

## Notes

### Introduction

1. Samuel P. Huntington, "Civilian Control of the Military: A Theoretical Statement," in *Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research*, ed. Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld, and Morris Janowitz (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), 380. Among those in agreement with Huntington are S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1962); Bengt Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972); Claude E. Welch Jr., *Civilian Control of the Military* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976); Amos Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), and in *The Political Influence of the Military* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

### Chapter 1

1. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 3.

2. Samuel P. Huntington, "Civilian Control of the Military: A Theoretical Statement," in Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld, and Morris Janowitz, eds., *Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), 380.

3. Among those in agreement with Huntington are S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1962); Bengt Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972); Claude E. Welch Jr., *Civilian Control of the Military* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976); Amos Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), and in *The Political Influence of the Military* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

4. Alfred Stepan, *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 7–8, 54.

5. Welch, *Civilian Control of the Military*, 1.

6. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 80–83.

7. *Ibid.*, 80–83.

8. *Ibid.*, 83–85.

9. *Ibid.*, 85.

10. *Ibid.*

11. W. H. Morris Jones pointed out the unlikelihood of the military officer cohort

always acting as perfectly obedient neutral instruments in the hands of policymakers in his essay “Armed Forces and the State,” *Public Administration* 35 (winter 1957): 411–16, also found in Amos Perlmutter and Valerie Plave Bennett, *The Political Influence of the Military: A Comparative Reader* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 51–55.

12. Samuel P. Huntington, “Reforming Civil-Military Relations,” in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 3–11.

13. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 8.

14. Robert K. Angwin, Capt., “Professionalism: A Model,” *An Introduction to the Military Profession* (West Point, NY: U.S. Military Academy, 1984). This article has also been excerpted for use in *Foundations of the Military Profession*, a course book used in Military Arts and Science 220, a core course for all cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy.

15. Zolton D. Barany, *Soldiers and Politics in Eastern Europe, 1945–1990* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 11.

16. Roman Kolkowicz, “Toward a Theory of Civil-Military Relations in Communist (Hegemonial) Systems,” in *Soldiers, Peasants, and Bureaucrats*, ed. Roman Kolkowicz and Andrzej Korbonski (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982), 233.

17. Elmer J. Mahoney, “The Constitutional Framework of Civil-Military Relations,” in *Civil-Military Relations*, ed. Charles L. Cochran (New York: The Free Press, 1974), 35, 45.

18. Welch, *Civilian Control of the Military*, 6–8.

19. Mahoney, “The Constitutional Framework of Civil-Military Relations,” 49.

20. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 163.

21. Welch, *Civilian Control of the Military*, 8.

22. Giovanni Sartori, *Democratic Theory* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962), 90.

23. Welch, *Civilian Control of the Military*, 8.

24. Ellen Jones, *Red Army and Society* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985), 23.

25. Roman Kolkowicz, *The Soviet Military and the Communist Party* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 15–18.

26. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 2.

27. Bruce Parrott, “Political Change and Civil-Military Relations,” in *Soldiers and the Soviet State*, ed. Timothy J. Colton and Thane Gustafson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 59–60; Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 105.

28. Bradley R. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 54. For more information on the role of KGB and state security services see Jonathan Adelman, ed., *Terror and Communist Politics: The Role of the Secret Police in Communist States* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983) and Amy W. Knight, “The KGB’s Special Departments in the Soviet Armed Forces,” *Orbis* 28 (summer 1984): 257–80.

29. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 52.

30. *Ibid.*, 51.

31. Barany, *Soldiers and Politics in Eastern Europe*, 9–10.

32. Jonathan R. Adelman, “Toward a Typology of Communist Civil-Military Relations,” in *Communist Parties in Politics*, ed. Jonathan R. Adelman (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982), 6–8.

33. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
34. John F. Brown, “Détente and Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe,” *Survey* 20 (spring/summer 1974), 46–58; Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 28.
35. See Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 428; Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (New York: The Free Press, 1971), 348.
36. Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, 363–66.
37. *Ibid.*, 367–69.
38. Harold D. Lasswell, *National Security and Individual Freedom* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1950), 80–81.
39. Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power*, 161.
40. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 3.
41. *Ibid.*, 6–10.
42. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 150.
43. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 89–94.
44. Gregory Govan, Brigadier General, Commander, On-Site Inspection Agency (OSIA) and former Defense Attaché in Moscow, 1987–1991, interview by author, Washington, DC, May 1995.
45. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Langley, 1840), vol. II, book III, 266–67.
46. Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, 8, 253.
47. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 82–85.
48. Herbert Goldhammer, *The Soviet Soldier: Soviet Military Management at the Troop Level* (New York: Crane, Russak, and Co., 1975), 25. For an explanation of the pay system see J. E. Moore, “The Soviet Sailor,” 170.
49. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 94–97.
50. For statistics on the academic qualifications of cadets in the Soviet Union and in Russia today see Oleg Vladykin, “A Declining ‘Curve’ of the Military Salary Level Is Becoming Increasingly Threatening: Current Social and Financial Policy with Regard to Servicemen Is Leading to a Cadre Catastrophe in the Armed Forces,” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 16 February 1995, 1, 3, *JPRS-UMA-95-007*, 21 February 1995, 23. For comparable statistics on the case of Hungary in the Soviet era see Ivan Volgyes, “The Military as an Agent of Political Socialization: The Case of Hungary,” in *Civil-Military Relations in Communist Systems*, ed. Dale R. Herspring and Ivan Volgyes (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), 156.
51. Volgyes, “The Military as an Agent of Political Socialization: The Case of Hungary,” 156–59.
52. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 97; Volgyes, “The Military as an Agent of Political Socialization: The Case of Hungary,” 157–58.
53. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 106–10.
54. Perlmutter and Bennett, eds., *The Political Influence of the Military*, 205.
55. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 88–89.
56. Goldhammer, *The Soviet Soldier: Soviet Military Management at the Troop Level*, 286–87.
57. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 89.
58. John P. Willerton Jr., “Patronage Networks and Coalition Building in the Brezhnev Era,” *Soviet Studies* 39, no. 2 (April 1987), 175–204.

59. V. Seledkin, Colonel, “Kak ne podarit’ rodnomu cheloveku! . . .” [How not to be obliged to relatives! . . .], *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 12 December 1986, 2. As cited in Brenda Vallance, “Corruption and Reform in the Soviet Military,” *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 7, no. 4 (December 1994), 704.
60. Zoltan D. Barany, “Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Perspective: East-Central and Southeastern Europe,” *Political Studies* 41, no. 4 (December 1993) 596–97.
61. Christopher D. Jones, *Soviet Influence in Eastern Europe* (New York: Praeger, 1981), 13.
62. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 102–6.
63. Stepan, *The Military in Politics*, 55.
64. Edward C. Meyer, General, “Leadership: A Return to Basics,” *Military Review* (July 1980) as excerpted in Burke and Critchlow, *Foundations of Military Professionalism*, 59.
65. Vallance, “Corruption and Reform in the Soviet Military,” 704.
66. “Pis’ma marshalu” [Letters to the Marshal], *Ogonek* no. 1 (January 1990): 3–4.
67. C. N. Donnelly, “The Soviet Soldier,” in *The Soviet Military: Political Education, Training and Morale*, ed. E. S. Williams (London: Macmillan, 1987), 113.
68. For a description of such behavior see Victor Suvorov, *Inside the Soviet Army* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), 222–23.
69. Gennady Zhavoronkov, “Save and Protect,” *Moscow News* no. 30 (August 1990), 11.
70. Muranov, Colonel-General Anatoliy Ivanovich, “A Law Against Dedovshchina,” 2; Suvorov, *Inside the Soviet Army*, 255–56.
71. The general emphasis that all professions place on professional ethics is described in Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power*, 63.
72. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 13.
73. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 85, cited I. N. Shkadov, *Voprosy obucheniya I vospitaniya v voyenno-uchebnykh zavedeniyakh* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1976), 117–19.
74. Jones, *Soviet Influence in Eastern Europe*, 225.
75. *Ibid.*, 204.
76. Kenneth W. Kemp and Charles Hudlin, “Civilian Supremacy Over the Military: Its Nature and Limits,” *Armed Forces and Society* 19, no. 1 (fall 1992): 9.
77. For a full account of the political indoctrination program that was conducted from nursery school through the beginning of military service see E. S. Williams, “Political Education and Training,” in *The Soviet Military: Political Education, Training and Morale*, ed. E. S. Williams (London: Macmillan, 1987), 11–38. See also Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 151–53.
78. Williams, “Political Education and Training,” 39.
79. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 156.
80. Volgyes, “The Military as an Agent of Political Socialization: The Case of Hungary,” 146.
81. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 150; Goldhammer, *The Soviet Soldier: Soviet Military Management at the Troop Level*, 208.
82. Volgyes, “The Military as an Agent of Political Socialization: The Case of Hungary,” 146; Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 92.
83. Gitz, *Armed Forces and Political Power in Eastern Europe*, 91.
84. *Ibid.*, 92.

85. Goldhammer, *The Soviet Soldier: Soviet Military Management at the Troop Level*, 243.
86. Idea offered by Edward A. Kolodziej, Research Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois.
87. Air Force Instruction (AFI) 51-902. This is the U.S. Air Force regulation that details permissible and prohibited political activities of USAF personnel.
88. Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, 234.
89. Timothy Colton, *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority: The Structure of Soviet Military Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 242–44, 246–48, 248–49.
90. For a thorough treatment of the reasons for and implications of August 1991 as a break point in Soviet civil-military relations see John W. R. Lepingwell, “Soviet Civil-Military Relations and the August Coup,” *World Politics* 44 (July 1992): 561–72.
91. Colton, “Perspectives on Civil-Military Relations in the Soviet Union,” 35.
92. Kolkowicz, *The Soviet Military and the Communist Party*, 33.
93. Colton, *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority*, 242–44, 246–48.
94. Kolkowicz, “Military Intervention in the Soviet Union: Scenario for Post-Hegemonic Synthesis,” 129.
95. Barany, “Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Perspective: East-Central and Southeastern Europe,” 598–99.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Ivan Volgyes, “Military Politics of the Warsaw Pact Armies,” in *Civil-Military Relations: Regional Perspectives*, ed. Morris Janowitz (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981), 198.
98. Adelman, “Toward a Typology of Communist Civil-Military Relations,” 4.
99. Lepingwell, “Soviet Civil-Military Relations and the August Coup,” 568.
100. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 71.
101. Finer, *The Man on Horseback*, 6–7.
102. *Ibid.*, 9.
103. Colton, *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority*, 267.
104. Raymond L. Garthoff, “The Military in Russia, 1861–1965,” in *Armed Forces and Society*, ed. Jacques van Doorn (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), 255–56.
105. Kolkowicz, “Military Intervention in the Soviet Union: Scenario for Post-Hegemonic Synthesis,” 114–15.
106. Barany, *Soldiers and Politics in Eastern Europe*, 20.
107. *Ibid.*, 173.
108. Lasswell, *National Security and Individual Freedom*, 65.
109. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 35.
110. Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, 253.
111. Jones, *Red Army and Society*, 93.
112. Barany, *Soldiers and Politics in Eastern Europe*, 8–9.
113. Parrot, “Political Change and Civil-Military Relations,” 78–86.
114. Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times*, 8.

## Chapter 2

1. The White House, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* (Washington, DC: GPO, July 1994), 2. Two subsequent versions of this document were

released in February 1995 and February 1996 without significant changes to the original concept. Beginning in 1997, the document was retitled *A National Security Strategy for A New Century*. The promotion of democracy remains a core national security objective justified by the arguments of Democratic Peace Theory.

