

The Commander-in-Chief

By James P. Terry
Carolina Academic Press, 2015
204 pp. \$40
ISBN: 978-1611636710
Reviewed by Alice A. Booher

James P. Terry long wore the mantle of being one of the most prolific writers in the areas of security and international law. In 2013 and 2014, his books *The War on Terror* and *Russia and the Relationship Between Law and Power* were recognized as providing articulate, extraordinary analyses of both subjects. *The Commander-in-Chief* is certainly equal to these two works and, in some ways, is better than both. Terry's lifelong body of work was a product reflective of extraordinary academic credentials, hands-on service in the Marine Corps, both on the ground and as Legal Counsel to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and senior leadership roles at the Departments of State and Veterans Affairs. At the time of his death on December 12, 2014, Terry, a Senior Fellow in the Center for National Security Law at the University of Virginia, had signed off on this book, which was published posthumously.

The Commander-in-Chief is a honed, expanded version of Terry's article "The President as Commander in Chief," which was published in the *Ave Maria Law Review* (2009). There is generous citing of independent collateral sources as well as of Terry's 30 years of earlier scholarly works, making broadened references easily accessible. The index and particularly the extensive bibliography and sources sections are immensely productive.

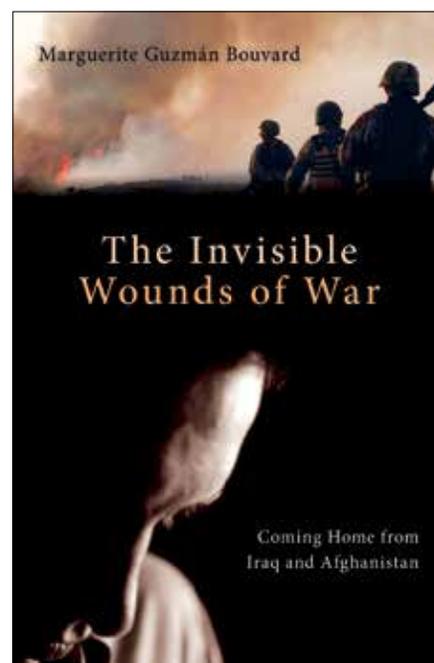
Terry's fundamental initial focus is the constitutional source of Presidential authority found in Article II with incremental expansion and limitations thereof guided by the Presidents themselves and the specific exigencies in which they discovered themselves, within and sometimes without the added dictates and directives of Congress and the courts. With text addressing both authority and execution, the fully comprehensive yet concise discussion of the warfighting Presidents in the aggregate is contained in the first five chapters, followed by foci on Presidential powers used in response to terrorism, humanitarian crises, United Nations peacekeeping, and in defense of U.S. nationals abroad in chapters 6 through 9.

Terry next gives consideration to Presidential powers in "protecting critical infrastructure" in circumstances such as electrical blackouts, protection of water supply, and actions post-9/11, post-Hurricane Katrina, and so forth, including establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and the strengthened review on cyber security. A final discussion relates to arms control. Each President and impacting elements and actions are addressed with remarkable objectivity in a context virtually absent any political "spin" other than learned analyses.

A eulogy written by national security expert Professor Robert Turner noted that James Terry "improved the lives of those around him through his willingness to share his knowledge and his genuine compassion for everyone." That assessment would appear to be fulfilled in this worthwhile and final volume, which, as Turner states, is "to be read by students, policymakers and interested members

of the public for generations to come." Historians, scholars, and other readers can only hope for someone as astute and scholarly to carry on that legacy. JFQ

Alice A. Booher, JD, a former Foreign Service Reserve Officer and Counsel to the Department of Veterans Affairs, Board of Veterans Appeals (1969–2011), is well published in national media on numerous subjects. She is editor of and contributing author to *Glimpses of the New Veteran: Changed Constituencies, Different Disabilities, Evolving Resolutions* (Carolina Academic Press, 2015).



