powell, "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002): 1–30.
7. Taken from "Letter from the Chief of the M.A.A.G. In Vietnam (McGarr) to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (Lemnitzer), Saigon, 12 October 1961," in *F.R.U.S., 1961–1963, Volume 1*.
8. Iklé, *Every War Must End*, 16.
9. Sarah Croco, "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment," *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (2011): 460.
10. *Ibid.*, 457. Also see George W. Downs, "The Lessons of Disengagement," in *The Dynamics of Foreign Military Intervention*, ed. Ariel Levite, Bruce W. Jentleson, and Ilan Berman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 294–96.
11. H. A. Calahan, *What Makes a War End?* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1944), 209; Michael I. Handel, *War Termination, a Critical Survey*, Jerusalem Papers

- on Peace Problems (Jerusalem Hebrew University, Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, 1978).
12. Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam, a History*, rev. and updated ed. (New York: Viking, 1991), 220.
 13. A number of works on war termination focus on the distinction between hawkish and dovish political leaders, or between hawkish and dovish political coalitions. The basic logic is that hawkish leaders are more likely to keep fighting while dovish leaders are more apt to sue for peace. See Michael T. Koch and Patricia L. Sullivan, "Should I Stay or Should I Go Now? Partisan Approval and the Duration of Major Power Democratic Military Interventions," *Journal of Politics* 72, no. 3 (2010): 617. Stanley adds the factor of political leadership change, or coalition shift, and argues that a hawkish shift is likely to prolong a war while a dovish shift will greatly enhance the probability of the war ending. See Elizabeth A. Stanley, *Paths to Peace: Domestic Coalition Shifts, War Termination and the Korean War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009). Such arguments may be valid but are also somewhat tautological. A leader or coalition is "hawkish" if it acts like a hawk. A leader or coalition is "dovish" if it acts like a dove.
 14. Croco, "The Decider's Dilemma," 457.
 15. This is based on the author's own analysis of Croco's data. The point made here is not immediately evident given how Croco presents the data. Croco shows a statistically significant relationship, but this is skewed by the fact that the bulk of her dataset (87 percent) consists of initial (culpable for starting the war) leaders; even with the statistical relationship, there is still a large qualitative gap in explanatory power.
 16. Croco, "The Decider's Dilemma," 458–60.
 17. The lack of clear-cut distinction between initial and new leaders in many cases has led a handful of critics to question the causal effects of leadership change altogether. Flores, for one, argues, "Leader changes may have no effect on the probability of war termination" across the board, while specifically in large coalition systems, "Under no circumstance does leader change...increase the probability of war termination." See A. Quiroz Flores, "A Competing Risks Model of War Termination and Leader Change," *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2012): 816.
 18. Croco, "The Decider's Dilemma," 461.
 19. See Christopher Hood, *The Blame Game: Spin, Bureaucracy, and Self-Preservation in Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Debra Javeline, *Protest and the Politics of Blame: The Russian Response to Unpaid Wages, Interests, Identities, and Institutions in Comparative Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Richard Ellis, *Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance*, Studies in Government and Public Policy (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1994); Kathleen M. McGraw, "Managing Blame: An Experimental Test of the Effects of Political Accounts," *The American Political Science Review* 85, no. 4 (1991); Mark D. Alicke, "Culpable Control and the Psychology of Blame," *Psychological Bulletin* 126, no. 4 (2000);