2. See Dean Babst, "A Force for Peace," *Industrial Research* (April 1972); Peter Wallensteen, *Structure and War: On International Relations, 1820–1968* (Stockholm: Raben & Sjogren, 1973); Melvin Small and J. David Singer, "The War-Proneness of Democratic Regimes," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 1, 1976; Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986): 1151–61; Zeev Maoz and Nasrin Abdolali, "Regime Types and International Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33 (March 1989); Bruce Russett and William Antholis, "Do Democracies Fight Each Other?" *Journal of Peace Research* 29, no. 4 (1992): 415–34; Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); and Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).

3. Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 119.

4. Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, and Bruce Russett, "Peace Between Participatory Polities," *World Politics* 44, no. 4 (July 1992).

5. Most recently, the 1998 *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* argues that the promotion of democracy is a key objective of the Clinton administration and that "we recognize that the spread of democracy supports American values and enhances both our security and prosperity . . . our strategy must focus on strengthening the commitment and institutional capacity [of states in transition] to implement democratic reforms." The White House, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* (Washington, DC: GPO, October 1998), 5, 34; available from <http://www.jya.com/nssr98.htm>; Internet.

6. Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," *International Security* 20, no. 1 (summer 1995): 5–38. See also Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 3 (May/June 1995): 79–97.

7. Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and War," 80.

8. For a survey of the research in democratization and democratic consolidation see Don Chull Shin, "On the Third Wave of Democratization," *World Politics* 47 (October 1994): 135–70.

9. Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and War," 95–97.

10. *Economist*, "Foreign Aid: The Kindness of Strangers," 7 May 1994, 20.

11. Thomas Simons Jr., Coordinator, U.S. Assistance to the New Independent States (NIS), opening statement in a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee European Affairs Subcommittee on U.S. Assistance to Europe and the New Independent States, 28 March 1995. From the *Federal News Service* transcript, 4.

12. Ralph Johnson, Coordinator, U.S. Assistance to Eastern Europe, opening statement in a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee European Affairs Subcommittee on U.S. Assistance to Europe and the New Independent States, 28 March 1995. From the *Federal News Service* transcript, 7.

13. Jeremy D. Rosner, "Clinton, Congress, and Assistance to Russia and the NIS," *SAIS Review* 15, no. 1 (winter–spring 1995), 19.

14. Ibid.
15. *Economist*, “Russia in Need,” 15 January 1994, 16.
16. GAO Report: GAO/NSIAD-95-10, 7 February 1995, 2. Obtained from the Federal Document Clearing House via Lexis-Nexis Information Service.
17. Michael McFaul, *American Policy Towards Russia: Framework for Analysis and Guide to Action* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1997), 54.
18. Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs, “Hearing on U.S. Aid to Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union,” FDCH Political Transcripts, 7 May 1997. U.S. Congress, Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1998, 105th Cong. 1st sess., 143 *Cong. Rec.* S7623.
19. U.S. Congress, Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1999, 105th Cong. 2nd sess., *Cong. Rec.* S9996.
20. Testimony before the European Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, “Administration’s FY 1998 Request for Assistance to Central and Eastern Europe and the FSU,” Federal News Service, 7 May 1997. Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia have been recipients of SEED aid.
21. Testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee, “Prepared testimony of Madelaine Albright, Secretary of State,” Federal News Service, 16 June 1998.
22. Janine R. Wedel, “U.S. Aid to Central and Eastern Europe,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 42, no. 3 (May–June 1995): 50.
23. Talbot, “U.S. Support for Reform in Central and Eastern Europe and the NIS,” 335.
24. GAO Report: GAO/NSIAD-95-10, 7 February 1995, 23.
25. Mark Whitehouse, “What Went Wrong?,” *Moscow Times*, 3 June 1997.
26. David Kramer, “Russian Aid II,” *National Interest* no. 39 (spring 1995): 79.
27. Ariel Cohen, “Aid Russia, But Reform the U.S. Program,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 42, no. 3 (May–June 1995): 34.
28. McFaul, *American Policy Towards Russia*, 56–57.
29. Thomas Carothers, “Enlarging Democracy,” *Current* no. 367 (November 1994): 23; “Foreign Aid Outlives Its Mission,” *Moscow Times*, 13 August 1997.
30. *Economist*, “Russia in Need,” 16–17.
31. *Economist*, “Russia: The Road to Ruin,” 29 January 1994, 23.
32. George A. Joulwan, General, Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command, statement before the House National Security Committee, 19 March 1996.
33. *USEUCOM Strategy of Engagement and Preparedness*, November 1996, 8.
34. Ibid., 16.
35. George A. Joulwan, General, Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command, statement before the House National Security Committee, 2 March 1995, Federal News Service.
36. Louis J. Samelson, ed., *The Management of Security Assistance*, 14th ed. (Wright-Patterson AFB, OH: Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, April 1994), 7.
37. James P. McCarthy, General, ret., interview by author, USAFA, 22 April 1994.

38. Frederick P. A. Hammersen, Lt. Colonel, interview by author, Marshall Center, 7 June 1994.
39. *Talking Points on Defense and Military Contacts with the FSU, 1993*. Paper obtained at the Pentagon, May 1995.
40. *Mil-To-Mil Contact Programs for FSU/Central Europe*. USAF briefing obtained at the Pentagon in May 1995, 4.
41. Bruce Messelt, OSD Point of Contact for Military to Military Programs in East and Central Europe, interview by author, the Pentagon, May 1995.
42. The Warsaw Initiative, launched in July 1994, expended \$308.6 million in fiscal years 1995–97 to support the PFP activities of 23 partner states. See GAO Report: GAO/NSIAD-97-164, “NATO Enlargement: U.S. and International Efforts to Assist Potential New Members,” 1 June 1997; available from <http://www.fas.org/man/gao/nsiad97164.htm>; Internet.
43. Dunbar Lockwood, “The Nunn-Lugar Program: No Time to Pull the Plug,” *Arms Control Today* 25, no. 5 (June 1995): 8.
44. Jeff Erlich, “Study: Fund Russian Disarmament,” *Defense News*, 7 September 1997, 24. *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, “Pentagon Ups Its Funding for Scrapping Eastern Europe’s Nuclear Weapons,” 28 July 1998.
45. William Perry, Secretary of Defense, Federal News Service, 7 November 1996. Richard Lugar, *Congressional Press Releases*, “Lugar to Meet on Nunn-Lugar Oversight,” 14 August 1998.
46. *Mil-To-Mil Contact Programs for FSU/Central Europe*, 13.
47. *Semi-annual Report on Program Activities to Facilitate Weapons Destruction and Nonproliferation in the Former Soviet Union*, 30 April 1994, section 5.
48. *Talking Points on Defense and Military Contacts with the FSU, 1993*.
49. Gordon Stirling, State Department Russian Desk Officer and Point of Contact on the Inter-agency Working Group (IWG) for Military to Military Contacts, interview by author, Washington, DC, May 1995; and Les Aspin, *The Bottom-Up Review: Forces for a New Era* (Washington: GPO, 1 September 1993) 2.
50. Charles Helms, Captain, USAF, former Executive Officer to General Lennon, interview by author, 2 June 1994, HQ EUCOM, Stuttgart, Germany.
51. McCarthy, interview.
52. JCTP Military Liaison Teams, accessed 20 October 1998; available from <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jctpsysadmin/jctpmlts.htm>; Internet.
53. These are discretionary funds available to all of the theater CINCs (i.e., EUCOM, PACOM, SOUTHCOM . . .).
54. JCTP briefing papers acquired June 1994 at HQ EUCOM, Stuttgart.
55. JCTP Briefing obtained from HQ EUCOM, November 1997.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Stirling, interview.
58. Aspin, *The Bottom-Up Review: Forces for a New Era*, 2.
59. JCTP policy paper obtained from HQ USEUCOM, November 1997. This statement is not significantly different from one stated in a July 1994 JCTP policy paper.
60. JCTP mission statement from briefing slide in HQ USAFE Military to Military briefing obtained at the Pentagon in May 1995.
61. The most recent mission statement is “to deploy teams to selected countries of



Central Europe to assist their militaries in the transition to democracies with free market economies.” JCTP Briefing obtained from HQ EUCOM, November 1997. It should be noted that in JCTP parlance Central Europe includes the same countries included in the previous mission statement with a few others. The complete list was noted in this chapter under the heading “The Joint Contact Team Program.”

62. Joint Contact Team Briefing obtained from HQ USEUCOM, November 1997.

63. A more complete analysis of democratic military professionalism is the subject of chapter 4. I will argue that there is a unique brand of democratic military professionalism that military members from transitioning states should learn that adapts habits acquired under authoritarian systems to practices that reflect the democratic values of the state. I will further suggest that U.S. military assistance programs focus on developing these practices within the military institutions of transitioning states.

64. *Military to Military Contact Program Bottom Up Review*. Briefing prepared by the JCTP reviewing its progress through 1993. Obtained at the Pentagon, May 1995.

65. Interviews with various representatives from the IWG verify this conclusion.

66. Statement from briefing slide in HQ USAFE Military to Military briefing obtained at the Pentagon in May 1995.

67. Dirk P. Deverill, Commander, USN, Joint Staff, Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate, European Division, interview by author, the Pentagon, May 1995.

68. Lt. Colonel Karen Daneu, Czech Republic EUCOM Desk Officer, interview by author November 1997.

69. JCTP Briefing obtained from HQ EUCOM, November 1997.

70. The argument is more fully developed in chapter 5.

71. *U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) Strategy of Focused Engagement*. Obtained from HQ USAFE, November 1997.

72. *Ibid.*

73. JCTP briefing papers acquired in June 1994, HQ EUCOM, Stuttgart, 1.

74. Only the State Department’s IMET program is allowed to train foreign military officers.

75. Ron Maxwell, Major, USAF Point of Contact for Military to Military Programs in Eurasia, Central and Eastern Europe, interview by author, the Pentagon, May 1995.

76. Andrew R. Wielkoszewski, Lt. Colonel, U.S. Army Attaché, Czech Republic, interview by author, Prague, March 1995.

77. Johannes Kert, Major, Chief of Kaitseliit, Estonian National Guard, interview by author, Tallinn, June 1994. Kert was later appointed Commander of the Estonian Defense Forces in January 1996.

78. *Country Work Plan for the Czech Republic, FY98*, obtained from the Czech Military Liaison Team, November 1997.

79. Wayne P. Gosnell, Colonel, U.S. Army National Guard, Chief of International Initiatives, National Guard Bureau, 26 August 1993 Concept Paper, 1–2.

80. Joseph A. Giddis, Lt. Colonel, U.S. Army National Guard, “Bridge to America: National Guard Support of the U.S. EUCOM’s Joint Military to Military Contact Program,” paper prepared for the U.S. Army War College, May 1994, 12.

81. Margaret West, Major, USAF National Guard, Point of Contact for Guard and Reserve involvement in Military to Military Programs, interview by author, Arlington, VA, National Guard Bureau HQ, May 1995.

82. This is up from 30 percent in 1995. Joulwan, “Statement before the House National Security Committee,” 2 March 1995; JCTP Briefing obtained from HQ EUCOM, November 1997.

83. Gosnell, Concept Paper, 5.

84. *State Partnership Stockholders Report*, EUCOM: March 1997, 6.

85. *Ibid.*, 1. The state partnerships are: Czech Republic–Texas, Poland–Illinois, Hungary–Ohio, Estonia–Maryland, Latvia–Michigan, Lithuania–Pennsylvania, Slovakia–Indiana, Belarus–Utah, Ukraine–California, Uzbekistan–Louisiana, Kazakhstan–Arizona, Kyrgystan–Montana, Turkmenistan–Nevada, Georgia–Georgia, Moldova–North Carolina, Romania–Alabama, Bulgaria–Tennessee, Macedonia–Vermont, Albania–South Carolina (inactive MLT), Croatia–Minnesota, Slovenia–Colorado.

86. For instance, MLT members reported that some personnel had been sent back to the United States as a result of criminal or inappropriate behavior in-country. These activities ranged from improper promoting of personal business interests to charges of the rape of a foreign national.

