

1996

## Women and the Use of Military Force

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### Recommended Citation

van Tol, Jan; Howes, Ruth H.; and Stevenson, Michael R. (1996) "Women and the Use of Military Force," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 49 : No. 4 , Article 19.

Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol49/iss4/19>

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Hong, Seoung-Yong; Miles, Edward L.; and Park, Choon-ho, eds. *The Role of the Oceans in the 21st Century*. Honolulu, Hawaii: The Law of the Sea Institute, 1995. 777pp. (No price given)

This volume publishes the proceedings of the 27th annual conference of the Law of the Sea Institute that was held in Seoul, Korea, in July 1993. The institute, which has always been in the forefront for the discussion of the uses of the oceans, focused this conference on the role of the oceans in the next century, with presentations by leading experts on oceans legal and policy issues, representing the international community. The conference addressed initially the policies governing oceans, then explored specific uses of the oceans within that context. Specifically addressed in panel discussions were coastal zone utilizations, oceans industries, new and emergent hard ocean minerals, and the future of oceanic oil and gas. Two panels addressed broad economic impacts of oceans uses, the contributions of ocean resources to the East Asian economy, and the economic benefits of its environmental use. The major focus was international fisheries, one of the key concerns of the world community.

Of particular interest to the military reader is the address by Ambassador Igor K. Kolossovsky of the Russian Federation on how the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea can serve as the basis for the maintenance of legal order and peace in the oceans into the next century. Other presentations of interest are the Joint Conference with Korea—Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOC), on the “Post-Cold War Era” and “SLOC Security in East Asia.” Among the maritime jurisdiction issues in the Asia-Pacific region that may impact the legal regime of navigation

addressed by the Joint Conference were the status of Indonesia’s archipelagic jurisdiction and the 1992 Territorial Sea Law of China.

The Law of the Sea Institute plays a preeminent role in the formulation of international ocean policy, and the published proceedings of its conference provide an excellent reference for developing international perspectives on issues that affect U.S. naval operations.

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Howes, Ruth H. and Stevenson, Michael R., eds. *Women and the Use of Military Force*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1993. 246pp. \$38

This book stems from a series of multidisciplinary workshops about female attitudes toward the use of (primarily) military force. Its principal question is, “Is there a fundamental difference in the way women and men utilize force and view its utilization on the international scale?”

The book is divided into two main parts comprising several chapters each, followed by a concluding chapter written by the editors. The various chapters are written by scholars from a range of academic disciplines, including physics, psychology, sociology, philosophy, political science, and folklore. Editors Howes and Stevenson are refreshingly honest, stating that most of the fourteen chapters are written from a feminist (however defined) perspective. Unexpectedly, this does not detract from the book’s value or the interest of the general reader (as might straight feminist polemics), because the contributors generally present their evidence and make their cases dispassionately. Many readers

might question some of the assumptions, but few will complain about the fairness of the reasoning.

The first part of the book is entitled "Theories, Concepts, and Attitudes." It addresses such topics as "Feminist Perspectives on Women and the Use of Force," "The Gender Gap in Popular Attitudes toward the Use of Force," and "Women in Groups: Implications for the Use of Force." The second part looks at women's past performance in a range of jobs having to do with the use of military force. It considers women in the U.S. armed forces, in national security policy-making positions (including such powerful leaders as Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, and Margaret Thatcher), in the peace movement, and in various revolutionary movements worldwide. An interesting chapter examines the largely unknown contribution of women scientists to the Manhattan Project.

There is broad consensus among the contributors on the key questions: Are women as a group inherently more peaceful than men? Do they "speak in a different voice that is more caring and connected to other people and the environment?" If there is a "gender gap" between the sexes about the use of force, what causes it, and what are the implications? Will increased participation of women change the way the military functions?

There is a great diversity of answers, which is what makes this book interesting and more than a politically correct tract. Contributors differ, for example, about female views regarding the moral legitimacy of force and whether women are required to "go native" if they are to survive professionally in male-dominated military organizations.