The Invisible Wounds of War: Coming Home from Iraq and Afghanistan

By Marguerite Guzmán Bouvard
Prometheus Books, 2012
254 pp. \$18
ISBN: 978-1616145538
Reviewed by David F. Eisler

Each of us who has come home from war has experienced the return in our own way. Some were embraced by a loving family; others were alone. Some were respected by friends, while others were feared by neighbors. Many adjusted quickly to the comparative peace of their previous

lives, while some never adjusted at all, tormented by the demons of combat and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). It is on this latter group of soldiers that Marguerite Bouvard focuses her attention in *The Invisible Wounds of War* through individual stories that, though incredibly moving, perpetuate many of the sensationalized stereotypes that have plagued the veteran community.

In the last few years, there have been a number of books intended to open a window into the experience of the modern soldier and combat veteran, including David Finkel's *Thank You for Your Service* (Sarah Crichton Books, 2013), Yochi Dreazen's *The Invisible Front* (Crown, 2014), and Howard Schultz and Rajiv Chandrasekeran's *For Love of Country* (Knopf, 2014). Bouvard's book, published in 2012, predates all of these and even anticipated many of the issues that have made recent headlines, including military sexual assault, controversy within the Department of Veterans Affairs (including a story of one veteran who received an appointment for trauma counseling 3 weeks after he committed suicide), as well as the philosophical issues associated with maintaining an all-volunteer force. In that regard, it is worth reading to see how these themes have evolved over time and to get a personal sense of how they affected real people.

Much of the book, though, is written in an anecdotal tone of hearsay, with many needless citations given for banal details, while wild claims are neither put into context nor supported with evidence. Because these stories are strung together without pausing to consider the context of the situation, the book misses the chance to connect with the larger conversation about military veterans. In many cases, the author is unable to distance herself from her subject, veering too often into the political and seemingly selecting her samples to confirm her convictions. In the chapter on mothers, a subject about which the author has written several books, it is somewhat surprising that every single mother was upset when her child decided to join the

military. Several mothers even try to talk their children out of it.

The book's biggest issue is its propagation of numerous negative stereotypes about veterans. Bouvard contends that "returning soldiers harbor a grief that is not widely understood" and that "they can't come home [because] . . . these memories will never go away. When soldiers drive down a highway or a road in Illinois, Nevada, New York, Colorado, or any other place, they look at rooftops and overpasses to make certain there are no enemies waiting with rifles." But her conclusions and narrative are driven by a few interviews with select individual veterans and family members and then told as if representative of the entire population—everyone in this book suffers from PTSD.

In a few cases, Bouvard evokes dangerous sensationalism. "Veterans return in combat mode," she writes, "which gives them the ability to respond instantly with deadly force. They are in perpetual mobilization for danger, endurance, and hyper-arousal." And in a later paragraph, she claims, "because soldiers have to distance themselves from emotions suffered during a horrific war, their feelings often flare up at unexpected times after returning to civilian life." If the book is meant as a way to engage civilians in understanding the emotions of war veterans, how will they come away thinking about them?

Even with these problems, much of the book is poignant and excellent, such as her description of soldiers walking long distances and waiting in lines just to get a few minutes on the phone to call their wives or families. The author is at her best when writing about the emotions and reactions of an individual person rather than making generalizations about all veterans. Her expert description of how families grieve and mourn their loved ones, whether lost in combat or to suicide, is some of the book's best material. It is easy to let those we have lost as a country become a set of faceless numbers, but Bouvard refuses to allow that. She also captures the complex emotions of coming home and readjusting to civilian life, including the feelings of dissociation

New from NDU Press

for the Center for the Study of
Chinese Military Affairs

Strategic Forum 289
*An Empirical Analysis of Claimant
Tactics in the South China Sea*
by Christopher D. Yung and
Patrick McNulty



China,
Taiwan,
Vietnam, the
Philippines,
Malaysia, and
Brunei have
used a wide
variety of tac-
tics to protect

and advance their maritime territorial claims in the South China Sea. China is the most active user of the nine categories of tactics identified in this paper, with the exception of legal actions, and accounts for more than half of all military and paramilitary actions since 1995.

The unclassified database used in this analysis undercounts military and paramilitary actions, but captures enough activity to provide a representative sample. A classified version that captures more activity would improve the potential to develop the database into an Indications and Warning tool to assist in monitoring and managing tensions in the South China Sea.