87. MLT members in the Czech Republic reported that their state partner, Texas, had inappropriately tried to arrange a military exercise with the Czech Army without coordinating with EUCOM or DOD.

88. Joulwan, “Statement before the House National Security Committee,” 2 March 1995.

89. Samelson, *Management of Security Assistance*, 14th ed., 41–46.

90. Spiro C. Manolas and Louis J. Samelson, *The United States International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program: A Report to Congress*, reprinted in *DISAM Journal* 12, no. 3 (spring 1990): 2.

91. Manolas and Samelson, *The United States International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program: A Report to Congress*, 20.

92. Samelson, *The Management of Security Assistance*, 14th ed., 44.

93. Bob Livingston, “Responsibility Funding Taxpayers’ Overseas Investments,” *Congressional Press Releases*, 17 September 1998.

94. Keith Webster, DSAA Coordinator for Central and Eastern Europe and the FSU, interview by author, November 1997.

95. Manolas and Samelson, *The United States International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program: A Report to Congress*, 1.

96. *Ibid.*, 4.

97. U.S. EUCOM briefing slide prepared in 1994. Obtained by the author at the Pentagon in May 1995.

98. Warren Christopher and William J. Perry, letter to the Honorable Strom Thurmond, Chairman of Senate Committee on Armed Forces, 7 April 1995, 1.

99. Samelson, *Management of Security Assistance*, 14th ed., 44.

100. For instance, the Security Assistance Officer (SAO) in the Czech Republic was directed to target 20 percent of the total Czech IMET grant for EIMET courses.

101. Hammersen, interview.

102. “Marshall Center Inaugurates Alumni Program.” Accessed 21 October 1998; available from <http://www.marshall.adsn.int/news%20release-98/9827.htm>.

103. Joulwan, “Statement before House Armed Services Committee,” 18 March 1997.

104. Charles Squires, Major, Executive Officer to the Director, Marshall Center, interview by author, Marshall Center, June 1994.

105. Shearmur, "Eastern European Officers Study Peace at a NATO Base," 4.

106. Joulwan, "Statement before House Armed Services Committee," 18 March 1997.

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243. CTK, 6 December 1994, *Survey of Czech Press. Rude Pravo*. A comprehensive review of Czech military scandals can be found in Horejsi’s “The Army’s Costly Mistakes,” *FBIS-EEU-97-309*, 5 November 1997.
244. Tomas Horejsi, “Training a Horse Not to Eat; The Air Force is Still Looking for a Way Out of Crisis.”

245. Wielkoszewski, interview.
246. Miroslav Krcmar, Major, Member Czech liaison team to the U.S. MLT (Military Liaison Team), interview by author, March 1995, Prague.
247. Interviews by author with Brno Military Academy faculty, March 1997.
248. Vaclav Havel, *Prague Radiozurnal*, 18 September 1994.
249. Radek Adamec. "The Soldiers Are Worried About Their Jobs," *Lidove Noviny*, 13 June 1996, 1; *FBIS-EEU-96-116*, 14 June 1996, 16.
250. Hans Binnendijk and Patrick Clawson, "Rethinking Grand Strategy," *Washington Quarterly* 18, no. 2: 109.
251. Christopher Donnelly, "Armies and Society in the New Democracies," *Jane's Intelligence Review* 7, no. 1: 3. Donnelly outlines in this article the specific structural elements needed to establish effective civil-military relations according to Western democratic standards.
252. Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy for the Long Haul," *The Straits Times (Singapore)*, 10 September 1995, 1; Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," 5–38.
253. Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," 23.
254. Binnendijk and Clawson, "Rethinking Grand Strategy," 109.
255. Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, ed. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996) 94–108.
256. Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," 19–25.

## Chapter 4

1. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1962); Claude E. Welch Jr., *Civilian Control of the Military* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976).
2. Brian D. Taylor, *Professionalism and Politicization in the Soviet and Russian Armed Forces*, paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 31 August–3 September 1995, 8.
3. Huntington, *Soldier and the State*.
4. This is the argument laid out in chapter 2.
5. Roman Kolkowicz, "Toward a Theory of Civil-Military Relations in Communist (Hegemonial) Systems," in *Soldiers, Peasants, and Bureaucrats*, ed. Roman Kolkowicz and Andrzej Korbonski (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982), 233; Ellen Jones, *Red Army and Society* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985), 23. This is the argument laid out in chapter 3.
6. Jiri Giesl, Major General, Defense, Military, and Air Attaché, Embassy of the Czech Republic, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.
7. Robert L. Leininger, Lt. Colonel, Security Assistance Officer, U.S. Embassy Prague, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.
8. Charles C. Justice, Lt. Commander, Assistant Naval Attaché, U.S. Embassy Moscow, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

9. Vladimir Pirumov, Chairman of Scientific Council, Security Council of the Russian Federation, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

10. Vitali N. Tsygichko, Professor Doctor, Head of Center of National Security Studies, Academy of Sciences and adviser to the Federation Council on military reform, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow. See also Aleksey Makarin, “Vladimir Smirnov: The Army Must Be Assigned Realistic Missions,” *Segodnya*, 26 May 1995, 5. *JPRS-UMA-95-025*, 20 June 1995, 14, 16. Smirnov argues that hopes for military reform that were great in 1990–91 have disappeared.

11. Gregory Govan, Brigadier General, Commander, On-Site Inspection Agency (OSIA) and former Defense Attaché in Moscow, 1987–91, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.

12. Ervin J. Rokke, Lt. General, Commander National Defense University, former Defense Attaché in Moscow, 1986–87, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.

13. Govan, interview.

14. John W. R. Lepingwell, “Soviet Civil-Military Relations and the August Coup,” *World Politics* 44 (July 1992), 565.

15. Tsygichko, interview.

16. Bill Gertz, “Russia to Slash Ground Forces, Rely on Nukes; Military Resists Reform Plan,” *Washington Times*, 17 October 1997, 1.

17. Mann, “Russians Sound Alarm Over Stalled Reforms,” *Aviation Week and Space Technology* 146, no. 22 (26 May 1997), 64.

18. Ivan Malevich, Colonel, “Military Reform in Russia: Military Reform Is More Than Reform of the Army Alone,” *Kommersant-Daily*, 15 July 1995, 5; *FBIS-UMA-95-159-S*, 17 August 1995, 17–20.

19. The Soviet Army had 5.6 million troops. According to General Staff statistics, the Russian Army was cut from 2.8 to 1.7 million troops between 1992 and 1996. The 1997 reform proposals set 1.2 million as the targeted reduction level.

20. Pirumov, interview.

21. Mann, “Russians Sound Alarm Over Stalled Reforms.”

22. Sergey Rogov, “Will the Russian Armed Forces Stand Fast: The Forgotten Military Reform,” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 3 November 1994, 1,5. *JPRS-UMA-94-050*, 30 November 1994, 14.

23. *Ibid.*, 14.

24. James Kitfield, “Low Pay and Loose Nukes,” *National Journal*, 19 September 1998; Paul Mann, “Pessimism Deepens Over Russia’s Fate,” *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, 20 July 1998, 22.

25. Justice, interview.

26. Tsygichko, interview.

27. Vladislav Kuznetsov, “General Praises Reform of Russian Strategic Forces,” *ITAR-TASS*, 4 November 1997; *FBIS-UMA-97-308*, 6 November 1997.

28. Funding to pay the transition costs and retirement benefits of 50,000 officers was set aside in a special fund. Mann, “Russians Sound Alarm Over Stalled Reforms.”

29. Skorobogatko, “‘Wartime Budget’ or ‘Survival Budget’.”

30. *Ibid.* See also Georgiy Lukava, *Armeyskiy Sbornik* no. 4 (April 1995): 11–13; *FBIS-UMA-95-139-S*, 20 July 1995, 6–7.

31. Mann, "Pessimism Deepens Over Russia's Fate," 23.
32. Justice, interview.
33. Makarin, "Vladimir Smirnov: The Army Must Be Assigned Realistic Missions," 5.
34. Adam R. Wasserman, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.
35. Makarin, "Vladimir Smirnov: The Army Must Be Assigned Realistic Missions," 5.
36. *Economist*, "A Real General Election," 23 September 1995, 44.
37. These actions affected approximately 1,650 officers of the Military Counterintelligence Service and 3,800 political workers. Jan Gadzik, "On the Deplorable State of the Czech Army," *Cesky Tydenik*, 6 July 1995; *FBIS-EEU-95-189*, 29 September 1995, 6.
38. Bruce Messelt, OSD Point of Contact for Military to Military Programs in East and Central Europe, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC; Kenneth L. Kladiva, Faculty Member, Defense Systems Management College and PPBS adviser to the Czech MOD, interview by author, March 1995, Prague; Leininger, interview.
39. Vaclav Zaspal, "On the Deplorable State of the Czech Army," *Cesky Tydenik*, 6 July 1995; *FBIS-EEU-95-189*, 29 September 1995, 6.
40. General Staff of the Czech Republic, *The Army of the Czech Republic*, 1.
41. Jan Obrman, "Military Reform in the Czech Republic," *RFE/RL Research Report 2*, no. 41 (15 October 1993), 37.
42. Messelt, interview.
43. *Prague Report*, 3 January 1993, 3.
44. Giesl, interview.
45. Quentin Reed, "The Jane's Interview," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 30 September 1998.
46. Jiri Martinek, Colonel, Chief of Operations, General Staff of the Czech Republic, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.
47. Jan Sternod, Political Officer, U.S. Embassy Prague, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.
48. Vitaliy Denisov, Captain, "'Do Not Disturb': Servicemen in the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus Have Seen This Sign at the Cashier's Office Window for Several Months Now," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 18 July 1995, 3; *FBIS-UMA-95-153-S*, 9 August 1995, 1.
49. *The Straits Times*, "Scapegoating in Yeltsin's Russia," 26 May 1997, 40.
50. Oleg Vladykin, "A Declining 'Curve' of the Military Salary Level Is Becoming Increasingly Threatening: Current Social and Financial Policy with Regard to Servicemen Is Leading to a Cadre Catastrophe in the Armed Forces," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 16 February 1995, 1, 3. *JPRS-UMA-95-007*, 21 February 1995, 21–23.
51. Oleg Odnokolenko, "It Will Be Entirely Old Men on Parade," *Segodnya*, 1 November 1997, 1.
52. Vladimir Koltsov, "Division of Deserters Wandering Around Russia," *Russkiy Telegraf*, 12 November 1997, 1; *FBIS-UMA-97-317*, 13 November 1997.
53. Anne Garrels, "Russia's Military: Part I," *National Public Radio, Morning Edition*, 17 November 1997, Transcript # 97111711-210; Tony Barber, "Reform Rattles Through the Ranks," *Financial Times*, 15 April 1998, 5.



54. Garrels, “Russia’s Military: Corruption,” *National Public Radio, Morning Edition*, 19 November 1997, Transcript # 97111912-210.

55. Andrei Korbut, “‘Mirages’: The President Signed the Edict on Housing Certificates for Servicemen, But the Army of Homeless Officers Will Not Decrease by Much,” *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, 17–23 October 1997; *FBIS-SOV-97-323*, 19 November 1997.

56. James H. Brusstar and Ellen Jones, “Attitudes within the Russian Officer Corps,” *INSS Strategic Forum* no. 15 (January 1994), 2.

57. Garrels, “Russia Military: Part I.”

58. Barber, “Reform Rattles Through the Ranks.”

59. Interviews with Czech officers during March 1997 base visits to Namest and Pardubice.

60. Tomas Horejsi, “Army Faces More Changes: Defense Minister Wants Fighter Planes Instead of Bread Rolls,” *Tyden*, 9 September 1996, 16; *FBIS-EEU-96-177*, 12 September 1997.

61. Zaspal, “On the Deplorable State of the Czech Army,” 7; Martin Polacek, “NATO Is Following the Replacement of the Generals,” *Lidove Noviny*, 4 July 1997, 5; *FBIS-EEU-97-185*, 8 July 1997.

