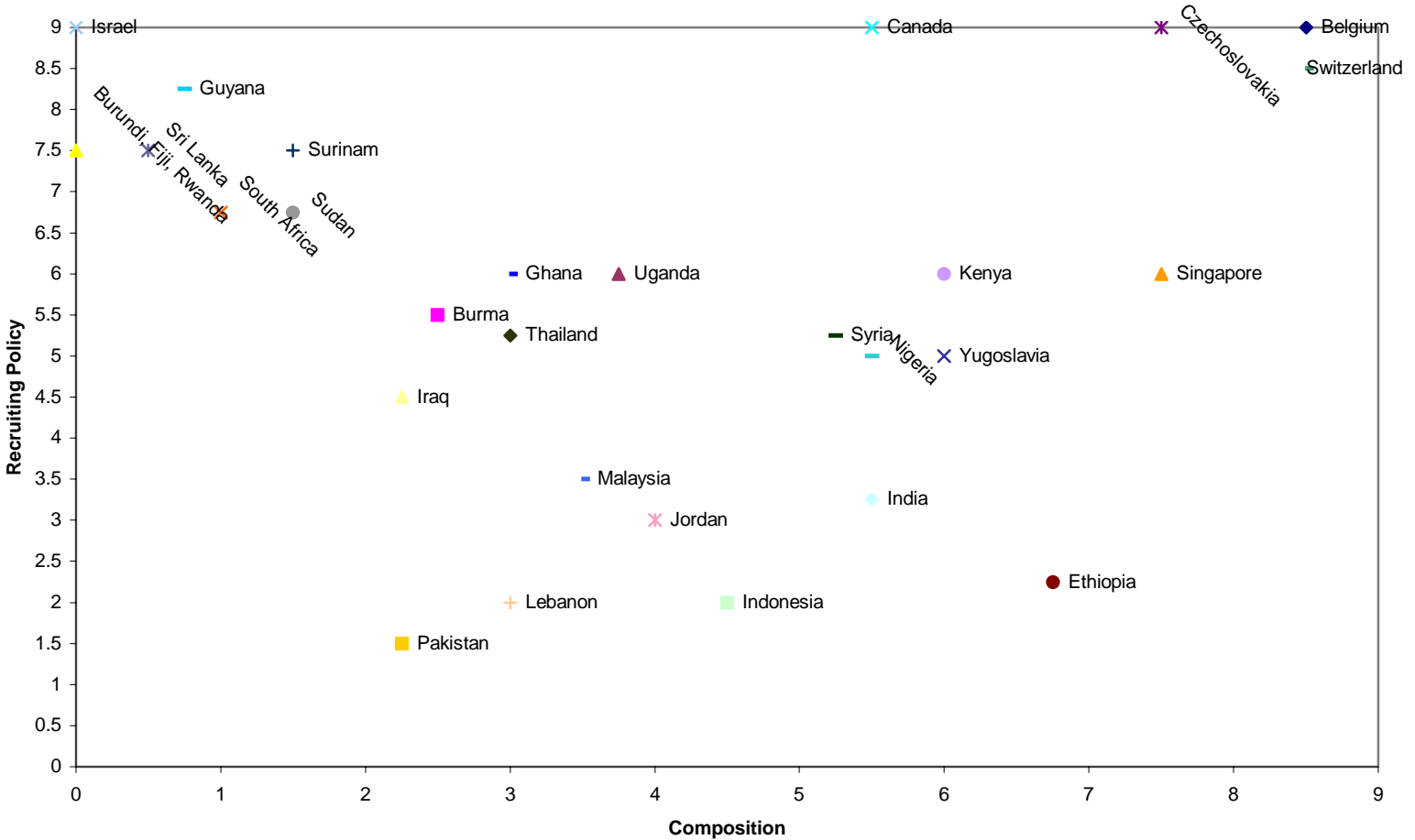


17.584, Civil-Military Relations, Spring 2003
 Prof. Roger Petersen
Lecture 4: The United States

Lecture

Janowitz: The military should look like the society.
 Military was a bastion of aristocracy in west and changed everywhere but Britain for reasons of efficiency.



Graph courtesy of Roger Petersen.

Petersen Masters Thesis Graph

Belgium is now completely proportionate. It wasn't 60-70 years ago because 63% were Flemish and 37% were Walloon in 1979. For elites, the 1962 laws institutionalized Flemish language and Flemish in Brussels. The language was "frozen" in certain areas, schools, boundaries, some schools always in French, etc.