- Raanan Sulitzeanu-Kenan and Lior Sheffer, "A Formal Model of Social Blame in Political Context," Paper Presented at the 69th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, March 31-April 3, 2011 (Chicago, IL).
20. R. Kent Weaver, "The Politics of Blame Avoidance," *Journal of Public Policy* 6, no. 4 (1986): 381.
 21. Mark Bovens et al., "The Politics of Blame Avoidance," in *When Things Go Wrong: Organizational Failures and Breakdowns*, ed. Helmut K. Anheier (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999), 123.
 22. See Alister Miskimmon, Ben O'Loughlin, and Laura Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communications and the New World Order* (London: Routledge, 2013), 2; Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(2000): 615–16.
 23. Barry R. Schlenker et al., "The Triangle Model of Responsibility," *Psychological Review* 101, no. 4 (1994).
 24. Adopted from Soviet diplomat Anatoly Adamishin's claim, "Victory has many pretenders, defeat only one." See J. E. Davies, *Constructive Engagement? Chester Crocker & American Policy in South Africa, Namibia & Angola, 1981–8* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007), 173.
 25. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*, 1st American ed. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003), 205–8; Jeffrey Kimball, "The Stab-in-the-Back-Legend and the Vietnam War," *Armed Forces and Society* 14, Spring (1988); Jenny Macleod, *Defeat and Memory: Cultural Histories of Military Defeat in the Modern Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 233–50.
 26. Peter Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 57, 296.
 27. Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1999), 255–8.
 28. See Deborah D. Avant, *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons from Peripheral Wars*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Feaver, *Armed Servants*; Thomas Sowers, "Beyond the Soldier and the State: Contemporary Operations and Variance in Principal-Agent Relationships," *Armed Forces and Society* 31, no. 2 (2005).
 29. See for example John O. Brehm and Scott Gates, *Working, Shirking, and Sabotage: Bureaucratic Response to a Democratic Public* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
 30. James G. March, *A Primer on Decision Making: How Decisions Happen* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 214.
 31. Feaver, *Armed Servants*, 88.
 32. The terms obstructive and facilitative relate to military leadership's stance on the question of withdrawal from a given war and do not necessarily imply support, or lack thereof, for a given political leader's policy.
 33. Stephen Walt, "Top Ten Reasons Why Wars Last Too Long," <http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/09/01/> (accessed March 29, 2015).

34. George Armstrong Kelly, *Lost Soldiers: The French Army and Empire in Crisis, 1947–1962* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1965), 145.
35. Few leaders, whether civilian or military, will want a protracted war to last indefinitely. There will almost always be talk about the need to bring the war to a close and bring the troops home as soon as possible. However, such sentiments do not necessarily indicate a preference of withdrawal or willingness to settle short of victory. These sentiments may instead reflect a push to take whatever steps necessary to end the war more quickly, but also in a manner consistent with the state's primary war aims. The critical turning point comes when either political or military leadership de-links war termination from the state's primary war aims, or when ending the war becomes an objective itself more important than these aims.
36. H. E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War*, Princeton Studies in International History and Politics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Randolph M. Siverson, "War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability," *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 4 (1995); Michael J. Englehardt, "Democracies, Dictatorships and Counterinsurgency: Does Regime Type Really Matter?" *Conflict Quarterly* Spring (1992).
37. See Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*, 1st paperback ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2003); A. Hamish Ion and Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Great Powers and Little Wars: The Limits of Power* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993); T. V. Paul, *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers*, Cambridge Studies in International Relations 33 (Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994); C. E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Eliot A. Cohen, "Constraints on America's Conduct of Small Wars," *International Security* 9, no. 2 (1984). Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (2001).
38. Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (1975): 177.
39. John E. Mueller, "War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment," *Political Science Quarterly* 124, no. 2 (2009).
40. For a discussion of causal mechanisms as applied here, see Tulia G. Falletti and Julia F. Lynch, "Context and Causal Mechanisms in Political Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 9 (2009); Jon Elster, "A Plea for Mechanisms," in *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*, ed. Peter Hedström and Richard Swedberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
41. Harry Eckstein, "Case Studies in Political Science," in *Strategies of Inquiry*, ed. Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, Handbook of Political Science V. 7 (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1975). Also, see Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the*

Social Sciences, B.C.S.I.A. Studies in International Security (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 121.

42. See Jason Seawright and John Gerring, “Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research,” *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2008): 294–308.