62. Lt. Vohralik was one of only two Czech officers to graduate from U.S. service academies. The other, Lt. Petr Miller, is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. He has also publicly stated his dissatisfaction with conditions in the ACR, but has indicated that he will give the government more time. See *Czech News Service (CTK)*, 7 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-311*, 7 November 1997; *CTK*, 12 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-317*; *CTK*, 13 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-317*, 13 November 1997.

63. *Czech News Agency, CTK*, “West Point Graduate Vohralik Decides to Stay in Czech Army,” 6 March 1998.

64. Christopher Lord, Professor, Institute of International Politics, Charles University, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.

65. Milan Fuchs, First Lieutenant, interview by author, March 1997, Pardubice Air Base.

66. *Economist*, “Czech Republic: Special—The New Bohemians,” 22 October 1994, 23–27.

67. Gary Rubus, Brigadier General, Defense Attaché, U.S. Embassy Moscow 1991–95, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

68. *Ibid.*

69. Interviews with Czech officers during March 1997 base visits to Namest and Pardubice.

70. A U.S. Marine attaché related a meeting he had with an officer in March 1995 who was working at a nuclear sub repair facility and had not been paid since the previous November. The Russian officer remarked, “We’re not making macaroni here. We’re doing serious work.” James Howcroft, Major, Assistant Marine Attaché, U.S. Embassy Moscow, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

71. Koltsov, “Divisions of Deserters Wandering Around Russia.”

72. Odnokolenko, “It Will Be Entirely Old Men on Parade.”

73. Koltsov, “Divisions of Deserters Wandering Around Russia.”

74. Odnokolenko, “It Will Be Entirely Old Men on Parade.”

75. Yevgeniy Shalnev, "Russian Warrant Officers Used to Fill Vacant Officer Posts," *ITAR- TASS World Service*, 4 November 1997; *FBIS-UMA-97-308*, 4 November 1997.

76. Rezac, interview, and interview with Barry Midkiff, Capt., U.S. Army, Exchange Student at the Czech Command and General Staff College, Brno Military Academy, March 1997. Indeed, interviews with the social science faculty indicated that the quality of military cadet vs. university student was quite low. One faculty member remarked that the military academies are "the rubbish bin of the educational system."

77. Zdenek Kriz, Instructor of Political Science, Brno Military Academy. Interview by author, March 1997, Brno.

78. Vladykin, "A Declining 'Curve' of the Military Salary Level Is Becoming Increasingly Threatening: Current Social and Financial Policy with Regard to Servicemen Is Leading to a Cadre Catastrophe in the Armed Forces," 1, 3. *JPRS-UMA-95-007*, 21 February 1995, 23.

79. Correspondence with Colonel Yuri Runaev, Head Social Sciences Department, Kachinsky Air Force Academy, June 1997.

80. Oleg Falichev, "The Military Cap Becomes the Lads," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 31 August 1995, 1; *FBIS-UMA-95-177-S*, 13 September 1995, 26.

81. Vladykin, "A Declining 'Curve' of the Military Salary Level Is Becoming Increasingly Threatening: Current Social and Financial Policy with Regard to Servicemen Is Leading to a Cadre Catastrophe in the Armed Forces," 1, 3. *JPRS-UMA-95-007*, 21 February 1995, 23.

82. In 1994, 1,630 officers between the ages of 21–22 left the Army's ranks. Vladykin, "A Declining 'Curve' of the Military Salary Level Is Becoming Increasingly Threatening: Current Social and Financial Policy With Regard to Servicemen Is Leading to a Cadre Catastrophe in the Armed Forces," 1, 3. *JPRS-UMA-95-007*, 21 February 1995, 21.

83. Boris Zhelezov, Research Fellow, Center for International Security, USA-Canada Institute, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

84. Howcroft, interview.

85. One Czech Major, who has attended a yearlong course in the United States through IMET, served on the Czech liaison team to the U.S. MLT enabling him to make many trips abroad and served in UN peacekeeping units explained his departure plan. He related that one more tour with the Czech peacekeepers in Yugoslavia would give him enough of a nest egg to leave the service and move his family to a small Czech city where he has been offered the job of director of marketing for a small firm. Peacekeepers receive a per diem paid by the UN that far exceeds the basic pay of troops serving within the Czech Republic. Despite his excellent service record and selection for many opportunities in the West, he sees no future in the ACR officer corps or at least not an opportunity comparable to what he can arrange for himself in the Czech economy. Krmar, interview. Defense Security Assistance Administration (DSAA) officials admit that the same phenomenon is occurring within the Russian IMET program. DSAA, interview, December 1997.

86. Bulavinov, "Lunatics and Criminals Will Not Serve Their Country Any More." *Kommersant-Daily*, 10 October 1997, 3; *FBIS-UMA-97-288*, 15 October 1997.

87. *Economist*, "A Real General Election," 44.

88. Paul H. Nelson, Colonel, Chief of Staff, On-Site Inspection Agency, U.S. Army Russian Foreign Area Specialist, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.

89. Ilona W. Kwiecien, Lt. Colonel, Assistant Army Attaché, U.S. Embassy, Moscow. Main embassy liaison with the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow. See also Anne Garrels, "Draft Dodgers," *National Public Radio Morning Edition*, 18 November 1997, Transcript # 97111812-210.

90. Vladimir Matyash, "Healthy Youths Will Fill the Army's Ranks," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 10 October 1997, 1; *FBIS-UMA-97-287*, 14 October 1997.

91. Valdemar Fedorov, Major General, ret. and Colonel Aleksandr Tereshchenko, "Army Strength in Its Reserve: On Certain Aspects of Armed Forces Acquisition of Privates and Sergeants," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 3 October 1997, 2; *FBIS-SOV-97-296*, 23 October 1997.

92. *Czech News Service, CTK*, 4 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-308*, 4 November 1997.

93. In January 1998 a Military Education Team from the Naval Postgraduate School was scheduled to conduct in Moscow, at the MOD's request, a workshop on transitioning from a conscript to a professional NCO force. Keith Webster, DSAA Russian Desk Officer, interview by author, December 1997.

94. Paul B. East, Colonel, U.S. MLT Team Chief, Czech Republic, interview by author, July 1994, Prague.

95. See chapter 3 for a summary of this argument.

96. Zhelezov, interview.

97. George D. Dunkelberg, Colonel, U.S. Defense Attaché to the Czech Republic, interview by author, July 1994, Prague.

98. According to an April 1995 interview with the author, Colonel William Thurston, U.S. Air Attaché to Moscow said that there is evidence that some among the Russian military leadership may be exploring ways to increase the importance of merit in the system. When General Colonel Sergeev, Commander of the Strategic Rocket Forces, and Admiral Chiles, Vice Chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, met in a high level visit in 1994 the United States provided the Russians information on how the U.S. officer evaluation system works, at the request of the Russians. The specific request for information concerned how the United States assesses the degree to which an officer's performance contributes to the mission of the unit.

99. Vaclav Smejkal, "Where Are the Four Wheels of the Army Vehicle Headed?" *Ekonom*, January 1995, 27–32; *FBIS-EEU-95-065*, 5 April 1995, 13.

100. Peter R. O'Connor, U.S. MLT Team Chief, Czech Republic December 1994–May 1995, interview by author, March 1995, Prague. In this interview, Colonel O'Connor related his own interview with an especially promising Czech junior officer who had attended the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth, KS, and who had worked closely with the U.S. MLT.

101. Vladimir Marek, "Now It Is the Matter of a Law and of the English Language," *A-Report*, 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-308*, 4 November 1997.

102. *Czech News Service, CTK*, 8 October 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-281*, 8 October 1997. Franklin D. Kramer, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 22 October 1997.

103. Katerina Sladkova, “Interview with Defense Minister Vyborny,” *Tyden*, 20 January 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-017*, 20 January 1997.

104. *Czech News Service, CTK*, “Czech Army Reduction to 60,000 By 2003,” 29 June 1998.

105. *Czech News Service, CTK*, 12 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-317*, 13 November 1997.

106. Chart provided by officers of the ACR General Staff, Prague, March 1995.

107. Wilem Holan, interview by Ferdinand Peroutka, *Denni Telegraf*, 31 May 1995, 5; *FBIS-EEU-95-107*, 5 June 1995, 12.

108. Jaroslav Spurny, “Things Are Different from Place to Place,” *Respekt*, 14–20 October 1996; *FBIS-EEU-96-206*, 20 October 1996.

109. Zaspal, “On the Deplorable State of the Czech Army,” *FBIS-EEU-95-189*, 29 September 1995, 11.

110. Josef Jehlik, Colonel, Director of Personnel, Czech General Staff, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.

111. O’Connor, interview.

112. Jehlik, interview.

113. By 1997 most of the officers recalled from the Prague Spring had retired (again).

114. Jehlik, interview.

115. Prague CTK, “Outgoing Czech Army Chief on ‘Shameful’ Personnel Situation,” 17 March 1998.

116. *Chicago Tribune*, “Editorial,” 27 November 1995, section 1, p. 14. This editorial in endorsing the firing of an American Navy admiral dismissed for making inappropriate comments regarding the behavior of sailors in Okinawa argued that “Democracies can and should demand principled behavior from those who fight. . . . America’s flag and star officers must represent American values.”

117. For a review of the differences in officership and leadership in democratic and Soviet era military institutions, see chapters 2 and 3.

118. Wielkoszewski, interview. The “good soldier” Schwejk is a character from Czech literary fame who embodies the Czech perception of the bungling soldier.

119. Anna Bukharova, Major, Scientific Associate (faculty member), Higher Military Humanities College on Scientific and Research Work, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

120. Makarin, “The Older Officers Must Make Room for the Younger Ones,” *JPRS-UMA-95-025*, 20 June 1995, 13, 15.

121. Bukharova, interview.

122. Wasserman, interview.

123. *The Economist*, “Still Bleeding,” 10 June 1995, 44.

124. Anatol Lieven, “Disarmed and Dangerous,” *The New Republic*, 22 December 1997, 22.

125. Chapter 2 fully develops this point in the presentation of the model of democratic military professionalism.

126. David A. Wagie, Colonel, Professor, USAFA, James H. Head, Colonel, Vice Dean, USAFA, and Gerrold G. Heikkinen, Captain, USAFA faculty member, interviews by author, May 1995, USAFA.

127. Wielkoszewski, interview.
128. Ibid.
129. Martinek, interview.
130. Krcmar, interview.
131. Czech Lt. Hosa as told to Lt. Colonel Andrew Wielkoszewski and relayed in an interview by author.
132. Krcmar, interview.
133. Wielkoszewski, interview.
134. O'Connor, interview.
135. Ibid.
136. Martinek, interview.
137. Dunkelberg, interview.
138. O'Connor, interview.
139. Joseph Reynolds, SSgt, Security Assistance Officer, U.S. Office of Defense Cooperation, Prague. Telephone interview by author, 8 December 1997.
140. Wielkoszewski and Midkiff, interviews.
141. Midkiff, interview. In addition, the U.S. Army Captain has focused many of his assignments on pointing out the gap that he perceives in Czech leader development. For instance, he has written papers for the Czech faculty on such topics as leadership and professional ethics.
142. Tsygichko, interview.
143. Govan, interview.
144. Howcroft, interview.
145. According to Ministry of Defense statistics, in the first 8 months of 1993, 1,222 servicemen died. Twenty-five percent of these deaths were attributed to suicide. Ministry of Defense officials reported that 518 deaths, including 74 officers, occurred in the first 6 months of 1994. MOD statistics for 1995 are 392 deaths, one-third of them suicide. In 1996 the number of suicides went up to 123. The Mothers' Rights Foundation estimated that in 1996 thousands of soldiers died as a result of criminal acts by fellow soldiers or officers, by committing suicide, or by not receiving sufficient medical attention. See *U.S. Department of State Human Rights Country Reports, 1994, 1995, 1996*, which report on human rights practices for individual countries. See also Koltsov.
146. Garrels, "Russia's Military: Part I."
147. Justice, interview.
148. Lieven, 22.
149. *U.S. Department of State Dispatch*, March 1995.
150. Anatoliy Muranov, Colonel-General of Justice, "A Current Theme: A Law Against Dedovshchina," interview by Ivan Ivanyuk, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 1 September 1995, 2; *FBIS-IMA- 5-187-S*, 27 September 1995, 7–9.
151. Lieven, 22–23.
152. Lieven, 22.
153. "Russia Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996," U.S. Department of State Human Rights Country Reports, 1996; Oleg Getmaneko, "Stopping Hazing: Prosecutor's Office Snap Inspection Teams Prove Their Effectiveness," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 28 November 1997.