Belgium military not deployed in Germany. In 1975, constitutional quotas were created for ministries and cabinet, regional autonomy, veto power by communities consociation.

1928---Universal conscription with language-based units

1952---Only 17% of officers were Flemish. This percentage of Flemish was higher in the navy because of the sea. There wasn't even one Flemish general until 1962.

Civil-military officials commission with affirmative action for Flemish officers. 60% quota in academy. There were stringent bilingual requirements for all officers. From 1962-1972, The total Flemish officers increased from 35% to 48%. In 1979, it became nearly proportionate with 58% vs. 60% of the population. Moved to #2 on the graph due to a conscious policy. Other cases with clear divisions.

#1—are states with severe violent conflicts and a small number of groups. Internal threats increase.

#2—Do they have a decent military? Most don't fight much, have a different priority. Their biggest priority is domestic ethnic cooperation.

Guyana is approximately 40% African, 50% East Indian in 1979 and 95% black rank military in 1979.

Military was proportional in colonial times. Then there was conflict, the black party dominated. This was also true in Sri Lanka. The population was 70%-20% in 1979. Total Singhalese dominance.

After 1962, there was a military coup attempt. Fiji was the same.

There's a theory that purports that the richer the population, the less likely a civil war will ensue. Fiji was the exception.

If you add the groups, you have threatened...

Malaysia when Britain returned to reorganize, 1946-1956 (?) was an emergency period and a communist threat.

1829—Britain typically developed martial races idea. These were genetically better fighters. Military not like the society. These fighters were a poor rural group, the Usu. The Malays were the martial race and the British only recruited Malays.

1946—Malay regiment

1948—Communist insurgency. Government had to effectively put down a predominantly Chinese rebellion (35% Chinese). The traditional elites of all the groups formed an alliance and merged in parliament. Britain pulled out in 1957. The military and political arenas were dominated by the Malay, while the economy was dominated by Chinese and Indians (Most educated too).

The Air Force and the Navy needed skilled officers. Malay regiment infantry.

The Malay Rangers Battalion was formed from North Borneo national groups.

Federal regiment was mixed.

The National Guard was mixed, etc.

Growth in the Air Force and the Navy was disproportionately Chinese and Indian.

Moved from #1 to #5.

By 1979, there wasn't any more trouble. The government began to get out of businesses, but this was normal that units would have the make-up they had. No

non-Malay ever held line of command. Evolved societal norm? Chinese will have high positions but won't run all of the military.

India similar, 25% Sikh in 1979.

Y-axis doesn't code inclusionary vs. exclusionary but legal involvement and composition. Iraq and Malaysia coded the same for non-legal barriers to Shia and Chinese respectively.

Discussion of the Readings

A. Feaver, Peter and Richard H. Kohn, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001). Introduction, Chapters 1, 2, 5, 8, 13. ISBN: 0262561425.

Remake of Janowitz's *Professional Soldier*. End of draft and end of Cold War. Tried to find if there is a gap between the civil and the military. Speculation before in a book by Ricks. After the book, marine corps recruits felt negative feelings toward the rest of society.

The military is typically more republican and conservative. It's self-selection. Is this dangerous? Self-selection occurs in other professions as well. Is the military situation dangerous? For example, professors are more likely to be democrats. Conservatives claim that the media is pro-democrat.

The military and the Supreme Court are widely respected. Feaver hypothesizes that this is because these bodies are perceived as being apolitical. But lately, this is changing with Powell and Schwarzkopf. This change isn't entirely new. General Maxwell Taylor wrote against massive retaliation and joined Kennedies. Maxwell said he had never voted because he thought it would be inappropriate. Eisenhower wasn't sure if he would join Democrats or Republicans until 1 year before the election.

Petersen: Is there a higher possibility of normal being broken because of the military-civil disparity in party affiliation?

If you look at a list of preferences for the United States foreign policy, there's not much disparity with some exceptions. (hr. vs. primary, help poor). Similarly, views of the civil society and military culture are common because of the civil and military.

In uses of military, again there's some disparity in areas such as, drugs, operations other than war, domestic disorder, etc. Civil non-veteran would probably think that the National Guard is part of the military. There are inherent biases in ways the questions were asked. See A. vs. answer on hr. Military will do it if the question is phrased as national interest.

Table 1.6, item K, manifestation of norm in military.

Active reserve leaders seem more gung ho than military, fair weather warriors, like the affiliation as civilians.

Feaver concludes that there is more disparity in the ideas and values than specific policy issues.