2 The Civil-Military Variable and How It Varies

1. Portions of this chapter draw upon Shawn T. Cochran, “The Civil-Military Divide in Protracted Small War: An Alternative View of Military Leadership Preferences and War Termination,” *Armed Forces & Society* 40, no. 1 (2014). See SAGE Journal Author Reuse Policy, dated March 20, 2013.
2. Borrowed from Edward Feit, *The Armed Bureaucrats: Military-Administrative Regimes and Political Development* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972).
3. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), 84.
4. S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, 2nd enlarged ed., Peregrine Books (Baltimore: Penguin, 1976), 21–4. See also Bengt Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalism and Political Power* (London: Sage Publications, 1972), 13, 17.
5. Amos Perlmutter and Harvard University. Center for International Affairs, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times: On Professionals, Praetorians, and Revolutionary Soldiers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 6; Eric A. Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*, Prentice-Hall Contemporary Comparative Politics Series. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 63–4.
6. Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla Clapp, and Arnold Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1974); Graham T. Allison and Morton H. Halperin, “Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications,” *World Politics* 24(1972); Francis E. Rourke, *Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy*, Studies in International Affairs, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).
7. Barry Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 38. Stephen Van Evera, “Causes of War” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1984), 206–7.
8. Morton H. Halperin, “War Termination as a Problem in Civil-Military Relations,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 392(1970): 89.
9. *Ibid.*, 86–95.
10. As a notable exception, see Iklé, *Every War Must End*, 13.
11. Halperin, “War Termination as a Problem in Civil-Military Relations,” 90–1.
12. See Dan Reiter, *How Wars End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 7.

13. Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture, *End of a War: Indochina, 1954* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 41; Van Evera, "Causes of War," 380. Alistair Horne, *The French Army and Politics, 1870–1970*, 1st American ed. (New York: Peter Bedrick Books: Distributed in the United States by Harper & Row, 1984), 74.
14. Devillers and Lacouture, *End of a War: Indochina, 1954*, 64.
15. *Ibid.*, 66.
16. Bruce D. Porter, "The Military Abroad: Internal Consequences of External Expansion," in *Soldiers and the Soviet State: Civil-Military Relations from Brezhnev to Gorbachev*, ed. Timothy J. Colton and Thane Gustafson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 317–18.
17. Scott R. McMichael, *Stumbling Bear: Soviet Military Performance in Afghanistan* (London; Washington: Brassey's, 1991), 61.
18. Anthony Arnold, *The Fateful Pebble: Afghanistan's Role in the Fall of the Soviet Empire* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1993), 137. Also see Milan Hauner, *The Soviet War in Afghanistan: Patterns of Russian Imperialism* (Philadelphia, PA: University Press of America, 1991), 118.
19. "C.P.S.U. C.C. Politburo Meeting Minutes, 13 November 1986," in *Cold War International History Project*.
20. See "Memorandum from the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon, Coup in Portugal, April 29, 1974," in *F.R.U.S., 1969–1976, Volume 28, 237*; António de Spínola, *Portugal and the Future* (Johannesburg: Perskor Publishers, 1974).
21. See Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine*, 239–40.
22. Walter W. Powell and Paul DiMaggio, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structures as Myth and Ceremony," *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 2 (1977); Lynne G. Zucker, "Institutional Theories of Organization," *Annual Review of Sociology* 13(1987).
23. Mark C. Suchman, "Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches," *Academy of Management Review* 20, no. 3 (1995): 574. Also, Allen Weiss and Erin Anderson, "Perceptions of Legitimacy as a Motive to Change Inter-Organizational Relations," (Research Paper #1175, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, November 1991), 1; John Dowling and Jeffrey Pfeffer, "Organizational Legitimacy: Social Values and Organizational Behavior," *Pacific Sociological Review* 18, no. 1 (1975): 133.
24. Suchman, "Managing Legitimacy," 571.
25. J. A. A. Van Doorn, "The Officer Corps: A Fusion of Profession and Organization," *Journal of European Sociology* 6, no. 2 (1965). There are similarities here with Moskos' distinction between institutional and occupational models of the military. See Charles C. Moskos, "From Institution to Occupation: Trends in Military Organization," *Armed Forces and Society* 41, no. 1 (1977).