154. Hazing and hunger are cited as the reasons more than 7,000 deserters roamed Russia in 1997. Koltsov, “Divisions of Deserters Wandering Around Russia.”

155. Nelson, interview.

156. Rokke, interview.

157. *U.S. Department of State Dispatch*, March 1995.

158. Kwiecien, interview.

159. *Ibid.* See also *U.S. Department of State Dispatch*, March 1995.

160. Kwiecien, interview.

161. Zhelezov, interview.

162. Some Russian military leaders who do not think that foreign models are relevant to reform in any other respect make an exception for the idea of creating an NCO corps to raise the combat capability of troops through the infusion of technical expertise and leadership. See Igor Rodionov, Colonel-General, “An Alternative: After Chechnya: A New Turning Point in the Reform of the Armed Forces or a Repeat of Past Mistakes?” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 9 February 1995, 3. *JPRS-UMA-95-007*, 21 February 1995, 15.

163. *U.S. Department of State Dispatch*, March 1995.

164. John C. Reppert, Brigadier General, former U.S. assistant army attaché, U.S. Embassy Moscow, and U.S. Defense Attaché to Moscow designate, July 1995–. Interview by author, May 1995, the Pentagon.

165. *Ibid.*

166. Spurny.

167. Tomas Kellner, “Army Targets Hazing Ritual,” *Prague Post*, 7 March 1995, 1.

168. Richard Byrne Reilly, “With Its Chief Out, Where Is the Czech Army Headed?” *Prognosis*, 8 October 1994, 8; *FBIS-EEU-94-222*, 17 November 1994, 9.

169. Sternod, interview.

170. O’Connor, interview.

171. *The Economist*, “Chechnya: Still Bleeding,” 44.

172. The issue of corruption in postcommunist military institutions and in society at large is dealt with more thoroughly in chapter 5.

173. U.S. officers reported that the Russian cadets were interested in what the consequences of violations were and were amazed that disenrollment may be the designated punishment. The Commandant at the Russian academy asked the student body if they would like such a system implemented at Kachinsky and the cadets laughed as if such a concept was an impossibility. Head, interview.

174. Brittany Stuart, Cadet, U.S. Air Force Academy, interview by author, May 1995, USAFA.

175. Howcroft, interview.

176. Tsygichko, interview. Dzokhar Dudayev was the Chechen rebel leader.

177. Gennadiy Radionov, Lt. General, “Military Education Today and Tomorrow,” *Orientir* no. 9 (September 1994): 3–8. *JPRS-UMA-94-043*, 26 October 1994, 9–10. Lt. General Radionov is the Russian Federation MOD Military Education Directorate Chief.

178. Yuriy Goncharov, “In the Channel of Renewal: Concept of Development of a System of Military Education of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation,” *Orientir* no. 9 (September 1994), 58–62. *JPRS-UMA-94-043*, 26 October 1994, 12.

179. Gennadiy Radionov, Lt. General, “Two Educations—For One Higher Educational Institution Course of Study,” interview by Oleg Vladykin. *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 15 December 1994, 2. *JPRS-UMA-95-001*, 11 January 1995, 17. See also Ilya Panin, Colonel General, Chief of Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Main Directorate of Cadres and Military Education, “See What Is Important: Urgent Cadre Policy Problems During RF Armed Forces Reform and Ways of Solving Them,” *Armeyskiy Sbornik*, February 1998, 10–15; FBIS Document FTS 19980608000436.

180. Members of a U.S. Air Force Academy delegation who visited a Russian military college in April 1995 reported that their hosts showed them yellowed lesson plans indicating that change had not occurred in those particular courses for some time. The overall message received by the American officers was that the administration of the college was overwhelmed by budgetary problems that had left the institution in disrepair and that the lack of available funds was the institutional excuse for lack of change. Wagie, Head, and Heikkinen, interviews.

181. *Denni Telegraf*, “The Army Will Prepare a ‘Defense University,’” 24 August 1995, 2; *FBIS-EEU-95-166*, 28 August 1995, 12.

182. Milan Rezac, Air Force Department Head, Brno Military Academy, interview by author, Brno, March 1997.

183. Brno Military Academy Senior Staff, interviews by author, March 1997, Brno.

184. Brno Military Academy Junior Civilian Faculty Members, interviews by author, March 1997, Brno.

185. Yuri Runaev, Lt. Colonel, Head, Social Science Department, Kachinsky Higher Military Aviation College, Volgograd, Russia. Correspondence received by the author in August 1995.

186. By the way, I explained all this in my reply to Lt. Col. Runaev. Perhaps the contacts made in the writing of this dissertation will actually help change for the better the course of democratic military professionalization in Russia.

187. Alexander Golz, reporter for *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star—the main military newspaper), interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

188. Zaspal, “On the Deplorable State of the Czech Army,” *FBIS-EEU-95-189*, 29 September 1995, 8–9.

189. Golz, interview.

190. Lord, interview.

191. Nikita Chaldimov, General, Chief Deputy of the Commandant of the Higher Military Humanities College, the former Lenin Military Political Academy, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

192. Alexander Pelts and Vladimir Pavlov, “Interview on a Timely Topic: Education Will Not Tolerate Trifles,” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 26 June 1996; FBIS Document FTS 19970404001084.

193. Pirumov, interview.

194. Bukharova, interview.

195. Sergey Zdorikov, Lt. General, Chief of Russian Federation MOD Main Educational Work Directorate, “Just What Ideology Does the Russian Army Need Today?” Interview by Vasilii Semenov, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 8 September 1995, 1–2; *FBIS-UMA-95-192-S*, 4 October 1995, 2.

196. Bukharova, interview.
197. Zdorikov, “Just What Ideology Does the Russian Army Need Today?” *FBIS-UMA-95-192-S*, 4 October 1995, 3.
198. Aleksandr Shaburkin, “Ideological Niche of Military Service,” *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, 3–9 October 1997; *FBIS-SOV-97-307*, 3 November 1997.
199. Vladimir Kulakov, “The Profession of Officer/Educator of Special Significance Today,” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 30 December 1997, 1, 3; FBIS Document FTS 19980123000740.
200. Indeed, one proposal for the reform of servicemen’s ideological education suggests that soldiers should be taught that the near-abroad is a sphere of the Russian Federation’s most immediate and vitally important political and military-strategic interests. See Aleksandr Kokorin and Viktor Samoylov, “A Position: Fruitless Years of Talking Shop: A Realistic Approach to Military Reform in Russia Is Still a Problem,” *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, 8–14 February 1997, 1, 4; *FBIS-UMA-97-057-S*, 14 February 1997.
201. Bukharova, interview.
202. Zdorikov, “Just What Ideology Does the Russian Army Need Today?” *FBIS-UMA-95-192-S*, 4 October 1995, 3.
203. Ibid.
204. Kokorin and Samoylov.
205. Valery Mironov, Colonel General, Chief Military Expert with Russian Federation Government Chairman, “Cadres: Problems and Prospects of Army Education,” *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, 31 October–13 November 1997, 1, 4; *FBIS-SOV-97-328*, 24 November 1997.
206. Zdenek Kriz and Karel Tesar, Instructors of Political Science, Brno Military Academy, interviews by author, March 1997.
207. USAFA cadets visiting the Czech military academy at Brno noted that the cadets they came in contact with did not cite service to country as a primary motivator for enrollment at the military academy. No prime ideological reasons were cited. Stuart, interview.
208. Sternod, interview.
209. Robert B. Russell, David Nilles, and Brittany Stuart, Cadets, U.S. Air Force Academy, interviews by author, USAFA, May 1995.
210. Interviews with senior faculty members, Brno Military Academy, by author, March 1997, Brno.
211. Giesl, interview.
212. Statement made in MOD briefing by Deputy Director of Education and Head of University Level Education on Czech military reform presented to visiting American Colonels from the U.S. Air War College, March 1995.
213. Zaspal, “On the Deplorable State of the Czech Army,” *FBIS-EEU-95-189*, 29 September 1995, 7–8.
214. Dunkelberg, interview.
215. Reynolds, interview.
216. Quentin Reed, “The Jane’s Interview,” *Jane’s Defense Weekly*, 30 September 1998.
217. Reynolds, interview.



218. Jindra Jiresova, Interview with Zdenek Borkovec, Director of the Czech Republic MOD, “Fortune Smiles on Those Who Are Prepared,” FBIS Document FTS 19971103001390.

219. James H. Brusstar and Ellen Jones, *The Russian Military’s Role in Politics* (McNair Paper 34) (Washington, DC: National Defense University, January 1995), 3–4.

220. A Russian journalist who accompanied a group of visitors from London to a Russian military college reported that the British delegation was shocked when the chief of the college told them that no version of political science was taught there. The chief justified this curriculum decision by saying, “The Army is not involved in politics.” Golz, interview.

221. The Chairman of the All-Russian Officers’ Assembly defended his movement by saying, “The army is an instrument of politics, so it should take part in the fate of our country.” Deborah Seward, “Former Soviet Generals Vow to Oppose Yeltsin in Parliamentary Vote,” *AP Worldstream*, 17 August 1995.

222. Natalie Gross-Hassman, “A Military Coup in Russia?: Prospects and Constraints,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review* 7, no. 11 (1 November 1995), 493.

223. *The Financial Times*, “Military Vote Uncertain,” 12 May 1995.

224. Anatoliy Stasovskiy, “The Army and the Elections,” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 2 September 1995, 1; *FBIS-UMA-95-187-S*, 27 September 1995, 5.

225. Scott, “Russian Army Drafted for Vote Rigging Duty,” *Sunday Times*, 1 October 1995.

226. *Ibid.*

227. Anatoliy Verbin, “Russian Generals March in Parliamentary Campaign,” *Reuters*, 3 October 1995.

228. This estimate includes the military-industrial complex, pensioners, and relatives of active duty forces. Carey Scott, “Russian Army Drafted for Vote Rigging Duty,” *Sunday Times*, 1 October 1995.

229. Verbin, “Russian Generals March in Parliamentary Campaign,” *Reuters*, 3 October 1995.

230. A Russian newspaper reported that in the district where Gromov is running the commander of the local military school was ordered to nominate himself to run against Gromov. The commander complied. Yulia Kalinina, “Khaki-Colored Duma,” *Moskovsky Komsomolets*, 1–4, 11 October 1995. Obtained through the *Russian Press Digest*.

231. Kalinina, “Khaki-Colored Duma.” Obtained through the *Russian Press Digest*.

232. *Economist*, “A Real General Election,” 44.

233. Pavel Felgengauer, “Military Reform Is Turning into a Revolution,” *Sevodnya*, 22 September 1997, 1–2. *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 22 October 1997, 4.

234. Pyotr Yudin. “Opposition Grows Against Yeltsin Military Reform Plan,” *Defense News*, 14–20 July 1997, 18.

235. Alan Philips, “Dissident General Sees Chance to Force Yeltsin to Quit,” *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1997, 16.

236. Katrina vanden Heuvel and Stephen F. Cohen, “The Other Russia: Moscow Glitters, the Economy Collapses, the Army Rumbles,” *The Nation* 265, no. 5. (11 August 1997), 24.