There are a few areas of general agreement, however. For example, polling data "consistently show that women tend to be less willing to use force than their male counterparts." Also, "There is

little doubt that women are willing to use force to counter a perceived threat to their homes and families," whether as an individual protecting her property or as prime minister of her nation.

The concluding chapter, written by the editors, attempts to tie the essays together, but it is of lesser quality. Unlike the other essays, which mostly rely on empirical or historical data, the summary reflects the authors' value judgments. For example, they claim that the reasons for using military force are changing from predominately male values to those supported more by women, i.e., "the protection of homes, the defense of a means for earning a living, and the protection of the innocent"—one wonders why male officers serve. The book ends fatuously with the declaration, "Increasing the number of women in power positions within the military and the policy elite may actually assist the United States in adapting to the more female approach to foreign policy required by the new world order."

About eighteen months ago, a female admiral gave a brief concerning the growing assignment of women to jobs involving the direct use of force, to a group of naval officers assigned to various billets in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. She prefaced her remarks by admitting frankly that the extraordinary changes in Department of Defense assignment policies with respect to women in combat had been made with hardly any debate either among the public or in Congress. What little discussion has occurred has been heavily politicized (and within the military, *de facto*, heavily censored). There is a compelling need for an honest and dispassionate debate, given the importance of the subject, which after all directly affects the future effectiveness of the U.S. military. Were that debate to be held with the decorum and intellectual responsibility shown in this book, it might be a fruitful one.

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Gaston, James C. and Hietala, Janis Bren, eds. *Ethics and National Defense: The Timeless Issues*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense Univ. Press, 1993. 250pp. \$8 (Order from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.)

In this volume, Gaston and Hietala have given us a broad selection of the best papers delivered in recent sessions of the Joint Services Conference on Professional Ethics (JSCOPE). JSCOPE is the principal forum for debating ethical matters among military professionals, a rewarding and appropriate activity. In the last decade the Joint Conference has heard and debated a number of papers, both controversial and noncontroversial. These essays are a broad selection dealing with recurring ethical problems—a few of which any serving officer is likely to encounter.

Participation in the conference is completely voluntary, and it is perhaps for that reason that the quality of the papers is uneven. However, Gaston and Hietala, editing with a light hand, have assured any interested reader ready access to the material.

All the authors appear to have a personal stake in the ethical issues they address. With a few exceptions, all the authors are serving officers. Those exceptions are notable, however. One is W. Hays Parks, who discusses teaching the law of war. He is a reserve officer better known for his distinguished work for the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General on the law of war. Another author is a former officer who is now an academic. He wrestles with what it is precisely that we

profess in the Oath of Office. A third example: two intelligence professionals in the CIA coming to terms with the ethics of clandestine and covert activities.

The essays are grouped under four headings. "Ethical Foundations of Military Service" includes two different but insightful papers on the oath of office, one on careerism, and a fourth paper on treason, based largely on Operation VALKYRIE, the attempted assassination of Hitler. The second group deals with "Professions within a Profession": an excellent treatment of client-loyalty conflicts, the parallel problem for military physicians, and the paper cited above by two CIA professionals on intelligence dilemmas.

The third group will draw the attention of many serving commanders, with its two essays that discuss "Training for Ethical Behavior in the Armed Forces." The first, by Dr. Daniel Callahan of the Hastings Center, is clearly expressed, grounded in experience, and unequivocally helpful and positive. If I were still giving Commander's Calls, I would post extracts of this essay on the inside cover of the notebook I kept for drafting remarks. The other essay is Hays Parks's "Teaching Law of War." Although narrower in focus, it is another positive, clearly written article.

Three papers make up the fourth and final section, "Contemporary Issues in Military Ethics." The three topics discussed are ethical dimensions of the strategic defense initiative, a moral strategy for American participation in small wars, and women in combat.

Colonel Michael Wheeler takes the reader from Kant by way of Joshua Chamberlain and his troops' bayonet charge at Gettysburg's Little Round Top, to sorting "offense as defense" from "offense as aggression." He then leads us through the nuclear dimension, to defending against nuclear ballistic