26. J. A. A. Van Doorn, *The Soldier and Social Change: Comparative Studies in the History and Sociology of the Military*, Sage Series on Armed Forces and Society V. 7 (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1975), 29–39.
27. ———, “Continuity and Discontinuity in Civil-Military Relations,” in *The Military, Militarism, and the Polity: Essays in Honor of Morris Janowitz*, ed. Michel L. Martin and Ellen Stern McCrate (New York: Free Press, 1984), 44.
28. The concepts of effectiveness and appropriateness closely align with Suchman’s categories of “pragmatic” legitimacy and “normative” legitimacy. See Suchman, “Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches,” 577.
29. J. A. A. Van Doorn, “The Military and the Crisis of Legitimacy,” in *The Military and the Problem of Legitimacy*, ed. J. A. A. Van Doorn and Gwyn Harries-Jenkins (London: Sage Publications, 1976), 19, 30; Rob Kroes, *Soldiers and Students: A Study of Right- and Left-Wing Radicals*, International Library of Sociology (London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975), 32. Anthony Forster, “The Military Covenant and British Civil-Military Relations: Letting the Genie out of the Bottle,” *Armed Forces and Society* 38, no. 2 (2012): 280.
30. W. Richard Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*, Foundations for Organizational Science (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 1995), 46. Van Doorn, *The Soldier and Social Change*, 95.
31. Burk suggests that when a state is clearly threatened, the “social distance” between the military and society is inherently marginalized. The military’s legitimacy accordingly becomes more secure. See James Burk, “The Public and the Military,” *Javnost—The Public* 1, no. 4 (1994): 14.
32. Orrin Schwab, *A Clash of Cultures: Civil-Military Relations during the Vietnam War*, In War and in Peace (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 64, 88.
33. Porter, “The Military Abroad,” 332.
34. Orville D. Menard, *The Army and the Fifth Republic* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 89; Michael C. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
35. Wilfried von Bredow, “The Order of Violence: Norms, Rules, and Taboos of Organized Violence and the De-Legitimization of the Military,” in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, ed. Giuseppe Caforio (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003). Reuven Gal, “Limits of Military Legitimacy and Its Relation to Military Commitment,” in *Legitimacy and Commitment in the Military*, ed. Thomas C. Wyatt and Reuven Gal (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).
36. See John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (New York: Wiley, 1973), 150. Also, Robert Mason, *Richard Nixon and the Quest for a New Majority* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 63. Charles Benedetti and Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam War* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 238–40.