237. Kalinina, “Khaki-Colored Duma.” Obtained through the *Russian Press Digest*.

238. Brno Military Academy senior faculty members, interviews by author, March 1997.
239. Runaev correspondence.
240. Golz, interview.
241. Wielkoszewski, interview.
242. Petr Pithart, Senate Chairman, quoted in *Czech News Service, CTK*, 4 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-308*, 4 November 1997.
243. Lt. Petr Miller, U.S. Naval Academy graduate, quoted in *Czech News Service*, 13 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-317*, 13 November 1997.
244. *Military Elites in Russia 1994*, 4.
245. Ibid.
246. Howcroft, interview.
247. Rogov, “Will the Russian Armed Forces Stand Fast: The Forgotten Military Reform,” *JPRS-UMA-94-050*, 30 November 1994, 13.
248. Govan, interview.
249. Ibid.
250. Rogov, “Will the Russian Armed Forces Stand Fast: The Forgotten Military Reform,” *JPRS-UMA-94-050*, 30 November 1994, 15.
251. Dunkelberg, interview.
252. Holecek, interview.
253. Govan, interview.
254. Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, *Prague Radiozurnal*, 29 January 1995; *FBIS-EEU-95-019*, 30 January 1995, 6.
255. For instance, Defense Minister Grachev protested the decline of military-patriotic education in schools and the demilitarization of such texts as alphabet primers. Such practices, he argued will lead to the demise of the military ideals of the state. Aleksandr Kovalev, “Educating a Patriot, Serviceman, and Citizen Is Today the Main Task for a School,” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 20 October 1994, 1, 3. *JPRS-UMA-94-044*, 2 November 1994, 7–10. See also Igor Rodionov, Colonel-General, “We Do Not Want to Militarize Society Again: On Military Reform and Reform of the Armed Forces,” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 23 December 1994, 1, 3. *JPRS-UMA-95-003*, 31 January 1995, 22. The author argues, “Let them not reproach us for attempts to militarize society again, for a systemic approach to safeguarding the country’s military security is characteristic of any democratic ‘civilized’ state of the West.”
256. Lukava, *Armeyskiy Sbornik*, *FBIS-UMA-95-139-S*, 20 July 1995, 8.
257. Wasserman, interview.
258. Olga Miravanovna in Anne Garrels, “Russia’s Army: MIAs,” *National Public Radio Morning Edition*, 20 November 1997, Transcript # 97112011-210.
259. Garrels, “Russia: Draft Dodgers.”
260. Sergey Rogov, “The Future of Military Reform,” an unpublished paper, January 1995, 23. See also Ivan Malevich, “Five Reforms: How This Was in the Past,” *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye* no. 2 (22 April 1995), 3. *JPRS-UMA-95-022*, 16 May 1995, 21. The author argues that the most democratic means of fielding an army is through conscription assuming that all citizens are equally likely to serve.
261. Golz, interview.

## Chapter 5

1. Gregory Govan, Brigadier General, Commander, On-Site Inspection Agency (OSIA) and former Defense Attaché in Moscow, 1987–91, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.

2. William K. Harris, Policy Assistant, DOD Office of Soviet and East European Affairs, interview by author, May 1995, the Pentagon.

3. Council on Foreign Relations. *Russia, Its Neighbors and an Enlarging NATO* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1997).

4. Robert L. Leininger, Lt. Colonel, Security Assistance Officer, U.S. Embassy Prague, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.

5. *Talking Points on Defense and Military Contacts with the FSU, 1993.*

6. JCTP mission statement from briefing slide in HQ USAFE Military to Military briefing obtained at the Pentagon in May 1995.

7. John C. Reppert, Brigadier General, former U.S. assistant army attaché, U.S. Embassy Moscow, and U.S. Defense Attaché to Moscow designate, interview by author, May 1995, the Pentagon.

8. Excerpt from USAF briefing papers obtained at the Pentagon, May 1995.

9. *JCTP Briefing*, obtained from HQ USEUCOM, November 1997.

10. Peter R. O'Connor, U.S. MLT Team Chief, Czech Republic, December 1994–May 1995, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.

11. My major field research trip to Prague occurred in March 1995. A previous trip occurred in July of 1994 and a brief trip occurred in March 1997 and June 1999.

12. Jeffrey Simon, National Defense University Faculty Member, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.

13. See chapter 2.

14. James Howcroft, Major, Assistant Marine Attaché, U.S. Embassy Moscow, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

15. Stephen Freeman, Lt. Colonel, U.S. Army Point of Contact for Military to Military Programs in Russia/Eurasia, interview by author, May 1995, the Pentagon.

16. Andrew S. Weiss, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.

17. Reppert, interview.

18. Interview by author with officer assigned to the Joint Staff, November 1997.

19. Charles C. Justice, Assistant Naval Attaché, U.S. Embassy Moscow, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.

20. The exercises with Russia include: Peacekeeper 95 (took place in the US), Cooperation from the Sea 95 and 96 (took place in Hawaii and Vladivostok), and Arctic Search and Rescue 96 and 97. The exercises with Ukraine include: Peaceshield 95 (Lviv, Ukraine), Autumn Allies 95 (Camp Lejeune, NC), Amphibex 95 (Odessa, Ukraine), Peaceshield II (Ft. Leavenworth, KS), Peaceshield 96 (Lviv, Ukraine—Russia, and 9 other PfP states took part), Autumn Allies II (Virginia), Cooperative Neighbor 97 (Lviv, Ukraine—9 PfP states besides Russia took part), Sea Breeze 96 (Odessa, Shirokiy Lan, and Donuzlave, Crimea), and Peaceshield 97 (Camp San Luis Obispo, CA); interview by author with Joint Staff Officer, November 1997.

21. O'Connor, interview.
22. Hank Richmond, Lt. Colonel, U.S. Army Point of Contact for Military to Military Programs in Central and Eastern Europe, interview by author, May 1995, the Pentagon.
23. James E. Kinzer and Marybeth Peterson Ulrich, *Political-Military Affairs Officers and the Air Force: Continued Turbulence in a Vital Career Specialty* (U.S. Air Force Academy, CO: Institute for National Security Studies, April 1997).
24. Andrew R. Wielkoszewski, Lt. Colonel, U.S. Army Attaché, Czech Republic, interview by author, March 1995, Prague.
25. Harris, interview.
26. When I asked the Czech Defense Attaché to the United States this question he was careful to preface his remark with, "This is not meant to be a negative comment, but rotating the teams every six months is too much. The deployments should be at least one year long." Jiri Giesl, Major General, Military and Air Attaché, Embassy of the Czech Republic, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.
27. O'Connor, interview.
28. Colonel Thomas Hayes, MLT Team Chief, Czech Republic, interview by author, November 1997.
29. Dirk P. Deverill, Commander, Joint Staff, Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate, European Division, interview by author, May 1995, the Pentagon.
30. Ibid.
31. *Country Work Plan of the Czech Republic, FY98, 5–7.*
32. Ibid., 6–7.
33. The key result areas of the Czech Republic's Country Work Plan, supporting objectives, metrics, and events are provided in appendix C of the Work Plan.
34. Ilona W. Kwiecien, Lt. Colonel, Assistant Army Attaché, U.S. Embassy, Moscow, interview by author, April 1995, Moscow.
35. Justice, interview.
36. Interview by author of Joint Staff Officer in the Russia, Ukraine, Eurasia division, November 1997.
37. Harris, interview.
38. Freeman, interview.
39. Interview by author of Joint Staff Officer in the Russia, Ukraine, Eurasia division, November 1997.
40. Adam R. Wasserman, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State, former CIA military analyst, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.
41. Howcroft, interview.
42. Paul H. Nelson, Colonel, Chief of Staff, On-Site Inspection Agency, U.S. Army Russian Foreign Area Specialist, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.
43. Govan, interview.
44. Ervin J. Rokke, Lt. General, Commander National Defense University, former Defense Attaché in Moscow, 1986–87, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.
45. Weiss, interview.
46. Freeman, interview.

47. Weiss, interview.
48. Interview by author of Joint Staff Officer in the Russia, Ukraine, Eurasia division, November 1997.
49. O'Connor, interview.
50. Justice, interview.
51. Christopher D. Bott, Lt. Commander, Assistant Naval Attaché, *IMET Two Year Training Plan for Russia 1996–97*. Document obtained from Lt. Commander Bott by the author in Moscow, April 1995.
52. Report prepared in December 1993 by officers in the defense attaché office in Moscow for inputs to a report to Congress on the effectiveness of the U.S. military to military contact program in Russia.
53. Webster, interview.
54. Ibid.
55. Richmond, interview.
56. Webster, interview.
57. Report prepared in December 1993 by officers in the defense attaché office in Moscow for inputs to a report to Congress on the effectiveness of the U.S. military to military contact program in Russia.
58. Howcroft, interview.
59. Bott, *IMET Two Year Training Plan for Russia 1996–97*.
60. Webster, interview.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Report prepared in December 1993 by officers in the defense attaché office in Moscow for inputs to a report to Congress on the effectiveness of the U.S. military to military contact program in Russia.
64. Interview by author with DSAA officer with responsibility for the Czech Republic, November 1997.
65. Webster, interview.
66. Simon, interview.
67. Jan Gadzik, "Czech Army Looking for a Form Press," *Lidove Noviny*, 9 February 1995, and carried over CTK national news wire, 9 February 1995.
68. Tomas Horejsi, "Jiri Sedivy—A Timorous Leader Makes No Mistakes," *Prague Tyden*, 30 March 1998, 14; FBIS Document FTS 19980415000468.
69. Joseph Reynolds, Staff Sergeant, Security Assistance Manager for the Czech Republic, interview by author, November 1997.
70. Wilem Holan, Defense Minister, "For Joining NATO, We Have the Support of the United States and Canada," *Lidove Noviny*, 5 December 1994, 5; *FBIS-EEU-94-236*, 8 December 1994, 13.
71. O'Connor, interview.
72. *Czech News Service, CTK*, 7 November 1997; *FBIS-EEU-97-311*, 7 November 1997.
73. Miroslav Krcmar, Major, Member Czech liaison team to the U.S. MLT, interview by author, March 1995, Prague; Junior officers interviewed by author at the Pardubice and Namest air bases, March 1997.