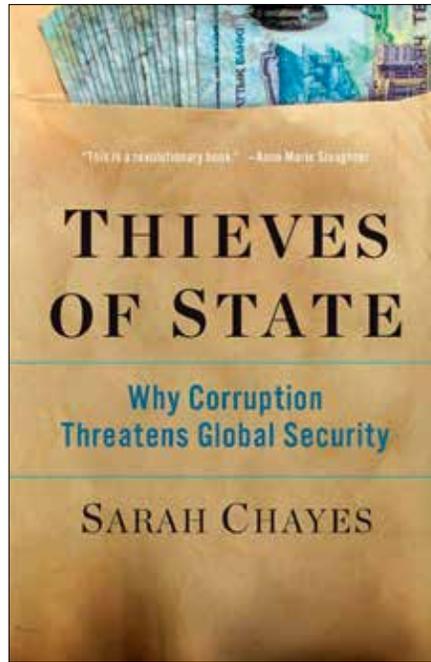
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from others so familiar to those of us who have gone through it ourselves.

The book may be designed to spur readers to action, to force them to spring from their comfortable lives outside these wars and immediately find the closest veteran and shower him or her with care and affection. If you take the message too literally, though, you might come away with the impression that everyone who has served in the military is suffering and that the only way to ease their pain is to pity them.

Bouvard should be commended for her attempt to reach out, even if too much of her book is based on clichés and the unfortunately common philosophy of thinking that veterans have a monopoly on suffering that civilians cannot understand. She writes, “Living in the present, civilians have the luxury of managing their memories. We all have both good and difficult memories, but we are able to turn them off if we wish.” But a person who has had a friend killed in a car crash or lost a relative to an unexpected disease—or who experiences any of the feelings of grief central to the human existence—can sympathize, if not empathize. We should not try to single out veterans as the owners of traumatic loss, but rather use that loss as a starting point to form bonds with others who have felt the same. Each side in the civilian-military conversation would benefit from sharing their stories with each other, as well as listening to the stories of their counterparts. JFQ

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Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security

By Sarah Chayes
W.W. Norton, 2015
262 pp. \$26.95
ISBN 978-0393239461
Reviewed by William H. Waggy II

Spring in Afghanistan brings the annual renewal from winter's snowmelt, as rivers threaten their banks and bring much-needed water to the country's valleys. This year, spring brought the onslaught of another seasonal occurrence: the annual evidence of rampant corruption in Afghanistan. March brought a story from *Stars and Stripes* that highlighted the Kabul market for gaudy mansions constructed over the last decade with no small assistance from foreign aid. April was no different, as a \$100 million fuel contract scandal garnered attention in the Afghan press. Later that same month, the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction released a report on the oversight of personnel and payroll data that showed deficient control mechanisms allowing personnel to be paid regardless of attendance.

Sarah Chayes, a historian and award-winning PBS correspondent who later became a high-level advisor to former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael Mullen, lived in the midst of Afghan corruption beginning in 2002. Originally sent to Kandahar on a reporting assignment following the U.S. overthrow of the Taliban, Chayes decided to stay in Kandahar as part of a nonprofit venture. She provides her first-hand knowledge of the payoffs, bribes, and embezzlement seemingly entrenched in southern Afghanistan during that time period. Corruption has never gotten better, but Chayes's perspective has changed. Later brought into the highest policy circles of the U.S. military, she advised multiple International Security Assistance Force commanders in the late 2000s including Admiral Mullen.

Corruption has long been on the mind of national advisors. In an early chapter, Chayes surveys so-called mirror literature, tracks from the Middle Ages that provided advice to future rulers. Though Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* may be the most famous example, such advice transcends cultures and empires. She persuasively shows that writers across the centuries warned rulers of the dangers of corruption, some actually pointing to corruption as a source of weakness and instability in their kingdoms.

Chayes expands on the idea that corruption causes instability and applies it to Afghanistan. In this respect, she admirably contributes important ideas to conversations about Afghanistan security and stability. Chayes convincingly explains how unchecked corruption causes instability, national frustration, and ultimately violence. Corruption should not be viewed as merely a by-product of weak national governments or an inherent problem of insecurity. Rather, corruption erodes any support for governmental institutions, breeds cynicism throughout the population, and pushes people toward violent and puritanical solutions.

As governments fail to contain predatory impulses, the population looks for solutions that promise fairness. Looking across several countries, Chayes shows