37. Stuart A. Cohen, "Why Do They Quarrel? Civil-Military Tensions in LIC Situations," in *Democracies and Small Wars*, ed. Efraim Inbar (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 32.
38. T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War: The Classic Korean War History* (London: Brassey's, 1994), 438.
39. Kevin Doyle, "Vietnam's Forgotten Cambodian War," <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29106034> (accessed March 31, 2015).
40. Kuldip S. Ludra, *Operation 'Pawan'* (Chandigarh: Strategic Research Centre, 1999), 48.
41. Blake E. Ashforth and Barrie W. Gibbs, "The Double-Edge of Organizational Legitimation," *Organization Science* 1, no. 2 (1990): 178.
42. *Ibid.*, 181.
43. "Letter from the Chief of the M.A.A.G. In Vietnam (McGarr) to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (Lemnitzer), Saigon, 12 October 1961," in *F.R.U.S., 1961–1963, Volume 1*. Also see Robert Buzzanco, *Masters of War: Military Dissent and Politics in the Vietnam Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 150.
44. In Richard K. Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 11.
45. Douglas Porch, *The Portuguese Armed Forces and the Revolution*, Hoover Institution Publication 188 (London: Croom Helm; Hoover Institution Press, 1977), 58.
46. Robert Buzzanco, "Hawks as Doves: Military Dissent in Vietnam and Iraq," (Colonel John B. McKinney Lecture, unpublished manuscript, University of Tennessee, 2006), 20.
47. *Ibid.*, 25.
48. Jan R. Schoeman, "Netherlands," in *The Political Role of the Military: An International Handbook*, ed. Constantine P. Danopoulos and Cynthia Watson (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 285.
49. Mark Bovens et al., "The Politics of Blame Avoidance," in *When Things Go Wrong: Organizational Failures and Breakdowns*, ed. Helmut K. Anheier (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999), 123–4.
50. Philip H. Frankel, *Pretoria's Praetorians: Civil-Military Relations in South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 34. Also see James Michael Roherty, *State Security in South Africa: Civil-Military Relations under P.W. Botha* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), 27. "Intelligence Note from the Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (Hughes) to Secretary of State Rogers, South Africa: The Indivisible Government, June 24, 1969," in *F.R.U.S., 1969–1976, Volume 28*.
51. For a broader discussion of leverage in civil-military bargaining, see Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalism and Political Power*; Risa Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Peter Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

52. "Military Contests and Settlement," <http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/ch24kor8.htm> (accessed April 11, 2015).
53. Carl Gustaf von Mannerheim, *The Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim* (London: E. P. Dutton & Company Ltd., 1953), 471.
54. Iklé, *Every War Must End*, 65.
55. *Ibid.*, 66. Also see, Mannerheim, *The Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim*, 491–513.
56. I employ the concept of side payments liberally, combining the narrow conception found in bargaining theory with the related factor of issue linkage. See Frederick W. Mayer, "Managing Domestic Differences in International Negotiations: The Strategic Use of Internal Side-Payments," *International Organization* 46, no. 4 (1992).
57. Damon Coletta and Peter Feaver, "Civilian Monitoring of U.S. Military Operations in the Information Age," *Armed Forces & Society* 33, no. 1 (2006).
58. Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak, *Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power* (New York: Random House, 1971), 80.
59. Dale R. Herspring, *The Pentagon and the Presidency: Civil-Military Relations from FDR to George W. Bush*, Modern War Studies (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 192. Also Mark Perry, *Four Stars* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 219; Charles A. Stevenson, *Warriors and Politicians: US Civil-Military Relations under Stress*, Cass Military Studies (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 65.
60. Henry Kissinger and Clare Boothe Luce, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 476.
61. Anthony Clayton, *The Wars of French Decolonization*, Modern Wars in Perspective (London; New York: Longman, 1994), 7.
62. See "France: The Juin Affair," *Time* April 12, 1954. Also, Martin Thomas, *The French North African Crisis: Colonial Breakdown and Anglo-French Relations, 1945–62*, Studies in Military and Strategic History (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 44.
63. Frank Giles, *The Locust Years: The Story of the Fourth French Republic, 1946–1958* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), 216.
64. See *Ibid.*, 187.
65. John S. Ambler, *The French Army in Politics, 1945–1962* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966), 230.
66. Brian Crozier, *De Gaulle* (New York: Scribner, 1973), 506; Michael Kettle, *De Gaulle and Algeria 1940–60: From Mers El-Kebir to the Algiers Barricades* (London: Quartet Books, 1993), 568. See also Edmond Pognon, *De Gaulle et l'Armée*, Collection Espoir (Paris: Plon, 1976), 300; William George Andrews, *French Politics and Algeria: The Process of Policy Formation, 1954–1962*, Current Political Problems (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), 117.
67. Charles De Gaulle, *Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavor* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), 86.
68. Referenced in Edgar Stephenson Furniss, *De Gaulle and the French Army: A Crisis in Civil-Military Relations* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1964), 221.