74. Interview by author with DSAA officer with responsibility for the Czech Republic, November 1997.
75. Krcmar, interview.
76. George D. Dunkelberg, Colonel, U.S. Defense Attaché to the Czech Republic, interview by author, July 1994, Prague.
77. Leininger, interview; *Czech News Service*, 7 November 1997.
78. Jan Gazdik, “The Army Is Not Exercising, Laws Are Lacking, Claims Necas,” *Mlada Fronta Dnes*, 23 September 1997, 2; *FBIS-EEU-97-266*, 23 September 1997.
79. Gazdik, “Clinton Put a Knife to Army Officials’ Throat,” *Mlada Fronta Dnes*, 14 June 1997, 2; FBIS Document FTS 199706160016303.
80. O’Connor, interview.
81. Gazdik, “The Army Is Not Exercising.”
82. Mark Cheek, Point of Contact at the Defense Security Assistance Agency (DSAA) for International Military and Education Training (IMET) programs in Russia, East and Central Europe, interview by author, May 1995, Washington, DC.
83. Message sent from the U.S. Embassy in Prague by the Security Assistance Officer to Washington, DC, 6 April 1994.
84. Reynolds, interview.
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## Index

- Afghanistan, Soviet War in, 99
- Akhromeyev, General Sergei, 52, 155
- Albania, military to military contacts with U.S., 51, 54
- All-Russian Officers' Assembly, 143, 144
- American foreign policy. *See* Foreign Policy, U.S.
- Andrejčak, Lt. General Imrich, 85
- attachés, military
  - intelligence collection role, 154, 161
  - regional expertise, 161
- Baku, 99
- Baltic states
  - Baltic fleet, 113
  - U.S. National Guard role in, 61
- Baudys, Antonin, 85
- Belarus, military to military contacts with U.S., 53, 54
- Brno Military Academy, 86, 136, 140, 145
- Brussels Summit (1994), 52
- budgetary control, 13, 18
- Bulgaria
  - armed forces, 36
  - military to military contacts with U.S., 54
- Bush Administration, 46
- Carlucci, Frank, 52
- case-study method, selection of Czech and Russian cases using, 3–4
- Chechnya
  - Duma role in war, 98
  - as impetus to military reform, 178
  - relations with Russia, 77
  - role of Russian press, 100
- Russian military readiness, lack of, 113
- Russian use of contract servicemen in war, 135
- use of Russian conscripts in war, 100, 150
- war with Russia as a case study for Russian civil-military relations, 99–102, 178
- Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), 86
- Chubais, Anatoly, 48
- Civic Democratic Party (ODS), 86
- civilian control of the military
  - civilian expertise, 91, 174–75
  - considered as a set of relationships, 6
  - in the Czech Republic, 83–107
  - democratic models of, 109–10
  - objective, 7–9
  - parliamentary control, 91–98
  - patterns of, 2
  - in Russia, 83–107
  - in the Soviet model, 110
  - subjective, 7–9
  - in transitioning states, 42
- civil-military relations
  - in democratic states, 6, 8–10, 11–21, 37–41
  - in Eastern Europe, 19–20, 36, 37–38, 40
  - functional imperative, 6
  - party control in Communist systems, 11
  - societal imperative, 6
  - in the Soviet Bloc, 12, 19–20, 22–43, 37–41

- civil-military relations (*continued*)  
 theory for postcommunist states, 5–43,  
 185–87  
 traditional approaches to, 6–10, 108,  
 182  
 twin imperatives of, 5–6  
 Clinton Administration, 45  
 Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, 96, 100,  
 101, 102  
 opposition to hazing, 133  
 Communist Party  
 control of the military in Eastern Bloc,  
 15–16, 36  
 control of the military in the Soviet  
 Union, 15–16, 35–36  
 in East European states, 36  
 of the Soviet Union, 32, 36  
 Conference on Security and Cooperation  
 in Europe (CSCE), 51  
 conscripts, 121  
 constitutional provisions for democratic  
 political control, 12, 13–14, 41, 80–  
 83  
 in the Czech Republic, 82  
 in Russia, 82–83  
 contract service. *See* professionalization,  
 of conscript militaries  
 Cooperative Threat Reduction program,  
 46, 52  
 Croatia, military to military contacts with  
 U.S., 54  
 Crowe, Admiral William, 52, 155  
 Czechoslovakia  
 armed forces, 36, 75  
 Battle for Dukla Pass, 102  
 Czechoslovak Legion, 103  
 military to military contacts with  
 U.S., 51, 155, 180  
 struggle for democratization in,  
 102–3  
 in World War II, 102  
 elections, 1992, 72  
 1948 Coup, 103  
 Support for East European Democracy  
 program, 47  
 Velvet Divorce, 72  
 Velvet Revolution, 72  
 Civic Forum, 72  
 Public Against Violence, 72  
 Czechoslovak People's Army (CSPA),  
 75, 84  
 motivation for service in, 127–28  
 support for Communist regime in  
 1989, 85  
 Czech Republic  
 armed forces  
 Air Force, 90  
 budget, defense, 91–92  
 civilian expertise, 93, 97–98  
 civilian oversight, 76, 84–85, 88  
 conscripts, 121  
 defense acquisitions process, 96  
 democratic transition, components  
 of, 80, 184  
 down-sizing of, 86, 115  
 force structure, 116  
 housing, 118  
 legacy of Soviet era, 74  
 lustration process, 85, 115  
 military academies, 120, 129, 142,  
 145  
 military education reform, 97  
 military to military contacts with  
 U.S., 54  
 motivation for service in, 140–41  
 NATO membership goals, 79  
 NATO's role in military reform, 77,  
 126  
 personnel management reform,  
 87–88, 97, 123–27, 162,  
 168–69  
 personnel structure, 123–25  
 prestige, legacy of low, 79–80  
 public relations function, 148–49  
 Rapid Deployment Brigade, 173  
 relationship with society, 147–49  
 role in society, 78–79, 98  
 scandals in, 104  
 split with Slovakia, 115  
 strategic concept, 76–78  
 transparency of, 87–88  
 birth of, 72

- Civic Democratic Party (ODS), 93, 97  
 Committee for Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Security, 93  
 constitution, 97  
 Defense and Security Committee, 90, 93, 94  
 democratic history, 73  
 economic situation, 71–72  
 geostrategic location, 76  
 National Defense Strategy, 82  
 National Security Strategy, 77  
 Parliament  
   Chamber of Deputies, 97  
   quality of civilian control, 91–98  
   relationship with General Staff, 95–96  
   Senate, 97  
   public opinion support for NATO membership, 104  
 Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), 86
- dedovshchina, 30, 132–34  
 Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), 154  
 delegative democracy. *See* O'Donnell, Guillermo, concept of delegative democracy  
 democratic military professionalism. *See* military professionalism, democratic  
 democratic peace, 45, 182  
 democratic political control. *See* political control, democratic  
 democratic transition of postcommunist states, 7, 108–9, 186  
 democratic values, 9, 20, 26, 106, 131, 138  
   infusion of, in authoritarian society, 71, 109, 110, 152, 184  
   role in democratic civil-military relations, 110, 128–29, 141, 149–51, 184  
 democratization  
   military. *See* military democratization  
   winners and losers in process of, 71  
 discipline, military  
   in Soviet bloc, 30  
   in transitioning states, 110, 128, 132, 141–42  
 Dobrovsky, Lubros, 85  
 Dudayev, Dzokhar, 135
- East, Colonel Paul, 161  
 edinonachilie, 29  
 education and training, military system of  
   in the Czech Republic, 136–43  
     curriculum, 131, 136–37, 140–41  
     legislation governing, 136  
   in democratic states, 31–34, 136  
     role in democratic socialization, 137  
   differences between U.S. and Russian systems, 172  
 NCO Corps, role in, 142, 169  
 Professional Military Education System  
   in the Czech Republic, 165  
   in postcommunist states, democratic deficits of, 142  
   in Russia, 136–43  
   in the Soviet bloc, 31–34, 136
- Estonia  
   military to military contacts with U.S., 54  
   Support for East European Democracy program, 47
- ethics, professional  
   in postcommunist states, 135  
   role in military professionalism, 135
- European Union, 46  
   Czech membership goals, 79
- Founding Act, 168, 178  
 Foreign policy, U.S.  
   Joint Contact Team Program, 52, 53, 54–62  
     bureaucratic limitations of program, 160–65, 182  
     facilitation of NATO interoperability goals, 56  
     familiarization tours, 59  
     focus areas, 57  
     funding, 54

- Foreign policy, U.S. (*continued*)  
 how it works, 59  
 legal basis, 55  
 mission statement, 156  
 Military Liaison Teams, 54, 59, 67–68, 155, 161–63  
 National Guard and Reserve forces, involvement of, 60–62, 162  
 objectives, 55  
 “post-reform” era, 156, 157, 164–65, 181  
 “pre-reform” era, 156, 157, 165  
 Traveling Contact Teams, 59
- Russia, U.S. relationship with in post-communist era  
 military democratization programs, 44, 50–62  
 achievement of programs’ objectives, 66–69, 156–81, 169–70, 179–80, 182, 183  
 Country Work Plan, 165  
 Defense and Military Contacts Program for the Former Soviet Union, 52–54, 155, 156, 165–66  
 future of, 178–80  
 impact on host countries, overall, 166–70, 185–87  
 IMET, effectiveness of, 170–75  
 oversight of, 56–59, 158–60, 163–66, 181, 183, 185  
 reform of assessment procedures, 58–59, 180, 181
- Freedom Support Act, 46
- Galvin, General John, 51  
 Germany, denazification, 50  
*Good Soldier Schwejk, The*, 104  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 27, 30, 40  
 beliefs on reforming communism, 72  
 Govan, General Gregory, 131, 167  
 Government Accounting Office, 47  
 governmental control of the military, 2, 6  
 Grachev, Pavel, 82, 84, 112, 144  
 loyalty to Yeltsin, 96  
 relationship with Lebed, 88
- Gromov, General Boris, 144  
 Group of Seven (G-7), 48
- Harvard, Institute of International Development, 47  
 Havel, Vaclav, 85, 90, 97, 105, 149  
 hazing  
 in Czech Republic, 134  
 in Russia (*see* *dedovshchina*)  
 Holan, Wilem, 80, 85, 93, 124  
 human rights  
 abuses in Chechen War, 100  
 democratic expectations of, 31, 135  
 toleration of abuses within the military, 9
- Hungary  
 invitation to NATO, 177, 179  
 military to military contacts with U.S., 54  
 Support for East European Democracy program, 47
- Huntington, Samuel, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 34, 109, 145, 182  
 characterization of civil-military relations, 2
- International Military Education and Training (IMET). *See* United States, Security Assistance Program
- International Monetary Fund, 48
- Jandacek, General Pavel, 176–77  
 Japan, democratization of, 50  
 Jelik, Colonel Josef, 125–26  
 Johnson, Ralph, 46  
 Joint Contact Team Program (JCTP). *See* United States, military democratization programs
- Joulwan, General George, 62  
 Justice, Lt. Commander Charles, 111
- Kachinsky Higher Military Aviation College, 135, 137
- Kazakhstan, 77  
 military to military contacts with U.S., 53

- Kert, Johannes, 60
- Kholodov, Dmitriy, 87
- Klaus, Vaclav, 86, 105  
 priorities of government, 97  
 resignation of, 73
- Kokoshin, Andrei, 83
- Kovalyov, Sergei, 101
- Krasnaya Zvezda*, 101
- Kulakov, Lt. General Vladimir, 139
- Kuznetsov Academy, 111
- Latvia  
 military to military contacts with U.S., 54, 60  
 participation in Marshall Center, 177  
 Support for East European Democracy program, 47
- leadership, military  
 in democratic states, 28–31, 127–29  
 NCOs, role in, 134, 169  
 officer evaluations, role of, 31, 130  
 in Russia, 131  
 in the Soviet bloc, 28–31, 127–29
- Lebed, Alexander, 84, 89  
 disobedience of, 88
- Lenin Military Political Academy, 138
- Lennon, Brigadier General Thomas, 54
- Lithuania, military to military contacts with U.S., 54
- Lobkowitz, Michal, 125, 142
- Luzny, Colonel Peter, 172–73
- Macedonia, former Yugoslav Republic  
 of, military to military contacts with U.S., 54
- Main Political Administration, 15
- Mansfield, Edward D., 107
- Marshall, George C., European Center for Security Studies, 49, 52, 64–65, 130, 155, 175–78  
 Czech participation in, 175–77  
 Russian participation in, 175–78
- Martinek, General Jiri, 130
- Marxist-Leninism, 32, 111, 131, 133, 137, 138, 141
- McCarthy, General James P., 51
- Meyer, General Edward C., 29
- military democratization, 4  
 dimensions of problem, 2, 4, 182, 183
- military discipline. *See* discipline, military
- military institution  
 political environment of, 6  
 political role of, 7–8, 34–37, 146  
 relationship with, in democratic states, 20–21, 98  
 relationship with society in postcommunist states, 98–105, 111  
 relationship with society in Soviet Bloc, 21–22  
 resistance to change, 8, 71, 112  
 transparency of, 31, 38–39, 86–88
- Military Liaison Teams (MLTs). *See* United States, military democratization programs
- military professionalism, 7, 39, 184  
 characteristics across political systems, 23, 24–25, 151–53, 183  
 democratic, 2, 9, 10–11, 41, 108, 116–53, 154, 180, 182, 183, 184  
 how to achieve, 3  
 norms of, 22–43  
 role of NCOs, 31
- elements of, 3  
 patterns of, 3  
 redefining in the postcommunist era, 109–11  
 Soviet norms of, 4, 22–43, 109–10, 127, 182, 184  
 in transitioning political systems, 41–43, 108–11, 151–53
- military reform  
 postcommunist, in the Czech Republic, 115–16  
 postcommunist, in Russia, 112–15
- military to military concept, 109  
 arms control contacts, 157
- Military University, 138–39
- Ministry of Defense  
 civilian experts in, 17  
 effectiveness of day-to-day oversight, 16–18