69. Referenced in Crozier, *De Gaulle*, 506. See also C. L. Sulzberger, *The Test: De Gaulle and Algeria* (New York: Harcourt, 1962), 143; Alexander Harrison, *Challenging De Gaulle: The O.A.S. and the Counterrevolution in Algeria, 1954–1962* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 40.
70. P. R. Chari, “The I.P.K.F. Experience in Sri Lanka,” *ACDIS Occasional Paper* (February 1994): 13.
71. See Shelton U. Kodikara, W. B. Dorakumbure, and Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies, *Domestic Politics and Diplomacy: A Study of Linkage Politics in Indo-Sri Lanka Relations* (Colombo: Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies, 2008), 153.
72. Porter, “The Military Abroad,” 308. See also Mark Galeotti, *Afghanistan, the Soviet Union’s Last War* (London, England; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1995), 171.
73. Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 103. See also Dale R. Herspring, *The Kremlin & the High Command: Presidential Impact on the Russian Military from Gorbachev to Putin*, Modern War Studies (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 97; Carlotta Gall and Thomas De Waal, *Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 177.
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79. Halperin, “War Termination as a Problem in Civil-Military Relations,” 94.
80. Michael D. Pearlman, *Truman & Macarthur: Policy, Politics, and the Hunger for Honor and Renown* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).
81. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion*, 229. Also see Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power, the Politics of Leadership* (New York: Wiley, 1960); John W. Spanier, *The Truman-MacArthur Controversy and the Korean War* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1959).
82. “Yalu Could’ve Been Taken in 1951: Ridgway Doubts Its Worth in Yank Lives,” *Chicago Tribune* (February 21, 1956), <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1956/02/21/page/37/article/yalu-couldve-been-taken-in-1951-ridgway> (accessed April 11, 2015). Halperin, “War Termination as a Problem in Civil-Military Relations,” 93; “Memorandum, Gen. M. B. Ridgway for General and Flag-Officer Members of the U.N. Delegation, 7 July 1951,” (GHQ, UNC SGS files).

83. Although probably a source of debate, with the case of the United States in Korea, I assess US military leadership by early 1953 to be best categorized as weakly facilitative. Military leadership was not defeatist but was instead firmly behind a negotiated settlement in line with political leadership's intent to end the war, and well short of MacArthur's more aggressive aims. By the time Eisenhower was elected president in late 1952, Ridgway had been replaced by General Mark Clark as commander of UN forces in Korea. When the president-elect visited Korea in December 1952, Clark had planned to present Eisenhower with an operations plan aimed at achieving decisive victory in the stalemated war. However, Clark soon realized the new president was seeking nothing more than an "honorable truce". After this point, Clark refrained from talk about victory and focused the army's efforts, even harsh escalatory measures, on pressuring the Chinese to accept a settlement in lines with the president's limited objectives. In the end game, Clark firmly backed Eisenhower in debates with the allied South Korean (ROK) government over the terms of a settlement and was instrumental in pushing the ROK to acquiesce to the final armistice. More broadly, "JCS recommendations were keeping with the desire of the new administration to extricate the United States from the Korean conflict." See James F. Schnabel and Robert J. Watson, "The Korean War Part Two," in *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, Vol 3, 1951–1953* (Washington DC: Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1998), 194–9, 221–8. Along these lines, Jeffrey Record argues that, once MacArthur was gone, the civil-military dynamic in Korea looked fundamentally different from what was seen later in Vietnam. Specifically, "Unlike their Vietnam War successors, the Chiefs during the Korean War supported the White House's determination to cap U.S. investment in the war... This fundamental consensus on the conflict's proper scope accounts in no small measure for the Korean War's lack of an attendant stab-in-the-back myth." See Jeffrey Record, "The Wrong War: Why We Lost in Vietnam." (Naval Institute Press, 1998), <https://www.nytimes.com/books/first/r/record-war.html> (accessed April 11, 2015).
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3 Civil-Military Bargaining and the Politics of Blame