- Ministry of Defense (*continued*)  
 Soviet militarization of, 14  
 transparency of, 17  
 Moiseev, General Mikhail, 155  
 Movement in Support of the Army, the  
   Defense Industry, and Military  
   Science, 144
- Nagorno-Karabakh, 99  
 National Defense University, 175  
 National Security Council, importance of  
   in democratic states, 17  
 National Security Strategy, 45  
   of Engagement and Enlargement, 45  
 NATO, 9, 46, 66  
   Defense College, 177  
   enlargement of, 177, 181, 183  
     Czech participation in, 82  
     partner states, 44  
     Russian reaction to enlargement,  
       167–68  
 Necas, Petr, 93  
 Nekvasil, General Jiri, 95, 126  
 New Socialist Man, 21, 33, 40  
 Non-commissioned Officer Corps  
   German, 29  
   role in facilitating democratic military  
     professionalism, 31, 167  
 Nunn-Lugar program, 46, 49, 52–53, 179
- O'Connor, Colonel Peter R., 161, 162,  
 168–69  
 O'Donnell, Guillermo, concept of  
   delegative democracy, 106  
 officer corps, East European  
   demographic background, 26  
   pay and benefits, 26  
   self-image of, 39  
 Owens, Admiral William, 95
- parliamentary control  
   elements of, 18–19  
   range of legislative authority, 18  
   role of staff, 19  
 Partnership for Peace, 52, 66, 97, 179,  
 183
- JCTP support of, 56, 179–80  
 Warsaw Initiative, 66  
 perestroika, 40, 155, 180  
 Pezl, General Karel, 76, 80, 85
- Poland  
   armed forces, 36  
   invitation to NATO, 177, 179  
   military to military contacts with the  
     U.S., 51, 54  
   Support for East European Democracy  
     program, 47
- political control  
   democratic, 2, 13, 41, 70–107, 154,  
     180, 182, 183  
   in the Czech Republic, 82–107,  
     180  
   in Eastern Europe, 19–20  
   how to achieve, 3, 183  
   the imperative of, 6–7  
   norms of, 11–21  
   in parliamentary systems, 16  
   in presidential systems, 16  
   in Russia, 82–107, 180  
   in East European states, 15–16  
   nondemocratic patterns of, 9  
   patterns of, 2, 3  
   Soviet era, 11–22, 41  
     role of Communist Party, 14–16
- political influence of military, norms of  
   in the Czech Republic, 143–47  
   in democratic states, 34–37, 144–46  
   in Russia, 143–47  
   in the Soviet bloc, 34–37
- political officer role in military-political  
   indoctrination, 33, 138–40  
   in the Czech Republic, 138  
   in Russia, 138–40  
     education officers, 138–40
- political systems  
   adopting new sets of societal values in,  
     8, 41  
   transition to new political systems, 6,  
     41, 45  
   types that the military serves, 6, 108
- postcommunist militaries  
   challenges faced, 71

democratic adjustment of, 8  
 legacy of Soviet era norms, 9  
 postcommunist states, authoritarian heritage of, 9  
 Powell, General Colin, 51, 54, 155, 159  
 Prague Spring, 103  
 press  
   role in democratic civil-military relations, 20, 39  
   Russian military, coverage of, 148  
 prestige, military, 23, 25, 38–39  
   in Czechoslovakia, 102–5  
   in Czech Republic, 143, 147–49  
   norms of  
   in democratic states, 37–39  
   in Soviet bloc, 37–39  
   in Russia, 147–49  
 professional ethics. *See* ethics, professional  
 professionalism  
   definition of, 10  
   military (*see* military professionalism)  
   strategic, 44  
 professionalization of conscript militaries  
   in the Czech Republic, 122, 141, 142  
   in Russia, 114, 121–22  
 professional military as essential element  
   of military reform, 114  
 promotion systems, military  
   corruption in, 27–28  
   in Czech Republic, 122–27  
     “career concept,” 123  
     as an obstacle to NATO accession, 123  
   in democratic states, 26–28  
   role of officer evaluations in, 27  
   in Russia, 122–27  
   in Soviet bloc, 26–28, 122–23  
 reasonable sufficiency, 40  
 recruitment and retention, norms of  
   in the Czech Republic, 117–22  
   in democratic states, 23–26  
   in Russia, 117–22  
   in the Soviet bloc, 23–26

Reppert, Brigadier General John, 134, 248n. 164.  
 Rodionov, General Igor, 84  
 Rogov, Sergey, 91, 95, 113  
 Rokhlin, Colonel General Lev, 144  
 Rokke, Lt. General Ervin J., 167  
 Romania  
   armed forces, 36  
   military to military contacts with U.S., 54  
   participation in Partnership for Peace program, 179  
 Rubus, Brigadier General Gary, 74, 119  
 Runaev, Lt. Colonel Yuri, 137  
 Russia  
   attitudes of citizens toward democracy, 73–74  
   crime, 74  
   Defense Council, 88–89  
   Democratic transition, overall progress, 184–85  
   Duma role in military reform, 113  
   Duma Defense Committee, 94, 95, 144  
   economic situation, 74  
   judicial branch, weakness of, 80–81  
   Law on Realization and Utilization of Military Production, 95  
   Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 171  
   national security interests, 78  
   Russian General Staff Foreign Liaison Office, 159  
   Security Council, 83, 87, 89  
   comparison with U.S. National Security Council, 89  
   Western aid to, 48  
 Russian armed forces  
   adaptation to democratic political system, 114  
   attitude toward democracy, 74, 78–79, 91, 181  
   budget, defense, 92–93, 113–14  
   civilian oversight  
   civilian expertise, 93–95, 166  
   executive/MOD control, quality of, 83–91

- Russian armed forces (*continued*)
- parliamentary control, quality of, 91–98
  - conscripts, 121
    - public attitude toward conscript system, 150
  - corruption of, 88–89
  - draft evasion, 121
  - housing, 117, 119
  - military academies, 120, 129
  - military doctrine, 77
    - role of nuclear weapons, 78
  - motivation for service in, 139–40
  - parliamentary control, quality of, 91–98
  - pay, 117, 119
  - peacekeeping, role in, 77
  - politics, role in, 115
  - public relations function, 148
  - receptiveness toward Western assistance, 74, 178–79
  - relationship with society, 78–79, 98–102, 147–49
  - social conditions 119
  - Strategic Purpose Forces, 113
  - Suicide rate, 132
  - transparency of, 86–87
- Russkiy Island, 132
- Schwartzkopf, General Norman, 130
- “Schwejkism,” 128
- Sedivy, Major General Jiri, 173
- Sergeyev, General Igor, 84, 112, 113, 114
- Shalikashvili, General John, 54
- Shaposhnikov, Marshal Evgenii, 112
- Simons, Thomas, 46
- Slovakia
  - military to military contacts with U.S., 54
  - participation in Partnership for Peace program, 179
  - rebirth of, 72
- Slovenia
  - military to military contacts with U.S., 54
  - participation in Partnership for Peace program, 179
- Snyder, Jack, 107
- socialization, democratic, 8, 28, 131–32
  - in commissioning sources, 32
  - in Eastern Europe, 20
  - ideological, 8, 32–34
    - role of military education system, 138–43
  - and militarism, 40
  - of military personnel, 7–9, 32–34
    - conscript system, role of, 150
    - in East European states, 21–22, 33
    - in postcommunist Russia, 79
    - in Soviet Union, 21
- Soldatenkov, Lt. Colonel Sergei, 176
- South Korea, 9
- Soviet Nuclear Threat Reduction Act. *See* Nunn-Lugar program
- Soviet Union
  - armed forces
    - interference in East European militaries, 36
    - motivation for service in, 127–28
    - military to military contacts with the U.S., 51–54, 180
    - patterns of civil-military relations in, 11
    - role of military in society, 12, 21–22, 75
  - dissolution of, 44
  - foreign policy, “New Political Thinking,” 75
  - invasion of Czechoslovakia, 103
  - liberalization within, 72
  - national security interests, 75
- Suman, Vladimir, 95
- Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act, 46, 47
- Taiwan, 9
- Tajikistan, 77
- Toqueville, Alexis de, 23
- Tosovsky, Josef, 86
- transparency. *See* military institution, transparency of



- Ukraine
  - military to military contacts with U.S., 53, 160, 166
  - security assistance from the U.S., 170
- Uniform Code of Military Justice, 30
- United Nations
  - Czech support for peacekeeping operations, 79
  - UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force), 121, 129
- United States
  - Agency for International Development, 47–49
  - assistance to postcommunist states, 44–52, 155, 181
  - Department of Agriculture, 47
  - Economic Support Fund, 47
  - European Command
    - deployment of MLTs, 155
    - role in military to military contacts programs, 53
  - Strategy of Engagement and Preparedness, 49
  - Theater Security Planning System, 58
  - Export-Import Bank, 47
  - Foreign Area Officers (FAOs), U.S. Air Force, 161
  - Foreign Area Officers (FAOs), U.S. Army, 161
  - foreign policy (*see* foreign policy, U.S.)
  - National Military Strategy, 49
  - National Security Strategy, 44, 49
  - Office of the Secretary of Defense, 160
  - Overseas Private Investment Corporation, 47
  - Security Assistance Program, 49–50
    - Defense Security Assistance Agency, 50
    - Direct Commercial Sales, 50
    - Foreign Military Sales, 50, 63
    - International Military Education and Training (IMET), 50, 52, 62–64, 131, 155
    - in the Czech Republic, 172–75
    - expanded IMET, 64, 171, 174–75
    - funding, 63, 64, 170–71, 172
    - philosophy of, 63
    - postcommunist states, inclusion of, 63
    - in Russia, 170–72
    - in Ukraine, 170
  - Nonproliferation and Disarmament Fund, 63
  - Peacekeeping Operations, 63
  - State Department, 50
    - role in JCTP, 54–55, 60
  - United States Air Force Academy, 141
  - United States Army Command and General Staff College, 155, 172
  - United States Army War College, 162, 172, 173
  - United States Military Academy, 141, 174
  - United States Naval Postgraduate School, 175
  - Ustinov, Dmitrii, 14
  - Vacek, General Miroslav, 85
  - Vaclavik, Milan, 103
  - Values, compatibility of military and societal
    - in the Czech Republic, 149–51
    - in democratic states, 39–41, 149
    - in East European states, 40
    - in Russia, 149–51
    - in the Soviet Union, 39–41
  - Vetchy, Vladimir, 86, 97, 116, 125, 142
    - Democratic (*see* democratic values)
  - Vilnius, 99
  - Vohralik, Lt. Petr 118
  - Vyborny, Miloslav, 86, 97, 118, 125
  - Warsaw Initiative. *See* Partnership for Peace
  - Warsaw Pact, 44
  - Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), 11, 15
  - Washington Summit, 1987, 52

Yeltsin, Boris

- failure to halt Grozny bombing, 87
- management of defense ministry, 84
- role in 1991 coup, 72

Yugoslavia, former, U.S. assistance to,  
47

Zaitsev, Grigory, 176

Zantovsky, Michael, 93, 97

Zaoralek, Lubomir, 93

Zdorikov, Lt. General Sergey, 139, 140

Zeman, Milos, 97

Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir, 138