1. On the role of a “moderating variable,” see R. M. Baron and D. A. Kenny, “The Moderator-Mediator Variable Distinction in Social Psychology Research: Conceptual, Strategic, and Statistical Considerations,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51, no. 6 (1986).
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3. *Ibid.*, 28–9. Also see Jessica L. Weeks, “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve,” *International Organization* 62, no. 1 (2008): 36.
4. Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Randolph M. Siverson, “War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability,” *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 4 (1995): 842–3.
5. Charles Tilly, *Credit and Blame* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 127.
6. See Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Randolph M. Siverson, and Gary Woller, “War and the Fate of Regimes: A Comparative Analysis,” *American Political Science Review* 86, no. 3 (1992): 640.
7. Henry Kissinger and Clare Boothe Luce, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 476–7.
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9. Fred Charles Iklé, *Every War Must End*, Columbia Paperback (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 60–61.
10. Weaver, “The Politics of Blame Avoidance,” 385.
11. Daniel Ellsberg, *Papers on the War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 97. There is significant debate over Kennedy’s actual intentions, with even the most credible sources on the topic rife with contradictions. Accordingly, this quote is provided as illustration of a concept, not as evidence. See Mark Moyar, *Triumph Forsaken: The Vietnam War, 1954–1965* (New York: Cambridge

- University Press, 2009), 277–8. Consistent with O'Donnell's recollection, Kennedy is also said to have told reporters at an off-the-record news conference in July 1963, "We don't have a prayer of staying in Vietnam... But I can't give up a piece of territory like that to the Communists and get the American people to reelect me." Quoted in Jeffrey Record, *The Wrong War: Why We Lost in Vietnam* (Naval Institute Press, 1998), <https://www.nytimes.com/books/first/r/record-war.html> (accessed April 11, 2015).
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 16. Douglas Porch, *The Portuguese Armed Forces and the Revolution*, Hoover Institution Publication 188 (London: Croom Helm; Hoover Institution Press, 1977), 84.
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 21. See Douglas L. Kriner, *After the Rubicon: Congress, Presidents, and the Politics of Waging War*, Chicago Series on International & Domestic Institutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 9; Jack L. Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 35.
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40. Boettcher, "Don't Let Them Die in Vain," 677–9.

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42. Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and the Scepter: The Problem of Militarism in Germany, Volume 3* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1972), 237.
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44. See H. E. Goemans, *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War*, Princeton Studies in International History and Politics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 116.
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46. In the summer of 1944, several members of the Finnish government as well as a number of other prominent politicians appealed to Marshal Mannerheim to take the lead role in negotiating an end to the war. And in this case, they actually pushed for Mannerheim to accept the Presidency with the explicit goal of facilitating a settlement given a wide consensus he was the only person in Finland with the prestige and reputation needed to gain domestic acquiescence for what would likely be relatively harsh peace terms. Mannerheim was at first reluctant to take on this role but eventually agreed after repeated entreaties. See Carl Gustaf von Mannerheim, *The Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim* (London: E. P. Dutton & Company Ltd., 1953), 491–2.
47. Kelly McHugh, "Understanding Congress's Role in Terminating Unpopular Wars: A Comparison of the Vietnam and Iraq Wars," *Democracy and Security* 10, no. 3 (2014): 192.
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49. Peter D. Feaver, "Anatomy of the Surge," *Commentary* 125, no. 4 (2008): 27.
50. Thomas E. Ricks, *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2006–2008* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009), 244. William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 5 (2007).
51. Ricks, *The Gamble*, 79.
52. Duncan MacRae, *Parliament, Parties, and Society in France, 1946–1958* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), 125. Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture, *End of a War: Indochina, 1954* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 67.
53. Based on Polity IV scores. See <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>.
54. Diamantino P. Machado, *The Structure of Portuguese Society: The Failure of Fascism* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 167.
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56. Norrie MacQueen, *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa: Metropolitan Revolution and the Dissolution of Empire* (New York: Longman, 1997), 73.
57. See Al J. Venter, *The Terror Fighters: A Profile of Guerrilla Warfare in Southern Africa* (Cape Town, Johannesburg: Purnell, 1969), 89; Basil Davidson, *The Liberation of Guiné: Aspects of an African Revolution*, Penguin African Library Ap 27 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 108. Interestingly, General Spínola

- had a previous reputation as being the only Portuguese commander in Africa willing to speak regularly to journalists. See Al J. Venter, *Portugal's Guerrilla War: The Campaign for Africa* (Cape Town: J. Malherbe, 1973), 198.
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 59. Antonio R. Bandeira, *Military Interventions in Portuguese Politics: Antecedents of the Armed Forces Movement* (Toronto: Brazilian Studies, 1975), 3. Also see MacQueen, *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa*, 52.
 60. W. G. Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825–1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism* (Manchester, UK; Dover, NH: Manchester University Press, 1985), 212. Also see Tom Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 183–4.
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 69. J. de Bouteiller, “The Workmen of Paris During the Siege,” *Fraser's Magazine* 7, no. 87 (1873): 733.
 70. Melvin Kranzberg, *The Siege of Paris, 1870–1871: A Political and Social History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), 150–1. Note: Admittedly, the Battle of Buzenval anecdote does not fully align with this book's argument in that professional military leadership generally sided with the government in viewing the war as a lost cause while the National Guard, made up primarily of citizen-soldiers, exhibited a more obstructionist stance. Still, more than half of the soldiers sent to fight and die at Buzenval were part of the professional army. And overall, the anecdote is useful for providing illustration of a government ostensibly “bleeding” its army to demonstrate to the domestic audience the necessity of bringing the war to a close.
 71. Weaver, “The Politics of Blame Avoidance,” 385.
 72. Croco, “The Decider's Dilemma,” 460.
 73. See Patricia L. Sullivan and Michael T. Koch, “Military Intervention by Powerful States, 1945–2003,” *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 5 (2009). Also, Larisa Deriglazova, *Great Powers, Small Wars: Asymmetric Conflict since 1945* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014). Note: In order to be consistent with the relevant literature, I treat Portugal's three overlapping wars in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau) separately. I do

- the same for France's three overlapping wars in Africa (Tunisia, Algeria, and Cameroon).
74. In determining what constitutes a "success" or "failure" for the powerful state in each case, I weigh outcomes versus war aims but generally employ codings from the existing literature unless there is good reason to do otherwise.
 75. As both precedent and model for delineating and coding civil-military bargaining across cases and over time within cases, see Feaver, *Armed Servants* and Brooks, *Shaping Strategy*. I draw upon each of these works for my coding methodology.
 76. Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63, Winter (2009): 70. Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (2001).
 77. Although this finding is relevant, one should not read too much into it given the blurred direction of causation. Failure in war is likely just as much a cause of civil-military conflict as it is an outcome associated with civil-military conflict.
 78. Note: As an attempt to better capture variation in the timing of withdrawal, I also assessed the relationship between civil-military bargaining and political leadership behavior (new leaders) by dividing political leader observations into two-year time slices. This increased the number of observations (and thus makes the findings appear more robust) but had little impact on the direction of the findings.

4 Israel in Lebanon (1982–1985)

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2. Avraham Tamir and Joan Comay, *A Soldier in Search of Peace: An inside Look at Israel's Strategy*, 1st American ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 127.
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5. Avner Yaniv and Robert J. Lieber, "Personal Whim or Strategic Imperative? The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon," *International Security* 8, no. 2 (1983): 131.

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7 Conclusion

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